

Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY 68
VOLUME 17 NUMBER 4 SPRING 1984

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An Analysis of the Watercolor Technique and Materials of William Blake

BY ANNE MAHEUX

Attention has only recently been paid to the technical analysis of Blake's art materials. William Blake was a wise craftsman, undoubtedly familiar with contemporary accounts of artists' materials and techniques. Formal analysis of Blake's watercolor materials and techniques, however, is almost nonexistent.¹ That Blake employed unconventional materials for watercolor painting is asserted by his biographers. A number of Blake's contemporaries also experimented with the medium, but none pursued his particular methods. The current study provides an overview of the methods and materials employed by Blake, comparing them with traditional methods of early nineteenth-century watercolor painting. Using paintings from the Fogg Art Museum's collection, technical analysis of the pigments included on Blake's palette was undertaken. Selection of the paintings was based on the availability of pigment for sampling, and on providing a cross section of work that represents the majority of the colors used by Blake in both early and late works in the Fogg's collection.

TECHNIQUE AND MATERIALS

Frederick Tatham, one of Blake's earliest biographers, reports that Blake executed his first watercolors in 1777.² At this time in England, the watercolor medium was not credited with the same esteem as oil painting. In view of this, earlier and contemporary watercolorists endeavored to imitate the effect of oil painting to gain a more respectable reputation for the medium.³

Prepared watercolor paints became available as early as 1780, when soluble cakes of machine-ground pigments were marketed by Reeves. Despite their quick acceptance by artists, the dry color cakes were criticized for being hard and gritty,⁴ and washes were difficult to work up without damaging brushes. It was possible to remove color from the cakes by agitating them in a saucer of water, but

this was found to be unsuitable for rich coloring, and only good for executing thin washes.⁵

Traditionally, the finely ground pigments were mixed with water to which a fixative had been added. At least one eighteenth century artist's manual, the *Handmaid to the Arts*, notes the tendency of gum arabic to crack and peel after drying. Another binder, gum senegal, had a tendency to retain moisture, so it was sometimes mixed with gum arabic to attain a binder of desirable consistency.⁶ Similarly, honey or candy sugar was also added to gum arabic to prevent the paint film from cracking.

Blake worked mostly in watercolor, although he experimented with a few other techniques. He dabbled briefly with oils, and rejected them early on in his artistic career. Tatham reported that Blake never got the hang of using oils, complaining that "the colours sunk so much that they ceased to retain the brilliancy and luxury that he intended. No definite line, no positive end to the form could even with the greatest of Ingenuity be obtained, all his lines dwindled and the clearness melted, and from these circumstances it harassed him . . ."⁷ According to Gilchrist, Blake was "vehemently opposed to oils—they did not please him or comport with his style."⁸ Aside from these somewhat emotional outbursts recorded by his biographers, Blake no doubt probably found oils an exceedingly difficult medium to master purely from technical limitations such as handling and drying properties.

With most of his watercolors, Blake started with a preliminary drawing in graphite or pen and ink. This provided the foundation for the finished watercolor. In all of the watercolors examined, the preliminary drawing is still visible to varying degrees.

One of the earliest watercolors by Blake in the Fogg's collection is *Cain Fleeing from the Wrath of God*, c. 1799–1809 (illus. 1). *Cain* is one of the most highly finished works of those studied and analysed. The ap-

plication of watercolor in a broad wash is followed by a series of smaller, delicate brushstrokes in transparent layers, building up landscape and figural elements. The effect is not unlike oil glazing technique, and this is as close to the watercolor conventions of the early nineteenth century as Blake comes. Finally, black pen and ink lines further define elements in the composition (illus. 2). Blake sometimes added preliminary washes of thinned india ink just inside of outlines, and wherever he wanted to add volume or depth to designs by painting watercolor tints over them.

