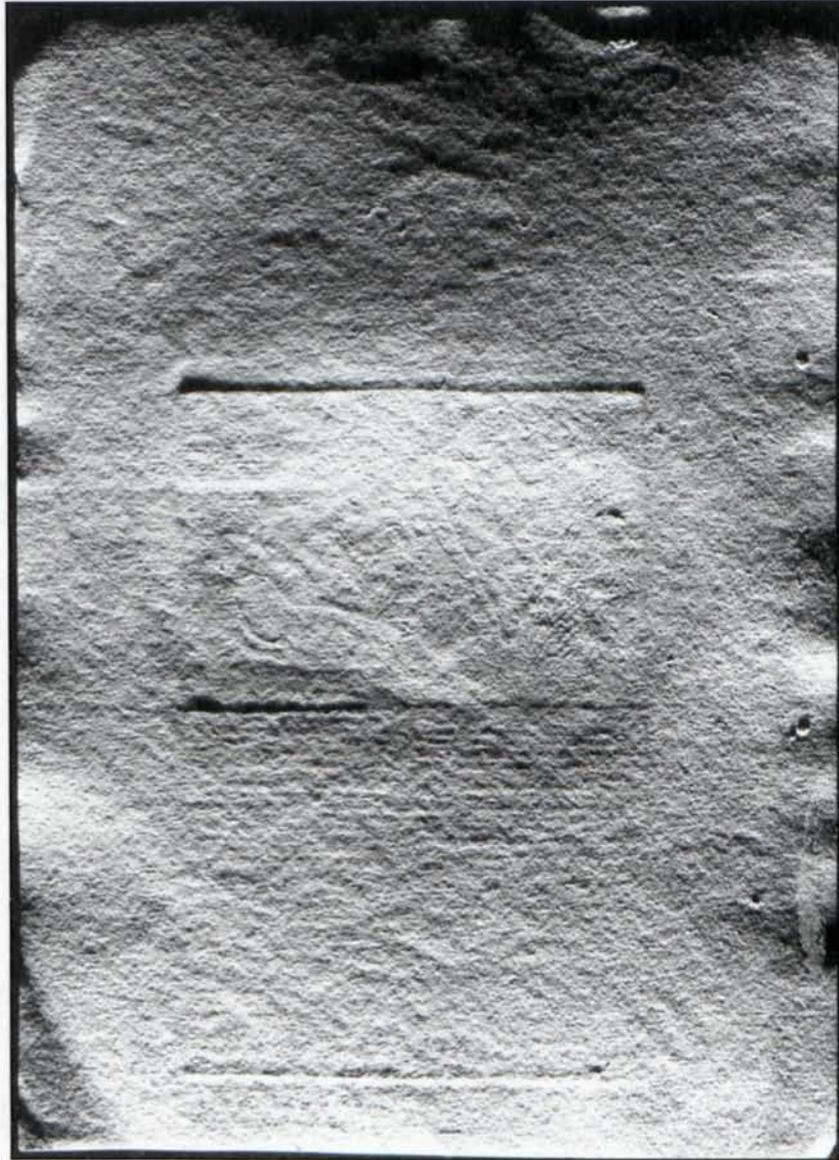


B L A K E

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From Railway Timetable to Tate Exhibit:
New Prints from the *Small Book of Designs*

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C O N T R I B U T O R S

HELEN PATRICIA BRUDER has followed and contributed to debates about Blake and gender since the early 1990s. She and Tristanne Connolly hope their collection *Queer Blake* (Palgrave, forthcoming) and conference *Blake, Gender and Sexuality in the Twenty-First Century* (London, summer 2010) will take these vital discussions further still.

MARTIN BUTLIN, former Keeper of the Historic British Collection at the Tate Gallery and author of the standard catalogue of Blake's paintings and drawings, is at present involved in the Blake Trust publication of Blake's illustrations to Blair's *The Grave*.

ROBIN HAMLIN became the William Blake specialist at the Tate Gallery when Martin Butlin retired in 1989. His most recent Blake display at the Tate, in 2007-08, commemorated the 250th anniversary of the artist's birth; he wrote the introductory essay for the facsimile edition of *Poetical Sketches* (copy Q) that accompanied the exhibition. His commentary on Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* appeared in 2005.

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Cover: Verso of *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 19, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.

Tate Britain Reveals Nine New Blakes and Thirteen New Lines of Verse

BY MARTIN BUTLIN AND ROBIN HAMLYN

IN 1996 Robert Essick's invaluable annual feature "Blake in the Marketplace" reported the sale of a page from Blake's *Small Book of Designs* and added, "To have two further prints also from copy B of *A Small Book of Designs* become available in the same year is enough to make a Blake collector's head spin."¹ Despite the exciting reappearance of the nineteen watercolor illustrations to *The Grave* in 2001, that of eight, or rather seven definite and one possible, new pages from copy B of the *Small Book of Designs* in 2007 will not, one hopes, make him lose his head entirely. These, and a second copy of the rare first state of the large *Job* engraving of, almost certainly, 1793, were included in the Tate's exhibition in commemoration of Blake's 250th birthday anniversary, "I still go on / Till the Heavens and Earth are gone" (3 November 2007-22 June 2008). The fact that all these works are products of the mid-1790s points to one of the great paradoxes of Blake's career, the contrast between the large neoclassical prints advertised

Above all we must thank the two owners of these works for lending them to Tate Britain, allowing them to be placed on exhibition there, and letting us study and publish them. We are also most grateful to Stephen Calloway, Curator of Prints, Victoria & Albert Museum, who when consulted about the eight new prints from the *Small Book of Designs* generously forwarded the inquiry to Robin Hamlyn at Tate Britain.

At Tate we are particularly grateful to Gerry Alabone, Head of Frame Conservation, Rodney Tidnam, Photographer, Piers Townshend, Head of Paper Conservation, Rachel Crome, also of Paper Conservation, and Julia Beaumont-Jones, Curator, Clore Study Room. We are especially indebted to Annie Lyles, Curator, Tate Britain, who has helped clarify a number of details for this article.

We are also most grateful to our colleagues in other museums: Jane Munro, Craig Hartley, Peter Greenhalgh, and Elenor Ling at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; David Pearson, Director, University of London Library Research Services; Anna Lou Ashby, Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Printed Books, Morgan Library & Museum, New York; Greg Jecman, Division of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; and Julie L. Mellby, Graphic Arts Curator, Rare Books and Special Collections, Harvey F. Firestone Library, Princeton University.

Among the William Blake fraternity we must thank G. E. Bentley, Jr., and Robert N. Essick for their most welcome suggestions, corrections, and new information.

We also owe our warmest thanks to Selma Ross-Smith, who collated the products of two word processors and did much of the preliminary and final typescript.

1. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995" 108; the three prints referred to are discussed below in tables 2 and 3.

to the public in Blake's prospectus of 10 October 1793 and the completely personal images and techniques of the illustrations to his illuminated books of 1793-94.

The earliest of these new discoveries is one of Blake's grandest but most traditional examples of his neoclassical style aimed at the general public: an impression, only the second known, of the first state of his large *Job* engraving, acquired by the present owner at a south London market. Unlike the other example, on loan from the Keynes Family Trust to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,² this impression has no inscriptions on the surviving area of margin below the intact image; in addition, it is on laid paper rather than wove. The image measures 13²⁵/₃₂ x 19⁵/₁₆ in. (35.0 x 49.1 cm.) and is on irregularly trimmed paper approximately 16³/₁₆ x 23¹/₄ in. (41.1 x 59.0 cm.) mounted on canvas, itself on a wooden stretcher 13²⁷/₃₂ x 19¹⁹/₃₂ in. (35.1 x 49.8 cm.). The frame seems to be early to mid-nineteenth century; its back is inscribed upper left in pencil with what appears to be the name "Bennett", possibly followed by two further letters. "Bennett" as a surname found in his family is noted in two of Samuel Palmer's letters. It is tempting to consider a Palmer connection with the so far unknown provenance of this *Job*. The paper is somewhat discolored, but the printing is perhaps sharper and clearer than in the Keynes copy.

The impression of the first state of *Job* belonging to the Keynes Family Trust is inscribed below the image "Painted and Engraved by William Blake" and with the title "Job". There is a space of 2 mm. between the bottom edge of the image and the top edge of the "P" in "Painted" in the signature line lettering and a space of 4 mm. to the bottom edge of the "d" in the same first word. On the newly discovered impression the width of the loosely pasted-down paper margin from the bottom edge of the image round to the short edge of the stretcher is ¹/₁₆ in. (1.4 cm.): the lack of any trace of the inscription below the image in a space greater than that on the Keynes print suggests that the new copy is a proof before letters.

The second state of *Job* is dated "1793" while that of its companion *Ezekiel* is dated "1794".³ Given Blake's highly individual approach to the dating of his works, Essick argues convincingly that these dates are in fact those of the first states (no first state is known for *Ezekiel*, but its existence is presumed from the case of *Job*). The dated, second states could have been executed at any time after about 1804, perhaps as late as 1819. The first state of *Job* seems to be listed in Blake's prospectus as "1. Job, a Historical Engraving. Size 1 ft. 7¹/₂ in. by 1 ft. 2 in. [49.5 x 35.5 cm.]: price 12s." Blake does not specify *Ezekiel* though he does list "two large highly finished engravings (and two more are nearly ready)"⁴

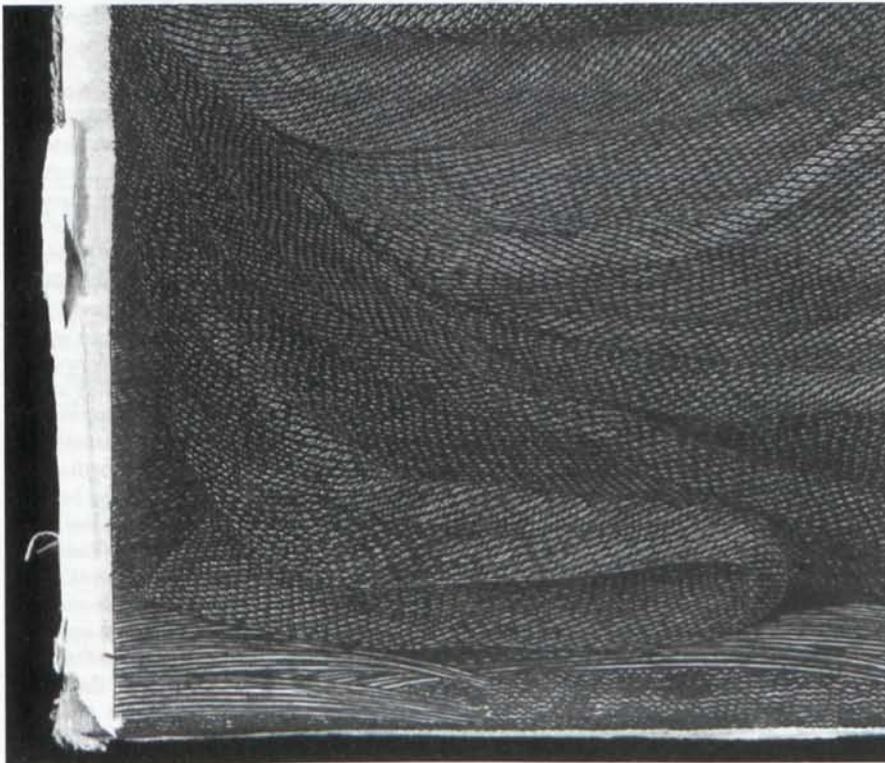
2. See Essick, *Separate Plates* 17, no. 1A, illus. 7.

3. Essick, *Separate Plates* 17-19, nos. 2B, C, and D, illus. 8 for *Job*; 21-22, nos. 2A, B, and C, illus. 12 for *Ezekiel*.

4. Essick, *Separate Plates* 19; Erdman (hereafter "E") 693, 692.



1 (above). *Job*. Etching and engraving, 35.0 x 49.1 cm. on paper, irregularly trimmed, 41.1 x 59.0 cm., 1793. First state before letters. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



2 (left). Detail of bottom left corner of illus. 1. A short length of a clearly ruled and printed border line to the image is visible on the lower vertical left-hand edge. No other such edge treatment to the image is visible. Close examination of the Keynes impression shows that the left-hand and top edges were damaged; these edges were restored with ruled ink lines. This, rather than any reworking by Blake, would seem to account for slight differences between the two impressions. Photo courtesy of Tate.

