Annual Checklist of Publications and Discoveries
New Information about Blake’s Mother

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Cover: Parish register of Walkeringham, Notts., 1725. Used with the permission of the principal archivist, Nottinghamshire Archives; PR 587. See page 42.
ARTICLES

William Blake and His Circle: A Checklist of Publications and Discoveries in 2003

BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF HIKARI SATO
FOR PUBLICATIONS IN JAPAN AND OF
CHING-ERH CHANG FOR PUBLICATIONS IN TAIWAN

The annual checklist of scholarship and discoveries concerning William Blake and his circle records publications and discoveries for the year (say, 2003) and those for previous years which are not recorded in Blake Books (1977), Blake Books Supplement (1995), and "William Blake and His Circle" (1994-2003). The organization of Division I of the checklist is as in Blake Books (1977):

Division I: William Blake

Part I: Editions, Translations, and Facsimiles of Blake's Writings
  Section A: Original Editions, Facsimiles, Reprints, and Translations
  Section B: Collections and Selections

Part II: Reproductions of his Art
  Section A: Illustrations of Individual Authors
  Section B: Collections and Selections

Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Part IV: Catalogues and Bibliographies

Part V: Books Owned by William Blake of London (1757-1827)

Part VI: Criticism, Biography, and Scholarly Studies
  Note: Collections of essays on Blake and issues of periodicals devoted entirely to him are listed in one place; their authors may be recovered from the index.

Division II: Blake's Circle

Division II is organized by individual (say, William Hayley or John Flaxman), with works by and about Blake's friends and patrons, living individuals with whom he had significant direct and demonstrable contact. It includes Thomas Butts and his family, Robert Hartley Cromek, George Cumberland, John Flaxman and his family, Henry Fuseli, Thomas and William Hayley, John Linnell and his family, Samuel Palmer, James Parker, George Richmond, Henry Crabb Robinson, Thomas Stothard, John Varley, and Thomas Griffiths Wainewright. It does not include important contemporaries with whom Blake's contact was negligible or non-existent, such as John Constable and William Wordsworth and Edmund Burke. Such major figures are dealt with more comprehensively elsewhere, and the light they throw upon Blake is very dim.

Reviews, listed here under the book reviewed, are only for works which are substantially about Blake, not for those with only, say, a chapter on Blake. The authors of the reviews may be recovered from the index.

I take Blake Books (1977) and Blake Books Supplement (1995), faute de mieux, to be the standard bibliographical books on Blake and have noted significant differences from them.

I have made no systematic attempt to record manuscripts and typescripts, audio books and magazines, broadcasts on radio or television, calendars, CD-ROMs, chinaware, comic books, computer printouts, exhibitions without catalogues, festivals and lecture series, furniture with inscriptions, lipstick, microforms, music, pillows, poems, postage stamps, posters, published scores, recorded readings and singings, rubber stamps, T-shirts, tattoos, video recordings, or e-mail related to Blake.

The status of electronic "publications" becomes increasingly vexing. Some such works seem to be merely electronic versions of physically stable works, and some suggest no more knowledge than how to operate a computer, such as reviews invited for the listings of the book sale firm of Amazon.com, which are divided into those by (1) the author, (2) the publisher, and (3) other, perhaps disinterested, remark. In my experience, they rarely provide more than fool's gold. For instance, on 3 March 2004 "Bentley, Stranger from Paradise" (without quotation marks in the search) had 772 Google entries, which included catalogues (e.g., Tuscaloosa Public Library), academic course prospectuses, curricula vitae, Town & Country Toy Dog Club of Greater Andover, Karaoke WOW!, and endless offers for sale, while "Stranger from Paradise" had 2920 entries. I have not searched for electronic publications, and I report here only those I have happened upon which appear to bear some authority.

1. There is nothing in Blake Books (1977) and Blake Books Supplement (1995) corresponding to Division II: Blake's Circle.


3. E.g., the decorated ceramic bowl by Bernard Leach with verses from Blake round the rim (reproduced in the Kyoto Blake exhibition catalogue [2003] fig. 14).


5. See for instance entries for 2002 Northwestern exhibition (review); Bentley, Stranger from Paradise (review); Butlin; Connolly; Essick and Viscomi; Friedlander; Goldberg; Howie; Kraemer; Lussier; Prickett; Rix.

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Summer 2004

I am indebted to help of many kinds to Bel Atreides, Dr. E. B. Bentley, Mr. Martin Butlin, Professor Ching-erh Chang, the Davies Group Publishers, Dr. D. W. Dörrebecker, Professor Robert N. Essick, Professor Jean Freed, Professor David Fuller, Ms. Yumiko Goto, Professor Alexander Gourlay, Dr. Francisco Gimeno Suances, Mr. Ron Heisler, International Specialized Book Services, Ms. Sarah Jones at Blake, Professor Suzanne Matheson, Mr. Jeff Mertz (our man at the Library of Congress) for xeroxes, Mr. Paul Miner, Professor Morton D. Paley, the Plough Publishing House, Professor Dennis Read, Professor Hikari Sato, Mr. James Shaffner, Professor Sheila Spector (for Hebrew works), Professor Warren Stevenson, and Professor Masashi Suzuki.

I should be most grateful to anyone who can help me to better information about the unseen ($) items reported here, and I undertake to thank them prettily in person and in print.

Research for "William Blake and His Circle, 2003" was carried out in the Bibliotheca La Solana, Huntington Library, University of Miami Library, University of Toronto Library, and the Toronto Public Library.

Symbols

* Works prefixed by an asterisk include one or more illustrations by Blake or depicting him. If there are more than 19 illustrations, the number is specified. If the illustrations include all those for a series by Blake, say for Thel or his illustrations to L’Allegro, the work is identified.

§ Works preceded by a section mark are reported on second-hand authority.

Abbreviations

BB G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Books (1977)
Blake Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Blake Publications and Discoveries in 2003

Blake studies are alive and well in 2003. This checklist records 50 books, 205 essays, and 47 reviews, and certainly there are some which have been overlooked, particularly reviews. The books include 17 editions of Blake's writings and art, 8 exhibition catalogues of 1919, 2001, 2002, and 2003, and 5 dissertations, from Florida, Hungary, Iowa, Southampton, and Texas.

The works recorded here come from around the world, not only from English-speaking countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada, India, and the United States, but from xenophononic countries as well. There are works in Chinese (15), French (3), German (2), Hebrew (4), Hungarian (2), Italian (3), Japanese (34), Korean (4), Russian (1), and Spanish (8). The works in Hungarian are supplemented by an English essay in a Hungarian journal and a book in English which was a Hungarian doctoral dissertation, and there are English essays in journals in Japan and Taiwan (6).

The most striking innovation here is in the number of works about Blake from Taiwan. When my wife and I went to Taiwan in 1970 to work in the National Library for a week, we found, as I recall, no Chinese work by or about Blake, though my wife, playing hooky, found one work by my mother and several by my father—more, to her disrespectful delight, than by me. Consequently we spent a wonderful week at the National Palace Museum.

Thirty-four years later, Professor Ching-erh Chang of the National Taiwan University compiled "William Blake in Taiwan: A Bibliography," of which he very generously sent me a copy. This includes a poem by Blake translated in 1960 (omitted below), a translation of Blake in 1966, and 20 publications about Blake in Taiwan—plus 6 M.A. theses dealing with Blake.7

6. Because of Senator McCarthy and his ilk, it was not convenient to go to China in 1970.

A problem arises with the transliterations of works from Taiwan. Recently the Pinyin system of transliteration, adopted in China in 1949, was introduced in Taiwan. However, it is still customary to give proper names of Taiwanese authors in the older Wade-Giles system. The same Chinese character for a proper name may therefore be transliterated differently in Taiwan, in China, and in Japan. This is particularly trying with family names, which may appear in different places in an alphabetical list according to the system of transliteration used.

Other evidence of Blake’s international and polyglottal appeal is the record of Mr. Taro Nagasaki’s Blake collection, now partly in Kyoto City University of Arts. The collection, formed early in the twentieth century, consists of 52 books, including a number with Blake’s commercial book illustrations. At the time it was formed, it was probably the largest collection of Blake’s commercial book illustrations in Japan—and perhaps it remains so today.

Blake’s Writings

There are relatively few significant discoveries or publications concerning Blake’s writings.

Original Works

Newly uncovered sketches for The Book of Thel and Europe are reported by Robert N. Essick and Rosamund Paice, and a few more details of Songs of Innocence and of Experience contemporary facsimile (Beta) are recorded by courtesy of its Toronto owner.

A couple of well-known works have changed hands. Blake’s letter of 18 January 1808 (A) has been sold to yet another anonymous collector for a huge price (£40,000), and, on the death of Sir Paul Getty in 2003, Songs of Innocence and of Experience (P) passed, perhaps permanently, to the Wormsley Foundation.

A previously unrecorded copy of For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise pl. 2 has surfaced in the collection of Professor Harold Bloom.

Most excitingly and tantalizingly, Robert N. Essick reports rumors of an unknown copy of Poetical Sketches. What other treasures remain to be discovered? The copy of Outhoun offered for sale about 1828 by Catherine Blake found in a cottage in County Durham? The huge “Ancient Britons,” lost since 1809, in a loft in rural Wales?

Reprints and Translations


Collections and Selections

The new editions of Blake’s selected works offer little in the way of solid new knowledge to Blake students. A few are doubtless useful as introductions to Blake in areas where English is not the first language, such as Blake no kotoba [Aphoristic Words from Blake], ed. Soetsu Yanagi (1921) in Japan, a new edition of Ol mi-shire blak re-kits [More from the Poetry of Blake and Keats], tr. Joshua Kochav (1980), Tenison, robert herik, edgar alan po, vilyam blak, vilyam ernst henri, heinrik heine, tr. Samuel Friedman (1986) in Israel, William Blake: Versek és Próféciák [Poems and Prophecies], ed. Miklós Szenczi (1959) in Hungary, and Poesia completa: Versión, prólogo y presentación Francesc LL. Cardona (1999) in Spain. And it is perhaps worth drawing attention to a work in Catalan which is excluded from the list below because it is a multi-author anthology: William Blake, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Keats: Poesia, veritat i vida, Presentació i traducció de Joan Solé (Barcelona: Col·lumba Edicions, Dec. 2001) Classics i Moderns Columna, 8, 248 pp.; ISBN: 8466401873; its “Notas biogràfiques” includes “William Blake (1757–1827)” (19–28); the Blake texts from Ostriker consist of All Religions are One, There is No Natural Religion, and Marriage of Heaven and Hell (61–88), all of course in prose.

The William Blake Archive (www.blakearchive.org) continues to expand its resources, with reproductions of Urizen (B), the engraved designs for Blair’s Grave, Blake’s watercolors for “On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity” and Paradise Regained, a biography, a glossary, and a chronology.

Blake’s Art

A handsome new edition of Paradise Lost with Blake’s drawings is an agreeable work to handle and own but offers nothing new to the scholar.

Blake’s Commercial Engravings

A textless and one might almost say pointless new edition of the engravings for Blair’s Grave (1808) appeared. Trifling Blake sketches for Darwin’s Botanic Garden (1791) and Hayley’s Designs to a Series of Ballads (1802) have been newly uncovered.

A new copy of Blake’s elusive print for The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book (1782) was discovered by David Bindman in an album of fashion plates and has now

8. Blake’s Art” here includes only unengraved series of illustrations of the works of others, such as Milton or Gray. For his drawings for his own works in illuminated printing, see Part I: “Blake’s Writings”; for his drawings for commercial book illustrations, see Part III.
passed, like so many other fascinating Blake *disjecta membra*, into the collection of Robert N. Essick at the Bibliotheca La Solana. No copy of the book itself has yet been discovered. The history of Blake’s nineteen watercolors (1805) for Blair’s *Grave* (1808) rediscovered in 2001 becomes yet more bizarre. From about 1836 to 2001 they were in the collection of the Stannard family, whose latest heirs in Glasgow lost sight of their significance. They went for a risible sum as part of a small family library to a Glasgow second-hand bookstore called Caledonia Books, where they were apparently taken to be colored engravings—though no engraving for Blair’s *Grave* colored by Blake is known. From Caledonia Books they were acquired, perhaps on approval, for $1,000 by a Yorkshire bookseller named Paul Williams. All this was discovered by a brilliant journalist named Martin Bailey who succeeded where all the warranted Blake scholars who had seen the watercolors9 and tried to trace their history had failed.

But the drama does not end there. The Tate, doubtless the most appropriate home for the Blair watercolors, was given an option to buy the drawings at $2,000,000 (or about £100,000 each), later raised to $4,200,000 plus $700,000 tax, and started scampering about to raise such a huge sum. At this point, the sale hung fire while a legal sideshow determined who really owned the designs and on what terms they had or should have changed hands. When this issue was resolved, the Tate heaved an institutional sigh of relief and doubtless prepared publicity about acquiring the most sensational Blake find for a century—when they discovered that the Blair watercolors had been abruptly acquired at a yet larger price by the London dealer Libby Howie, ostensibly for an unnamed American collector. The latest information is that they are languishing in a London bank vault, perhaps waiting for a better offer or for permission to export them, a permission which is unlikely to be granted them without a struggle. In sum, the Blair watercolors have returned almost to the status quo ante; the existence of the drawings is known, their authenticity (unlike their price) is unquestioned, and a few have been reproduced, but they are as inaccessible as ever. At least one Blake scholar’s request to see them has been politely put off sine die.

It seems that the more expensive Blake’s works become, the less visible they are likely to be to serious Blake scholars. Fortunately there are many exceptions to this gloomy rule. Long life to the generous!

**Blake Catalogues and Exhibitions**

The Huntington held an exhibition of its Blake holdings, with some of its gaps filled in from the extraordinary collection of Robert N. Essick, who also prepared the exhibition, though—alas!—there was no catalogue worthy of the institution or the curator.

The exhibition in Kyoto was short on original works by William Blake, even books with his commercial engravings, but the catalogue and exhibition were very rich in the history of Blake enthusiasm in Japan. In this area the catalogue is a major contribution to scholarship, going far beyond *Blake Studies in Japan* (1995) and all other works on the subject known to me.

John Windle produced a catalogue of Blakes with something for every taste and pocketbook, from obscure reprints to the finest tempera still in private hands, from $3.95 to a price so high it would be embarrassing to print it ("Price on Request").

In 2002 Northwestern University Library held a modest exhibition of books with Blake’s commercial engravings.