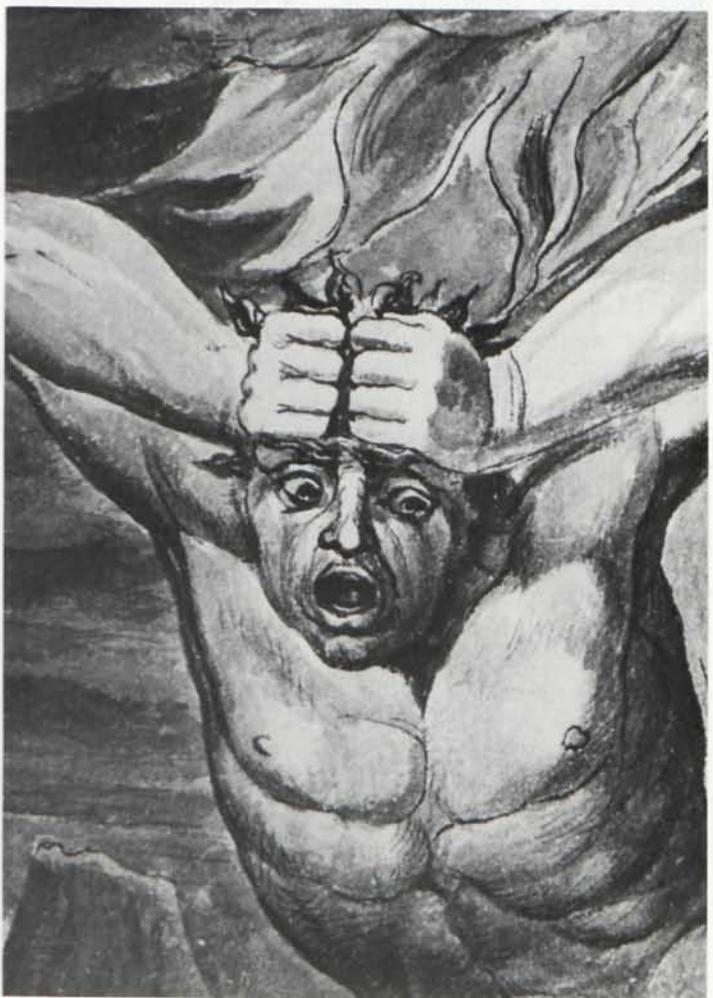
Blake rejected the formal and descriptive formulae of early nineteenth-century painting. "Let a Man who has made a drawing go on & on & he will produce a Picture or Painting, but if he chooses to leave it before he has spoil'd it, he will do a Better Thing."⁹ Accordingly, Blake preferred camel's hair brushes to sable. As Marjorie B. Cohn has pointed out in *Wash and Gouache*,¹⁰ camel¹¹ is a finer hair, softer and less resilient than sable. It is preferred for shading with single strokes. "An even tint is not in nature—it produces heaviness. Nature's shadows are ever varying . . . its spots are its beauties."¹²

The series of watercolor studies for the Book of Job were executed c. 1821. Blake uses the same watercolor technique, and gray washes are applied to a greater extent to fill out the forms before further coloring. There is a greater proportion of broad brushstrokes, with more complicated and brighter coloring. Pen and ink outlines are more spontaneous in this particular group of works (illus. 3).

The latest works considered in this study are the large watercolor illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. As before, the coloring is added to the graphite drawing and gray washes are sometimes used to build up the forms before color is applied. Instead of small brushstrokes, a broad premier coup wash technique is used to apply color. In some instances, retouchings and highlights were afterwards added in watercolor and in pen and ink (illus. 4).

The Dante watercolors vary considerably in execution. Towards the end of the series, some of the works are little more than preliminary outlines, probably because they were left unfinished at Blake's death. The two paintings sampled from the Dante series, *Donati Transformed into a Serpent* and *Agnello de Brunelleschi Transformed* are typical of Blake's premier coup wash technique, and are markedly different from the earlier more elaborately finished and retouched work.

The series of watercolors for the *Divine Comedy* especially illustrates Blake's lack of concern for exacting



1. William Blake, *Cain Fleeing from the Wrath of God*, c. 1799–1809. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

2. William Blake, detail from *Cain Fleeing from the Wrath of God*. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

technique. There is no attempt to execute uniform washes (illus. 5) and this in part stems from the nature of Blake's materials. Blake did not deliberately favor one type of watercolor paper over another; examples in the Fogg's collection are painted on both laid and wove paper. The presence of laid and chain lines showing through broad washes further support Blake's indifference to the desirability of a uniform wash, although there are many examples of these in other works.

Blake is documented as having ground his own colors from powder, rather than using soluble cakes. According to Gilchrist, "Blake ground and mixed his watercolours himself on a piece of statuary marble, after a method of his own, with common carpenter's glue diluted, which he had found out, as the early Italians before him, to be a good binder. Joseph, the sacred carpenter, appeared in a vision and revealed *that* secret to him."¹³ According to another Blake biographer, J.T. Smith, Blake favored carpenter's glue over gum arabic as a binder because of the gum's tendency to crack and become moist in humid weather. As Essick has pointed out, Blake may have chosen to use carpenter's glue as his medium because of his affinity for the work of the Italian masters and his conscientious attempts to return to antique methods. Blake owned a copy of Cennino Cennini's *Trattato della Pittura*, given to him by Linnell in 1822, and he recorded that he was gratified to have been using the same methods and materials as the Italian masters. Cennini does not mention carpenter's glue per se, but he does recommend a "colla di caravella" (glue made from goat-skins) as ideal for both mending wood and tempering colors. It is unlikely that Blake actually used Cennini's formula (especially since it was not familiar to him until rather late in his painting career), so this passage in the treatise would probably have merely reinforced his preference for carpenter's glue over gum.

Blake might also have preferred using dilute animal size instead of gum because size colors, unlike gum water, cannot be redissolved easily nor can corrections be made once they have dried. This permitted Blake to add subsequent layers of size colors, or pen and ink work without smearing the underlying areas.

It is interesting to note that one chemical analysis has been performed to date on the medium in one of Blake's color printed drawings, which are a genre distinct from his watercolors.¹⁴ In this case it was found that Blake employed a vegetable exudate gum rather than a glue made from animal parts. This particular medium turns out to be as insoluble in water as animal glues, and like such glues, it must generally be heated and agitated before it can be used as a binder for watercolors. Unlike gum arabic, it is most receptive to subsequent application of watercolor or pen and ink work without disturbing the lower layers. For Blake, it would seem that the desired physical characteristics of the binding media for ex-

cuting color prints, and maybe watercolors, were identical: viscosity when warm, permitting easy handling with a brush, the ability to hold pigments in a suspension, and a high level of insolubility. If Blake acquired his vehicle commercially, he may not have known or cared that he was using a gum instead of a glue. If the gum was chosen purposely, it was probably because of its resistance to water, like animal glue.