Both *Job* and *Ezekiel* are based closely on drawings of about 1785, nearly ten years before the probable dates of their first publication.⁵ The unqualified and highly accomplished neoclassicism of the prints is surprising, given that they appear to be contemporary with Blake's most revolutionary development in both style and technique in the illuminated books of the mid-1790s, in particular *The First Book of Urizen* of 1794 with its use of color printing to increase the impact of its newly dramatic and often horrific imagery. At the same time the pictorial elements in the books began to dominate the texts. In 1796 Blake produced a number of his book illustrations as separate works in the *Small and Large Books of Designs*: illustrations from *Urizen*, *The Book of Thel*, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* were color printed by Blake for Ozias Humphry to make

a selection from the different Books of such as could be Printed without the Writing tho to the Loss of some of the best things. For they when Printed perfect accompany Poetical Personifications & Acts without which Poems they never could have been Executed.⁶

The other eight new discoveries on view at the Tate are all candidates for the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, printed like the first in 1796 though tidied up at about the time of Blake's letter to Dawson Turner of 9 June 1818.⁷

The first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* numbers twenty-three pages,⁸ while the eleven pages from the second book recorded up to 1981 bear numbers ranging from "9" to "22", suggesting a total of much the same, though three of the subjects from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* do not appear in the first copy.⁹ Two further examples from the second copy have turned up since 1981 (table 2), one possibly replacing the print previously thought to be from that copy, and four examples have changed hands (table 3). Most share the same characteristic features with the new discover-

ies: first, a series of framing lines typical also of certain late copies of Blake's illuminated books;¹⁰ second, one or two lines of verse written in ink and idiosyncratically framed by double inverted commas on both lines; and third, a series of matching stabholes in the left-hand margin showing that they were all once bound together (works that have been trimmed necessarily lack some or all of these features, though in a few cases verses written on the verso probably reflect those originally to be seen on the recto).¹¹

Of the eight new color prints (table 1) all but the last, *Urizen* pl. 12, correspond to pages in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, and all but the last share the verses in ink and the stabholes.¹² However, they lack the numbers in ink of the previously known examples; these are replaced by a different set of numbers in pencil in the lower right-hand corner, one of which, "9", duplicates one of the ink numbers. This suggests that, although the pages from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* were bound together with the previously known prints at one time, they were subsequently separated and renumbered. In the case of one of the prints known already it has been suggested that an ink number may have been erased.¹³

Another common feature of most of the new pulls, and of those other pulls about which we have been able to obtain information, is that when they are of the same subjects as those in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, they are second pulls (or perhaps, rarely, third pulls) and were more heavily printed, as is revealed by the embossing on the versos; this was presumably done to compensate for the fact that much of the

5. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 61-64, #162-66, pls. 199-203; Essick, *Separate Plates* 20, 22, illus. 9-11, 13-14; for a further drawing, now in a US private collection, see Butlin, "Six New Early Drawings by William Blake and a Reattribution," *Blake* 23.2 (fall 1989): 111 and illus. 7 (recto) (four of the works illustrated in this article, illus. 1, 3, 4, and 5, are now recognized as the work of John Flaxman).

6. Letter to Dawson Turner, 9 June 1818 (E 771); for the *Books of Designs* see Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 132-45.

7. For the evidence that both copies of the *Small Book of Designs* were color printed in 1796, see Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* 303-04, and "Blake's 'Annus Mirabilis'" 75 (this important article appeared while our own article was in draft, and could not therefore be fully considered). The evidence relies on the date of the *Urizen* title page in the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* having been altered from 1794 to 1796. However, as this alteration, in ink, was almost certainly done at the same time as the design was tidied up, similarly in ink, in about 1818, it is just possible that Blake misremembered the year.

8. British Museum 1856-2-9-425/447; Bindman, *Graphic Works* nos. 289-311, illus.; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260, pls. 308-30.

9. Bindman, *Graphic Works* nos. 289a-314, two illus.; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261, pls. 350-60 (those subjects not in the first copy are #261.9-11).

10. Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* 303, 311-12, 334-36.

11. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.4, 10.

12. Such stabholes are the result of a relatively small number of pages having been bound together with thread to make up, say, a pamphlet or a small book of verse (we are grateful for advice on stabholes from David Pearson). In the newly discovered pages the upper stabhole is distanced from the top of the sheet at approximately 3/4 in. (8.2 cm.), with two further holes below, 1/2 and 1 3/4 in. (3.9 and 4.4 cm.) apart; there is a further hole about 1/2 in. (0.2 cm.) to the right and slightly lower than the last main hole. The same arrangement of stabholes can be seen in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.1, 2, 5, 6, 8, and 11, and the pull of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 20 listed in table 2 (see Bentley, *Blake Books* 357, and "William Blake and His Circle, 1995" 140). There are also pinholes, perhaps to hang the prints unframed on a wall, on the new pulls numbered "6", "7", and "10". Not counting any lines immediately around the image, there are three framing lines around the designs numbered "1", "4", "5", "8", and "9", four around "6" and "7", and two around "10". The wide area between the first and second lines on "9", counting from the inner line, is tinted with a pale yellow watercolor wash; similar bands of delicate coloring between two of the framing lines occur on two of the already known pages of the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, in pale yellow on *Urizen* pl. 1 (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.1) and in pale blue on *Urizen* pl. 22 (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.11). Similar bands of pale washes of watercolor in various colors appear in copy V of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, watermarked 1818 (Morgan Library, New York; Bentley, *Blake Books* 369, 422; Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995" 110 [caption to illus. 2]).

13. *Urizen* pl. 10 in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.6).

colored pigment had already gone on first pulls. This feature has already been noticed by Bentley on a page from the putative second copy of the *Large Book of Designs* in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.¹⁴

Also interesting, in view of the recent controversy over the technique of the color-printed books, is the fact that it would seem that there is no actual printing in ink of the outlines from the relief-etched plates in the new pulls. This use of color printing on its own was probably developed in *The Book of Ahania*, *The Book of Los*, and *The Song of Los*, all dated 1795, and in the large color prints of "1795."¹⁵

All the new prints save one, *Urizen* pl. 17, numbered "8", are inscribed on the back with the statement "This Coloured Print by W^m. Blake / was given to me by his Widow / Frederick Tatham / Sculptor.", an inscription also found on the copy of the title page from *Urizen* now on loan from the Keynes Family Trust to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.¹⁶ This is numbered "3" in pencil lower right in the same way as the new discoveries and therefore belongs to this new subseries. The fact that the prints are separately inscribed suggests that they were, at this point, not bound together.

One of the previously known prints seems to have belonged to John Giles, Samuel Palmer's cousin and one of the "Ancients" who gathered around Palmer at Shoreham, and another perhaps to John Varley.¹⁷ The provenance of the others cannot be traced earlier than the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries save for *Urizen* pl. 3, a note on the back of which states that it was sold "by either Mrs. Blake or a relation of hers ... to E. Daniels, 53 Mortimer Street";¹⁸ at a stretch, the "relation" could have been Frederick Tatham, who acted as Mrs. Blake's unofficial executor. It is therefore probable that the original collection of prints forming the second copy was split up before or soon after her death on 18 October 1831.

In various ways the last of the newly discovered pages, showing *Urizen* pl. 12 and numbered "10", differs from the other seven, though it also bears the inscription on the back about Mrs. Blake's having given it to Frederick Tatham and shares the same recent provenance. There are no stabholes and only two framing lines, and the line of verse below is written within the framing lines in pencil rather than in ink outside the lines, and without the usual double quotation marks. The subject does not appear in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, though two other copies do exist, one hitherto having been itself associated with the second copy. That copy, in the Mor-

gan Library, New York,¹⁹ is trimmed but bears an inscription on the back reading "I labour upwards into / futurity / Blake"; this bears no relation to the text on the new copy, "The floods overwhelmed me". The third copy is in the British Museum, London.²⁰ It is difficult to be certain in which order these were color printed, though the newly discovered copy is probably the last.

It has long been realized that, when Blake returned to re-printing his earlier books in 1818, he laid more stress on the pictorial element: color was often deployed over the whole page, not applied just to the designs, and both text and design were often united by the use of framing lines. The first copies of the *Small and Large Books of Designs*, produced in 1796 for Ozias Humphry, already stressed the pictorial element of the designs, "tho to the Loss of some of the best things."

Indeed, it is this loss that Blake felt he had to make up for when he reissued the designs in 1818. In his illuminated books it was the unification of words and images that had guided each "perfect" poem; this had now gone. In one sense this was inevitable, in that there was no way in which he could actually print the new lines of verse under the designs having masked off what was originally there in their book form. In 1818, over twenty years later, he developed a completely new solution.

In the first place he added the framing lines, an act which in itself would have stressed only the pictorial element, leaving the absence of text as a deprivation. The framing lines were originally done in pencil and then reinforced in ink, and the number and proportions were carefully thought out. In some cases the edges of the printed images have also been tidied up with a ruled ink line, as in *Urizen* pl. 7 and the bottom edge of *Urizen* pl. 23. In the case of the illustration from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 16, the top and bottom edges were strengthened with gray watercolor wash, again in order to neaten the image.

Such framing was a nod by Blake towards a style of presentation with which he was well familiar; it is to be seen around contemporary watercolors, engravings, and printed book illustrations. The use of some kind of tinting between framing lines is also found in the mounting of watercolors.

The setting of a glowingly colored design within some kind of frame is reminiscent of medieval illuminated books. Blake would have been familiar with such a combined art form from his experiences as an apprentice in Westminster Abbey. When he came to add writing to the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, this would have heightened his own awareness of his place in such a spiritual tradition.

14. *Urizen* pl. 21; see Bentley, "The Shadow of Los," illus. 1 and 2. Pages from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* where embossing follows heavy printing include most of the new discoveries. The Tate's copy of *Urizen* pl. 2 (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.5) shows little embossing but seems to have been flattened during conservation treatment.

15. Viscomi, "Blake's 'Annus Mirabilis'" 63-64, 71, 79-81.

16. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.1, pl. 350.

17. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.5, 3.

18. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.4.

19. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.10, pl. 359. Unlike Bentley ("William Blake and His Circle, 2007" 14n43), we think that the Morgan copy of *Urizen* pl. 12 is more likely to have been that originally bound as part of copy B of the *Small Book of Designs* than the newly discovered impression with its lack of stabholes and its verse line in pencil within its first and second ink framing lines.

20. Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #280, pl. 379.

Blake then added his new lines of verse under each design. The new discoveries add thirteen lines, making in total thirty-two lines of verse written on twenty-one designs (including both of the inscribed copies of *Urizen* pl. 12). The new lines, like those already known, echo, to a greater or lesser extent, the imagery of the designs; in the case of *Urizen* pl. 12 the new inscription is a more specific illustration of *Urizen* swimming upwards through water. In all the examples the added texts, far from being the verses in the original books illustrated by the designs, can be seen as captions to the designs, appropriate solely to the illustrations they accompany. Nor, in so far as one can tell, do the verses below the designs form part of a single consecutive text; rather, what one has now is more like a series of emblems much like those in the little emblem books *For Children* and *For the Sexes*, printed or reprinted at about this time.

The use of double quotation marks, perhaps the most intriguing feature of the designs from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, is particularly significant, especially in those cases where there are two lines, each with its own set of quotation marks at the end of the line as well as the beginning. Even when one accepts Blake's apparently somewhat wayward usage of punctuation, and indeed in many cases his lack of it, these quotation marks seem to give his words an extra significance.

Blake's use of quotation marks in his books is rare. On *Urizen* pl. 19 three lines are so distinguished, the first and second with opening quotation marks and the third more orthodoxly with them at the close; as a result the text reads like an actual exhortation to "Spread a Tent . . ." On *Jerusalem* pl. 27 a series of rhetorical questions, followed by "Amen! Huzza! Selah!"; is followed by a line actually given within quotes, "All things Begin & End in Albions Ancient Druid Rocky Shore"; it is more difficult to distinguish the speaker of this line than those of the salutations above. On *Jerusalem* pl. 77 one has an actual parallel, with quotation marks at each end of the two-line appeal, appearing as it were under the heading "Devils are / False Religions":

"Saul Saul"
"Why persecutest thou me."

Here one has an actual quotation from St. Paul, presumably to illustrate the sentence about devils.²¹

The most extensive use of double quotation marks at each end of every line occurs in the long verse passage in the midst of Blake's second letter to Thomas Butts of 22 November 1802, one section of twelve lines, one of ten (E 720-22). In Blake's previous letter to Butts of the same date he had stated that "Tho I have been very unhappy I am so no longer I am again Emerged into the light of Day . . ." (E 720). The verses in the second letter "were Composed above a twelvemonth ago

21. For Blake's use of quotation marks in the illuminated books it is best to refer to a facsimile or good reproduction of a copy of the book in question.

while Walking from Felpham to Lavant to meet my Sister," and begin "With happiness . . ." The lines within quotes are the poet's reply to "a Thistle across my way" who warns him against backsliding; these lines within verses within a letter stand out as the direct utterance of the poet as Blake addresses Butts, described as "Friend of My Angels" in a letter of 23 September 1800 (E 711), in comparison with his other important patron of the time, William Hayley.

Hayley's patronage, though well-meaning, was restrictive and numbing, and perhaps Humphry's patronage could have been seen by Blake in much the same way. Later, probably in 1809, Blake wrote to Humphry enclosing a copy of his *Descriptive Catalogue* of that year, stating that "You will see in this little work the cause of difference between you & me. . . . You will percieve [*sic*] that I not only detest False Art but have the Courage to say so Publickly . . ." (E 770). Unable to repeat the isolation of his designs without their original texts as they had been prepared for Humphry in 1796, Blake gave the illustrations for his second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* a new verbal context. Thus the presence of the verses and the stress given to them by the quotation marks take us back to the principle of "Personifications & Acts" as explored in the illuminated books from where the designs originated and demonstrate how he redressed "the Loss of some of the best things." What may have been a business transaction in 1796 had become a new form of creativity.

The new discoveries since 1981 of pages from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* bring up the total number of pages, given that only one copy of *Urizen* pl. 12 would have been included in the bound copy B, to nineteen, four fewer than in the first copy; three of the images are not found in the first copy (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.9-11). The highest figure in the series of numbers written in ink is "22"; of those written in pencil, including that on the *Urizen* title page from the Keynes collection, the highest number is "10", with one gap in the sequence.