The Albright-Knox Gallery in Buffalo held a little exhibition of Blake, chiefly *Job* and *Dante* prints, but there was no catalogue.

**Books Owned by William Blake the Poet**

The name of William Blake Esq. appears as a subscriber not only in Joseph Thomas’s *Religious Emblems* (1809), but also in a newly discovered prospectus for the work, indicating that William Blake Esq. had been among the first to subscribe to the book, probably as a result of a private solicitation among the author’s friends—the poet was certainly a protégé of Joseph Thomas. And the fact that Thomas’s designer J. Thurston is also dignified by the otherwise unwarranted “Esq.” suggests that it is the poet-artist William Blake who subscribed to Thomas’s book and not one of the legions of other William Blakes who lived in London at the time.10

**Scholarship and Criticism**

**Books**

No book recorded here compares in novelty or lasting significance to Joseph Viscomi’s *Blake and the Idea of the Book* or E. P. Thompson’s *Witness against the Beast*, both of 1993—but then, these are monuments of Blake scholarship, and one should not expect their ilk annually.


9. A copy of the quarto *Blair’s Grave* (1808) in the Huntington is skillfully hand colored, but not by Blake.

10. Dr. E. B. Bentley, G. E. Bentley, Jr., Professor David Bindman, Mr. Martin Butlin, Professor Robert N. Essick, Dr. Robin Hamlyn, Dr. Rosamund Paice, Professor Morton D. Paley.
Derek Pearsall, William Langland, William Blake, and the Poetry of Hope (2003), though separately published, is merely the text of a lecture, perhaps chiefly valuable to students of the Poetry of Hope.

Dóra Janzer Csikós, "Four Mighty Ones Are in Every Man": The Development of the Fourfold in Blake (2003) is a Hungarian doctoral dissertation concerned with "personality typology" based on physiognomy in The Four Zoas which may seem exotic to those unfamiliar with the Szondi test or "system of drives."

Saree Makdisi, William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s (2003) carefully uses the "varieties of radical ideology" among Blake's contemporaries (26) to illuminate with admirable sensitivity Blake's works of the 1790s, especially America.

John Pierce, The Wondrous Art: William Blake and Writing (2003) is concerned with "the way in which the graphic and the oral are used as conceptual fields in Blake's works" (27). It is not significantly related to calligraphy or handwriting.

Nick Rawlinson, William Blake's Comic Vision (2003) makes a surprisingly strong case that "Blake was a subtle, profound and skilled comic writer" whose "work seems to pulse with comic energy." His definition of "comic" focuses upon joy, which gives him surprisingly wide scope.


Frederick Sontag, Truth and Imagination: The Universes Within (1998) is a "quest for the new vision in which Blake specializes," especially in Chapter 1, "Exploring the Worlds within the Mind."

Janet Warner, Other Sorrows, Other Joys: The Marriage of Catherine Sophia Boucher and William Blake (2003) is a cheerful "tapesty of fact and fiction" in which the facts are carefully reported from the poet's life and writings and the fiction imports graphic sex, genteel or at least artistic crime, secret societies, and drugs, with a plausible stress upon baldness in Catherine. An example (264-65) derives from Blake's letter to Thomas Butts of 2 October 1800:

William was sitting on the Sea Shore yesterday and had a wonderful Vision. He said that the Light was reflecting off the Sands, and each particle of light was a Man, and every stone and herb and tree that he saw was in Human Form, and that finally all Human Forms became One, and he was part of it, and so was I and [his sister] Cathy, and Mr. Hayley, and Mr. and Mrs. Butts also.

I am now baking bread.

David Weir, Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance (2003) is an earnest and intelligent study of Hinduism as its theological and political contexts were perceived in London (not in England or "the West") particularly in the pages of the Analytical Review in the 1790s. The most sensational event in London then was the long drawn-out trial of Warren Hastings for, among other things, abuse of his power while Governor General of India, and Weir points out that the trial was, and was widely seen to be, a political issue including attacks on or defense of colonialism. Some readers of the book may wonder at his confidence or his evidence that Blake read [Volney's] The Ruins (51) or that he would have read "the Gita" (99), but the political and theological context of Hinduism in the 1790s in London is usefully established.


**Essays**

There are in this checklist many reprints in Bloom's anthology of fragments of Blake criticism (2003—40 excerpts) and detailed proposals for lectures at the Kyoto Blake Conference (2003—37)—though the full essays were (or doubtless will be) meritorious. There are collections of essays in Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, ed. Morris Eaves and M. D. Paley (2003—19), The Cambridge Companion to William Blake, ed. Morris Eaves (2003—16), and Taiyoko (1927—11), plus contemporary directories referring to Blake (43) and records of his father and brother voting (6) which, oddly, have never appeared in a Blake bibliography before.


**The Tools of Scholarship**

Among the most obvious tools of scholarship is finding lists of what is known about the subject. These include G. E. Bentley, Jr., with the assistance of Dr. Hikari Sato for Japanese publications, "William Blake and His Circle: A Checklist of Publications and Discoveries in 2002," Blake 37.1 (summer 2003): 4-31, which covers all newly discovered publications with Blake in the title or works about him of more than five consecutive pages, together with all briefer references to Blake published before 1863, especially those before 1831. These lists are extensive but hardly comprehensive; for instance, in the present one for 2003, there are works published in 2002 (29), in 1863-2001 (101), in 1831-63 (2), and even the most heavily mined field before 1831 (30), indicating embarrassingly how much had previously been overlooked.

A similar but much more comprehensive undertaking is in Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2002," Blake 36.4 (spring 2003): 116-37. His essay records in wonderful detail not only original works by Blake and his close friends such as George Cumberland and John Linnell, with mini-essays in the captions of works reproduced, but also curiosities and rumors of troop movements on the borders of buying and selling. He seems to know everyone worth knowing in the worlds of Blake and book-, print-, and picture-selling and to persuade them to give up their dearest secrets. And when his
report does not identify a shy vendor or buyer, he probably knows who it is but is too discreet to tell us.

Francisco Gimeno Suances, "Notas sobre la difusión, influencia y recepción crítica de la obra de William Blake en España durante las décadas de 1920 y 1930," Los Papelos Majados de río seco Año 5, no. 6 (2003): 38-45, considerably expands our information about works concerning Blake in Spain as long ago as the 1920s. The number of Spanish works previously unknown to Blake bibliographers indicates how difficult it is for the virtual monologues among us such as myself to read everything in their field about Blake; even impressively multilingual bibliographers such as D.W. Dörrebecker seem to have overlooked some of these Spanish publications.

There are also recorded here surprisingly extensive lists of directories and elections in which are given the addresses and votes of Blake's father and brothers, though he himself rarely appears in the directories, and apparently he never voted, though eligible to do so.

There are several essays of importance about Blake drawings. Robert N. Essick and Rosamund A. Paice, "Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum," Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 84-100, report on nine previously unknown sketches by Blake on the verses of other drawings discovered when they were dismounted for photography, and Martin Bailey, "From £1,000 to £10 Million in Two Years for Newly Discovered Blake watercolours," Art Newspaper online, finds crucial details of the history of Blake's nineteen watercolors for Blair's Grave which had eluded all the Blake scholars painting hard on the trail. Troy Patenaude, "The glory of a Nation: Recovering William Blake's 1809 Exhibition," British Art Journal 4.1 (2003): 52-63, discovers crucial details of the arrangement and dimensions of the rooms of Blake's family home at 28 Broad Street and from them deduces plausibly the hanging sequence of the pictures exhibited there in Blake's private exhibition of 1809-10 and the dimensions of Blake's long-lost and huge "Ancient Britons."

Joseph Viscomi provides a masterful, brief account of Blake's "Illuminated Printing" in The Cambridge Companion to William Blake, ed. Morris Eaves (2003), 37-62. And G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Blake and God in the Garden: The Life of a Myth," Descant 34.4 (winter 2003): 112-23, musters detailed evidence once again to persuade the credulous of the mythical (i.e., untrue) character of the story of Blake and Catherine naked in their garden reading Paradise Lost—or climbing trees or dancing.

Critical Essays: The Plums in the Pudding


In the same collection, David Bindman's essay on "Blake as a Painter," 85-109, provides a confident and comprehensive synopsis which is just what such a Companion calls for, and Jon Mee, "Blake's Politics in History," 133-49, argues once again that "Blake was always a deeply political writer."


In the exceedingly unlikely vehicle of an online undergraduate B.A. thesis (1973, revised 1986), Edward Robert Friedlander, M.D., "William Blake's Milton: Meaning and Madness," argues with distressing or at least surprising plausibility that Blake's poetry and paintings present classic illustrations of the schizophrenic experience. ... We can look to the schizophrenic experience to understand Blake's works." Dr. Friedlander's evidence, and his training as a student of literature and of medicine, make his conclusion worth consideration.

Blake in the service of somewhat rabid anti-capitalism has been found by Ron Heisler13 from the Christian Socialist of 1884-85. These consist of: quotation from "Auguries of Innocence" II. 75-76, 51-52, 81-84, 79-80, 113-18 following but not visibly attached to E. L. Garbett, "Interest" (an attack on it), Christian Socialist (March 1884): 157; "Holy Thursday" from Experience following but not visibly attached to an excerpt from Darkness and Dawn in Christian Socialist (July 1884): 27; "Mammon" (i.e., "I rose up at the dawn of day") [Notebook, p. 89] ll. 1-12, 21-22, 13-18, 25-28), Christian Socialist (Aug. 1884): 37, which may well have been the stimulus for the skillful anonymous poem called "Oh, Mammon, Hear Us!" (March 1885: 155) parodying a popular hymn: Anon., "In Answer to a Prayer for Light," Christian Socialist (March 1885):


13. In a letter to me. These Blake entries do not appear in the checklist below because I do not report there incidental excerpts from Blake.
254-55, on "the principles of Anarchism" reprinted from Liberty ("Boston, U.S."), concluding with a "message ... sung to us by William Blake": "I give you the end of a golden thread [i.e., 'string']" [Jerusalem, pl. 77]. Perhaps they appeared on the initiative of the journal's founding co-editor J. L. Jones.

Roads Not Taken: The Nuts in the Fruitcake

A tiresomely perennial issue in Blake studies is the allegation of his Cockneyism. For instance, a recent critic writes of "the Cockney in which he [Blake] wrote and, no doubt, spoke," and the allegation is likely to recur. Is it relevant to the author of Songs of Innocence and of Experience?

The answer may depend on which of the changing meanings of "Cockney" is being used. The term has been variously applied. Over the last half-millennium or so "Cockney" has been used to mean: an egg; a mother's darling; a milksof a wanton townsman; a person born in London within the sound of Bow bells; a class term of vilification, as in Blackwood's dismissal of Keats and Leigh Hunt as members of "The Cockney School of Poetry"; one who loves London inordinately; and a Humpty Dumpty definition of what I want it to mean.

I hope we may agree that Blake is not "an egg." Besides, "It's very provoking," Humpty Dumpty said after a long silence, 'to be called an egg—very!' Blake's contemporaries would not have called him a "milksof particularly those who had encountered him in anger. Nor is "a wanton townsman" more relevant. Blake was certainly not "born within the sound of Bow bells," and indeed the place of his birth near Golden Square had not long before 1757 been an area of some fashion—aristocrats and future prime ministers had been christened as he was at St. James, Piccadilly. Blake is no more a member of the Cockney School of Leigh Hunt and John Keats than he is of the Lake School of Wordsworth and Coleridge. In a more common pejorative context, he does not share the "Cockney" characteristics of gross ignorance of high-culture sophistication, he is not aspirately-challenged, omitting the "h" sound in "hope" and "how" and wantonly adding it as in "honor" and "hour"—and, besides, these cultural and linguistic characteristics of "Cockney" are largely anachronistic when applied to Blake, their widespread use being popularized by Dickens subsequent to Blake's death. Blake's attitude toward London is devastatingly demonstrated in his "London" with its universal "marks of woe," in "the terrible desert of London" and "the manacles of Londons dungeons dark." And one may speculate on the aptness of "Cockney" as applied to that great London-lover Dr. Johnson. But I am a sufficient democrat to agree with Humpty Dumpty: "When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less.' "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master—that's all.'

Division I: William Blake

Part I: Blake's Writings

Section A: Original Editions, Facsimiles, Reprints, and Translations

Watermarks: A Cumulative Table

Addendum
fleur-de-lis

"The Approach of Doom" (BMFR)

Plate 6
A new sketch on the verso of the previously known one was reported and reproduced by Robert N. Essick and Rosamund A. Paice, "Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum," Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 84-100.

Europe (1794)

Copy a
Previously unknown sketches on the versos of pls. 1 and 18 were reported and reproduced by Robert N. Essick and Rosamund A. Paice, "Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum," Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 84-100.

The First Book of Urizen (1794)

Copy B

Edition

"Estudio Preliminar: Urizen: La creación como catastrofe" (7-56), color reproduction of copy G, the plates printed back to back (59-86), English transcription and Spanish translation on facing pages (87-137), "Notas y comentarios" (139-84), "Bibliografía: [3] Ediciones existentes de El Libro de Urizen en Castellano" (185).

15. Definitions 1-5 derive from the OED; 6 is a modern usage, to be found in, for instance, Ackroyd's Blake.
16. For a summary of the scholarship here, see The Stranger from Paradise (2001) 4fn.
17. Blake's letters of 14 and 1 September 1800.
For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise (1826)
Newly Recorded Copy

Plate 2
History: Sold, with George Richmond's sketch of Blake on
his death bed, by a London dealer in 1942 to William Inglis
Morse, the son of Samuel F. B. Morse the painter and inven-
tor, from whom they passed to Morse's son-in-law Professor
Frederick Hilles, who gave them about 1955 to Professor Har-
old Bloom (from whose letter to me of 22 July 2003 all this
information derives).

Letters (1791-1829)
18 January 1808 to Ozias Humphry (A)
History: Offered in Roy Davids' catalogue (March 2000) of his
exhibition at the Fine Art Society (London) called "The Artist
as a Portrait," #10 (first and last pages reproduced, £40,000),
and sold to an anonymous private collector, according to
Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2003," Blake 37.4
(spring 2004): 120.

Marriage of Heaven and Hell (1790)
Editions
The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. (Maastricht, Holland, 1928)
<BB #106> It was edited by P. N. van Eyck, printed by Joh.
Enschede with Jan van Krimpen's Lutetia type, and published by
Alexandre Alphonse Marius Stols at his Halcyon Press in 325 copies, "a
brilliant example of their superior craftsmanship," according to
Oskar Wellsen. "A Dutch Bibliophile Edition of The Marriage of
Heaven and Hell (1928)," Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 104-07.