Unfortunately it was not possible to take enough sample to do a technical analysis of the binding medium of the pigments on the Fogg's Blake watercolors, but by merely looking at the way that Blake applied color in various layers, one can perhaps reason that it would have been a lot more difficult for him to execute these paintings if the colors had been ground with a binder that would have redissolved with subsequent application of color. The patchiness of some of Blake's washes is of a specific character which suggests that the wash liquid became more viscous before drying by evaporation. This is characteristic of a wash that was fully liquid only when warm, and that congealed upon cooling before drying. Lister states that Blake must have allowed the original washes to thoroughly dry before adding more layers of color with a fairly dry brush in order to avoid mixing colors.¹⁵ He cites that Blake may also have added glair or gum arabic to his colors. Blake may have indeed used gum arabic as a binder for his watercolor drawings on



paper, as it is certainly easier than painting with a liquid that must be kept warm for fluidity. What we know about Blake's watercolor binder, as far as his works on paper are concerned, must remain only speculation until a more exacting method of analysis is found.

It is only through Gilchrist that we have a description of the colors that Blake included on his palette: "The colours he used were few and simple: indigo, cobalt, gamboge, vermilion, frankfort black—freely, ultramarine rarely, chrome not at all."¹⁶ The other direct reference to Blake's palette occurs in Redgrave's *Watercolour Painting in England*. He claims that Blake colored his sheets for making prints "roughly with the commonest of pigments, which he most probably prepared himself—Dutch pink, ochre, and Gamboge."¹⁷

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The methods of analysis chosen to determine the composition of Blake's pigments were limited by the size of the sample that could be safely taken from the watercolor paintings. The amount of pigment laid down in thin watercolor washes is minimal when compared to other painting media and techniques; therefore only analytical methods requiring very small sample size could be employed.

All samples were examined with a polarizing microscope in the Fogg Art Museum analytical laboratory, and

with a scanning electron microscope with an energy dispersive x-ray spectrometer. All the watercolor paintings were examined under ultraviolet light for fluorescence of pigments. Microchemical tests were also employed in a few isolated instances.

Identification of organic pigments presents the most difficult problem, as analytical methods such as gas chromatography and mass spectroscopy, which are typically used for organics, require larger samples than those obtained from the watercolors. These methods were not used.

RESULTS

Analysis of the pigment samples by the methods described above indicated the presence, or in some cases, the absence of certain elements leading to the identification of the pigment. Some samples displayed identifiable characteristics when examined with the microscope, with ultraviolet light, or when tested microchemically.

3. William Blake, detail from *Behold Now Behemoth Which I made with Thee* c. 1821. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

4. Detail of the lower left corner of *Agnello de Brunelleschi Transformed*, 1824–1827. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