Given the differences in content of the two copies of the *Small Book of Designs* and the existence of further examples of independent color prints from the illuminated books that cannot definitely be associated with either the second copy of the *Small Book* or the putative second copy of the *Large Book of Designs*,²² it seems likely that Blake printed off his chosen designs from the books in as many copies as the color-printing technique would bear, one, two, and sometimes three at a time. The best set, of first pulls, went into the first copies of the two *Books of Designs*, executed for Ozias Humphry in 1796, while the remaining pulls stayed in Blake's possession. Then, in 1818 when Dawson Turner inquired about the works done for Humphry, presumably with the idea of acquiring a second set, Blake sought out the best copies he could find, mostly if not all second pulls, finished them off with watercolor, ink outlines, framing lines, and new lines of verse, and

22. Bentley, *Blake Books* 269.

bound up a second copy, similar to but not identical in choice of subjects. For some reason Turner did not acquire the set and it was subsequently broken up into at least two parts, each with its own numbering, one set retaining the ink numbers of the original bound copy, the other being given new numbers in pencil and probably remaining unbound though, of course, retaining the stabholes of the unified set. Somehow the odd pull of *Urizen* pl. 12 became associated with the Tatham group of pulls from the second copy.

Because of the relatively haphazard way in which Blake had printed copies of his designs, several still remained and are now generally dispersed. Further pages from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* may be among the odd prints which have lost their characteristic features through trimming; others, hopefully, remain to be discovered.²³

The later history of the new group of pulls is unknown until they were acquired by the present owner in a book sale in north London around 1972-77. At some point before then they had been slipped into a slim alphabetical national railway timetable datable only through a route map dated June 1891.

Even the most forceful of the images among those in the *Small Book of Designs* such as *Urizen* pl. 17 are, of course, on the small scale of the books from which they derive, and at least some of the images are more in the tradition of the decorative style of such artists as Thomas Stothard. However, in what Viscomi has aptly called "Blake's 'Annus Mirabilis,'" 1795, the large color prints displayed in a completely personal and revolutionary way the unity of color-printing technique with the weight and neoclassical clarity of the *Job* and *Ezekiel* prints of 1793-94.

23. See Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #262A-283. Of these, #263, 265, 267, 277, 279, 281, 285, and 286 are possible candidates for the second copy of the *Large Book of Designs*; see Bentley, *Blake Books* 269, and "William Blake and His Circle, 1995" 137; those not trimmed are on larger paper than the *Small Book*, usually share the framing lines typical of c. 1818, but lack any lines of verse.

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Table 1: The Newly Discovered Prints

All are on wove paper. All save the last have stabholes, the first approximately 3 to 3½ in. (7.5 to 9.0 cm.) from the top of the sheet, the second 1½ in. (3.9 cm.) from the first, and the third 1¼ in. (4.4 cm.) from the second. In particular, there is an extra stabhole approximately ⅜ in. (0.2 cm.) slightly below and to the right of the third stabhole. In addition, there are pinholes centered at the top of *Urizen* pls. 11, 23, and 12, perhaps as the result of the pages' having been hung on the wall unframed.

All are color printed from the relief-etched plate, apparently without any printing in ink from the actual outlines of the images. Each has been finished in pen and ink and watercolor. Several of the prints bear offsets on the versos, as a result of their having been stacked one on top of the other, though not in their present numerical order. Such offsets are more likely to have occurred when the color-printing medium was relatively fresh.

All the prints save that of *Urizen* pl. 17 are inscribed on the back, lower left, in black ink by Frederick Tatham, "This Coloured Print by W^m. Blake / was given to me by his Widow / Frederick Tatham / Sculptor." (the precise punctuation varies).

In tables 1 and 2, catalogue numbers have been added following those already allocated in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings*, to the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*.

#261.14 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 19

2 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{32}$ in. (7.3 x 10.4 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26.3 x 18.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Is the Female death"

"Become new Life"

below in black ink, and "1" in pencil lower right.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.8 x 10.4 cm.). The text embossing on the verso of this sheet is clearer than in any other of the masked texts in this group of eight prints.

There are ruled lines around the design.

This corresponds to page 14 of the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-438; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.14).

#261.15 *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* plate 16

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 in. (5.8 x 10.2 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (25.9 x 18.7 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Who shall set"

"The Prisoners free"

below in black ink, and "4" in pencil lower right.

Watermarked "E&P" for Edmeads & Pine. The embossed platemark on the verso measures 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 in. (6.0 x 10.2 cm.). The top and bottom edges of the printed image have been strengthened and tidied up with touches of gray watercolor.

This corresponds to page 4 of the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-428; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.4).

#261.16 *The Book of Thel* plate 7

3 $\frac{3}{32}$ x 4 $\frac{7}{32}$ in. (8.3 x 10.7 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (25.7 x 18.6 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Doth God take Care of these"

below in black ink, and "5" (or "3") in pencil lower right.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{7}{32}$ in. (8.1 x 10.7 cm.).

There are faint unfinished ruled pencil lines outside the ink framing lines.

The somewhat unclear pencil number lower right is presumably a "5", number "3" appearing on the copy of *Urizen* pl. 1 listed in table 3 below (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.1).

This corresponds to page 22 of the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-446; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.22).

#261.17 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 11

4 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (10.8 x 10.0 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26.4 x 18.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Every thing is an attempt"

"To be Human"

below in black ink, and "6" in pencil lower right. On the verso there is, in an unidentifiable hand, an indecipherable inscription, perhaps "Heaven & Hell"; what looks like an oddly written "2" precedes those words.

There are faint unfinished ruled pencil lines outside the ink framing lines.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures 3 $\frac{3}{32}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.1 x 10.8 cm.).

This corresponds to page 19 in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-443; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.19).

#261.18 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 23

3 $\frac{3}{32}$ x 4 in. (10.1 x 10.2 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.7 x 18.4 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Fearless tho in pain"

"I travel on"

below in black ink, and "7" in pencil lower right; slightly below this, in very faint pencil and scribbled over, is what appears to be the figure "11".

A ruled line has been drawn in black ink along the bottom edge of the image.

This corresponds to page 7 in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-431; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.7).

#261.19 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 17

5 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (14.8 x 9.1 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{32}$ in. (25.85 x 18.1 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Vegetating in fibres of Blood"

below in black ink, and "8" in pencil lower right. There is no inscription by Frederick Tatham on the verso.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures 5 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{17}{32}$ in. (14.7 x 8.9 cm.).

There are ruled black ink lines around the design.

This corresponds to page 3 of the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-427; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.3).

#261.20 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 7

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (11.4 x 10.4 cm.) on paper 9 $\frac{25}{32}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (25.0 x 18.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

"I sought Pleasure & found Pain"
"Unutterable"

below in black ink, and "9" in pencil lower right.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures $4\frac{9}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{32}$ in. (11.6 x 10.4 cm.). Also on the verso, in raking light, there is what seems to be the imprint of a thin canvas or linen-like masking covering the six lines of text above the image in the original book; this masking seems to follow the line of flames to the right of the figure's head.

There are ruled black ink lines around the image. A very pale yellow watercolor wash has been added between the first and second framing lines.

This corresponds to page 18 in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-442; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.18).

#261.21 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 12

6 x $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (15.3 x 10.3 cm.) on paper $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. (25.7 x 18.4 cm.).

Inscribed:

The floods overwhelmed me

below in pencil within the ink framing lines, and "10" in pencil lower right; slightly above and to the left of the figure "10" the paper is slightly scraped, possibly the result of a former number having been removed.

There are ruled black ink lines around the edges of the image.

The embossed platemark on the verso measures $6\frac{3}{32} \times 4$ in. (15.3 x 10.2 cm.).

This subject does not occur in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, but there are two other known, separate copies of this subject. The first, which has been trimmed, is inscribed on the back in pencil, but presumably following an ink inscription on the front, "I labour upwards into / futurity / Blake", and for this reason has up to now been associated with the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (Morgan Library, New York; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.10, pl. 359). The second, on an untrimmed sheet of paper, lacks any of the characteristic features of the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1874-12-12-145; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #280, pl. 379).

Literature: Bentley, "William Blake and His Circle, 2007" 14n43.

Table 2: Other Discoveries since 1981

#261.12 *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* plate 20

Robert N. Essick, USA

$2\frac{9}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.5 x 10.5 cm.) on paper, trimmed, $5\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{16}$ in. (13.0 x 18.9 cm.); restored with additional area of original paper bearing verses, $1 \times 7\frac{7}{16}$ in. (2.5 x 18.9 cm.), attached to mat below.

Inscribed:

"O revolving Serpent"
"O the Ocean of Time & Space"

below in black ink, and "16" in ink upper right.

There are four stabholes, the first three $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (1.1 cm.) from the left-hand edge of the sheet, the first $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (2.4 cm.) from the top, the second $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.85 cm.) below that, and the third $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.5 cm.) below that; the fourth stabhole is $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (1.5 cm.) lower than the third and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.3 cm.) from the left-hand edge of the sheet.

This corresponds to page 6 in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-430; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.6).

Collections: John Varley (d. 1842); Mrs. John Varley, given 31 March 1856 to Adam White; Sir Joseph Noel Paton (d. 1901); by descent to vendor at Sotheby's, London, 13 July 1995, lot 71, illus. in color, sold £36,700 to John Windle for Robert N. Essick.

Literature: Butlin, "A New Color Print," illus.; Bentley, *Blake Books Supplement* 99-100; Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995" 108, 111, illus. 3-5.

#261.13 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 3

Maurice Sendak, USA

$2\frac{13}{32} \times 3\frac{15}{16}$ in. (6.1 x 9.9 cm.) on paper trimmed to image.

There is a rough pencil drawing, just possibly a figure, on the reverse (Butlin, "Another Rediscovered Small Color Print," upright illus. 2).

Butlin and Essick both agree that this is almost certainly the second of three pulls, following that in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs* (BM 1856-2-9-433; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #260.9) but preceding that formerly belonging to Geoffrey Keynes and now on deposit from the Keynes Family Trust at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which has also been trimmed (Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.4; see table 3). For this reason it has been suggested that this pull rather than the Keynes one is from the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*. However, it is the Keynes copy that bears on the reverse the inscription "Oh flames of furious / desire", presumably a copy of an original inscription typical of the second copy of the *Small Book of Designs*.

The figure's clearly formed left breast can also be seen, less clearly, in the British Museum pull, but not in that at Cambridge.

There is what appears to be a watercolor copy after the Keynes version at the Tate; it is inscribed "Oh! Flames of furious desires" in pencil, without quotation marks, below the framing lines (Tate N05190; Butlin, *William Blake* 80-81, no. 24, illus.). Collections: Anon. sale, Sotheby's, London, 17 December 1970, lot 14, as by "Blake"; anon. sale, Christie's, London, 25 April 1995, lot 52, illus., sold £32,200 to John Windle for Maurice Sendak.

Literature: Butlin, "Another Rediscovered Small Color Print," illus.; Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995" 108, 111, illus. 1.

Table 3: Changes in Ownership since 1981

#261.1 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 1

Keynes Family Trust, on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

3 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9.1 x 10.25 cm.) on wove paper 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (25.9 x 18.2 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Which is the Way"

"The Right or the Left"

below in black ink, and "3" in pencil lower right. The printed date has been altered from "1794" to "1796" in ink. There are two later inscriptions in pencil: "Moses" lower left and "192" lower right.

Inscribed by Frederick Tatham on the verso lower left in black ink, "This Coloured Print by W^m. Blake / was given to me by his Widow / Frederick Tatham / Sculptor."

There are four stabholes. The first is 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (8.1 cm.) from the top edge of the sheet; the second is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.85 cm.) below that, and the third 1 $\frac{23}{32}$ in. (4.35 cm.) below the second; the usual extra stabhole is somewhat below the third and to the right.

Between the first and second framing lines there is a very pale yellow watercolor wash.

There is some embossing from foliage on the right-hand side of the recto of the full *Urizen* title page, but this was largely masked, leaving a fabric-like texture on the verso.

Collections: As in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.1; Sir Geoffrey Keynes (d. 1982); Keynes Family Trust.

Literature: Bindman, *Catalogue of the Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* 71, no. 522(i); Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 137-38, #261.1, pl. 350; Jaffé 80, no. 38a, illus.; Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* 303-04; Viscomi, "Blake's 'Annus Mirabilis'" 75.

#261.4 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 3

Keynes Family Trust, on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{27}{32}$ in. (6.1 x 9.8 cm.) on wove paper, trimmed, 3 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{27}{32}$ in. (9.7 x 14.9 cm.).

Inscribed on the verso, not by Blake, "Oh flames of furious / desire".

The top and bottom edges of the sheet have been trimmed, cutting away the third and fourth framing lines. The edges of the image have been strengthened with ruled pen lines.

Collections: As in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.4; Sir Geoffrey Keynes (d. 1982); Keynes Family Trust.

Literature: Bindman, *Catalogue of the Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* 71, no. 522(ii); Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 138-39, #261.4, pl. 353; Jaffé 81, no. 38b, illus.; Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* 304.

#261.7 *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* plate 7

Keynes Family Trust, on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (5.7 x 12.1 cm.) on wove paper 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (26.85 x 18.6 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Wait Sisters"

"Tho all is Lost"

below in black ink, and "22" in black ink upper right, and in pencil, not by Blake, "Original Drawing by W^m Blake" lower center.

There are three stabholes. The first is 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.65 cm.) from the top edge of the sheet, the second 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm.) from the first, and the third 1 $\frac{23}{32}$ in. (4.4 cm.) below the second. The first two stabholes are between the two outermost framing lines. There is no extra stabhole just below and to the right of the lowest of the three.

There are framing ink lines along the top, bottom, and right-hand edges of the image. There is very little embossing visible on the verso.

Collections: As in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.7; Sir Geoffrey Keynes (d. 1982); Keynes Family Trust.

Literature: Bindman, *Catalogue of the Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* 71-72, no. 522(iii); Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 139-40, #261.7, pl. 356; Jaffé 81, no. 38c, illus.

#261.11 *The First Book of Urizen* plate 22

Robert N. Essick, USA

6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (15.4 x 10.0 cm.) on paper 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (25.6 x 18.0 cm.).

Inscribed:

"Frozen doors to mock"

"The world: while they within torments up lock"

below in ink.

Watermarked "1794".