*Nisuʾe haʾ-eden vejušaʾeʾol. Tr. Giora Leshem. (Tel Aviv:
Eked, 1967/68). In Hebrew. <BBS p. 100> B. § (Tel Aviv: G.
Leshem, 1997).

§El Matrimonio del Cielo y del Infierno. Traducción de Soledad
In Spanish. <Blake (2002)>
The prólogo is reprinted from Luis Cernuda, "William
Blake," Pensamiento poético en la lírica inglesa (Siglo XIX)
(Mexico City): Imprenta Universitaria, 1958.
The work was apparently reprinted in El Matrimonio del
Cielo y del Infierno y Cantos de Inocencia y de Experiencia, tr.
Soledad Capurro (Madrid, 1979). <BBS p. 158>

Poetical Sketches (1783)
Newly Recorded Copy

Copy Q?
History: A previously unknown copy, not corresponding
to the only ones in private hands, was evaluated by Ursus
Books (New York), according to Robert N. Essick, "Blake in

Songs of Experience
§Songs of Experience. Photographs by Joel-Peter Witkin. Po-
ems by William Blake. Essay by John Wood. (No place: Leo &
"Edition of 65 copies; "Opened at $7500—SOLD OUT—
Closed at $15,000," "18" x 15" and weighs over 14 pounds," according to The Journal of Contemporary Photography 21st online.

Songs of Innocence
§Songs of Innocence. Photographs by Joel-Peter Witkin. Po-
ems by William Blake. (No place: Leo & Wolfe Photography,
Inc., [2002]) Platinum Series.
"65 numbered copies and 5 lettered copies, 10 initialed,
bound platinum prints" on "basswood clamshell box 18" x
15" ... currently $12,000," "Text by John Wood," [sic] accord-
ing to The Journal of Contemporary Photography 21st online.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience
Copy P
History: On the death of Sir Paul Getty on 17 April 2003, the
Wormsley Estate and Library passed to the Wormsley Foun-
dation, perhaps permanently.

Contemporary Facsimile
Copy Beta
By the courtesy of its owner, a new examination was made of
the watercolored thin paper guest leaves (mounted on thick
paper host leaves watermarked J WHATMAN | 1821). A flash-
light shining through the host and guest leaves, the latter ex-
tensively colored, revealed the following watermarks on the
guest leaves:20

EEN | 0 (both "E"s and the "0" uncertain, the "0" under the first
hypothetical "E") on Pl. 22, first page of "Spring"

PINE on Pl. 54, "The Voice of the Ancient Bard"

RUSE & on Pl. 15, "Laughing Song"
[THOMAS on Pl. 12, "The Chimney Sweeper" from Innocence
(but bound in Experience)

[TURNER on Pl. 53, "The School Boy"

Blake used paper from the same papermakers for his own
works, though the paper he used was thick and heavy, un-
like the thin leaves bearing the watercolors for Songs facsimile
Beta.

20. Pace BBS p. 132, which says that there is no watermark on the
colored guest leaves.

21. According to the cumulative table of watermarks in paper used
by Blake in his writings, drawings, and printing, Blake 31.4 (spring 1998):
171-73.

Summer 2004
Section B: Collections and Selections


It includes poems from Poetical Sketches (14), Songs of Innocence (17), Songs of Experience (15), and others (17).

"how do we know but ev'ry bird that cuts the airy way, / Is an immense world of delight clos'd to your senses five? From 'the marriage of heaven and hell.'" (London: Spoon Print Press, 2002).

A folded leaf in the shape of a bird with designs by Linda Anne Landers.

In England's Green and Pleasant Land. Illustrated by Julie Haigh. ([No place] Bradford and Ilkley Community College, 1986) 4v, 14 loose leaves printed on one side only, in a portfolio; no ISBN.


Luis Cernuda, "William Blake" is reprinted from Pensamiento poético en la lirica inglesa (Siglo XIX) (Mexico [City]: Imprenta Universitaria, 1958).


"William Blake, Vida y obra" (5-8), "Poesia completa" (9-278) consisting only of Poetical Sketches, Island in the Moon (poems only), Thel, Tiriel, Songs, Rossetti ms. poems, French Revolution, and Marriage of Heaven and Hell.


Songs of Innocence. (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1911) square 12s, with paper covers (as on the title page) folded over pasteboard. <BB #155, mistakenly listed under Songs of Innocence>

Despite the title, the text includes poems from Songs of Experience and Blake's Notebook. There are seven charming pasted-on sepia vignettes on india paper, apparently from 18th-century engravings, the initial letter to each poem is printed in red, "A Poison Tree" in Experience (56-57) is entitled "Christian Forbearance" (as in Notebook p. 114), and "A Cradle Song" (from Notebook p. 114) is inserted in Experience without Blake's authorization.


The poems are all from Songs of Experience.


Preface (7-15), chronology (367-82).


Review


In 2003 there is no preface, notes, index, reproduction, or acknowledgements, though there is a "Chronology of Blake's Life and Times" ([150-53]).


William Blake Archive (www.blakearchive.org)

They announce the additions of a biography of Blake by Denise Vultee and the editors, with 109 reproductions; Alexander S. Gourlay, glossary of Blake terms; and a chronology of Blake's life and works: Urizen (B); the engravings for Blair's Grave (1808) and Blake's own engraving of "Death's Door"; Blake's designs to Milton's "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (Thomas set in the Whitworth Gallery, Manchester); and Paradise Regained.

Part II: Reproductions of Drawings and Paintings

Section A: Illustrations of Individual Authors

John Milton, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity"
The drawings were reproduced in the William Blake Archive.

John Milton, Paradise Lost

Ackroyd's "Preface" (ix-x) is about Milton and Blake, Wain's introduction about Milton. The reproductions are from the larger, Butts set (Butlin #536).

John Milton, Paradise Regained
The drawings were reproduced in 2003 in the William Blake Archive.

Section B: Selections and Collections


Yishu tashi shijii huanglang is a series (100 volumes) with one volume per "Master."

Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Robert Blair, The Grave (1808 ...)

New Locations: A or B (1808) University Art Museum (Kyoto City University of Arts); D (1870) G. E. Bentley, Jr. (portfolio of engravings only, no text, in a cover blind-stamped with designs identical to those on the GEB copy of the Hotten 1870 facsimile, the prints with the same variants of lettering [replacing the Spanish of 1826] as in 1870, e.g., "'Tis" [lacking the apostrophe] in the quotation for pl. 7, "The descent of Man.

The Blair engravings (1808) and the separate print of "Death's Door" engraved by Blake were added to the William Blake Archive in 2003.

Drawings
History: Blake made "a set of 40 drawings from Blair's poem of the Grave 20 of which he [Cromek] proposes [to] have engraved by the Designer and to publish them" (according to Flaxman's letter of 18 October 1805); Cromek bought twenty drawings for £21 (according to his letter to Blake of May 1807), commissioned Louis Schiavonetti to engrave them, and published them in 1808; after Cromek's death in 1812 the drawings, copperplates, and copyright passed to his widow Elizabeth Hartley Cromek, who promptly sold the copperplates and copyright for £120 to Ackermann (who published the prints in 1813 and 1826); she vainly offered the watercolors on 3 February 1813 to William Roscoe "with other curious Drawings of his, valued at thirty Pounds and likely to sell for a great deal more if ever the man should die"; the Blair watercolors were sold at C. B. Tait's auction in Edinburgh with the property of Thomas Sivright of Meggetland, 10 February 1836, Lot 1835 ("Volume of Drawing, by Blake Illustrative of Blair's Grave, entitled 'Black Spirits and White, Blue Spirits and Grey'"), for £1.5.0; acquired by John Stannard (1794-1882), watercolor artist of Bedford, from whom it passed to his son Henry John Stannard (1840-1920), watercolor artist, thence to his grandson Henry John Sylvester Stannard (1870-1951), and from him to John's great-grandson, "and then a

23. BR (2) 315.
24. This title was not with the designs when they were rediscovered in 2001.
nephew in Glasgow”;23 “The portfolio was finally sold [as colored prints] in 2000, as part of a small family library, to Caledonia Books, a general second-hand bookshop in Glasgow … run by Maureen Smillie” who offered them at £1,000; in April 2001 the portfolio was acquired by Dr. Paul Williams of Fine Books, Ilkley, Yorkshire, who associated Jeffrey Bates of the Leeds bookshop of Bates & Hindmarch with the purchase; the portfolio was offered for £2,000,000 (later raised to £4,200,000 plus £700,000 tax) to the Tate, but the sale was held up by a lawsuit initiated by Caledonia Books (claiming that the portfolio had not been purchased but simply taken on approval); the suit was resolved when Messrs. Williams and Bates agreed to share the profits with Caledonia Books, and the portfolio was abruptly sold through Libby Howie to an unidentified buyer in the United States, though in November 2003 the drawings remain in a bank vault in London.

Edition

There is no title page or text of Blair, but it includes reproductions of the engravings, “To the Queen” and “Of the Designs.”

Jacob Bryant, A New System, or An Analysis of Ancient Mythology (1774-75)
Edition
§(New York: Garland, 1979)

George Cumberland, Thoughts on Outline (1796)
New Location: Bibliothèque nationale.

Erasmus Darwin, The Botanic Garden (1791) <BB #450> Plate 1, “The Fertilization of Egypt”: A new sketch (of the sistrum only) on the verso of the previously known one was reported and reproduced by Robert N. Essick and Rosamund A. Paice, “Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum,” Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 84-100.

William Hayley, Designs to a Series of Ballads (1802)

25. Martin Bailey, “From £1,000 to £10 Million in Two Years for Newly Discovered Blake Watercolours,” Art Newspaper, which I have seen only online at <http://www.thenewspaper.com/news/article.asp?art=11077>; this is the source for all the Stannard provenance and some details of the sales in 2001-03.

See also entries for Karin Goodwin; Anon., “Lost Blake Paintings Fetch £5m …”; Anon., “Blake Paintings May Leave UK …”; Will Bennett; and Anon., “Collector Buys Lost Blake Paintings for £5 Million … .”

The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book,
For the Year of our Lord 1783 ([1782])
<BB #479, BBS pp. 232-34>
A copy of Blake’s engraving of “A Lady in the full Dress, & another in the most fashionable Undress now worn,” [T]S del., W.B. sc, is in an oblong octavo nonce collection of 18th and early 19th-century fashion plates pasted in chronological order on both sides of stiff, unwatermarked paper acquired in 2003 by Robert N. Essick.

Edward Young, Night Thoughts (1797)
New Locations: Bibliothèque nationale; University Art Museum (Kyoto City University of Arts).

Part IV: Catalogues and Bibliographies

1919

Review

1983


9 November 2000-11 February 2001;
27 March-24 June 2001

Reviews

15 October 2001-14 January 2002

There are sections on Blake ("Blake ou le mal(e) absolu"), Fuseli, Goya, and Romney, inter alia.

Summer 2004
March-May 2002


A flier contrasting Blake’s “remarkably unmarketable dreamworlds of his prophetic illuminated books” with the “commercial works . . . after his own designs” exhibited here, including Blair’s Grave, Hayley’s Ballads (1805), Young’s Night Thoughts (1797), Illustrations of the Book of Job, and Blake’s separate portrait of Lavater.

Review

Wendy Leopold, “Presenting the Commercial Mr. Blake,” Northwestern University Observer online 18.5, 24 Oct. 2002 <http://www.northwestern.edu/univ-relations/observer/stories/10_24_02/blake.html> (says the exhibition was October-21 December 2002).

19 January-25 May 2003


A sampling of captions from the 198 entries [33 from the collection of Robert Essick]; there was no separate catalogue.

Notices, Reviews, etc.


*Leah Ollman, “He Set Imagination Free: William Blake’s complex metaphysics inspired ridicule in his lifetime. But for artists today, he simply inspires,” Los Angeles Times 19 Jan. 2003: E56. There are separate sections with comments about Blake by the artists DeLiss McGraw (Blake’s “best work is embarrassing,” therefore good), Tom Knechtel (“Blake is how I think”), Nancy Jackson (“He . . . went into the darkness, the unknown . . . and he sent back messages that we can all learn from”), and Sharon Ellis (“It’s this clarity of vision . . . that continues to stir”).


15 March 2003-25 January 2004


David Bindman, “William Blake” (338); the Blakes are #144-54, and #171-74 are Flaxman drawings for Dante, The Odyssey, and Aeschylus.

27 November-27 December 2003


Anon. “The Glad Days in the Reception of Blake in Japan.” 5-6, 56. “Our Exhibition aims to show how Blake was received in the early period of his introduction into Japan, mainly through documents.”


His 52 Blakes went mostly to Kyoto City University of Arts.

The catalogue entries, first in English and then in Japanese, are by Kozo Shioe and Yumiko Goto. Each section begins with a short essay.


See also entry below for The International Blake Conference (2003).

2003


The Blakes are #1-24.

2003


403 Blake entries at $3.95 to $68,750 and “Price on application,” including his tempera of “The Virgin Hushing the Young John the Baptist” (1799), Job, Blair’s Grave (1808, 1813, 1870) (6 copies), and Stedman’s Surinam (1796) with contemporary coloring.
Part V: Books Owned by William Blake of London (1757-1827)

Joseph Thomas, Religious Emblems (1809) <BB #746> “William Blake, Esq.” also appears in the prospectus for the book:

$Proposals for Publishing by Subscription a Series of Engravings on Wood, from Scriptural Subjects in the Manner of Quarles's Emblems ... after the design[s] of J. Thurston Esq. and Executed by the most eminent engravers on wood

26

Notice that the designer is identified as “J. Thurston Esq.”, making it seem more likely that “William Blake, Esq.” is the poet and designer, despite the unusual honorific.

Part VI: Criticism, Biography, and Scholarly Studies


Review


According to Altizer’s new “Afterword” (2001-09 of the 2000 edition), the chief changes needed in the book are taking into account the “proliferating” Blake scholarship and criticism; the integral relationship of “Blake’s vision and the Christian epic tradition”; and the “extraordinarily complex” nature of “Blake’s relationship to Gnosticism” (201, 204).


About the Blair watercolors.


A sign-writer is on the ground floor and a “waistcoat tailor” is on the next floor up a “very narrow stairway.”