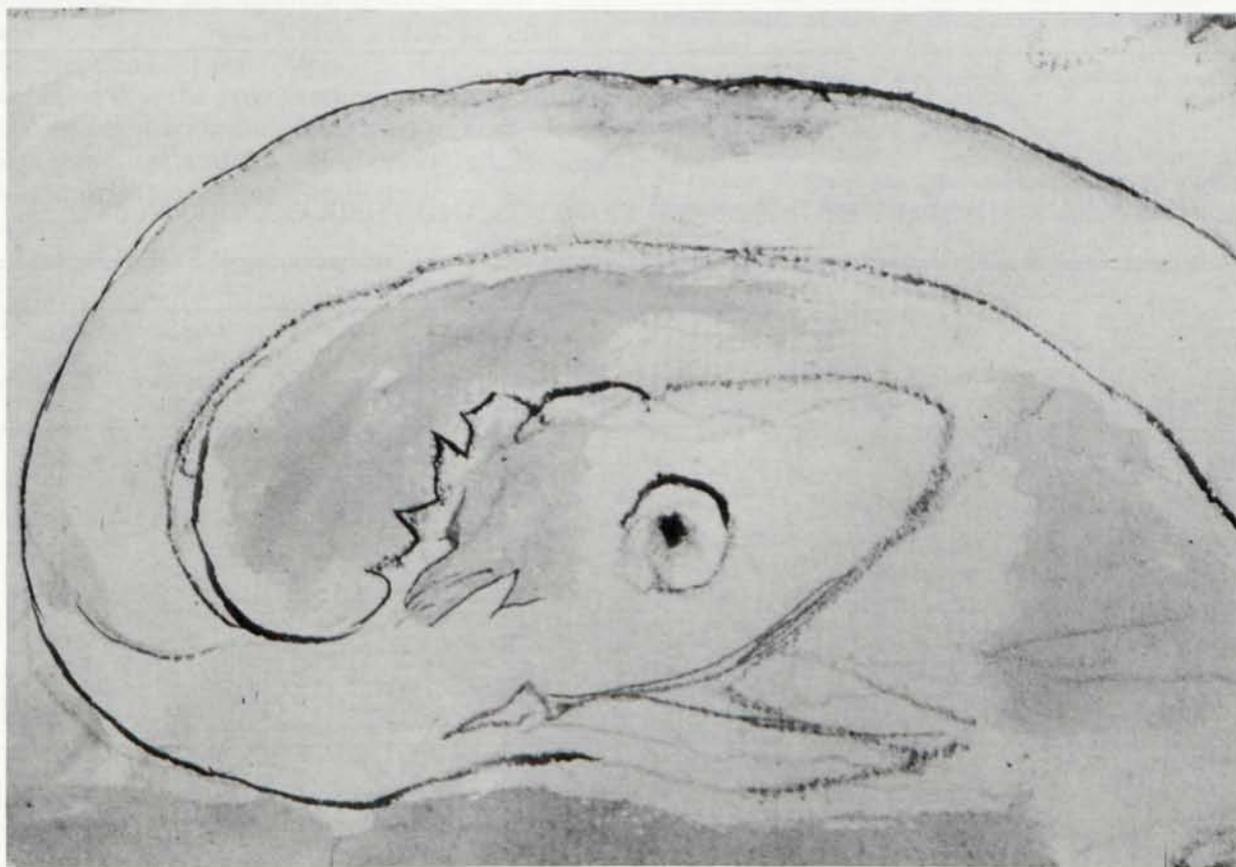




Table 1. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFIED PIGMENTS AND THEIR OCCURRENCES

PAINTINGS	COLORS								
	Prussian Blue	Gamboge	Vermilion	Red Lake	Madder Lake	Red Ochre	Blue Verditer, Organic Yellow	Prussian Blue, Organic Yellow	Charcoal Black
Cain Fleeing (1799-1809)	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X
Babylon (1806)	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—
Job: Judgement (1821)	X	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	X
Job: Behemoth (1821)	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X
Lucia Carrying Dante (1824-27)	X	—	—	X	—	X	—	X	X
Donati (1824-27)	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X
Brunelleschi (1824-27)	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X
Rusticucci (1824-27)	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X

The results of analysis are summarized in Table 1. All pigments that were identified are listed, along with their occurrences in each of the watercolor paintings sampled.

CONCLUSION

The following pigments were identified on the Blake watercolors sampled: Prussian blue, gamboge, vermilion, madder lake, unidentified red lakes, red ochre, blue verditer, and charcoal black. It is virtually impossible to reach any firm conclusions regarding the colors that Blake included on his watercolor palette, based on the modest number of works sampled in this study. The inability to take sufficiently large samples to carry out more thorough analysis poses the biggest handicap. Comparison to contemporary references to Blake's palette is fair; Blake may well have used all the colors mentioned by Gilchrist, but not all of them happen to be represented in the works analysed. Given the large variety of red lakes that were used in the manufacture of pigments in Blake's time, it is encouraging to have been able to identify madder lake more or less specifically. This is due to the particular color that madder lake fluoresces, which was observed in *Donati Transformed into a Serpent*.

The only exception to the general assortment of pigments in use in the early nineteenth century that was identified by analysis is blue verditer. Its use during Blake's time is not entirely improbable. It was not typically used by colormen of the nineteenth century, but Blake may have found his own supply which he used for manually preparing his own colors.

It is hoped that the present study marks a beginning to the task of identifying the colors used in both Blake's watercolor paintings and his color prints, and further research is anticipated in this direction.

I would like to thank the following people at the Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Fogg Art Museum, for their help with this research project: Marjorie B. Cohn, for suggesting the project; Eugene Farrell and Richard Newman for their aid with technical analysis and editing.

¹ A technical analysis of Blake's art is included in *William Blake, Printmaker* by Robert Essick (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) which deals specifically with Blake's printmaking materials.

Mr. Bo Ossian Lindberg has done some work on Blake's materials: "Chariots of Genius: Blake's Binders and Pigments," paper delivered at the Blake Symposium in Toronto, January 1983. In his review of Jack Lindsay's *William Blake: His Life and Work* (1979) which appears in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14 (1980-81), 164-67, Lindberg discusses some aspects of Blake's materials.

² G.E. Bentley, ed., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 514.

³ M.B. Cohn, *Wash and Gouache* (Cambridge: The Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, 1977), p. 11.

⁴ Cohn, p. 54.

⁵ Raymond Lister, *Infernal Methods* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1975), p. 39.

⁶ It should be noted that "gum arabic" has subsequently come to be used as more of a generic term: differentiation between arabic and senegal gums is no longer acknowledged in contemporary artists' materials.

⁷ Bentley, 1969, p. 515.

⁸ Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1863), Vol. 1, p. 369.

⁹ Geoffrey Keynes, *The Complete Writings of William Blake* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 603.

¹⁰ Cohn, 1977, p. 32.

¹¹ Camel hair brushes are actually made from Russian squirrel hairs.

¹² Keynes, p. 603.

¹³ Gilchrist, Vol. 1, pp. 69-70.

¹⁴ Robert N. Essick, *William Blake, Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 131-32.

¹⁵ Lister, p. 41.

¹⁶ Gilchrist, Vol. 1, p. 69.

¹⁷ Gilbert R. Redgrave, *Watercolour Painting in England* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1892), p. 51.