There are four stabholes. The first is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.0 cm.) from the top of the sheet, the second 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.9 cm.) from the first, and the third 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.4 cm.) from the second. The fourth hole is 1 $\frac{9}{32}$ in. (1.5 cm.) lower than the third hole and approximately the same to the right. The other three stabholes are 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.5 cm.) from the left-hand edge of the sheet.

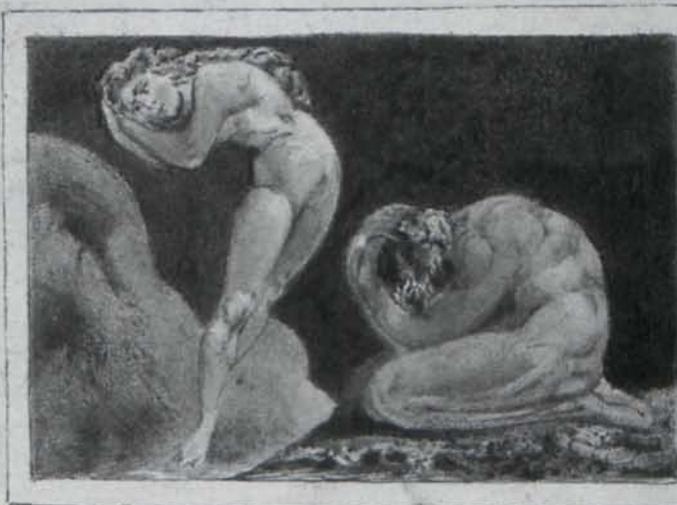
Between the first and second framing lines there is a pale blue watercolor wash.

This design is not found in the first copy of the *Small Book of Designs*, but the framing lines and the form of inscription are similar to those in the second copy. There are, however, no traces of page numbers either in ink or pencil.

Collections: As in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.11; Joseph Holland, Los Angeles; John Windle, catalogue 26, December 1995, no. 1, illus. in color on cover, sold to Robert N. Essick.

Exhibited: As in Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.11; William Blake, National Museum of Western Art (Tokyo, 1990) 129, no. 25d, illus. in color.

Literature: Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* 141, #261.11, pl. 360; Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995" 108, 111, illus. 2.



"Is the Female Death"
"Become new Life"

3. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 19, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 7.3 x 10.4 cm. on paper 26.3 x 18.5 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.

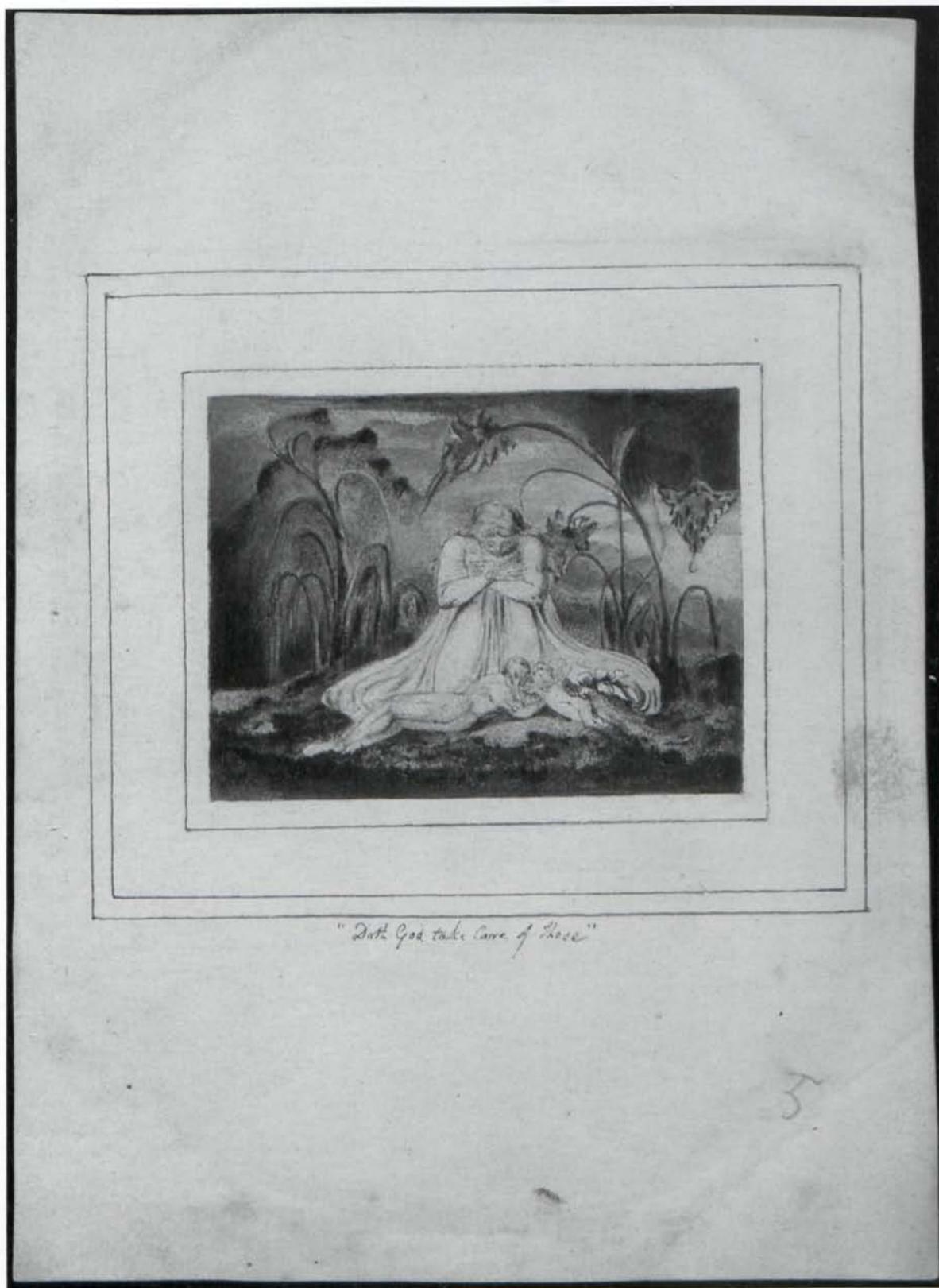


4. Verso of illus. 3 in raking light showing platemark, embossing, and ineffective masking. Lines 3 to 33 of the two columns of text in the original *First Book of Urizen* can clearly be seen. Photo courtesy of Tate.

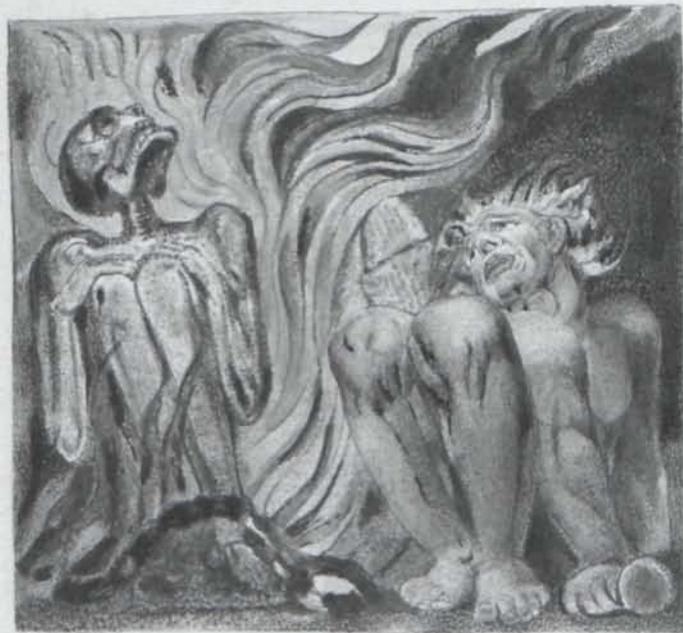


4

5. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 16, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 5.8 x 10.2 cm. on paper 25.9 x 18.7 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



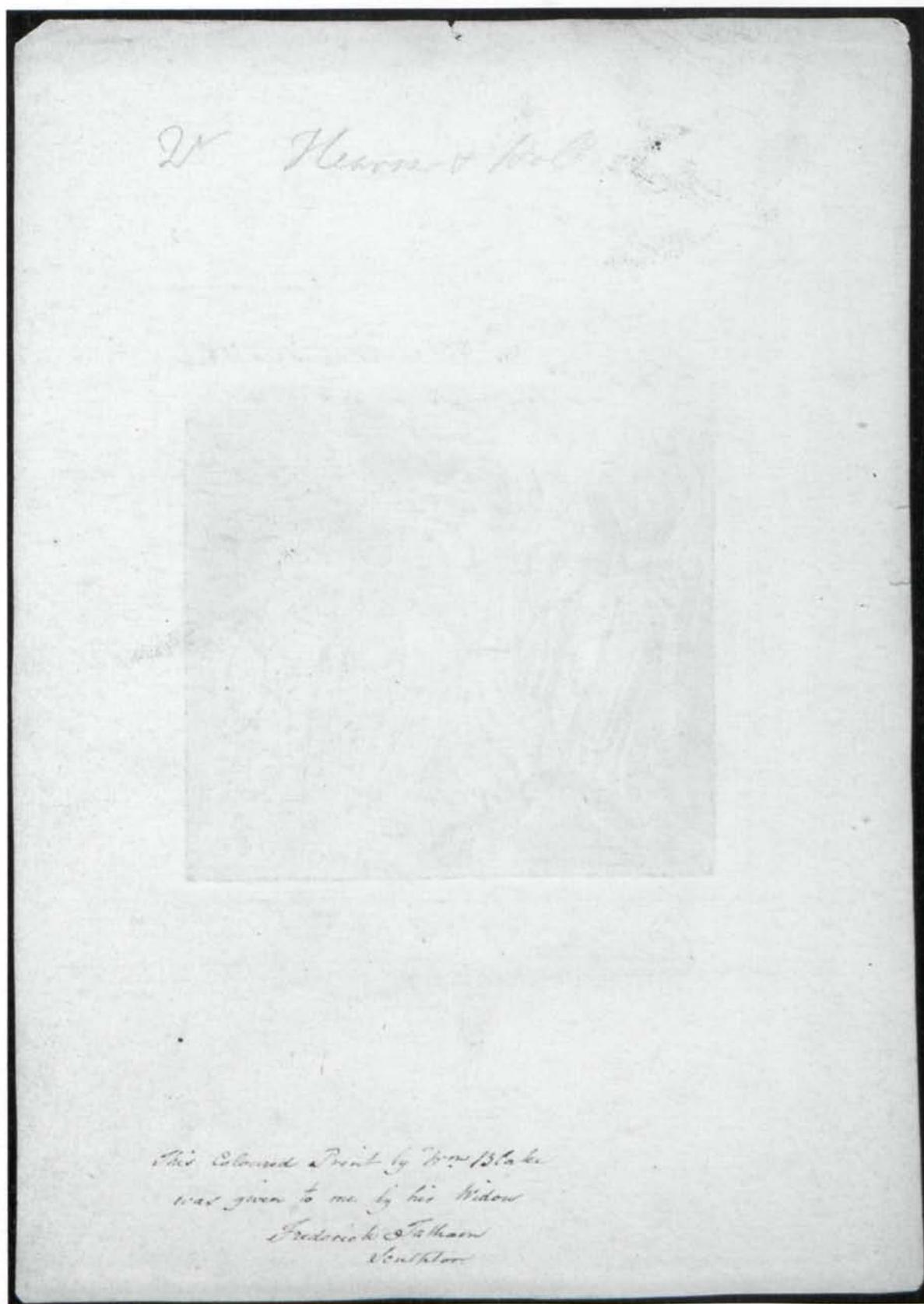
6. *The Book of Thel* pl. 7, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 8.3 x 10.7 cm. on paper 25.7 x 18.6 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



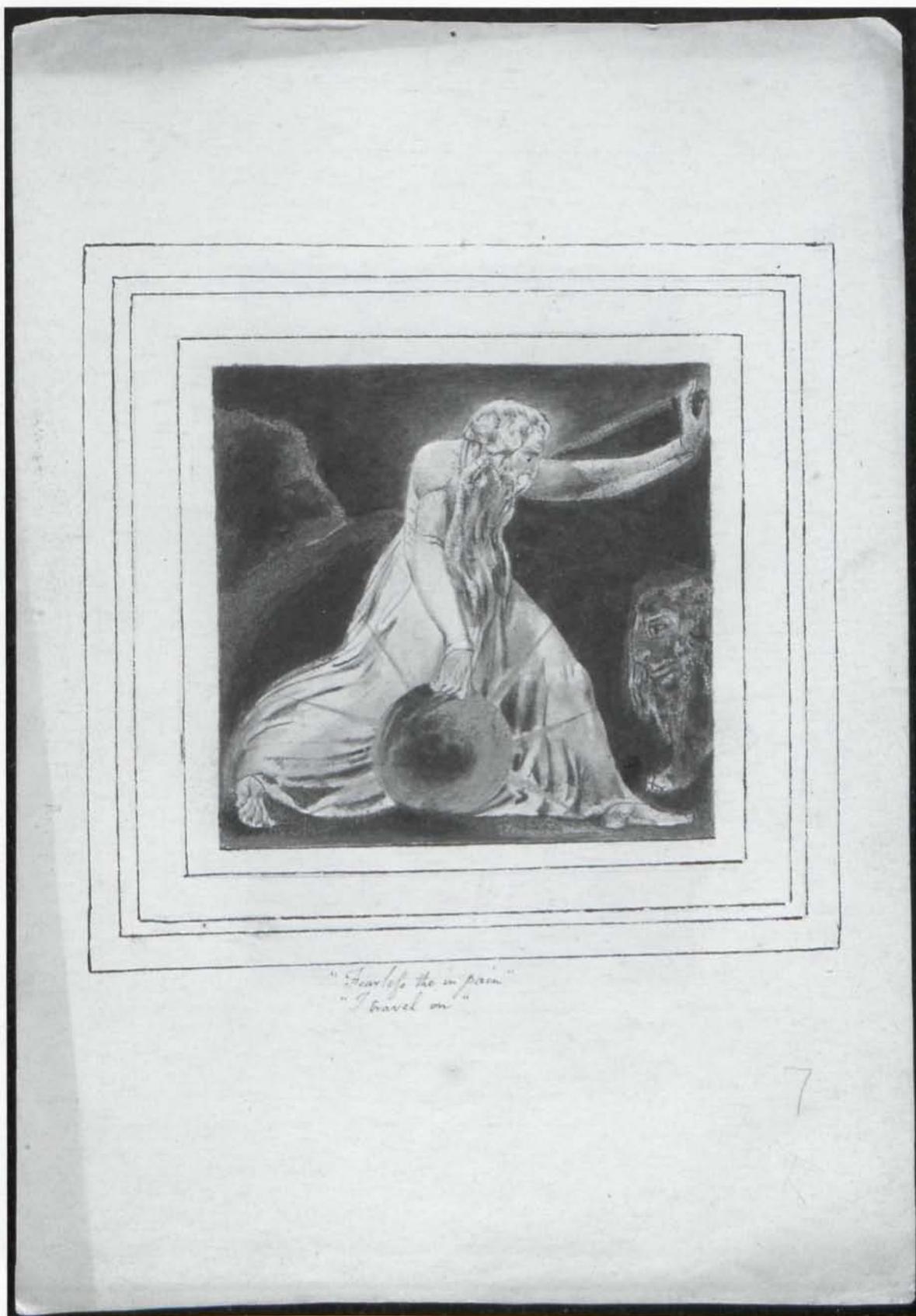
"Every thing is an attempt"
"To be Human."