Anon. “Lost Blake Paintings Fetch £5m: A clutch of William Blake watercolours which were found in a second-hand bookshop have sold for £5m.” BBC News 19 Feb. 2003 and <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2781267.stm>.

About the sale of the Blair watercolors to an overseas buyer.


A reproduction of “The Ancient of Days” provided by Dapeng Kao with an essay: “She de zhuhan [Biography of the Snake].”


On time and eternity.


On Kathleen Raine (d. 6 July 2003), dealing largely with her work on Blake and quoting letters from her to Ansari about Blake.


*Bailey, Martin. “From £1,000 to £10 Million in Two Years for Newly Discovered Blake Watercolours: A set of 19 watercolours by William Blake was sold to a Glasgow bookshop for a pittance in 2000. It was then recognized and sold to an overseas collector. An export licence deferral is now expected and Tate would like to acquire it.” Art Newspaper online 2003 <http://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/article.asp?dart=11037>.

An account full of original matter about the ownership and sale of Blake’s watercolors for Blair’s Grave.

An impressive and learned essay arguing that "Blake engages the Hebraic, Christian, and English prophetic traditions in a spectacular and highly self-conscious way" (128).


About the Blake watercolors.


Evidence that "the story of Blake and his wife napped in the garden is not true" (118).


The paperback is a reprint with only trifling changes, chiefly the omission of the gorgeous endpapers and the addition of information about the newly discovered Blair drawings (483). Reviews

Paul Miner, Albion 34.4 (winter 2002): 661-63. (A "superlative work" with a "tight focus," "lucid, highly interesting, and sometimes touching"); "No other biography on Blake stands this tall" [662, 662, 661].)

Andrew Elfenbein, "Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century," Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 42.4 (2002): 837-903. ("While Bentley’s book is definitive in the amount and accuracy of the information it presents, it is not easy to get from it a sense of Blake’s inner life and development"); with "136 plates of high quality," it gives "an excellent visual summary of Blake’s art" [846].


Anon., Independent on Sunday 13 April 2003. (A "perceptive and forceful study" which recognizes that "Blake’s genius was above all pictorial.")

Sherazad Cana, Aligarh Critical Miscellany 12.2 (2000 [Autumn 2003]): 201-08. ("William Blake has been brought alive before us in such an inspired way that it almost seems that the biographer too has been included in Blake’s great visionary company.")

Nelson Hilton, Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 107-11. (The book is "the most useful and reliable guide to Blake’s life," "an epitome of scholarship" exhibiting remarkable "sensitivity to tone and content," "a glorious capstone to his [Bentley’s] labors" [108].)


Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

W. H. Stevenson. “The Sound of ‘Holy Thursday.’” 137-40. (About the music played at the ceremony in St Paul’s.)


Eugenie R. Freed. Review of Barbara Lachman, Voices for Catherine Blake (2000). 149-51. (This “fictionalized autobiography” in a “diversity of narrative voices” is “only intermittently successful”; Lachman “should at least get the historical parameters right.”)

Newsletter

Anon. 151. (Mostly an invitation to “visit the newsletter section of our web site at www.blakequarterly.org.”)

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly
studies are impressively and increasingly international and polyglot" [5].
*David Duff. "Muir's Facsimiles and the Missing Visions," 32-34. (He reproduces an "Extra plate in the Aberdeen copy, showing Muir's [watercolored ms.] rendition of a detail from 'The Ancient of Days'.")
Alexander S. Gourlay. "'Man on a Drinking Horse': A Print by Thomas Butts, Jr." 35-36. (A newly discovered work by Blake's student, printed c. 1942.)

Reviews
Nelson Hilton. Review of K. E. Smith, An Analysis of William Blake's Early Writings and Designs to 1790 (1999), 36-38. ("Some useful contextualization notwithstanding, this effort does not live up to its claim to offer An Analysis" [38].)

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly
Volume 37, no. 2 (Fall [October] 2003)
*Rosamund A. Paice. "Encyclopaedic Resistance: Blake, Rees's Cyclopædia, and the Laocoön Separate Plate." 44-62. (She suggests "that the Laocoön plate was begun as a commercial plate, and that it may have been more than just a by-product of the Rees commission" [60].)
*Sheila A. Spector. "Blake's Graphic Use of Hebrew." 63-79. ("Believing in the Adamic theory of language, Blake incorporated Hebraisms into his verbal art ... Blake seems to have unified all of his earlier experimentation around the concept of the aelf" [78]. According to Anon., "Corriganeda," Blake 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 111, the reproductions of "Laocoön" and "Job's Evil Dream" are from the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, not the Library of Congress.)

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly
Volume 37, no. 3 (Winter 2003-04)
*Robert N. Essick and Rosamund A. Paice. "Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum." 84-100. (The nine slight pencil drawings [all reproduced] were discovered on the versos of Blake drawings and prints when they were dismounted; they include designs for Thel pl. 6 on the verso of a design for the same subject, the sistrum in Fuseli's "The Fertilization of Egypt" engraved by Blake for Darwin's Botanic Garden (1791) on the verso of Fuseli's sketch for the whole design, and unrelated designs on the versos of Europe (a) pls. 1 and 18, one for Blake's colorprint of "God Judging Adam.")
*Alexander S. Gourlay. "'Friendship,' Love, and Sympathy in Blake's Grave Illustrations." 100-04. (Gourlay proposes that, among the newly discovered watercolors for Blair, the one of eight floating female figures should be called "Friendship" and the one of two men in hats walking along a road, inscribed "Friendship," should be called "There's no bye-road to bliss"; both are reproduced.)

Oskar Wellens. "A Dutch Bibliophile Edition of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (1928)." 104-07. (The Marriage of Heaven and Hell <BB #106> was edited by P. N. van Eyck, printed by Joh. Enschedé with Jan van Kripen's Lutetia type, and published by Alexandre Alphonse Marius Stols at his Halcyon Press in 325 copies, "a brilliant example of their superior craftsmanship.")

Review

Newsletter
Anon. "Corriganeda." 111. (In Sheila A. Spector, "Blake's Graphic Use of Hebrew," Blake 37.2 [fall 2003], the reproductions of "Laocoön" and "Job's Evil Dream" are from the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, not the Library of Congress, according to Robert N. Essick.)

*Biography of William Blake." 12-16.
*"Critical Analysis of 'The Tyger.'" 17-19
*"Critical Views on 'The Tyger.'"
*"Stewart Crehan on 'The Tyger' as a Sign of Revolutionary Times." 32-33. (From his Blake in Context [1984] 104-106. <BBS p. 444>.
*"Critical Analysis of 'London.'" 41-43.

Summer 2004
“Critical Views on ‘London’”


“Critical Views on ‘The Mental Traveller’”


“Harold Bloom on ‘The Mental Traveller’ as Standing Alone.” 74-77. (From his Blake’s Apocalypse [1963] 289-92. <BB #1227>)

“Alicia Ostriker on Sound and Structure.” 77-78. (From her Vision and Verse in William Blake [1965] 94-99. <BB #2335>)


“Critical Views on ‘The Crystal Cabinet’”


“Kathleen Raine on Alchemy in ‘The Crystal Cabinet.’” 99-102. (From her Blake and Tradition [1968] 274-76. <BB #2478>)

“Critical Analysis of ‘The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.’” 103-06.

“Critical Views on ‘The Marriage of Heaven and Hell’”


Comparison of Blake with Jung "and his modern interpreter, James Hillman" in the context of Rousseau.


See Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi, "Response."


Description of Blake's life, his engravings, paintings, writings, from a comparative point of view.


Discussion of the two "Chimney Sweeper" s, the two "Holy Thursday" s, "The Little Black Boy," and "London."


An account of his experience visiting exhibits of Blake's poetry and painting. For a response, see Mu Yang.


An "essentially psychological" argument focusing on The Four Zoas based on "lipót Szondi's theory of mental functioning, more precisely the personality typology based on the Szondi test" or "system of drives" which "revives the age-old theory of physiognomy by assuming that one can determine character by facial appearance." (14, 45).


Using as her "main framework" "Lipót Szondi's theory of ... personality typology," she concludes that "Urizen has an intrinsically progressive role in The Four Zoas." (132, 150).


Directories?


W. Holden's Triennial Directory for 1802, 1803, 1804 (London, 1802) for "Blake and Son, hosiers and haberdashers, 28, Broad st. Soho"

20 Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly
[P.] Boyle’s City & Commercial Companion to the Court Guide for the Year 1803 (London, 1803) at Change alley, Lombard St
[W.] Holden’s Triennial Directory (1799); ... for 1802, 1803, 1804 (1802); ... for 1805, 1806, 1807 (1805); ... for 1817, 1818, 1819 (1817); ... for 1822, 1823, 1824 (1822) at 16, ‘Change Alley, Cornhill
Kent’s Directory For the Year 1808 (1808); ... (1810); ... (1815); ... (1816) at 16, ‘Change Alley, Cornhill
New Annual Directory For the Year 1801 (1801); ... (1803); ... (1806); ... (1807); ... (1808); ... (1809); ... (1810); ... (1811); ... (1812); ... (1813); ... (1814); ... (1815) “Engraver & Printer, 16, Change alley”
The Post-Office Annual Directory (1812), Engraver and Printer, 16, Change-alley (p. 34)

For Butts:
The Universal British Directory, V (1797): “Mrs Butts” in Great Marlborough Street
New Annual Directory For the Year 1806 (London, 1806), ... 1807 (London, 1807), ... 1808 (London, 1808), ... 1809 (London, 1809), ... 1810 (London, 1810), ... 1811 (London, 1811), ... 1812 (London, 1812), ... 1813 (London, 1813), ... 1814 (London, 1814), ... 1815 (London, 1815): “Butts Thos. Commissary of Musters, office, Whitehall”; (1817) at 53, Parliament-street; (1819) at Duke-str. Westminster

For Rev. Mr. Mathew, 27 Rathbone Place
Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction, in London, Westminster, &c (London [1796])
The Universal British Directory, V (1797)


Review
R. Paul Yoder, Studies in Romanticism 42 (2003): 405-12 ("We should be grateful ... but we might also wish that he had interrogated his own argument with the same rigor he attempts to bring to Jerusalem” [412]).


Susan J. Wolfson. “Blake’s Language in Poetic Form.” 63-84. ("His poetry is unprescribed, delivered by inspiration alone," characterized by "intensely performative antiformalism" [63, 65].)
David Bindman. “Blake as a Painter.” 85-109. (An admirably comprehensive account.)
Jon Mee. “Blake’s Politics in History.” 133-49. (A sophisticated argument that “Blake was always a deeply political writer” [133].)

[Part] II: Blake’s Works
*Andrew Lincoln. “From America to The Four Zoas.” 210-30. (A useful summary.)
Robert N. Essick. “Jerusalem and Blake’s Final Works.” 251-71. ("Is Jerusalem unreadable? ... Blake questions the very grounds of understanding” [251, 252].)
Alexander Gourlay. “Seeing Blake’s Art in Person.” 294-95. (About where Blake’s originals are and why one should see them.)

Review


29. See also Alexander S. Gourlay, glossary of Blake terms (2003) in the William Blake Archive.


The political contexts of the ceremony at St. Paul's “can illuminate our responses to Blake's poem” (540).


An attempt to “recover the pictorialist conventions that shape both Milton's and Blake's expulsion scenes” (157).


“As a medical doctor” in 1986, he concludes that “Blake's poetry and paintings present classic illustrations of the schizophrenic experience. So far as I know, these are the best, most beautiful, and most meaningful ones ever created. They are great value by themselves. ... We can look to the schizophrenic experience to understand Blake's works.”


Impressively detailed and original.


About the views of the afterlife of Byron and Blake.


On the sale by Libby Howie of the Blair watercolors.


Review


An interesting but not persuasive argument that “Blake withdrew The French Revolution [1791] himself ... because he had decided to publish a much more seditious work,” i.e., America (1793) “primarily through the influence of, and his support for, Paine” (17).


In Japanese. D. (1965) <BB #1819C>


In Japanese. C. (1965) <BB #1820B>


Reviews

Margaret Storch, Blake 37.1 (summer 2003): 38-39. (“Hobson's book opens up the important topic of Blake and homosexuality as never before [showing] Blake's empathy with male homosexuality.”)


Hogarth, William. ANECDOTES | OF | WILLIAM HO- GARTH, | WRITTEN BY HIMSELF; | WITH | ESSAYS ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS, AND CRITICISMS ON HIS WORKS, | SELECTED FROM WALPOLE, GILPIN, I. IRE- LAND, LAMB, PHILLIPS, AND OTHERS, | TO WHICH ARE ADDED | A CATALOGUE OF HIS PRINTS; ACCOUNT OF THEIR VARIATIONS, AND PRINCIPAL COPIES; LISTS OF
PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS, &c. | | | | [Motto from Juvenal] | [dragon vignette] | | | LONDON: | J.B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET. | | | | 1833. Small 4'.

For Blake's Beggars' Opera plate (174-75) it records the etched state, 29 Oct. 1788 (174) and the four states: etching, finished proof, 'open letters,' and letters filled up (323), apparently the first such record.


Very interesting parallels between Blake and John Hutchinson (1674-1737), whose "project was to attribute a trinitarian, Christian meaning to one of the Hebrew names for God, 'Elohim'" (note "Triple Elohim," of Milton pl. 11, l. 22); "Blake's reading of the Pentateuch was undoubtedly coloured by Hutchinsonian interpretations of it" (21).


"Blake and the Emblem" (132-39); the subject of "Blake and the emblem is fascinating but elusive" (132).


A "painting" of a uniformed man chiselling a tombstone with his horse by his side is identified on the verso as by "Flaxman" and entitled "The Iliad," but Ken Matthews thinks it is by Blake.


Appreciation and analysis of "London."


The contents are proposals for papers, all save the "plenary" papers of Worrall and Shaffer being 20 minutes long:  


David Fuller. "Madness as 'Other': Blake and the Sanity of Dissidence [Madness as 'Other']." 16.

Yumiko Goto. "The Shirakaba Group and the Early Reception of Blake's Art Works in Japan." 17. An examination of how their exhibitions (1915, 1919) "came to be staged and their influence on the art worlds of Tokyo and Kyoto" as well as "the image of Blake which the Shirakaba group ... built up from their writings."

Thomas Grundy. "Ontological Difference and the Libera- tion of Representation in Blake's America." 18. "America is as much about the liberation of America from King George's tyranny as it is about the liberation of mythology from the tyranny of the Priesthood."