5. Detail of upper left corner of *Agnello de Brunelleschi Transformed*, 1824-1827. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

6. TABLE 1. Summary of identified Pigments and Their Occurrences.

Some Unrecorded States, Printings, and Impressions of Blake's Graphic Works

BY ROBERT N. ESSICK

While pursuing other game, one occasionally comes upon odd bits of Blake's work as a printmaker or facts about his etchings and engravings not recorded in the standard bibliographies and catalogues. These serendipitous discoveries hardly revise our sense of Blake's achievement as a graphic artist, but they do fill minor lacunae in the complete picture. The first two notes below contribute to the bibliography of Blake's illuminated books; the second two add details about Blake's work as a commercial engraver.

I

Bentley's *Blake Books* records four loose impressions of the final plate of Blake's *Europe* in three different collections: two in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress (from copy c) and one each at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, and the Lockwood Memorial Library of the State University of New York at Buffalo.¹ Yet a fifth impression, not previously noticed, is in the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island (illus. 1). This print in reddish-brown ink (like one of those at the Library of Congress and the example at Trinity College) is on unwatermarked wove paper, 27.6 x 21.3 cm. The impression is in the last of three states of the plate, without the final four words of the first line of text ("before the trumpet blew" — see illus. 2) and the squiggle conclusion of the tail descending from the first letter of "And" (first word in the penultimate line).² The presence of the etching dike as a border line around the print, as well as a certain flatness in the printing of the large relief areas, suggest that this is a posthumous impression. The School of Design purchased the print in April 1947 from an unrecorded source, probably a dealer. I have not been able to trace the provenance of this impression or associate it with the history of any group of *Europe* plates.

II

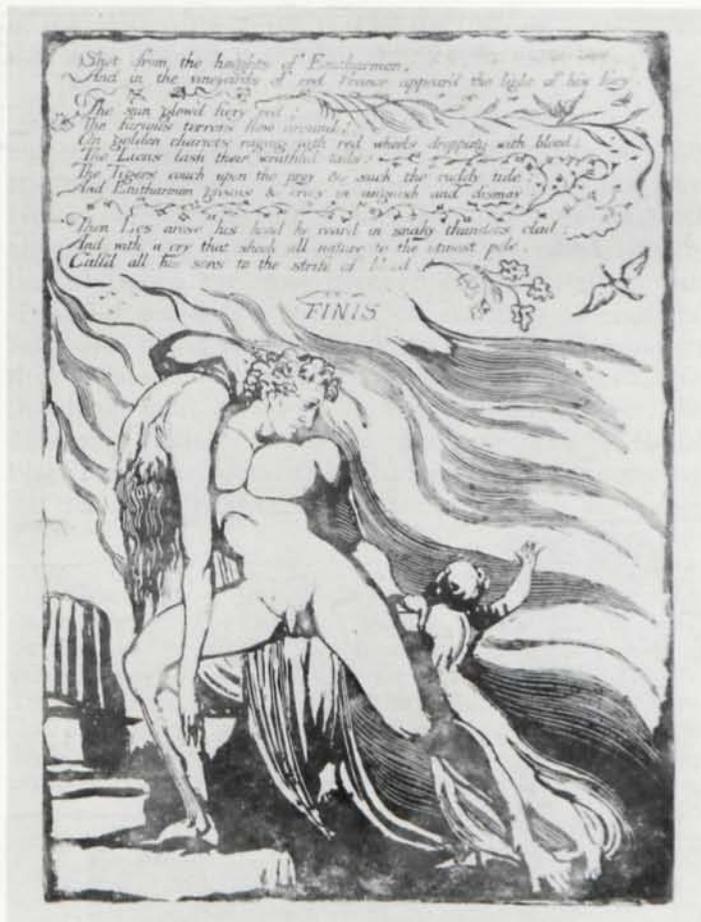
Posthumous copy o of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* was once in the collection of Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908). Bentley records that the volume originally contained seventeen plates on seventeen leaves,³ but it was broken up by the New York bookdealer E. Weyhe in 1938 and the plates sold individually. Most are untraced,

but a previously unrecorded impression of the final plate of "The Little Girl Found" (illus. 3) in the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, would seem to be from copy o. Stitchmarks along the left margin indicate that the leaf of unwatermarked wove paper was once bound. The neat pencil inscription, with its reference to the "Chas Eliot Norton Coll.," is much the same as the note ("Chas E. Norton Coll.") on "The Sick Rose" from copy o now in the collection of G.E. Bentley, Jr. The leaf size is identical (28 x 18.6 cm.) to "The Sick Rose," but the ink is dull black in "The Little Girl Found" rather than orange-brown. Other posthumous copies contain a mixture of two or even three ink colors. The print was given to the Hood Museum in January 1948 by Dr. F.H. Hirschland, who probably acquired it from Weyhe.

III

Because of complexities involved in their attribution to Blake, the fifty-one plates in C.G. Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* have attracted more attention than their artistry would warrant.⁴ The text is of some interest because Mary Wollstonecraft was its translator. As she notes in a signed "Advertisement," she "made some additions" to the original German text, "and altered many parts of it." The "little tale, to lead children to consider the Indians as their brothers," is her own "inserted" story. Wollstonecraft also points out the similarity between Salzmann's book, first published as the *Moralisches Elementarbuch* in Leipzig in 1782, and her own *Original Stories from Real Life*, 1788. The direction of influence is clear.