6.

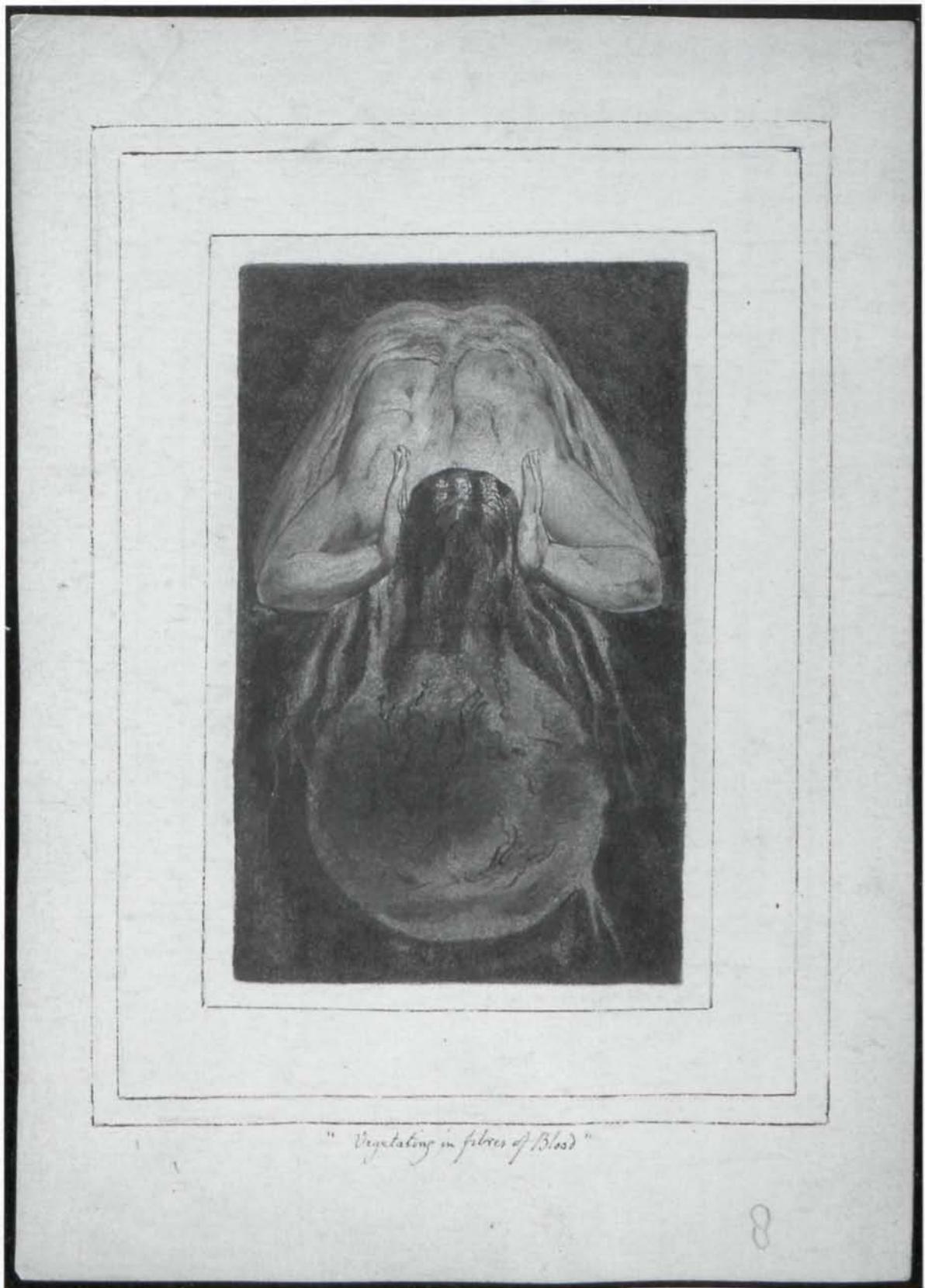
7. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 11, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 10.8 x 10.0 cm. on paper 26.4 x 18.5 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



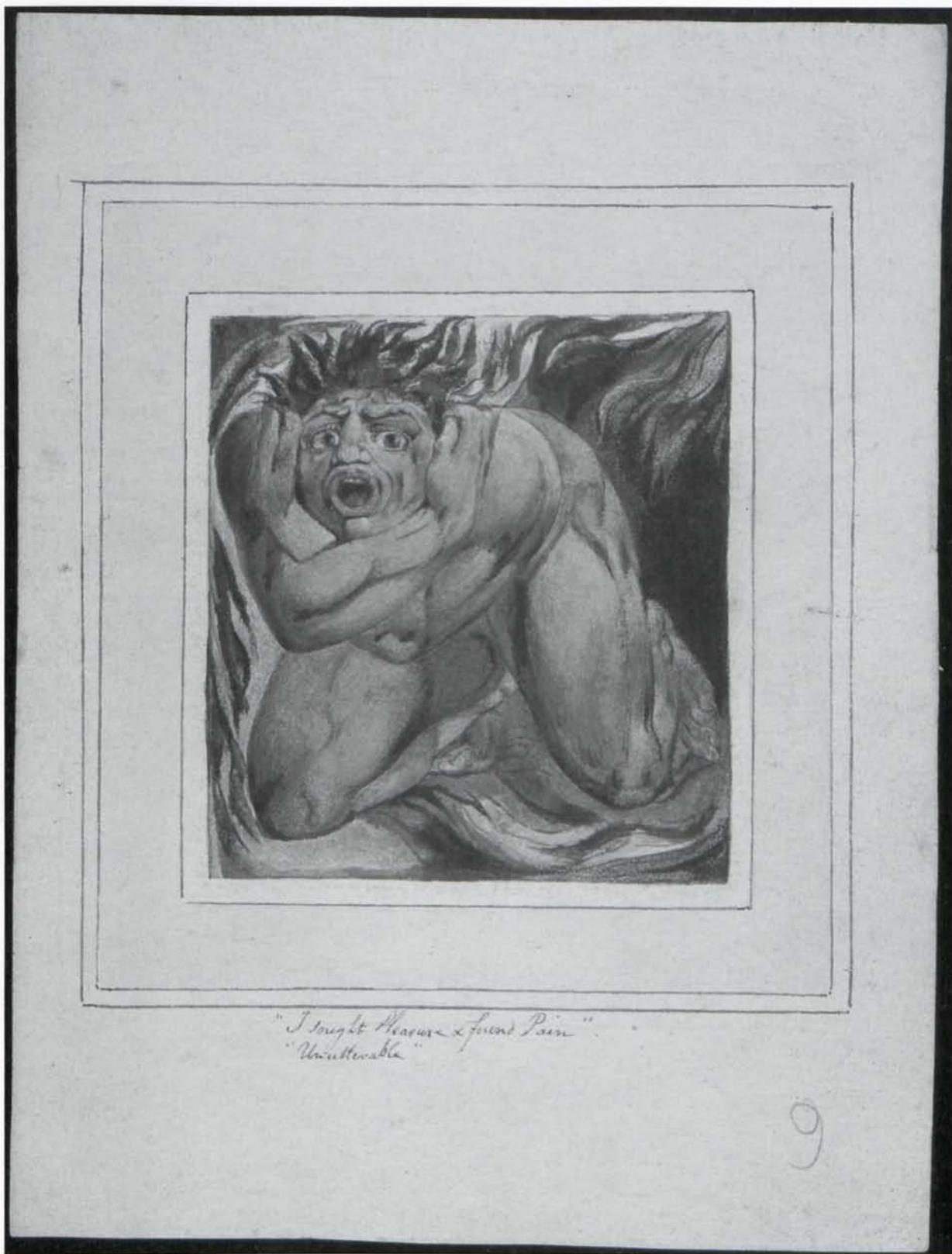
8. Verso of illus. 7, showing Tatham's inscription. Photo courtesy of Tate.



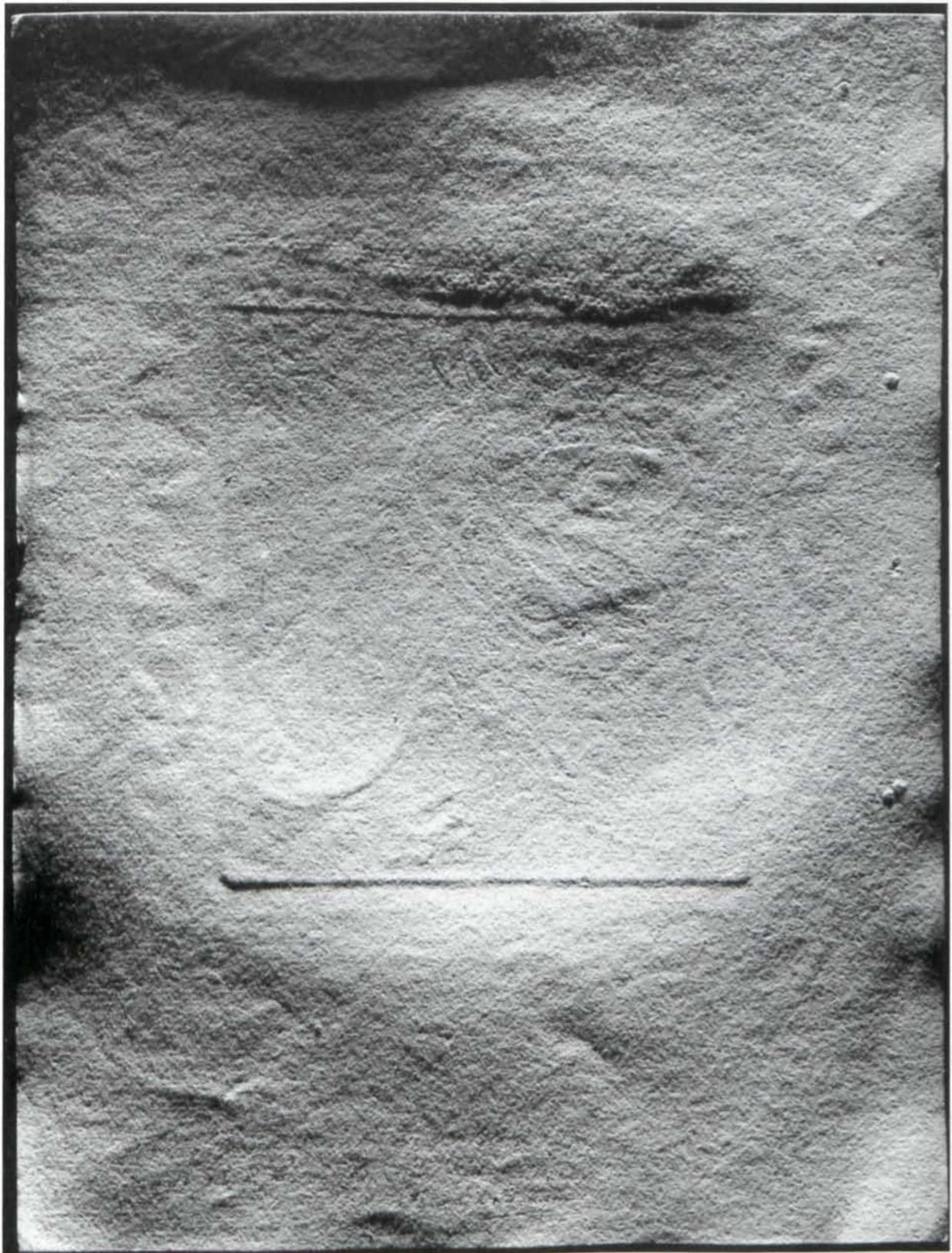
9. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 23, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 10.1 x 10.2 cm. on paper 26.7 x 18.4 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



10. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 17, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 14.8 x 9.1 cm. on paper 25.85 x 18.1 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



11. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 7, color printed and hand colored by Blake for the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818. 11.4 x 10.4 cm. on paper 25.0 x 18.5 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



12. Verso of illus. 11 in raking light showing how Blake used a soft-edged template that followed the common edge made up by the linking of the tips of the flames on the recto; this also shows the distinctive stabholes. Photo courtesy of Tate.



13. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 12, color printed and hand colored by Blake, possibly as part of the second copy (B) of *Small Book of Designs*, 1796, finished c. 1818 or later. 15.3 x 10.3 cm. on paper 25.7 x 18.4 cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Tate.



14. *The First Book of Urizen* pl. 2, verso, showing the effect of masking with an appropriately shaped template following the outer edges of the foliage or flames on the recto. The two parallel white lines at the top of the page are the edges of a modern paper hinging tape attached to a mount. Tate N03696; Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings* #261.5. Photo courtesy of Tate.

W. H. Stevenson, ed. *Blake: The Complete Poems*. 3rd ed. Longman Annotated English Poets. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007. xxv + 929 pp. £19.99/\$59.60, paperback.

By Justin Van Kleeck

AS IF to mark 2007 as both Blake's 250th birthday and a second eighteen-year interval of Rest before Labour, Longman published the third edition of Blake's poetry by W. H. Stevenson in its Annotated English Poets series. Following his own precedent, Stevenson has not radically altered the new version from its predecessors—*The Poems of William Blake* (1971, 1st ed.) and *Blake: The Complete Poems* (1989, 2nd ed.). Thus, travelers through Blake's textual universe will find themselves on a familiar path—one that is less perilous than some others, with views that are impressive but not overwhelming, and with plenty of road signs, rest stops, and information booths along the way.

Stevenson comments in his preface on those revisions he has made to both his text(s) and the accompanying notes for the third edition. First, he now includes the prose tracts *All Religions are One* and *There is No Natural Religion*, making the edition even more "complete," sort of a "complete poems (plus a little prose)," and an even better bargain. Second, "there is considerable rearrangement of the Miscellaneous Verses after 1807"—which include some of Blake's most biting poetic effusions—"taking account of Erdman's work on the Notebook" (xiii). Last, the order of *Milton* now follows Blake's ordering of later copies, thus rescuing from an appendix the five added plates but pushing the preface to a separated existence before *Milton* proper.¹

Despite these particular changes, the more familiar features of Stevenson's previous Longman text still predominate. Because, as he points out repeatedly, his edition "is designed to be widely, and fluently, read" (xiv), these versions of Blake's writings probably offer little in the way of new discoveries; they also do not seek to redefine "the text itself [that] has been available for a generation through the labours of" previous editors, namely Erdman, Bentley, and Keynes (xiii). This is not to say that Stevenson has skirted the labors of editing entirely. Indeed, he both carries over his previous editorial actions and performs new Wonders of labour in the process of self-revision. Whatever he says about inherited textual authority, specifically regarding his original "collaboration" (xvi) with

1. Stevenson typographically distinguishes the text of the later, added plates so that readers can identify Blake's earlier arrangement.

Erdman and use of Erdman's *Poetry and Prose* (1970 ed.), Stevenson never did and does not now simply provide an Erdman clone. Longman policy partially dictates this by requiring texts that are modernized in spelling and punctuation and are arranged chronologically rather than by, say, theme or genre (see the note by the general editors, x). Yet Stevenson also chooses to reedit Erdman's text in other ways, such as in the case of *The Four Zoas*, where he orders Nights I and II differently (I: pp. 3-9a, 19-22; II: pp. 9b-18, 23-36), or *Milton*, where he now adopts the later plate order and actually comes closer in line to Erdman's text—except for Stevenson's separated preface.

The result is an edition of Blake's poetry that does much to facilitate reading and so perhaps comprehension of the author's "undoubtedly difficult verse" (xiii). In it we see quite distinctly the material manifestation of Stevenson's fundamental editorial principle, that he will produce "an edition whose primary purpose is to assist the reader rather than to establish a text ..." (xvi). We also see how deeply Stevenson believes that "the audience is far wider than the devoted company of [Blake] scholars," necessitating texts that are fit "for all kinds of readers" (xiii). Thus, in line with series policies, the editor chooses to edit the originals in ways that make them more accessible, particularly to younger (i.e., undergraduate) and general readers. Many readers of the scholarly sort may quibble, as they have before, with Stevenson for altering one jot or tittle of Blake's spelling, punctuation, and "prodigal" capitalization (xv), or for adding quotation marks to spoken passages (and so interpreting what is being spoken and by whom).² Of course, Longman policies essentially force Stevenson's hand in these cases. Further, in the light of the edition's "primary purpose" and primary intended audience, more demanding readers can and should put down their swords and spears with only minor grumbling.

2. However, Stevenson makes clear that he has "largely, if not entirely" revised his practice with capitals and so restored many as they appear in Blake's originals (xv). Of course, determining what is and is not a capital in Blake's writing can be a seriously tricky endeavor. Somewhat ironically, given the extent to which the texts have been altered to fit the Longman guidelines, Stevenson remarks in the headnote to *Jerusalem* that he leaves unaltered originally capitalized words such as Reason, Despair, Sin, Moral Law, etc., because Blake himself capitalized "words important to him" (653n2). If capitalization is a matter of definite meaning, then why alter the originals at all? When it comes to another accidental matter, I disagree with Stevenson's opinion that "[Blake's] abbreviations [i.e., contractions—"turnd" for "turned," etc.] seem intended to save manual labour more often than to indicate the omission of a sound" (xv). Blake almost never used accent marks, and so those instances when he does bother to write a word fully ("turned" rather than "turnd") deserve careful scrutiny regarding their possible effect on the rhythm of a line. The fact that these full spellings are in the minority further demarcates them as noteworthy. Stevenson's/Longman's blanket policy of expansion becomes problematic because altering so-called accidentals leaves us no way of knowing if a word was expanded or contracted in the original. In turn, without the additional editorial addition of accent marks, readers have to figure out for themselves how to read, which means additional labor, possibly making more difficult their reading process and so thwarting the editor's aim for his text.

More important to Stevenson as reading assistant are the notes: introductory headnotes, footnotes, and even indexes. This apparatus serves as the editor's primary means "to provide whatever is essential for understanding" Blake's poetry (xiv). Not surprisingly, perhaps, Stevenson has revised "the heart and lungs of the edition," as he calls them, more carefully than Blake's texts: the headnotes to individual works "have been largely rewritten," in particular the one to *Jerusalem*, and "the footnotes too have been scoured and revised, and where necessary entirely renewed." In line with the edition's "primary purpose," the notes provide historical/biographical facts and interpretive commentaries. They also frequently summarize relevant Blake scholarship for those not taking part in that terrible Intellectual Battle or following closely from the sidelines, all without privileging specific interpretations or establishing a particular system of meaning (though Stevenson does not now, as he did in previous editions, emphasize this lack of interpretive system making³). For the most part, then, the notes explain particular bits of text or, in the case of the headnotes especially, provide interpretations that function almost as vortexes readers can use to enter Blake's quirky parallel universe.

When we combine the head- and footnotes with the short index for the notes (pointing to explanations of specific important terms), some impressive color plates, a chronology, and even several maps, Stevenson's apparatus attests to the amount of energy he has expended to assist his audience along the Blakean way.⁴ Indeed, the notes may well represent the bulk of the content, made subservient to the poetry they gloss only by being cast to the bottom of a page and rendered in smaller type. Personally, I am pleased that Stevenson does not entirely overlook textual and bibliographical details in his notes, offering some commentary upon the (possible) dates of works, relevant background information on the original materials, and even instances of Blake's textual revisions, including cancelled passages and plates (see, for example, 495 and 212-13 respectively).⁵

3. For example, in the first edition, Stevenson explains that he has "tried in this edition not to interpret or expound any 'system' in [Blake's] works, but to give whatever information is necessary for the exposition of each poem or passage, so that the reader may be able to interpret more easily for himself" (1971, xi). The omission of this or a similar statement gains significance in light of Anne Kostelanetz Mellor's just criticism, made in her 1972 review of the first edition, that Stevenson quite frequently presents his personal "interpretations as though they were facts, without acknowledging that some critics disagree with him" (*Blake* 6.1 [summer 1972]: 32). Perhaps now Stevenson is being more accurate by not affirming his objectivity. Whatever the case, this editorial inconsistency in previous editions disappears in 2007 because he omits the statement.

4. Stevenson might have helpfully added a bibliography of suggested readings as a way to provide the readers he aims to please/serve with much more information than the selected scholarship he cites elsewhere.

5. These textual notes also largely seem tied to instances of clearing up difficulty for readers or, at other times, to Blake's changes that somehow affect the meaning of the text, rather than for the sake of recording Blake's revisions as such. To cite a random example of the former: in l. 211 of *The Four Zoas*, Night II, Stevenson notes that "The Man" was replaced

I find much to commend and little to criticize in these various features of *Blake: The Complete Poems*, no matter the person using it. My only real concern arises out of Stevenson's central editorial goal as it shapes his edition, text and apparatus, namely that he sometimes seems to be overly careful in presenting Blake to readers. Thus, in the preface, he remarks that he identifies particular sources for Blake's allusions at times, but "not, I hope, so many that they will confuse the reader" (xiv). Shortly thereafter, addressing altered punctuation, he opines, "the reader faced with page after page of unpunctuated obscurity in *Vala* ... is probably very glad of the guidance that punctuation can give." One instance that I found most troubling occurs in the headnote to Night VIII of *The Four Zoas*. At first, Stevenson provides a surprisingly detailed (conjectural) reconstruction of the Night's composition based upon existing scholarship and a breakdown of the text into six stages/sections. He then diminishes this helpfulness, though, in the conclusion to the headnote by actually directing readers to pass over text: "The reader who finds the sequence difficult would do well to miss out at the first reading the passages indented in this table" (416). By making this suggestion, Stevenson obviously wants to keep his readers engaged in a most difficult section of, arguably, Blake's most difficult work. While his carefulness is well intended, I fear that the same reader who follows the editor's advice and misses material on the first go-round may never bother returning to it on a subsequent reading, whether out of fear, simple forgetfulness, or a sense that it is unnecessary.

More significantly, these examples indicate the editorial principles that guide nearly every facet of Stevenson's edition, both along with and independent from Longman guidelines. From the modernized texts, to the explanations of them, to the digested scholarship, to the brevity of complex textual details available in the notes, Stevenson's edition presents a version of Blake that strives to be accessible, comfortable, and enjoyable—with as little obscure, difficult, or disturbing material as possible. The edition even promotes such a view in its material particulars: a single-volume paperback that is easy to carry and, relatively speaking, easy on the wallet. Thus, Stevenson (and Longman) have a clear "ideal reader" and produce a work to meet that reader's (imagined) demands and needs. The only shortcoming I can cite arises when Stevenson's efforts to assist readers may diminish the fullness with which they can experience Blake. A reader surely will miss out on much in any editorial representation of Blake's works, so Stevenson should not be criticized too strongly for giving a limited view of the Blakean universe. But I worry an editor may sometimes limit

by "Albion" and explains that Albion is "[Blake's] later name for the archetypal Man; it implies also that the nation of Britain can stand for *The Man*" (322n). Here we see Stevenson both record a textual revision and then interpret/explain it so that readers can learn the full significance of key terms/ideas. By providing cancelled text, as with the *America* plates (212-13), Stevenson equally allows insights into how Blake struggled with his media and message and meaning.

that view further by creating the impression that an author is inherently obscure or too complex for many readers.

Admittedly, there is much that will intimidate and discom-
boluate in Blake, and so an assumption that the audience
needs help may lead to some extremely valuable insights
through explanation and other assistance, as frequently oc-
curs in Stevenson's case. However, it also may lead to the ex-
clusion of material that readers will never otherwise encoun-
ter—making Blake accessible by offering only what is easier
to handle. I think seasoned Blakeans (and especially editors)
do a disservice to fellow travelers, even those only on the bun-
ny slopes of Mont Blake, by directing them to “miss out” on
complexity and possible confusion, by smoothing over every
rough patch on the path, or by describing the author in ways
that make him seem obscure and obtuse.⁶ Possibly influenced
in instances such as these, readers might never want to return
to Blake and deepen their study of his creations. Call me cru-
el, but I believe that young readers would benefit from a lot
less hand-holding and a lot more exposure to ambiguity and
complexity—accompanied by plenty of encouragement to be
creative explorers in their studies. Let them each become the
child in the “London” illustration, confidently leading a bent
old man, rather than the child in the illustration for “The Lit-
tle Boy Found,” being led by some revered savior-like figure.
“Unless ye become as little children ...”

Nevertheless, I believe Stevenson's labors shine brightly,
most especially because their result serves as a sort of hub,
convergence point, or intermediary for the many other means
by which readers may come to Blake's writings: scholarly
complete editions focused on providing a sound text, other
selected editions of Blake heavily enriched by outside scholar-
ship (such as the Norton critical edition [2nd ed., 2007] with
its supplementary criticism), more general anthologies that
include pieces by Blake, and purely interpretive critical works.
Consequently, *Blake: The Complete Poems* does an admirable
job of serving its intended audience. That primary audience
is not the only one that can benefit from having both a *read-
ing* text based on a reliable authority (Erdman) and the fullest
body extant of commentary from a longtime Blake scholar
(much fuller than Bloom's in the Erdman edition, for exam-
ple). Seasoned critics, too, likely can use Stevenson's edition
for an enjoyable read and, perhaps on occasion, a bit of assis-
tance in their own thinking. While *Blake: The Complete Poems*
surely leaves more to be desired, even in its third instantiation,
I feel that it manages largely to achieve the goals that the editor
sets for it. It becomes even more remarkable by doing so in an
attractive, affordable physical object in this age when presses
are reducing their material output and electronic alternatives
gain popularity—making it a book that should be saved at

6. Stevenson's rhetoric is almost always mild in addressing Blake, but a few times he comes across as a bit sharp or judgmental. For example, “a strange poem, unsatisfactory in its lack of completeness, yet compelling in its dreamlike logic, in spite of its gruesome titlepage” (headnote to *The Book of Los*, 284).

the end of the semester. Every reader should approach every
edition, be it from a university library or a big-box bookstore,
consciously and critically; Stevenson's is no exception. But I
think that, under this editor's reliable eye, it serves as one of
the more useful guides through the Blakean universe, and so
we can praise Stevenson for undertaking that formidable task
once again. Happy birthday, Mr. Blake.