Koaru Kohayashi. "Interpretation of Blake's Philosophy in Japan through the Changes of Translation of the Poem 'The

30. In the separate one-leaf program of the conference, some titles are different; they are identified below within square brackets. A few (not recorded below) omit subtitles; no title is given for Connolly, Phillips, Tamblyn, Taylor, and Turner; and Georgia Dimitrakopoulou appears on the shorter list but not on the longer one.
Blake's Bible designs "form a lively critical commentary on the scriptures" (37).


Jose, Chiramel P. "Blake's Published 'Theory of Art' and His Praxis." Aligarh Journal of English Studies 17 (1995): 29-47. <$Blake (2003)> Because "Blake wanted to communicate through the media of all the arts in a composite manner ... [he] may not be and probably cannot be hedged by the ut pictura poesis tradition or the ut musica poesis tradition or any other tradition" (45).


On Blake's creative activity as "the possibility of human salvation" and the quality of his works as "visionary and imaginative."


On Blake's world view.


On image-text relations.


“[I propose yet another reading of Urizen's name ... Urezin] or ['Rezin'] (411) with an analysis of The Book of Urizen in terms of resin, "Urizen as stop-out varnish" (422).


Eugenie R. Freed, Blake 36.4 (spring 2003): 149-151 (this "fictionalized autobiography" in a "diversity of narrative voices" is "only intermittently successful"; Lachman "should at least get the historical parameters right").

“Auguries of Innocence,” The Four Zoas, Milton, and Jerusalem, with translations of some poems (e.g., “To Autumn”).


A comparison of the Chinese poet-painter Wang Meng (c. 1308-85) and Blake.


A critical study of the Songs.


Jason Snart, Blake 36.4 (spring 2003): 144-48 (the book is “most valuable” for its “analysis of Blake’s use of metaphor and rhetorical devices” [146]).


About ambiguities in the aphorism on the title page of The Four Zoas.


A politically sensitive study, particularly of America; “In considering the 1790s, then, we need to keep sight of distinctions among varieties of radical ideology” (26).


Review


Scripts of a television series on St. Augustine, Pascal, Blake, Kierkegaard, Tolstoy, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer: “I came to see them as God’s spies” (14 [1976]).


Reviews

Summer 2004


A summary of the poetry.


A densely factual and original reconstruction with diagrams of the rooms in which Blake’s exhibition was held and of the order and exact placement of the pictures one flight above his brother’s shop at 28 Broad Street. Doubtless more of the facts supporting his hypotheses are given in his York M.A. thesis called “Window to the World: A Study of William Blake’s 1809 One-Man Exhibition” (2001).


Review


“This book is a study of the representation of writing in the works of William Blake,” about “the way in which the graphic and the oral are used as conceptual fields in Blake’s works” (9, 27).


“There can be no doubt at all, I think, that what most appealed to Blake in Swedenborg’s doctrines was the notion of a new era... [sic] that he valued it not because it was a startlingly original teaching but precisely because it was in keeping with a much older tradition of mystical prophecy.”


It is an attempt “to think through Blake’s ‘Celtism,’” to examine “a set of Celtic allusions in Blake’s work—almost entirely in Jerusalem” (56).


An examination of the "complex" contexts of the "Chimney Sweeper" poems in *Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience*.


Especially about joy in Blake; “Blake was a subtle, profound and skilled comic writer” whose “work seems to pulse with comic energy” (2, 1).

Review


On epiphany.

Rix, Robert W. “Blake’s SONG OF LIBERTY.” *Explicator* 60 (2002): 131-34.

The “Brethren” who are “accepted” and “free” are Freemasons.


The essay is translated in Blake no katoba [Aphoristic Words from Blake], ed. Soetsu Yanagi (1921) (in Japanese).


Winstanley and Blake belong “to a long line of Christian radicals who … [stress] the ability of all people to understand the ways of God” (149).


About Blake’s watercolors for Gray.


About “the relationship between his [Yanagi’s] study of William Blake and his folk craft movement.”


“A manera de prólogo” (5-6 [2000]). Alphabetic accounts of hard names.


The drawings for Blair’s Grave were “found by chance [by two book dealers] in a second-hand [Glasgow] bookshop”; “The Tate Gallery had been prepared to pay £4.9 million for them, but a dealer [Libby Howie] acting for an anonymous client” bought them for a trifle more.


Smith, K. E. An Analysis of William Blake’s Early Writings and Designs to 1790, Including SONGS OF INNOCENCE. 1999 <Blake ($2000, 2001)>

Review Nelson Hilton, Blake 37.1 (summer 2003): 36-38 ("Some useful contextualization notwithstanding, this effort does not live up to its claim to offer ‘An Analysis’”) [38].


Especially about the authorship and handwriting in the marginallia to Lavater’s Aphorisms: “What I have tried to show here is the degree to which textual and material issues pervade the marginallia” (153).


“PREFACE: Blake on the Origin of Creativity and Understanding” (ix-xiii). The book is a “quest for the new vision in which Blake specializes” (1), especially in Chapter 1: “Exploring the Worlds within the Mind” (1-45).

Spector, Sheila A. “Glorious incomprehensible”. The Development of Blake’s Kabbalistic Language. (2001); "Wonders Di-

Reviews


“Extract from Text and Plate of the American Edition of Boydell’s Illustrations of Shakespeare” (I, 1-10), about the “melancholy” life of William Blake in Cunningham (3).


A figure-by-figure summary. Appendix 1 in 2003 (369-78) gives the section on Chaucer from Blake’s Descriptive Catalogue.


This is presumably his M.A. thesis with the same title at Humboldt State University (Arcata, California).


Contributions by Sanetsu Mushanokoji, “[On Blake]” 4-5; Motomaro Senge, “[On Blake]” 5; Ryusei Kishida, “[Blake]” 6; Kotaro Takamura, “[Blake’s Imagination]” 7; Michisei Kono, “[On Blake]” 8; Kenji Otsuki, “[Blake, a Mystic]” 9-10; Shichiro Nagai, “[On Blake]” 11; Sokichi Hirose, “[My Recollection of Blake]” 12; Tatsuo Moriuchi, “[Blake’s Eyes]” 13; Kohei Ara, “[Blake and Myth]” 14; Takeo Sumida, “[On Blake]” 15-16.


Comparisons between the Jerusalem of Blake (1804-20) and of Moses Mendelssohn (1783).


A study in general of English Romanticism and in particular of Blake’s Marriage, Innocence, etc.


“Blake’s ever-changing binary opposition... has so mastered him that in his works all concepts involving the numbers three or four can be reduced to two basal dialectical concepts.”


“Blake’s female antivisionaries in his later poems ... are grounded in the realities of the age” (8).

Voting


1774: Poll Book. On 12 October 1774 the poet’s father “James Blake Broad S’Carnaby Mark’ Hosier & Haberdasher” voted for Earl Percy [Col. Hugh Percy (1742-1818), son of the Duke of Northumberland, friend of the King’s party] and
Lord Clinton (not for Lord Montmorency, Lord Mahon, or Humph Coles). Percy won.


1784 April 1-May 17: The poet’s father and brother
Jas Blake Broad Street Hosier
John Blake Marshall Street Baker

voted for Fox and wasted their second vote, which could have been given for Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. (1734-1805) supported by the Tories, or Admiral Samuel Lord Hood (1724-1816).
The result was Hood 6,694, Fox 6,233, and Wray 5,998.

1788: The poet’s brother John Blake, of Marshall Street, Baker, and his sometime print-shop partner “James Parker #27 Broad Street Engraver” voted for Fox’s candidate Lord John Townsend (not Hood, the Government candidate).

1790: Blake’s sometime partner James Parker, 27 Broad Street, Engraver, voted for Fox (who won) and wasted his second vote which could have been for Hood or John Horne Tooke (1736-1812) who had opposed Fox. Though the poet as a rate-payer was eligible to vote, apparently he never did so.31


“Blake was aware of biblical structures long before the insights of formal criticism became commonplace in the twentieth century.”


Comment on the Songs and a list of books Blake read.


It is “a tapestry of fact and fiction” in which the carefully reported facts come from the poet’s life and writings and the fiction is Kate’s notebook, poems (some of the lines in Vala are hers), visions, her forgeries of Flaxman and Fuseli, her French lover Paul-Marc Phillipon (369, 370), Blake’s affair with the actress and singer Elizabeth Billington, his indulgence in opium and other drugs, and a good deal of sexual detail. There are “Biographical Notes” on real people (365-68) and “Author’s Note” (369-71). The fiction is often persuasive: “There are no Evil Spirits, Kate. There are only Human Spirits” (8).

In 2001, an extract about Catherine’s stillborn child called “Blake’s Wife” appeared on the Blake web site. <Blake (2002)>


About Blake’s “relationship to Indic culture in three ... contexts: the political [Chapter 1], the mythographic [Chapter 2], and the theological [Chapter 3]” largely “as conveyed to Blake through the medium of the Analytical Review” (16, 36).

Appendix A is “Mythographic Material from Joseph Priestley’s *Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos*” (129-31) (mostly lists of names and books). Appendix B is “Synopsis of The Four Zoas” (133-42).


A life of Blake plus notes and comments on the Songs.


Review


Thorough and reliable.


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31. These voting records are recorded in *Blake Records*, second edition (2004) 736-37 (1774, 1780, 1784, 1788), 741n (1788, 1790), 742 (1784, 1788), 840 (1749, 1774), 841 (1774, 1784, 1788, 1790), and 842 (1784, 1788). The manuscript records are in Middlesex County Record Office and the printed poll books in Westminster Public Library.
It includes Blake essays by Bunjiro Shima, “Blake ni tsuite [On Blake],” 2-3 <BB #2699> (recording the name as Fujiro Shima) ; Masatoshi Kuroda, “Blake’s Illustrations to the Divine Comedy,” 5-13 <BB #2089>; and Bunsho Jugaku, “Art of William Blake,” 14-17 <BB #1969>.

**Division II: Blake’s Circle**

**Allan Cunningham (1784-1842)**
Biographer

**John Flaxman (1756-1826)**
Sculptor, intimate friend of Blake
24 April-14 June 2003


It includes:
Deanne Petherbridge, “Constructing the Trajectory of the Line.”
Anna Schultz, “From Student to Professor of Sculpture: John Flaxman and the Royal Academy.”
Alison Wright, “In the Spirit: Flaxman and Swedenborg.
Bethan Stevens, “Putting to Rights Some of the Wrecks: Nancy Flaxman’s Contributions to the Italian Journey.”
Helen Dorey, “Flaxman and Soane.”
Eckart Marchand, “The Flaxman Gallery at University College London and its History.”


Valuable for the section on Flaxman.

**Henry Fuseli (1741-1825)**
Painter, intimate friend of Blake
7 September-7 December 1997

Simona Tosini Pizzetti, “Biografia.”
Anna Ottani Cavina, “Fuga delle tenebre.”
Florens Deuchler, “Johann Heinrich Füssli, ‘Tempesta e uragano.’”
Fred Licht, “Füssli, luci e fosforescenza.”
Concerto Nicosia, “Lo spazio, il corpo, l’espressione.”
David H. Weinglass, “Le gallerie pittoriche a Londra tra il 1780 e il 1800.”

15 October 2001-14 January 2002

There are sections on Blake, Fuseli, Goya, and Romney, inter alia.


The Italian edition was published in Milan: RCS Libri, 1998.

John Linnell (1792-1882)
Painter and patron of Blake
1994


Samuel Palmer (1805-81)
Painter and disciple
Christie’s, Important British & Irish Art. 11 June 2003


Thomas Stothard (1755-1834)
Artist and friend of Blake

The contemporary popularity of the picture is probably due chiefly to “the orchestrations of publicity, endorsements, and huckstering by its proprietor, Robert Hartley Cromek” (211).

Part IV (221-23) deals somewhat summarily with Blake’s claim that Stothard stole his idea for a painting of the procession of the Canterbury Pilgrims: “There is no way to verify this claim, although Cromek certainly was capable of such theft. Cromek’s claim of the painting’s origin, as elaborated in the ‘Biographical Sketch of Robert Hartley Cromek’ in the 1813 Grave is, to say the least, fanciful,” for, among other things, it dates Cromek’s conception of “the idea of embodying the whole procession in a picture” to a time “some ten months after Cromek began exhibiting the painting in his home” (222).

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Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family

BY KERI DAVIES AND MARSHA KEITH SCHUCHARD

ABSTRACT. This paper seeks to amend and extend Keri Davies's essay on Blake's mother published in Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly in 1999.1 There, he established that Blake's mother Catherine's true maiden name was Wright, and that Thomas Armitage, her first husband, was born in Royston, Yorkshire in 1722, the son of Richard Armitage of Cudworth. Davies also produced evidence that contradicted E. P. Thompson's Muggletonian hypothesis, and speculated upon the identity of Blake's paternal grandparents. We now link Blake's mother to a very different religious community, providing further evidence about her first marriage, and correcting the assumptions Davies made in identifying Blake's grandparents. These latest discoveries about Blake's mother disclose her place of birth (Walkerningham, Nottinghamshire), the names of her parents and siblings, and her association with the Moravian sect. Documentary and autographic records in the archive of the distinctive and exceptional eighteenth-century Moravian church, some dating from many years before the poet was born, are a vivid indicator of how much of our thinking about Blake's life and early influences might need to be revised and rewritten in the future.

Biographical discussion of William Blake has long been dominated by unexamined commonplaces regarding his family background, his early religious allegiance, and other aspects of his life and personality. Three persistent topoi dominate the nearly two hundred years of biographical writing about Blake. First, present even in Malkin's A Father's Memoirs of His Child, is the question of Blake's sanity (what Malkin calls "the hue and cry of madness").2 Second, there is the belief that Blake had no contemporary audience, and thus we in posterity are Blake's true disciples. And third, the most misleading, because the least examined, the insistence that he came from a radical dissenting family.3

A recent example of the madness topoi appeared during the Tate Britain "William Blake" exhibition of 2000-01. Thomas Stuttford, the Times medical correspondent, devoted his column to a diagnosis of Blake's "schizophrenia." Stuttford wrote, "although he was obsessively hard-working, Blake was also fascinated by the mystical from an early age, which is another symptom displayed by those suffering from schizophrenia."4 As long ago as 1925, in his short witty biography of Blake, Harold Bruce commented on the mad-or-not-mad topoi:

To say confidently that Blake suffered from mythomania, or from automatism, or from occasional hyper-aesthia, or from manic-depressive tendencies, or that he did not tend 'towards a definite schizophrenia,' is to add polysyllables rather than illumination to the discussion of his state.5

The second topoi is that indicated by Alexander Gilchrist in the subtitle to his biography of 1863: pistor ignotus—the unknown painter—and with it the idea that Blake had no contemporary audience. But there is plentiful evidence of that contemporary audience. In 1794, Joseph Johnson, one of the foremost progressive publishers of the decade, was displaying Blake's books for prospective customers.6 Bentley's Blake Books lists sixty-one persons who bought copies of the illuminated books in Blake's lifetime or shortly after.7 Blair's Grave (1808) with Blake's illustrations had no fewer than 578 subscribers.