The first edition of Wollstonecraft's translation of the *Elements* was entered at Stationers' Hall on 12 July 1790 by its publisher, Joseph Johnson.⁵ Even though the titlepage of the 1790 edition states that the two volumes are "Illustrated with Copper Plates," none is present in the British Library copy, the only one I have been able to locate. This absence may be explained by the 1 October 1790, 1 January 1791, and 15 March 1791 dates on the plates in the three-volume edition of 1791. Apparently Johnson intended to publish the first edition with plates, but since they were not ready by July 1790 he issued the



book without them—and without altering the titlepage. The plates first appearing in the 1791 edition were used again in the three-volume “Third Edition” of 1792, the “Fourth Edition” of 1799, the 1805 edition, and the two-volume “Juvenile Library” edition of c. 1815 published by John Sharpe.⁶

In *Blake Books*, Bentley correctly notes that the British Library copy of the 1793 two-volume edition of the *Elements*, apparently the only one he has seen, does not contain any plates. A copy of this same edition—but containing excellent impressions of all fifty-one plates—was sold at Sotheby’s in London on 23 May 1983, lot 102, with plate 36 illustrated in the auction catalogue. The book was sold to “Robinson” (according to the price list) for £396 on behalf of the London book and print dealer Donald A. Heald; it is now in my collection. These duodecimo volumes contain the following title-pages:

ELEMENTS / OF / MORALITY, / FOR THE / USE OF CHILDREN;
/ WITH AN / INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS TO PARENTS. / [double rule] / Translated from the GERMAN of the / Rev. C. G. SALZMANN. / [rule] / IN TWO VOLUMES. / [double rule] / VOL. I. [II.] / [double rule] / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL’S CHURCH- / YARD. / [rule] / M,DCC,XCIII.

The copy in my collection is bound in full calf. Nothing about this binding suggests a date later than the 1790s, although one can not rule out the possibility that the

1. Blake. *Europe*, pl. 18, third state. Relief etching, 23.4 x 16.6 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

2. Blake. *Europe*, copy a, pl. 18, first state. Relief etching, 23.4 x 16.6 cm. British Museum.

volumes were rebound at a much later date in an eighteenth-century style. It is also possible that the illustrations were not part of the original publication but were taken from some other edition of the book and added to my copy of the 1793 edition. I can find no evidence of such extra-illustration, but it is always very difficult to dismiss it entirely since there is generally no conjugacy between text leaves and illustration leaves in a book with full-page intaglio plates. Thus, the British Museum and Essick copies of the 1793 edition strongly suggest—but do not prove beyond doubt—that the 1793 edition of the *Elements of Morality*, like the 1791 edition in three volumes, was sold both with and without plates.⁷

This minor addition to the bibliography of works with Blake’s plates is made slightly more interesting by their states. The first appears only in the 1791 edition of the *Elements*. The second states of all but four of the forty-five plates attributed to Blake by Easson and Essick appear in the 1792 edition.⁸ The first appearance of the final states of these plates has heretofore been recorded in the 1799 “Fourth Edition.” However, the illustrated copy



Israel, weeping with
 With hollow precious words
 Blister from unceasing
 The traveling woman wept,
 With face of weary woe;
 She could no further go.
 In his arms he bore
 Her wept with sorrow sore,
 All before their way,
 A coughing, low lay.

Laying back was vain,
 Seen his heavy mane,
 Note them to the ground,
 Thus he stilled around
 Smiling to his prey,
 But took none away,
 When he looks their hands:
 And then for them stands.

They look upon his eyes
 Filled with deep surprise:
 And wondering behold
 A spirit, armed in gold.
 On his head a crown,
 On his shoulders down,
 Gown his golden hair,
 Gown was all their care.

Follow me he said,
 Weep not for the maid:
 In my palace sleep,
 And see me asleep.

Then they followed,
 Where the vision led:
 And saw those sleeping child,
 Amongst the wild.
 In this sleep they dwell
 In a palace cell,
 Nor for the wretch heed,
 Nor for the least need.

Page from Blake's *Songs of Experience* printed about 1831 (New York: Norton Co.)
 Fragment of the poem "The Little Girl Found."

of the 1793 edition—or at least my copy of it—contains this final (second or third) state of each plate.

We cannot be certain that Blake executed the final states of the Salzmann plates. However, the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century engravers' bills and receipts, now in the Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia, indicate that the original engraver of a plate was usually hired to rework it, particularly when the time between initial execution and reworking was only a few years. If the final states of the Salzmann plates were indeed executed by 1793, rather than as late as 1799, then it is somewhat more probable that Blake added the final touches himself. Further, the illustrated volumes of 1793 remove from the brief list of Blake's possible activities of the late 1790s an engraving job that could have contributed a little to his income, if

not his reputation. The paucity of graphic projects Blake was involved with in the last years of the decade, now known to be slightly more acute, may have been one of the reasons for his decision to move to Felpham and mortgage his professional future to the good intentions of William Hayley.