MINUTE PARTICULAR

“M^{rs} Chetwynd & her Brother” and “M^r. Chetwynd”

BY ANGUS WHITEHEAD

IF, as Keri Davies suggests in a recent essay about Blake col-
lector Rebekah Bliss, “every person who bought Blake's
work in his lifetime is of significance to Blake scholarship,”¹
the identity of another contemporary female purchaser of
the poet-artist's work, albeit on a smaller scale, merits closer
investigation. William Blake twice refers to “M^{rs} Chetwynd.”
On 30 January 1803 Blake wrote from Felpham to his brother
James at 28 Broad Street, Carnaby Market, “I send with this
5 Copies of N4 of the Ballads for M^{rs} Flaxman & Five more
two of which you will be so good as to give to M^{rs} Chetwynd
if she should call or send for them.”² According to G. E. Bent-
ley, Jr., “Mrs Chetwynd took two copies of the fourth Ballad
from James Blake ... and probably had the preceding num-
bers as well, eight in all (£1.0.0).”³ Eighteen months later, Mrs.
Chetwynd, accompanied by her brother, called on Blake at his
lodgings and studio at 17 South Molton Street. On 28 Sep-
tember 1804 Blake wrote to William Hayley:

I had the pleasure of a call from M^{rs} Chetwynd & her Brother.
a Giant in body mild & polite in soul as I have in general
found great bodies to be they were much pleased with Rom-
neys Designs. M^{rs} C. sent to me the two articles for you & for
the safety of which by the Coach I had some fears till M^r [Wil-
liam] Meyer obligingly undertook to convey them safe⁴

I wish to thank Keri Davies and Catherine Taylor for their assistance
with this note.

1. Keri Davies, “Rebekah Bliss: Collector of William Blake and Oriental
Books,” *The Reception of Blake in the Orient*, ed. Steve Clark and Masashi
Suzuki (London: Continuum, 2006) 38.

2. E 727.

3. G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 2004) [hereafter BR(2)] 153.

4. E 755.

From Blake's two brief allusions to her we may gather that Mrs. Chetwynd was a member of Hayley's circle who shared some interest in the poet and biographer's literary pursuits. She also appears to have been on good terms with Blake during the period 1803-04. Nevertheless, in Blake studies little else is known of either Mrs. Chetwynd or her brother. She is not mentioned in William Hayley's posthumously published *Memoirs* (1823), nor is she referred to in Morchard Bishop's biography, *Blake's Hayley* (1951). Of Blake's numerous biographers, only Thomas Wright, in his *Life of William Blake* (1929), attempts to provide new information concerning Mrs. Chetwynd. Wright describes her as a pretty widow with two daughters from Ham, near Richmond, whom Hayley met about 1800.⁵ According to Wright, Hayley also assisted Mrs. Chetwynd's eldest daughter with her Italian.⁶ No subsequent biographer of Blake has explored or expanded upon Wright's claims. However, in a recent paper that explores Catherine Blake's relationship with William Hayley, Mark Crosby cites what must have been one of Wright's sources, a passage from the manuscript of Hayley's autobiography, excised from the published work presumably by the editor, John Johnson.

In this passage Hayley claims that in 1800, immediately following a disappointment in love, he was indebted to "a young female friend ... for soothing the inquietude of his heart & Mind with a ... tender filial affection."

This young Lady of 15 was the eldest of an orphan family, that having lost a most amiable father by a calamitous skirmish in Ireland, with circumstances of horror & distress, was fortuitously conducted to Felpham in the summer of 1800 by an excellent mother whose shattered nerves required seabathing. The desolate parent & her orphans soon became familiar with Hayley, ever ready to sympathise with the afflicted. The eldest girl Penelope attended him to improve herself in Italian, which she had begun to learn, & her exemplary mother Mrs Chetwyn[d] had such generous confidence in the probability of her new friend that in departing from the coast, she confided her young Penelope to his care. He restored the young Penelope to her mother on Friday the 7 November. Such was his tender esteem & affection that he would probably have made her his wife.⁷

5. During the period 1800-09 Penelope Chetwynd and her children lived in the small village of Ham Common near Richmond. See *Ambulator: Pocket Companion of a Tour around London*, 7th ed. (London: J. Scatcherd, 1810) 103; *Monthly Magazine* (1 August 1809): 104.

6. Thomas Wright, *Life of William Blake* (Olney: Thomas Wright, 1929) 1:101. See also 1:108, 111, 114. Sadly, Wright provides no identifiable source for his information. However, in an endnote he refers to William Meyer's letters (2:125). With minimal supporting evidence, Wright identifies Mrs. Chetwynd with the Gwendolen of Blake's *Jerusalem* (see, for example, 1:130, 2:57). About 1803 Hayley appears to have taught Blake Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (BR[2] 681fn; E 727).

7. William Hayley, "Anecdotes of the Family Life and Writings of William Hayley the Biographer of Cowper," 3 vols., General MSS Vol. 352, James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 2:48-50, cited in Mark Crosby, "The Perfect Helpmeet: Hayley's Catherine," unpublished con-

Two recently published letters of the poet and novelist Charlotte Smith, to whom William Hayley had formerly acted as patron and supporter, throw further light on the identity of Mrs. Chetwynd, and suggest that by early 1801 she herself had become the object of Hayley's affections.

In a letter to the Irish antiquary and acquaintance of Hayley's, Joseph Cooper Walker, dated 14 April 1801, Smith observes,

It is now many months since I have heard of M^r Hayley otherwise than by common report, which says that he is going to be married to a M^{rs} Chetwynd, the widow of a Gentleman who was killed in Ireland in the rebellion & who has five children, none of them quite children.⁸

On 7 October 1801, in a further letter to Walker, Smith writes, "You probably correspond with our old friend M^r Hayley and know the Lady of your Count[r]y with whom he is as I understand soon to be united."⁹ Although Hayley married neither Mrs. Chetwynd nor her eldest daughter, he was certainly in regular contact with Mrs. Chetwynd and her "orphan family" during the early 1800s. The editor of Smith's correspondence, Judith Phillips Stanton, identifies Mrs. Chetwynd as "Penelope Carleton Chetwynd, daughter of John Carleton of Woodside, Co. Cork"¹⁰ As noted by Hayley and Smith, she had recently been widowed. Stanton informs us that Penelope Chetwynd's husband William Chetwynd (1754-98), "grandson of the third Viscount Chetwynd, was killed in action with the Irish rebels near Saintfield, Co. Down, 11 June 1798."¹¹

Crosby's and Stanton's information concerning Mrs. Chetwynd can be supplemented by other sources. The *International Genealogical Index (IGI)* reveals that Penelope Carleton was born near Cork about 1762. She married William Chetwynd, son and heir of Rev. Hon. John Chetwynd, Precentor of Cork, and Judith Piggott, at Cork on 30 May 1783.¹² According to

ference paper delivered at the William Blake at 250 conference, York, 30 July-1 August 2007. I wish to thank Mark Crosby for allowing me to cite his discovery here. Mrs. Chetwynd's eldest daughter Penelope married Thomas Pearson Firmin at Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, in December 1801 (*International Genealogical Index [IGI]*).

8. Judith Phillips Stanton, ed., *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003) 371. I can find no evidence of Mrs. Chetwynd's having a fifth child (see note 23 below).

9. Stanton 384. For a third reference to Hayley's possible remarriage in an undated letter from Smith to Walker, dated by Stanton to late March-early April 1802, see Stanton 416-17.

10. Stanton 372n6. John Carleton was clearly a member of the Irish gentry. "John Carleton, Esq, Woodside" is listed as a subscriber to *The Post-Chaise Companion: or, Travellers Directory, through Ireland. ... To Which Is Added, a Dictionary, or Alphabetical Tables. Shewing the Distance of All the Principal Cities, ... from Each Other* (Dublin: William Wilson, 1788) x. The same volume mentions that, traveling from Cork to Tralee, "Near 4 miles from Cork on the L is Wood-Side, the seat of Mr Carleton" (*Post-Chaise Companion* 354).

11. Stanton 372n6.

12. See *IGI*; Charles Mosley, ed., *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 106th ed. (Crans, Switzerland: Burke's Peerage [Genealogical Books] Ltd., 1999) 1:555. *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* reveals that William Chetwynd attended Westminster School and was admitted as a non-resident pensioner at

Henry Edward Chetwynd-Stapleton in his *The Chetwynds of Ingestre* (1892), when 44-year-old William Chetwynd was killed at the battle of Saintfield, he "was a captain in the army but serving as a paymaster of a York fencible regiment commanded by his cousin Granville Anson Chetwynd-Stapleton ..."¹³ Of Captain Chetwynd's role at Saintfield, John Jones, in *An Impartial Narrative of Each Engagement Which Took Place between His Majesty's Forces and the Rebels, during the Irish Rebellion, 1798*, writes:

The valour of the officers that fell [at Saintfield] deserves to be publicly recorded, but that of the amiable, gallant, and much-loved Capt. C ought not to be passed without particular notice.—This brave fellow, at the head of his men, received no less than nine pike wounds! notwithstanding which, he maintained his position, encouraging by his example his men to fight like loyal soldiers; till alas, two wounds from musquets deprived this hero of his existence, and our country of his future services.¹⁴

On first becoming acquainted with Penelope Chetwynd and presumably her children, perhaps as early as September 1800, Blake probably learned from Hayley that the Chetwynd family comprised the widow and orphans of a celebrated military hero killed during the Irish insurgency of 1798.

G. E. Bentley, Jr., identifies Mrs. Chetwynd's brother, described by Blake as "a Giant in body mild & polite in soul as I have in general found great bodies to be," as the "M^r. Chetwynd" mentioned by the traveler and writer John Carr in a letter to Hayley dated 9 September 1801.¹⁵ Carr writes: "Pray remember me warmly to M^r. Chetwynd. he is a noble Youth—You & Blake

Trinity College, Cambridge, on 29 May 1769 (see John Venn, J. A. Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigiensis: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-54] 2:25). Three years earlier Hayley had spent his final year as an undergraduate at Trinity (*Alumni Cantabrigiensis* 3:25; *DNB*). Chetwynd was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 24 June 1771, but at the beginning of October 1771 he migrated to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was awarded his BA in 1775 (*Alumni Dublinenses* [Dublin: A. Thom and Co., 1935] 148).

13. Henry Edward Chetwynd-Stapleton, *The Chetwynds of Ingestre; Being a History of That Family from a Very Early Date with Illustrations by the Author* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892) 251.

14. [John Jones], *An Impartial Narrative of Each Engagement Which Took Place between His Majesty's Forces and the Rebels, during the Irish Rebellion, 1798. ... Carefully Collected from Authentic Letters, by John Jones. Embellished with Engravings of the Battles of Arklow and Tara-Hill*, 4th ed. (Dublin: John Jones, 1800) 1:58-59. See also *A History of the Irish Rebellion, in the Year, 1798* (Dublin, 1799) 86.

15. *BR*(2) 109; see also James King, *William Blake, His Life* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 149. In the index to *BR*(2), John Carr's reference to "M^r. Chetwynd" and Blake's reference to Mrs. Chetwynd's brother are listed under the heading George Chetwynd. A George Chetwynd revised Richard Burn's *The Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer* (1825), a work Bentley cites in a discussion of Blake's entered plea of "not guilty" to the charge of sedition at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, Petworth, 4 October 1803 (*BR*[2] 170). See *BR*(2) 108-09, 857n117.

have made a Coxcomb of a wretched untutored Artist[.]"¹⁶ But Mrs. Chetwynd's brother cannot have been the Mr. Chetwynd referred to by Carr. We have now established that Chetwynd was Penelope Carleton's married name. Therefore, in all likelihood, Penelope Chetwynd's brother's surname was Carleton.¹⁷

Penelope Carleton Chetwynd had three younger brothers. Of the eldest, John Barry Carleton (born c. 1771), I can trace no record after April 1791, when he was made freeman of Cork City. His brothers appear in contemporary literature as resident at Woodside, so he may therefore have died some time before his sister's visit to Blake.