The third assumption, the dissenting topoi, first appears in Crabb Robinson's essay "William Blake, Künstler, Dichter und religiöser Schwärmer" of 1811.8 There Robinson notes that Blake belonged "von Geburt zu einer dissentirenden Gemeinde"—from birth to a dissenting sect. But this was written before Crabb Robinson ever met Blake. In the later account of Blake in Robinson's diary, there is no further indication that he belonged "zu einer dissentirenden Gemeinde." The diary account was written after Robinson had met Blake and become genuinely interested in him; Robinson records his conversations with Blake after they met in 1825 but never again does he call Blake a Dissenter.9

3. The assumption, on next to no evidence, that the Blake family belonged to some group that rejected Anglican teaching, isolated and exclusive, doctrinally eccentric, somewhat like the Muggletonians.

Alexander Gilchrist’s *Life* remains our only source for much of what we know of Blake’s biography.10 Gilchrist worked on his biography in the late 1850s when a number of people who knew Blake were still alive, and it is this first or second-hand information from those who knew Blake in his later years that gives Gilchrist’s *Life* its continuing authority. Gilchrist makes very little use of documentary sources or public records. This means that his biography is weakest for Blake’s life before he met Palmer and Linnell, Gilchrist’s chief informants, and for any information about his family.

It was not until 1906 that Arthur Symons consulted the parish registers of St. James’s Piccadilly, to establish the dates of birth of William’s brothers and sister.11 It took until 1947 for H. M. Margoliouth to locate the marriage of James and Catherine, William’s parents (James Blake married Catherine “Harmitage” at the Mayfair Chapel, 15 October 1752).12 Bentley’s *Blake Records* spreads the known information about Blake’s life over 418 pages. But the years 1757 to 1800, half of his life, occupy just the first 61 pages. Bentley adds little to Gilchrist, Symons, and Margoliouth about Blake’s childhood and parentage.

E. P. Thompson’s acclaimed *Witness against the Beast* is a recent example of the persistence of unexamined and unverified ideas in Blake studies.13 It became widely accepted that Thompson “offers plausible evidence to suggest that Blake’s mother may well have come from a family with Muggletonian connections.”14 In reality, the Muggletonians were a small Protestant sect whose membership is largely identifiable and contains no Blake relatives. Thompson does, however, make the extraordinarily important discovery that Catherine, Blake’s mother, was married twice, first to Thomas Armitage (whom Thompson calls “Hermitage”) and then to James Blake. This, in turn, led to Keri Davies’s discovery of the date of Catherine Blake’s first marriage and her true maiden name (Wright). We can now confidently say that Catherine Wright married Thomas Armitage on 14 December 1746, was widowed in 1751, and married James Blake in October 1752.

Davies suggested in 1999 that Blake’s mother was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Wright of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Assuming Catherine Wright to be a Londoner seemed the simplest explanation, the one that gave the best fit with the known data. He was misled. He had unthinkingly accepted a fourth *topos*, one given fullest elaboration by Peter Ackroyd: that of Blake the “cockney visionary”15 whom Davies assumed must have had a cockney mother.

Davies concluded in 1999 by stressing how the surviving evidence not only does not support Thompson’s claims of a Muggletonian background to the Blake family, but in fact does not even support the conventional view of the Blakes as Radical Dissenters. The research reported in this present paper is the result of a suggestion made by the nineteenth-century facsimilist William Muir regarding Blake’s early religious affiliation, which we felt warranted further investigation.16

The nature of Blake’s religious background and development has long been insufficiently defined. In 1828 John Thomas Smith reported that William Blake had not attended “any place of Divine Worship” for the last forty years of his life.17 Nancy Bogen suggests that “it seems reasonable to suppose that he was connected with a religious organization prior to that time, that is, before 1787. Indeed, Blake must have received some sort of religious training as a youth—but of what denomination remains to be seen.”18

The evidence of an Anglican marriage ceremony (though, without reading of banns or bishop’s license, it was technically “clandestine”), and baptism of children in the parish church, but later family burials at Bunhill Fields, suggests that the Blake family were originally Anglican, but that later on, after 28 January 1764 when the youngest child of the family (William’s sister Catherine) was baptized, they may have become members of some dissenting congregation.19

But another way of resolving this problem of Blake’s early religion is suggested by an item in his deathbed conversation. It seems that during the course of discussing his last wishes, he had expressed a preference for burial in Bunhill Fields, the Dissenters’ burial ground, and Mrs. Blake offered him a choice as to funeral arrangements; that is, “either he would have the Dissenting Minister, or the Clergyman of the Church of England, to read the service.”20 It’s as though Catherine, his own wife, did not know where his preferences lay. Blake, in this account, chose the Church of England. The possibl-

17. John Thomas Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828). Cited in Bentley, *Blake Records* 458. Smith (1766-1833) had known the Blake family as a boy and had, according to his own account, been a playfellow of Blake’s younger brother, Robert.
ity then raised by Nancy Bogen is that Blake and his family were Anglicans and at the same time maintained a connection with the Moravian Church.\(^{21}\) The position of this body in England during the eighteenth century was quite unusual. While it was recognized by an Act of Parliament as an episcopal church and therefore a sister to the Church of England, its members were still required to have their places of worship licensed as Dissenting chapels. In other words, they were and then again were not Dissenters. Also, having been more intent on evangelizing than proselytizing, the Moravians encouraged those who joined their congregation not to sever their tie with whatever denomination they had been born into. The Moravians were only too pleased when they could lead their adherents back to the local parish church for the ministration of the vicar.\(^{22}\) Accordingly, one could be an Anglican and a Moravian at the same time—and it turns out that a majority of the English brethren were and remained loyal members of the Church of England.

This theory of Blake’s Moravian connection was first advanced by Thomas Wright and later enlarged upon by Margaret Ruth Lowery, their informal source of information having been William Muir. It deserves a fair hearing because Muir was explicit; that is, according to him, Blake’s parents “attended the Moravian Chapel in Fetter Lane”—and such a chapel did exist, having been established around 1738. Muir and Wright suggested the influence of Moravian hymns on Blake’s Songs of Innocence and of Experience, while Lowery notes the “striking resemblance” between Blake’s “The Lamb” (E 8-9) and the Moravian James Hutton’s hymn, “O Lamb of God So Mild.”\(^{23}\)

In 1743 the names “Mr. and Mrs. Blake” appeared on the register of the Fetter Lane Society, at a time when seventy-two members formed “The Congregation of the Lamb,” a society “within the Church of England in union with the Moravian Brethren.” The Blake couple were perhaps William’s grandparents, James Blake’s parents. And it even may be that the Mr. and Mrs. Parker on the 1743 list were the parents of Blake’s later business partner, James Parker. When William Muir wrote to Margaret Ruth Lowery in 1936, claiming that Blake’s parents attended the Moravian Chapel in Fetter Lane, he may merely have seen the list transcribed by Abraham Reincke and published in 1873:

MEMBERS OF “THE FETTER LANE SOCIETY,” IN LONDON. 1743.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married Men</th>
<th>Married Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELL, WILLIAM</td>
<td>BELL, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENNETT, —</td>
<td>BENNETT, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLAKE, —</td>
<td>BLAKE, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BULLY, —</td>
<td>BULLY, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMDEN, —</td>
<td>ALTERS, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWSTERS, —</td>
<td>EWSTERS, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARMER, —</td>
<td>ASHURN, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLOOD, —</td>
<td>BROWN, (on Swan Alley).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIBBS, —</td>
<td>GIBBS, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIADMAN, THOMAS.</td>
<td>BURTON, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLENDENNING, —</td>
<td>DAY, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAY, —</td>
<td>GRAY, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARRISON, —</td>
<td>DELAMOTTE, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HASLIP, —</td>
<td>HASLIP, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUGGINS, —</td>
<td>FISH, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUGHES, —</td>
<td>HUGHES, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMES, —</td>
<td>FOOT, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JONES, OWEN,</td>
<td>FOWELL, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEWIS, —</td>
<td>FROGNALL, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN, —</td>
<td>MAN, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARSHALL, WILLIAM.</td>
<td>GRACE, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLS, —</td>
<td>MILLS, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOORE, —</td>
<td>HAROLD, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORGAN, —</td>
<td>INKS, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOSS, —</td>
<td>LANE, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEEDHAM, —</td>
<td>NEEDHAM, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUNN, —</td>
<td>NUNN, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARKER, —</td>
<td>PARKER, —</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[etc.]\(^{24}\)

On the other hand, Muir may just possibly have been drawing on some family tradition that originated with his great-great-uncle Alexander Tilloch, a friend of Blake’s, or his great-great-aunt Margaret Tilloch, Alexander’s sister.\(^{25}\)

In June 2001, M. K. Schuchard decided to take William Muir’s claims about the Moravians seriously.\(^{26}\) Informed by Davies of the existence of a Moravian Church Library and


Conceivably this could be the John Blake, perhaps James Blake’s brother or uncle, resident like him at 5 Glasshouse Street in 1743. The letter is typical of such requests for membership in the congregation; its stress on the blood and wounds of Christ is fully in accord with contemporary Moravian spirituality.

All this, of course, is speculation, but of much the greatest importance are the references to a Moravian Church member called Thomas Armitage (already established as the name of Blake’s mother’s first husband). Thus, in the Congregation Diary for 1751:

Sat. Sept. 28, 1751. Br. Armitage, being sick, and having long desired it, had the H. Communion administered to him privately. At 1:00 was Sabb[ath] L[ove] F[east] at Bloomsbury.22

Could this really be Catherine Blake’s first husband? Confirmatory data can be found in the Church Book of “The Congregation of the Lamb . . . as Settled Oct 30 1742 in London,” which contains a tabulated list of members. Thus, we find an entry for


and a few pages later (male and female sequences are kept separate in the Church Book):

Catherine Armitage M[arried] S[ister]’ | [born] Walkingham Nottingham-shire Nov: 21st 1725 | [received into the Congregation] 1750 Nov. 26 | became a Widow & left the Congregation.24

We thus see that, in 1750-51, the Moravian congregation at Fetter Lane included a young couple, Thomas and Catherine Armitage, and Thomas has the place and approximate date of birth (Rosyon, Yorkshire, 1723 for 1722), the profession (hosier), and the death in November 1751, already established for Catherine Blake’s first husband. What is more, the archive includes documents from their hands. Persons wishing to participate fully in the Congregation of the Lamb were en-

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28. Moravian Archive: Congregation Diary, vol. I (11 Nov. 1741-23 Nov. 1742). The term “slave” was frequently used for a believer’s self-humbling in imitation of Christ. In a London sermon, Zinzendorf imagined the wounded Jesus speaking to the individual:

Do you want me? Do you receive me? Am I acceptable to you? Do I please your heart? See, here I am! This is the way I look . . . For the sake of your sins I was torn, beaten, and put to death . . . Do I in this way please you? Do I please you better in the idea of a mangled slave who is thrown to the wild beasts in the circus, or in the form of the emperor who sits high on the throne and takes pleasure in the destruction of the poor creature?

29. That is, Peter Böhler (1712-75), German-born leader of the Fetter Lane community. In 1748 Böhler was consecrated bishop of the Moravian churches of America and Great Britain.
30. Moravian Archive: MS. C/36/2/168 (undated). A number of these letters conclude, as here, with a line or lines from a Moravian hymn.
31. Bentley, Blake Records 551. John Blake moved into 5 Glasshouse Street, southeast of Golden Square, Westminster, in 1743. James Blake, the poet’s father, was resident in Glasshouse Street when he voted in the 1749 by-election. As Bentley points out, the evidence that John was related to James consists simply in that they lived in the same house.
33. Moravian Archive: MS. C/36/5/1, Church Book of the Brethren: Congregation in London, 36.
34. Moravian Archive: MS. C/36/5/1, Church Book of the Brethren: Congregation in London, 45.
me that I had been seeking something else besides him, nor could I then bear the thought of hearing anything else; but of him being Crucified & of his Bleeding wounds, which I Experienced very Sweet & the only food for my Soul then; I am but very poor in my Self & weak and find my Love very cool sometime toward him, for all his done for me so much, but when my Loving Saviour comes again and kindles that Spark, then I feel I can love him dearly; so he makes me love him or Else I should not love him at all— & I can feel my Saviour, forgive me all my base accotions from time to time; for all that my D’ Lords Love is such, as bad as I am I know he Loves me with that ever lasting Love, that nothing shall separate us, as St Paul saith, from Your Unworthy Brother in the Suffering Jesus
Tho’ Armitage 35

A year later, the Congregation Diary records the death of Thomas Armitage:

23 Nov. 1751. Subb. L.F. was at Westminster. Today was buried in Bloomsbury Ground the Body of Thomas Armitage a married Br. He was born in the Parish of Royson in Yorkshire, in May 1723, married at London, & was by trade a Hosier. He was receive’d into the Congregation, Nov. 26 1750, and partook of the H. covenant on his sick bed, Sept. 28 1751. His sickness was a slow Consumption, of which he died last Tuesday Morning. Towards the latter end a little Fretfulness clouded his Love, which he always bore to his nearest Hearts; but the Night before he departed, he desired they would forgive him this, & took a cordial Leave afterwards of his Wife. 36

The Moravian Church archive also contains a letter of application from Catherine Armitage, expressing the same intense “Blood and Wounds” Moravian spirituality as her husband’s.