A common reason for reworking even the most modest book illustrations was to compensate for wear in the copperplates. A good case in point is James Heath's "restoration" of Hogarth's much-printed plates. The wear in the Salzmann plates is modest, as even the 1799 edition shows. Blake's simple line etching/engravings, with many large white areas and few fine lines, held up well through at least the 1792 pulls. Some of the final states contain the reengraving of light hatching lines, but the most significant addition on most plates is the stipple shading added to faces. The motivation for such work may have been the publisher's desire to add details and tone to plates which, in their first states, look almost like unfinished proofs.⁹

IV

Among Blake's earliest copy engravings are the three plates, signed by him and dated 1782 in their imprints, published in John Seally and Israel Lyons, *A Complete*

3. Blake. *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Copy o, plate 36 (second plate of "The Little Girl Found"). Relief etching, 11.2 x 6.9 cm. Inscribed in pencil, "Page from Blake's Songs of Experience printed about 1831 Chas Eliot Norton Coll. Fragment of the poem The Little Girl Found." Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College.

4. Blake after an unknown artist. "Lyons." First state, 1782, from Seally and Lyons, *A Complete Geographical Dictionary*. Intaglio etching/engraving, 14.5 x 20.5 cm. Author's collection.



Geographical Dictionary, n.d. (c. 1784?). The less said about the quality of Blake's work the better. Without signatures, one would have no reason to attribute them to his hand. A second edition of Seally and Lyons appeared in 1787 with the same states of the same three plates.¹⁰ I recently acquired from Donald Heald loose impressions of these plates in heretofore unrecorded states. Stab holes along the lower edge of each sheet strongly suggest that they were removed from a book. A reasonable supposition would be that these new states, clearly later than those previously recorded, appeared in some unrecorded reissue of Seally and Lyons. Heald, however, told me that his source for the loose impressions took them from a volume called "Adam's [Adams?]'s Geography." Given this slim lead, Jeniroy La Belle searched through every "Adam" and "Adams" in the National Union and British Museum catalogues. Diligence was rewarded with the discovery that the Seally and Lyons illustrations were reprinted in two further publications with two of Blake's plates in two unrecorded states.

The second states of Blake's three plates were printed in Michael Adams, *The New Royal Geographical Magazine*. This folio of 960 pages is undated, but the frontispiece bears an imprint dated 1 May 1793. A transcription of the engraved titlepage follows:

THE / *New Royal* / GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE; / or / *A Modern, Complete, Authentic and Copious* / System of Universal Geography / *Containing Complete, Full, Particular and Accurate* / Histories and Descriptions of / EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA & AMERICA, / [rule] *as divided into* [rule] / [four columns, divided by vertical rules] EMPIRES, / KINGDOMS, / STATES, / [vertical rule] / PROVINCES, / REPUBLICS, / GOVERNMENTS, / [vertical rule] / CONTINENTS, / ISLANDS, / OCEANS, / [vertical rule] / SEAS, RIVERS, / GULPHS, / LAKES, &c. &c. / *Including all the New Discoveries.* / *Written & Compiled by* MICHAEL ADAMS, Esq.^r / *Assisted by many Gentlemen, eminent in the Science of Geography.* / [three engraved devices, the group signed *Thorowgood Sculp^t.*, *Chalmers delin.*, and *Wise Sculp^t.*] / LONDON: / *Published by Alex^r. Hogg, at the King's Arms, N^o. 16 Paternoster Row.* / *And Sold by all Booksellers in Great Britain & Ireland.*

The more crowded typographic titlepage is as follows:

THE NEW ROYAL / *Geographical Magazine;* / Or, *A Modern, Complete, Authentic, and Copious* / SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL / GEOGRAPHY: / CONTAINING / *A Complete, Full, Particular, and Accurate History and Description of all the several Parts of* / THE WHOLE WORLD; / *AS DIVIDED INTO* / [six columns, divided by vertical rules] EMPIRES, / KINGDOMS, / [vertical rule] / STATES, / PROVINCES, / [vertical rule] / REPUBLICS, / GOVERNMENTS, / [vertical rule] / CONTINENTS, / ISLANDS, / [vertical rule] / OCEANS, / SEAS, RIVERS, / [vertical rule] / GULPHS, / LAKES, &c. / *Together with New Accounts of their* / SOIL, SITUATION, EXTENT, and BOUNDARIES, in EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA: / *With a very particular Account of their SUBDIVISIONS and DEPENDENCIES; / Their CITIES, chief TOWNS, UNIVERSITIES, and HARBOURS; with their COMMERCE, TRADE, / LEARNING, POLICY, ARTS, MANUFACTURES, GENIUS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c. / AS WELL AS THEIR* / Revenues, Forces, Revolutions, Curiosities, Buildings, Antiquities, Ruins, Mountains, Mines, / Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals; / *And whatever is found curious, useful, and entertaining, at Home and Abroad. / TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED, / A New and Easy GUIDE to GEOGRAPHY and ASTRONOMY. / The Use of the GLOBES, MAPS, &c. and the DOCTRINE of the SPHERE; / With an Account of the*