The second brother, Edward Mitchell Carleton (born c. 1773), was ordained in 1792, and the following year was licensed to the curacy of the parish of Carrigrohanebeg adjoining Woodside. He married Elizabeth Withers in January 1799, with whom he produced a family of eleven. In early 1804, Edward Carleton became prebendary of St. Michael's, Cork, a position he held until his resignation in 1825. If not the demands of his new post, then the responsibilities of his rapidly growing family may have made a social visit to London in the late summer of 1804 problematic.¹⁸

It therefore seems likely that it was Penelope's youngest brother who accompanied his sister to the Blakes'. Webber (or Weber) Carleton was born about 1777, and although like his brothers he entered Trinity College, Dublin, he did not graduate.¹⁹ However, as a painter of some ability, by 1815 he was an established, if amateur, artist as well as a prominent member of Cork's arts scene. Certainly he was competent enough to have exhibited his work at the first Munster exhibition of 1815. He was a member of the Cork Society for Promoting the Fine Arts from its inception in 1816 until his death in 1832, regularly serving on its committee and exhibiting at the society's annual exhibition.²⁰ The likelihood that Webber

16. *BR*(2) 109. In suggesting that Hayley and Blake had "made a Coxcomb" of Chetwynd, Carr seems to be joking, perhaps alluding to both Blake's and Hayley's possibly over-generous praise of Mr. Chetwynd's artistic efforts. Carr's words may echo a passage in William Cowper's letter to John Johnson, 23 March 1790, with which Hayley, Blake, and Carr would have been familiar from Hayley's recent editing of Cowper's correspondence: "If you should ever prove a coxcomb, from which character you stand just now at a greater distance than any young man I know, it shall never be said that I have made you one." See William Cowper, *The Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper*, ed. James King and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979-86) 3:363-65. In his journal for Friday, 26 June 1801, John Marsh wrote: "we drove to Felpham & drank tea with M^r. Hayley where we met M^r. Blake y^e artist & young M^r. Chetwynd ..." (*BR*[2] 108).

17. Conversely, Bentley may have assumed that Mrs. Chetwynd was single and that, in referring to her so, Blake was using the title "Mrs." as an honorific applied to single women of sufficient age, rank, and wealth.

18. However, Blake's reference to Mrs. Chetwynd's brother as "mild & polite in soul as I have in general found great bodies to be" may just possibly refer to the eminent Cork clergyman Edward Mitchell Carleton.

19. See *Alumni Dublinenses* 134. His elder brothers graduated in 1789 and 1791 respectively.

20. Peter Murray, "Cork Art History," Crawford Art Gallery, Cork, accessed 12 April 2008 <<http://www.crawfordartgallery.com/1800-1825>.

Carleton, amateur Cork artist, visited the Blakes provides an intriguing context for Blake's observation to Hayley that both Penelope Chetwynd and her brother "were much pleased with Romneys Designs" that Blake had borrowed from various sources to engrave for Hayley's *Life of George Romney*.

The "M^r. Chetwynd" who, according to John Carr, was taught painting by Blake and Hayley at Felpham in September 1801, can now be identified. Catharine Kearsley, in her *Kearsley's Complete Peerage, of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1794), writes of "William [Chetwynd] who married Penelope Carleton, by whom he has issue, a son and 3 daughters . . ." ²¹ According to Hayley (cited above), Penelope Chetwynd's eldest child Penelope was aged fifteen in 1800. She must therefore have been born about 1785, a year or two after her parents married. Penelope Chetwynd's only son, John, can therefore have been no younger than eight and no older than fifteen in 1801. ²² John Chetwynd was therefore old enough to be "M^r. Chetwynd," the "noble Youth" referred to by Carr. Hayley and Blake taught painting not to Penelope Chetwynd's brother, but to her orphaned son, young John Chetwynd. ²³

In the light of the new information concerning Penelope Carleton Chetwynd discussed in this note, it is clear that Mrs. Chetwynd is of significance to Blake studies. As a female member of the gentry she, like Rebekah Bliss, challenges the commonplace view of Blake's audience as male, radical, and dissenting. Her nationality is also important. Previously, the only identified Irish customers for Blake's work were Martin Archer Shee (of Dublin) and Sir Richard Newcomen Gore-Booth (of Sligo), subscribers to Robert Hartley Cromek's edition of Blair's *Grave* in 1808. ²⁴ Even more significantly,

html>; see also Richard Sainthill, *An Olla Podrida; or, Scraps, Numismatic, Antiquarian and Literary* (London: Nicholls and Son, 1844) 227. Blake's fellow printmaker and artist James Barry also hailed from Cork.

On 2 April 1816 the *Limerick General Advertiser* reported that on "Tuesday [26 March] morning a duel took place at the Dublin Turnpike, near Cork, between Walter Croker Esq and Webber Carleton Esq and after exchanging shots without injury to either party, the business was adjusted." Webber's involvement in this potentially fatal conflict sits strangely with Blake's estimation of Penelope Chetwynd's brother as a man "mild & polite in soul."

21. Catharine Kearsley, *Kearsley's Complete Peerage, of England, Scotland and Ireland; Together with an Extinct Peerage of the Three Kingdoms* (London: C. and G. Kearsley, 1794) 397.

22. See *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 92nd ed. (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1934) 528.

23. As Marsh's and Carr's allusions to Mr. Chetwynd are dated June and September 1801 and Charlotte Smith's references to Mrs. Chetwynd date from April and October 1801, we may infer that Penelope Chetwynd's son John Chetwynd was staying with his mother and sisters Penelope, Lucy, and Emily near Felpham, c. April-October 1801. John and his three sisters are listed in John Debrett, *Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: William Pickering, 1840) 156.

In a letter to Hayley dated 19 August 1800, John Flaxman writes of Blake's projected move to Felpham: "I see no reason why he should not make as good a livelihood there as in London, if he engraves & teaches drawing, by which he may gain considerably . . ." (BR[2] 94-95).

24. See BR(2) 214; Robert N. Essick and Morton D. Paley, *Robert Blair's The Grave Illustrated by William Blake: A Study with Facsimile* (London:

we now know that Blake was in touch with someone personally affected by the "horror & distress" caused by the recent troubles in Ireland. Blake's relationship with Mrs. Chetwynd therefore provides a new perspective for his numerous references to Ireland in his later illuminated books, including his writing of "the majestic form of Erin in eternal tears." ²⁵ Mrs. Chetwynd's social position is also telling. In *The Everlasting Gospel*, A. L. Morton suggests that "because Blake was a working man he never lost his class passion or his faith in a revolutionary solution." ²⁶ More recently, E. P. Thompson has suggested that a politically radical and dissenting Blake maintained a "conscious posture of hostility to . . . polite culture." ²⁷ However, Blake's brief account of his meeting with Mrs. Chetwynd and Mr. Carleton in 1804 suggests that the poet-artist was at ease with members of the gentry. The class distinctions Morton and Thompson look for seem curiously absent in Blake's encounter. Finally, Blake's finding a buyer for his work in William Hayley's intimate friend Mrs. Chetwynd continues the revision of Blake scholarship's perception of Hayley. Even when making love to "M^r C.," Hayley appears to have been looking out for Blake.

Scolar Press, 1982). Shee's student Martin Cregan of County Meath visited the Blakes at 17 South Molton Street in 1809 (BR[2] 281). However, there is no evidence of his purchasing any of Blake's works.

25. E 245. Rather than Wright's identification of Penelope Chetwynd with Gwendolen (see note 6 above), another passage from *Jerusalem* in which Blake associates the neighborhood of South Molton Street with sufferings in Ireland seems more pertinent in this context: "Dinah, the youthful form of Erin / The Wound I see in South Molton S[t]reet & Stratford place / Whence Joseph & Benjamin roll'd apart away from the Nations" (E 230). See also Blake's reference to "the [war?] Widows tear" in *The Grey Monk* (E 489).

26. A. L. Morton, *The Everlasting Gospel* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1958) 18.

27. E. P. Thompson, *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (New York: New Press, 1993) xviii.

D I S C U S S I O N

With intellectual spears, & long winged arrows of thought

Response to Anne K. Mellor

BY HELEN P. BRUDER

MUCH of the displeasure expressed in Anne K. Mellor's review of my book *Women Reading William Blake* [*Blake* 41.4 (spring 2008): 164-65] appears to derive from her conviction that it should have been about something else: "the

real challenge of such a volume," she insists, is the question "was Blake a misogynist?" This certainly was *the* issue in the eighties and nineties, and inspired by Mellor's writing (and that of a dozen other trailblazers, whose work I'm delighted my volume well represents), I made my own attempt to weigh the evidence.¹ Priorities change, though, and when I returned to survey gender studies in the early noughties, the well-nigh 100 pieces of scholarship I reviewed persuaded me that we'd entered a new era, characterized by diversity and profusion, of both concerns and perspectives.² Sadly, what hadn't changed much was the Blake establishment's reluctance to give women's varied voices a proportionate place within trendsetting collections, guides, surveys of Blake studies, and so forth, and it was my desire to redress *that* imbalance which shaped my collection. In essence, my book does what it says on the tin: women read Blake. Misogyny interests many of us, but not others, and that's up to them. What I wanted to produce was an accessible book which celebrated the vibrant intellectual passions of a community of female scholars, and Mellor's criticism that "several of the essays do not even belong in this volume. Except for the fact that they happen to be written by women, they have almost nothing to say about Blake's visual or verbal construction of gender and/or sexuality ..." reveals her coolness toward my structuring premise. (It also, incidentally, indicates a somewhat blithe approach toward content, for the pieces on "lucid dreaming, Moravianism, Hinduism, Lavater, and Old Norse mythology" which she selects are *all* concerned with gender.)

Our views differ generically too. From my perspective the book is enriched by its mix of what she terms "disparate" contributors and "multifarious" tidbits, but for Mellor my alphabetical ordering of these 30 morsels characterizes a work "deeply marred by ... poor organization." That's a fair, if subjective, call, though "hodge-podge" is perhaps a drop acidic? Mellor is free, of course, to dislike the hullabaloo which accompanies my blatantly attention-seeking inclusion of pieces by Tracy Chevalier and Germaine Greer, but her own summary of the collection's other contents shows that many do in fact cohere around some broad, key themes (questions of sexual power, naturally, the role of Blake's art in women's lives, his relationship with his neglected female contemporaries, the importance of internationalism in Blake studies, and so on). Still, tastes do differ, and I can see there are those who will find a fistful of brief articles annoyingly unsatisfying. For a cross-over book like mine the observation that some pieces are "little more than introductions" isn't necessarily a criticism, but nonetheless I note her point. It's a case of horses for courses, and the virtues of length will always be a matter of individual preference.

1. *William Blake and the Daughters of Albion* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

2. "Blake and Gender Studies," *Palgrave Advances in William Blake Studies*, ed. Nicholas M. Williams (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 132-66.

More curious are Mellor's sharp personal criticisms, directed especially at my "unskilled editing." I am, self-confessedly, a novice, happy to learn as I go,³ but with that acknowledged, I still find myself baffled that she concludes her assessment—which praises all the collection's academic work, some of it very highly (McClenahan "fascinating," Sturrock "brilliant," Wolfson "thoughtful," "subtle," even Bruder "substantive"!)—with the damning judgment that my book is "deeply disappointing." Earlier, despite appreciative synopses, she finds "multiple problems" which "lie primarily with the editor." Given that I elicited and compiled all this valuable work, why such censure? The concluding paragraph is tougher and more perplexing still, as Mellor outlines her most serious criticism, namely that the book's contents suffer from their "lack of placement within an overall coherent argument concerning the state of feminist Blake studies at the present moment, the argument that the editor should have provided in her woefully inadequate introduction." As intended, this stings, but it also seems to be another instance of Mellor lambasting me for failing to hit a target I never aimed at. As I'm sure she knows, I've done more than most to chart and assess trends in feminist Blake studies. I clearly reference that scholarship in my introduction, and briefly locate the collection critically too, but as my title, "Introductory Note: 'look over the events of your own life . . .,'" makes patently clear, on this occasion I chose to open *my* book with some brief personal reflections. These chime very well, in fact, with the collection's many other "autobiographical memoirs" which, when springing from other sources, Mellor actually finds "charming." I guess, ultimately, that must be it: my origins and enthusiasms mean I lack the power to charm the reviewer? Certainly my lack of either the editorial or personal panache required to keep Mellor within the fold is deeply regrettable, for the article she withdrew partway through the project would doubtless have added something pungent and peerlessly distinctive.

3. I'm sure *Queer Blake* (forthcoming from Palgrave), which I am coediting with Tristanne J. Connolly, will show many signs of increased proficiency.

Response to Helen P. Bruder

BY ANNE K. MELLOR

I HAVE my opinion of the value of Bruder's collection, already expressed, and she has hers. I don't disagree with anything she says; I just didn't find her method of organization—or goals for the volume—helpful. Readers of course should consult the volume itself and make up their own minds.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. The text also mentions the need for regular audits to ensure the integrity of the financial data. Furthermore, it highlights the role of the accounting department in providing timely and accurate information to management for decision-making purposes. The document concludes by stating that adherence to these principles is essential for the long-term success of the organization.

In addition, the document outlines the specific procedures for handling cash payments and receipts. It requires that all cash transactions be recorded immediately and accurately. The text also discusses the importance of reconciling bank statements with the company's records to identify any discrepancies. Moreover, it mentions the need for proper storage and security of all financial documents to prevent loss or damage. The document ends with a reminder to always double-check calculations and entries before finalizing any reports.

The second part of the document focuses on the management of accounts payable and receivable. It provides guidelines for ensuring that all bills are paid on time to maintain good relationships with suppliers. The text also discusses strategies for improving the collection of outstanding receivables to enhance cash flow. Additionally, it mentions the importance of reviewing the aging schedule of accounts receivable to identify potential risks. The document concludes by encouraging the finance team to stay proactive in monitoring the company's financial health.

The third part of the document addresses the management of fixed assets. It details the process of capitalizing assets and depreciating them over their useful lives. The text also discusses the importance of conducting physical inventory counts to verify the existence and condition of assets. Furthermore, it mentions the need for proper documentation and tagging of all fixed assets. The document concludes by stating that accurate asset management is crucial for determining the company's net worth and for tax reporting purposes.

The final part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed throughout the document. It reiterates the importance of accuracy, timeliness, and transparency in all financial reporting. The text also mentions the need for ongoing training and education for the finance team to stay up-to-date with the latest accounting standards and regulations. The document ends with a statement of commitment to maintaining the highest standards of financial integrity and accountability.