My Dear Bretheren & Sisters
I have very littell to say of my self for I am a pore crature and full of wants but my Dear Saviour will satisfy them all I should be glad if I could allways lay at the Cross full as I do know thanks be to him last friday at the love feast Our Saviour was pleased to make me Suck his wounds and hug the Cross more then Ever and I trust will more and more till my fraile nature can hould no more at your request I have rit but I am not worthy of the blessing it is desird for I do not Love our Dear Saviour halfe enough but if it is will to bring me among his hapy flock in closer conection I shall be very thankful I would tell you more of my self but it is nothing thats good so now I will rite of my Saviour that is all Love
Here let me drink for ever drink nor never once depart for what I tast makes me to cry fix at this Spring My heart
Dear Saviour thou has seen how oft

35. Moravian Archive: MS. C/36/2/158. “Bro’ Cennick” is the popular Moravian preacher and hymnodist, John Cennick (1718-55).
2. Moravian Archive (London), MS. C/36/2/159: Letter (no date, but probably 14 November 1750) from Catherine Armitage to apply to the Congregation of the Lamb. Reproduced with the permission of the Moravian Church Archive and Library.

I’ve turned away from thee
O let thy work renew to day
Remain eternally
Catherine Armitage

The letter, we see, ends with a quotation from a Moravian hymn. Here is irrefutable evidence of Blake’s mother’s religious convictions, her literacy (perhaps, too, showing where her son got his eccentric spelling from), and the intimacy with Moravian hymns that Muir drew our attention to.

The “Walkingham” of the Moravian Church Book where Catherine Wright was born in 1725 is the little Nottinghamshire village of Walkingham, some twenty-four miles from Cudworth, Yorkshire, where her first husband, Thomas Armitage, was born in 1722. Walkingham stands on the west bank of the Trent, about one mile from where the ferry crossed to Walkerith, in Lincolnshire. In 1801, the earliest date for which census information is available, the population of the village was 419. It has remained a small community, the population being 859 in 1991. Epworth, where John Wesley was born in 1703, and where John Varley’s father, Richard, originated, is six miles away.

37. Moravian Archive: MS. C/36/2/159. The letter bears no date, but is probably written at the same time as her husband’s, 14 November 1750.

38. This hymn was first published by James Hutton in 1746. It is no. 79 of the 1754 hymnbook. The hymn is also cited in Daniel Benham, Memoirs of James Hutton (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1856) 596.


3. Church of St. Mary Magdalen (15th cent.), Walkingham, Notts. Photo: Keri Davies.

According to the parish register of the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Walkingham (illus. 3), Catherine, daughter of Gervase Wright and his wife Mary, was christened 21 November 1725 (illus. 4). (The entries in FamilySearch for Walkingham parish through a dating error put Catherine’s birth into 1726. Hence she did not show up in the trawl for a Catherine Wright born before 1725 that Davies recorded in his 1999 paper.) Gervase and Mary Wright had eight children: Richard, christened 29 April 1715; Katharin, christened 15 October 1718, died young; Robert, christened 6 February 1717; John, christened 1 January 1720; Elizabeth, christened 30 January, died October 1722; Elizabeth, christened 6 April 1724; Catherine, christened 21 November 1725; Benjamin, christened 23 September 1729. William Blake now has uncles and an aunt. Most of their names recur for the Blake children. But none of the Blake children are named after their maternal grandfather, Gervase. Had Catherine quarreled with her father? Or is it just that “Gervase” is too much of a “country-bumpkin” name for an upwardly mobile London family? Her mother Mary’s name is also conspicuously absent. Catherine’s brother Benjamin, who married Elizabeth Whitehead in 1754, has children Richard (born 1759), Elizabeth (1763), Catherine (1766), Thomas (1769), and Mary (1772). Again, none of the sons are given their paternal grandfather’s name.

40. Nottinghamshire Record Office: Parish Register of Walkingham, Notts.

41. Compare Blake’s concern, in a letter to John Linnell of July 1826, that the Linnells should follow custom and name one son after his maternal grandfather: “The Name of the Child which Certainly ought to be Thomas, after Mrs Linnells Father” (E 780).
The Wrights of Walkeringham were yeoman farmers and maltsters. The Archdeaconry wills, now in Nottinghamshire County archives, include those of several members of the family. Benjamin Wright, yeoman, in his will, proven 12 February 1685 O.S. (1686 N.S.), left £5 to the poor of the parish, with a number of legacies and bequests of sheep. Gervase Wright, maltster and yeoman, perhaps Catherine’s grandfather, was comfortably off; the inventory of his estate, 7 October 1700, includes malt worth £120 out of a total value of the estate of £384. The village origins of Blake’s mother suggest the possibility of linking Blake with a surviving peasant culture and not just the emerging urban proletarian one so often assumed.42 We need further work on the Archdeaconry wills to learn more about her father’s family and the rural milieu in which she grew up.


This present paper, modifying Davies’s own published work (itself corrective of previous scholarship), indicates how much inaccurate or incomplete information abounds about even the most basic details of Blake’s life. The intuitions of William Muir, of Margaret Ruth Lowery, and of Nancy Bogen as to the influence on Blake of Moravian hymnody are now shown to have some basis in fact; without Muir’s assertions, the Moravian archive would have been left unexplored. In a second paper in preparation we shall consider a few of the Blakean topics which now demand attention—his relationship with “heart religion,” his eclectic combination of different strands of culture, the importance of music, his view of childhood and of Jesus. For Blake scholars, the discovery of the Armitage and Blake documents in the Moravian archives at Muswell Hill opens up a new frontier in Blake studies.
Descendants of Gervase Wright  
(grandfather of William Blake)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Gervase Wright (b. Abt 1687)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp:</strong> Mary Dawson (b. Abt 1691; m. 23 Apr 1712)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Richard Wright (c. 29 Apr 1715-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Robert Wright (c. 6 Feb 1717-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Katharin Wright (c. 15 Oct 1718-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire; d. Bef 1725)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. John Wright (c. 1 Jan 1720-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Elizabeth Wright (c. 30 Jan 1722-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire; buried 8 Oct 1722-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Elizabeth Wright (c. 6 Apr 1724-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. CATHERINE WRIGHT (c. 21 Nov 1725-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire; d. 1792)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp:</strong> THOMAS ARMITAGE (b. May 1722-Royston, Yorkshire; m. 14 Dec 1746; d. 19 Nov 1751-London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp:</strong> James Blake (b. Abt 1723; m. 15 Oct 1752; d. 1784)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. James Blake (b. 10 Jul 1753-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster; d. 22 Mar 1827-London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. John Blake (b. 12 May 1755-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster; d. Bef 1759)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. WILLIAM BLAKE (b. 28 Nov 1757-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster; d. 12 Aug 1827-London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp:</strong> Catherine Sophia Boucher (b. 1762; m. 18 Aug 1782; d. 1831)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. John Blake (b. 20 Mar 1760-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Robert Blake (b. 19 Jun 1762-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster; d. 1787)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Catherine Elizabeth Blake (b. 7 Jan 1764-Broad Street, Golden Square, Westminster; d. 1841)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2. Benjamin Wright (c. 23 Sep 1729-Walkeringham, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp:</strong> Elizabeth Whitehead (c. 2 Dec 1732-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire; m. 4 Jul 1754)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Richard Wright (c. 5 Jul 1759-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Elizabeth Wright (c. 3 Nov 1763-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Catherine Wright (c. 22 Jun 1766-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Thomas Wright (c. 23 Nov 1769-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 3. Mary Wright (c. 19 Feb 1772-Sutton Cum Lound, Nottinghamsire)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**REVIEWS**


Reviewed by ANDREW LINCOLN

*If* you don’t know Morton Paley’s work you have probably picked up this copy of *Blake* by accident. If you are a regular reader there is a fair chance that you know Morton Paley himself—may have heard him lecture, seen him at a conference, or may think of him as a friend. The prolific, indefatigable and much-travelled Paley is surely one of the best-known scholars of Romanticism we have. This volume is dedicated to him in honor of “his outstanding contribution to the study of Romanticism,” and aims to build on his groundbreaking work.

In a brisk introduction, Tim Fulford explains that Paley puts millenarianism at the center of English Romanticism, as the focus for the hopes and fears of a turbulent period. Paley shows that repression, industrialization and war made it increasingly hard for writers to imagine the age of peace and happiness that should follow an age of apocalyptic destruction. “Romanticism, on this model, becomes a struggle not just to envision a new age but to retain the capacity for vision at all,” a struggle that produces ambivalence and pathos. This collection of essays aims to build on Paley’s example, offering a “historically contextualized examination of genres, styles and figures in literary and artistic works.” As is often the case in such collections, the volume is actually a mixture of occasional essays and reports of ongoing research. Some items relate closely to the title of the book, while some make only cursory gestures towards it. Some extend well-established lines of enquiry, some break genuinely new ground. But all have something useful to say.

As we might expect, the volume gives much emphasis to the 1790s, but it spreads its attention widely to bring into the foreground works and figures who would once have been barely mentioned in this context. In an illuminating essay on “Cowper’s Ends,” for example, Adam Rounce argues persuasively that Cowper’s projection of endings makes him a more central figure in the end of the eighteenth century than is usually recognized. Rounce finds recurrent millennial and apocalyptic anxieties in Cowper’s work—including “Yardley Oak” and “On the Ice Islands”—shaped by his relationship with the poetry
and artistic model of John Milton. Cowper lacked Milton's rootedness and certainty, and was inclined to retreat from the evils of the present into an unreachable mythic past. His sense of personal guilt led him to identify himself with Satan the reprobate—not the glorious rebel of Blake and Shelley, but a figure with something of the ruined grandeur of Milton's character, and sharing his sense of absolute alienation from any scheme of eternal reward. His work as a poet offered no restoration, since Cowper saw postlapsarian writing as a corrupt form of communication, and was therefore perpetually inscribing his own failure as he wrote. In Rounce's attentive reading, Cowper emerges less as "a man out of time" than a figure sharing with other writers of the 1790s a vision of "history as a cyclic mutable force that is finally unknowable."

Milton is a presiding presence in Peter J. Kitson's essay, which argues that "the survival of a Miltonic political sublime has not received the attention it merits." As Kitson defines it, Milton's political sublime is an idiosyncratic blending of apocalyptic and millenarian rhetoric, as found in some prose works of the 1640s (Eikonoklastes and Areopagitica) as well as in book 12 of Paradise Lost. Kitson reminds us that although Burke depoliticized Milton's writings while establishing him as the sublime poet for the Romantic age, Milton remained a fully political presence to a number of writers. Kitson identifies a prototypic "Unitarian Political Sublime" that is informed in various ways by Milton's example. In the case of Joseph Priestley, Milton seems to offer a general precedent rather than a stylistic model, since "Priestley does not himself write in the sublime style." But Milton is more clearly a model for Gilbert Wakefield's "The Spirit of Christianity Compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain," as Kitson convincingly demonstrates. The essay ends with a brief examination of Coleridge's "The Destiny of Nations" and "Religious Musings," and suggests that the Miltonic political sublime was soon rendered obsolete by the "failure of the Revolution." The discussion makes some useful connections between writers, and solves some of the problems entailed in the difficult task of isolating a discursive mode from a web of intersecting discourses, by defining that mode in terms broad enough to accommodate a diverse range of practices.

The starting point of John Beer's discussion of "Romantic Apocalypses" is Morton Paley's observation that ideas of apocalypse and millennium tended to go together while remaining separable, so that at certain times people would concentrate on one or the other. The rapidly moving events of the 1790s prompted equally rapid shifts in interpretation (in the case of Blake and Coleridge, Beer suggests, interpretation might change month by month). But a clear pattern emerged from the first Romantics' varying experiences of history: they underwent a change comparable to that attributed to the early Christians by twentieth-century theologians. That is, they came to believe the apocalypse had already happened in their own consciousness. Beer outlines this movement towards "internalized apocalypse" in Blake (from the revolutionary apocalypse of The Four Zoas to that centered on the Poetic Genius in Milton) and in Wordsworth (as recorded in The Prelude), seeing both as a kind of "self-emptying." He concludes with a discussion of "The Ancient Mariner," a poem that can be seen as a symptom of a soured revolution (or "failed apocalypse"), but which also indicates the nature of Coleridge's own internal revelation—that a poem could be "fraught with contradictions" and yet still unified. The premises of Beer's essay seem common enough, but by establishing unexpected connections, he succeeds in rendering the familiar engagingly unfamiliar.

Michael Simpson's highly sophisticated, historically informed close reading of Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude" begins with the question, "How can the poem denigrate newspapers in 1798 and then fall into one in 1802?" Simpson's answer is that the poem was from the outset "constitutively uncomfortable with itself." In its first printed version it had to engineer a symbolic escape not only from the mire of national rhetoric, but also from its own hypocritical polemic against that rhetoric. The move that eventually "re-situates the poem in the landscape of the dell" allows a positive version of the nation, constituted in "a language growing authentically out of nature into culture." The subsequent selling of (part of) the poem in the context of the Treaty of Amiens can be read, Simpson argues, "as a moment of participation in a newly recharged matrix of commerce," a moment that allows "a historical defusing of the poem's topical anxiety," Simpson leaves us with the image of the text "selling itself within a new dispensation of international commerce while haunted by its corona of exalted national poetry." Within this complex and provocative reading, apocalypse assumes an unexpected form:

And what if all-avenging Providence,
Strong and retributive, should make us know
The meaning of our words?

Simpson observes that the question concerning "our words" "bring[s] the apocalypse much closer to home than do comparable passages representing the war as apocalypse in either 'Religious Musings' or 'The Destiny of Nations'." The essay shows that an acute historicizing suspicion can coexist with a fine sensitivity to the affective power of poetic language.

Nicholas Roe's essay on Pantisocracy has a delightfully witty opening, which imagines a female reader in Cottle's bookshop encountering Coleridge's Poems on Various Subjects, glancing at a copy of The Watchman and reading "something at random about contributions welcomed from 'Disciples of Paley.'" Part of the interest of the essay itself is its movement from the realm of ideals to "life as it was actually lived" by Coleridge and Southey from the later 1790s onwards. Roe sets out to investigate how Pantisocracy enabled the young writers "to move from the millennial prospect of a 'blest future' to the homely, domesticated scene of life in a rural cottage." He focuses on the material side of the Pantisocratic venture—including the geographical location, the tools, equipment and supplies that would be needed (an account fleshed out with the help of Paul Muldoon's Madoc: A Mystery and Coleridge's own catalogue of domestic items drawn up as he began married life). The finan-
cial side of the enterprise is examined with reference to Adam Smith and to a land agent’s advice (recounted by Coleridge) which allows a glimpse of “colonizing as big business.” Roe considers how Pantisocracy would look (a circular layout, with its center a Unitarian meeting house) and provides a roll call of would-be Pantisocrats. The cumulative effect of such detail is to make the plan seem at once more and less realizable—on the one hand, just another proposed settlement among many others that were actually established in this period; on the other, a venture requiring a quite different kind of settler to bring it off. Roe sees one realization of the ideal closer to home, in the typical modern suburban lifestyle. The essay concludes with some brief but illuminating comments on Southey’s Poems of 1797, a collection in which “‘home’ seems to be mentioned only because it has been left behind, lost, or is out of reach.” If Pantisocracy was a practical scheme for domesticating the millenarian impulse, this collection, Roe argues, derives some of its coherence from “a faltering millenarianism for which Southey substitutes a domesticated sociable endeavor.” It is refreshing to read a discussion of Southey’s poems that does not condescend to the poet.

Tim Fulford’s essay considers the relationship between orientalism and millenarianism in Southey’s work and in contemporary opinion. It is partly focused on Southey’s response to the MP Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, an orientalist scholar who became a follower of the popular prophet Richard Brothers, and who defended Brothers in Parliament when the Privy Council placed him in an asylum. In this lively account, Southey the writer of oriental epics recognized Halhed as his alter ego, accusing him of everything he had been accused of himself, and seeing him as the embodiment of a dangerous combination of orientalism and Jacobinism—all the more dangerous because of Halhed’s scholarly and political credentials. Southey’s fear is characteristically expressed as a fear of infection, a fear that leads him to think of fanaticism as “a disease of British India that might leave the educated unfit to govern the uneducated.” The second part of the essay focuses on Southey’s poetic use of female figures to image all that seemed dangerous to him in oriental beliefs. Fulford cites the case of the enchantress and witch Khawla in Thalaba, who represents Southey’s ambivalence to the power of religious belief to infect people—his attraction to, and fear of, “the millenarianism that... he wanted to extirpate from Britain.” From here it is a short step to Joanna Southcott, whom Halhed followed, and who was seen by Southey as witch-like and infectious, and the source of a superstition “like” the oriental disease of fanaticism. The essay offers a vivid episode in a larger story, in which anti-Jacobinism was rewritten as anti-Indianism, in a way that justified war in France and India, and the repression of those Irish who revealed an “Oriental” tendency to support radical politics.

One of the strengths of Gary Harrison’s fine essay on “Ecological Apocalypse” is the way it draws out relationships between utopian dreams of improvement and dystopian nightmares in the Romantic period, and also relates them directly to our own era. Harrison notes that recent warnings about the consequences of human actions on a fragile environment (such as Rachel Carson’s The Silent Spring, 1962, and Bill McKibben’s The End of Nature, 1989) tend to deploy a “rhetoric of apocalypticism” to enforce their message, and mostly rest on a fear of scarcity. In this they resemble the apocalyptic thinking of the era of Malthus, who saw the sublime specter of scarcity as an immutable law of nature. On the other hand, “our contemporary ideologies of progress, like their earlier counterparts, tend to overestimate the benefits of agricultural improvement, as well as the capacity of the earth to sustain agricultural growth.” Harrison shows that the Malthusian myth of ending and the myth of progress as promoted by Arthur Young and his followers both worked to “stigmatize the laboring poor as a subaltern presence that threaten[ed] the body politic with disorder, disease and ecological disaster.” Moreover, radicals such as Spence (whose vision of egalitarian plenty drew on Young’s optimistic projections) and Godwin (who countered Malthus by insisting on the earth’s infinite capacity to sustain life) “promoted an ideology of production that downplayed the limits of human technology and underestimated the biophysical limits of the earth.” Harrison suggests at one point that the myth of Malthus may serve to moderate the myth of progress that legitimates the domination of nature today. But he concludes, more tellingly, that we must “move beyond the dyad of famine and cornucopia and recognize the political limitations, as well as the rhetorical excesses, of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century ideologies of progress and apocalypse.” There is some circling and repetition in this essay—but its powerful argument establishes important continuities between the Romantic period and our own age.

After a brief review of the male preoccupation with apocalypse in the Romantic period, Anne K. Mellor, in “Blake, the Apocalypse and Romantic Women Writers,” asks “why was the female imagination... on the whole not inspired by millenarian, apocalyptic thinking?” She argues that the sudden complete rupture between one cultural system and another (Foucault’s “epistemic break”) is antithetical to the “feminine mode of thought.” She defines this mode—in terms developed by female epistemologists such as Nancy Hartsock and Sandra Harding—as “inter-relational and communitarian,” and seeks to ground it ultimately in biological differences. The biological grounding seems to me deeply problematic, since it depends on a severely reductive account of physiological processes, but Mellor frankly admits her explanations may be too simple. The important point is that women’s writing of the period “consistently represents time as continuous, as sustaining the production and reproduction of human communities.” She considers what appear to be three exceptions to the general rule, in order to show that they are not exceptional after all: Mary Anne Browne’s “A World without Water” (which “explicitly rejects as mere nightmarish fantasy the apocalyptic thinking that her male peers embraced,” since “her vision is only a dream”); Mary Shelley’s The Last Man (which tells not so much of the end of the world as the possibility of alternative beginnings, and warns of the dangers of a male-dominated world); and Jo-
anna Southcott (who could conceptualize the Second Coming of Christ only as a literal pregnancy and birth, only as an event in time). The essay contributes significantly to our developing sense of what is at stake in women's writing of the period.

Philip W. Martin argues that Byron's *Heaven and Earth* and Moore's *The Loves of the Angels* (both published in 1822) "can be read as liberal texts that set out to challenge the strong presence of Christian Evangelical criticism in the culture of the 1820s." Both works require their readers to imagine an "impossible sexual act," namely the copulation of angels with human women, which is the scandalous revelation of the newly rediscovered *Book of Enoch* (translated in a new version in 1821). Martin locates both works formally in the "literature of encounter," representing the meeting between two separate kinds or species (a literature that ranges from historical encounters with the new world, to encounters with alien new worlds, and receives its power "by way of the uncanny"). His essay notes some literary antecedents in Donne and Milton, alludes to other orthodox, broadly moral versions, and offers some tantalizingly brief comments on the language of each work (noting that racial purity figures large in the language of Byron's drama, while "Moore's women are occasionally figured in the terminology of the promiscuous botany that Linnaeus and Darwin produced between them"). He concludes with a reference to Lamb's essay "The Child Angel: A Dream," a response to Moore's poem, which imagines the offspring of the transgressive union to be an angelic child not a monster, or rather two children, locked into permanent childhood (and therefore beyond Buffon's proof of species—the offspring's capacity to reproduce). This figuring of unfulfilled potential provides a fitting endpoint for an essay that teasingly opens up more lines of inquiry than it has time to pursue.

David Worrall's "Robert Hawes and the Millenium Press: A Political Micro-Culture of Late Eighteenth-Century Spitalfields" delivers exactly what it promises. Worrall offers his account of a "micro-culture" in contrast to the "wider master narratives" (like those of Linda Colley and James Chandler) that promote an "imperial view of history that is not much help at the level of ground-zero local contemporary culture." Working with modern bibliographical guides, contemporary pamphlets, materials from the Public Records Office and British Library Manuscripts Room, Worrall is able to reconstruct a vividly solid picture of the career and milieu of "the obscure Spitalfields pamphleteer, type-founder and printer Robert Hawes" which shows that "ideas of natural rights and resistive politics were dispersed into one of London's most impoverished communities many years before the French Revolution." The essay builds on material evidence of links between groups and individuals, supplemented by intelligent surmises. Worrall notes, for example, that the Swedenborgian Freemason Benedict Chastainer, whose project for a translated edition of Swedenborg claimed the support of the Duchess of Devonshire and William Pitt's wife, included Hawes in the imprint of the first volume of the project. Hawes sold another Swedenborg volume on behalf of a "society of gentlemen," who "presumably" had links with the illuminist "Society of Avignon." These links, proven and presumed, are "suggestive of the extreme social mobility of vision- ary religious discourses and how, in this instance, they were effortlessly co-opted into radical political agendas." Worrall traces Hawes's fascinating excursion into acrostics, the Home Office's surveillance of him (predating the oppressive measures of the 1790s), his printing on tobacco papers for distribution in taverns—"No doubt the idea was to burn (or even 'smoke') the papers if spies were discovered in the room"—his response to Paine ("the new Marvell"), his use of prophecy, his visits to Lord George Gordon in Newgate, and his connections with an embryonic workers' cooperative in Spitalfields. In tracing such links, the essay brings into view the outlines of an intricate social fabric and a view of politics grounded in quotidian actions and events. In this area Worrall has located a rich vein of material evidence that he mines with great skill and enthusiasm, and that others will be able to make use of in the future. The essay ends with a coda concerning attempts to set up and regulate charitable food depots in Spitalfields in response to the immediate threat of starvation, attempts involving a kind of discourse that is, Worrall insists, remote from "the sort of reflexive 'casuistry' of events Chandler elaborates." But he does not exactly cross swords with Chandler—they are standing too far apart for that.

In a discussion of Blake's Visionary Heads, G. E. Bentley, Jr., notes that most accounts of these drawings after 1820 take them either as evidence of madness or as something to be explained away. "Scurcly anyone allows for the possibility that Blake drew what he really saw and that what he saw was really there, an extraordinary or spiritual phenomenon." Moreover, Blake's art has often been taken as evidence of madness precisely because he represented the spiritual world "in forms disconcertingly like those of the material, tangible world." Does Blake challenge or merely confirm our skepticism? Bentley reviews contemporary reactions to the artist, as well as to his work, noting how often those who met Blake concluded there was a touch of madness about him. By 1820, though, those who knew him found nothing wild about him, and "were struck by his serenity." The Visionary Heads, produced around 1819-20, may therefore be seen as products of this serenity. Bentley is not concerned to judge or interpret these works, but to produce a comprehensive list of them. He identifies parts of "the Folly Blake-Varley sketchbook," a work that has yet to be located, but that is mentioned in Allan Cunningham's *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1830). Three Visionary Heads survive from the work (Pindar, Corinna and Lais), and three other titles are known. Bentley lists these, and also provides a list of all of the other Visionary Heads. The listing effectively provides a supplement to that in Martin Butlin's two volume catalogue.

In "Word as Image in William Blake" Martin Butlin casts his net wide in order to encompass the larger traditions to which Blake's distinctive use of lettering can be related. He briefly reviews "the problem of the representation of God and the relationship of word and image that permeates the whole of Jewish, Christian and Islamic culture." He suggests that Islam offers the most "extreme" solution, the exclusion of the human figure, and that in Islamic tradition iconography and decoration become literally the Word of God. He considers the shifting attitudes to figurative art in the Byzantine Church, in whose art lettering becomes an integral part of decoration, and notes that lettering also has an important part in the art of the churches of Rome. Having outlined these traditions, Butlin then traces the development of Blake's interest in lettering, from the descriptive labeling of the scroll in "The Making of Magna Carta" (c. 1779) to the use of inscriptions in later works such as the epitome of James Hervey's Meditations among the Tombs (c. 1820), the Job series, and the Laocoon. This is a careful, descriptive survey, which directs attention to connections and developments, while leaving us to ponder their significance for ourselves. Butlin concludes tentatively, and unexceptionally, that Blake perhaps unconsciously recreated in his own work "the emphasis on two rather than three dimensions and the combination of word and pictorial image found in early Christian and medieval religious art."

Morris Eaves, Robert N. Essick and Joseph Visconti, in "The William Blake Archive: The Medium When the Millennium Is the Message," describe the origin and rationale of the most important recent development in the publication of Blake's works. When in the 1920s the pioneering editors D. J. Sloss (based in Rangoon) and J. P. R. Wallis (in Pretoria) published their landmark edition of Blake's prophetic books, they lamented their disabling remoteness from each other and from "the centre of things." Now the medium itself is becoming the center of things, allowing scholars who live and work far apart to collaborate with ease. The Blake Archive brings together the formidable expertise of three major scholars, and, most remarkable, makes available, free to all who have the means of access, not only a large and growing range of Blake's works, but also valuable contextual information, and the ability to "search" both text and images. Ten years ago we could hardly dream of such riches. This essay, another example of seamless collaboration (how, I wonder, does the writing actually happen?), explains the principles of inclusion and editing, and defines the larger aims of the project. The illuminated books are the core of the Archive, which will expand outwards "giving priority to significant interrelated clusters ... such as the large color prints of 1795" and will eventually include Blake's typographical works and his manuscripts. The authors note the severe limitations of printed editions of Blake, which have so far reproduced "a remarkably small subset of the books—not even a useful cross-

section." They rightly claim that "the dominant tradition of Blake editing has been overwhelmingly literary, ruthlessly discarding visual information," and they may well be right to assume that "many students and even professional scholars know either the textual or visual side of Blake's work but not both." There will be no excuse for such neglect in future, since users of the Blake Archive "are positioned primarily not as readers but as viewers of a visual field." When presented in such terms, the case for the Blake Archive seems overwhelming. However, readers might want to reflect upon the following sentence:

If we are going to contribute as we claim to the preservation of fragile originals that are easily damaged by handling, we must supply reproductions that scholars can depend upon in their research.

At this point I have a vision of conservators nodding vigorously in agreement, and I begin to feel distinctly uneasy. In the British Library special applications are now needed to see Blake manuscripts that were once available on request, and applicants are likely to be offered a facsimile in the first instance. The same restrictions could conceivably be applied to Blake's illuminated books in future. Reproductions of those books will certainly be enormously useful to scholars in their research, but only up to a point. No art historians worthy of the name would be content to base their work on reproductions rather than originals. Tucked away in the notes of Martin Butlin's essay is this brief statement:

I support [Michael] Phillips's idea that color-printing involved two printings although [Joseph] Visconi, supported by Robert N. Essick, believes that it was all done in one process.

Readers who have followed the debate between Visconti/Essick on the one side, and Michael Phillips and Martin Butlin on the other, will know what is at stake here. For the arguments about printing processes turn on such material particulars as the presence or absence of pinholes, on the fine texture of colored surfaces, on precisely those aspects of the physical object that are most difficult to register on the screen. Here, as in some other aspects of interpretation, there is no adequate substitute for the material object, however finely produced, useful, and pleasurable the virtual equivalent may be. Conservators take note.

This collection of essays is intended to honor Morton Paley for his forty years of pioneering study of the culture of the Romantic period. It is an appropriate tribute, giving in its range a sense of the many-sidedness of Paley's own work, which has been, in more than one sense, foundational.


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