RISE and PROGRESS of NAVIGATION, its Improvements and Utility to Mankind; / TOGETHER WITH / CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES of the SOVEREIGNS of the WHOLE WORLD. / Including every Interesting DISCOVERY and CIRCUMSTANCE in the Narratives of / Captain COOK'S VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD, / Together with all the recent DISCOVERIES made in the / PELEW ISLANDS, NEW HOLLAND, NEW SOUTH-WALES, BOTANY-BAY, / Port-Jackson, Norfolk-Island, North and West Coasts of America, the Interior Parts of / America, Africa, China, Caffraria, India East and West, Arabia, Madagascar, Russia, &c. / Carefully written and compiled from the late Journals of the Voyages and Travels of / Captains Phillipp, King, Ball, Hunter, White, Dixon, Portlock, Morse, Blyth, Brisson, Hodges, &c. / [rule] / By MICHAEL ADAMS, Esq. of LINCOLN'S-INN, *London.* / Assisted by a Society of Gentlemen who have respectable Correspondents in the various Parts of the World, for the / Purpose of obtaining the most authentic Geographical and Historical Descriptions of the present State of the Universe. / Illustrated with a beautiful Set of Engravings, consisting of Maps, Charts, Plans, Harbours, Views of Cities, Towns, &c. / [double rule] / LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS: / Published and sold by ALEX. HOGG, at the King's Arms, N^o 16, Paternoster-Row; sold also by SYMONDS, PARSONS, &c. / And may be had of all the Booksellers and News-Carriers in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Publisher, Alexander Hogg, specialized in parts publications, some issued at the rate of one a week and known as "Paternoster Row numbers."¹¹ Adams' *Geographical Magazine* was no doubt issued in some such fashion. The only copy I have been able to locate is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The "Directions to the Binders" on page 956 lists forty-eight maps and views, whereas Seally and Lyons contains sixty-six (first edition) or fifty-eight (second edition) plates in its two volumes. Blake's plates are numbered and listed as follows:

6. View of Lyons in France	[to face page] 857
19. Osnaburg in Westphalia	[to face page] 745
42. Presburg in Hungary	[to face page] 765

The differences between the previously recorded (i.e., Seally and Lyons) states of these three plates and the newly discovered second states are as follows:

1. LYONS (first state, illus. 4). In the second state, the imprint (*Publish'd May 4 1782 by J. Fielding, N^o. 23 Pater-noster Row.*) has been removed and the title changed to *VIEW OF LYONS. IN FRANCE*. In the design, a few of the smaller buildings show small patches of additional crosshatching. The two hillocks, lower left on the near side of the river, have been crosshatched on their shady sides. The crosshatching in the shadow below the hillocks has been extended further down and to the right. The clump of trees below and to the left of the left hillock has been partly ruled through with horizontal lines. Blake's signature lower right, only lightly scratched into the first state of the plate, does not appear. It may simply have worn away. However, the inner framing line just below the signature has been strengthened with an additional stroke of the graver (see third state, illus. 5), perhaps to repair the inadvertent erasure of the frame while scraping and burnishing away Blake's signature.

2. *OSNABURG in WESTPHALIA*. The first-state imprint has been removed. There is no clear evidence of additional work in the design. Blake's signature, lower right, no longer appears.

3. *PRESBURG in HUNGARY* (illus. 6). The first-state imprint has been removed, although tiny fragments of it still appear below the title. There is no clear evidence of additional work in the design. A faint shadow of Blake's signature still appears in the lower right corner between the design and its framing line.

The change in publisher, from John Fielding to Scatcherd and Whitaker, between the first and second editions of Seally and Lyons did not occasion the removal of Fielding's imprints on the plates. But the reason for Hogg's removal of the imprints may have been to eliminate another publisher's name and the evidence that the "beautiful Set of Engravings" he trumpets on the titlepage included the third printing of plates executed for another book some eleven years earlier.

Hogg reissued the *Geographical Magazine* under a revised engraved titlepage, beginning

THE / *New Royal* / SYSTEM of UNIVERSAL / Geography,
and continuing as in the *Geographical Magazine*. In similar fashion, the typographic titlepage begins

THE NEW ROYAL / SYSTEM of UNIVERSAL / GEOGRAPHY.
It then continues the same as the *Magazine* titlepage (except that HISTORIES and DESCRIPTION are printed in small capitals in what is now the fifth line) through the list of Captains, eight lines of text from the bottom. The new titlepage then continues as follows:

The Whole forming a COMPLETE, AUTHENTIC, COPIOUS, and REAL / New Geographical Library. / [rule] / By MICHAEL ADAMS, Esq. of LINCOLN'S-INN, London; / AUTHOR of the NEW, COMPLETE, and GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, / Now Publishing, in Ninety-Six Periodical Numbers, with universal Applause. / Assisted by a Society of Gentlemen who have respectable Correspondents in the various Parts of the World- / [rule] / Illustrated with a beautiful Set of Engravings, consisting of Maps, Charts, Plans, Harbours, Views of Cities, Towns, &c. / [double rule] / LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS: / Published by ALEX. HOGG, at the King's-Arms, N^o 16, Paternoster-Row; and sold by all the Booksellers and News-Carriers / in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

The only copies of this undated folio I have been able to locate are in the Library of Congress, Washington, and Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. The *National Union Catalogue* dates the work to c. 1794, the

5. Blake after an unknown artist. "View of Lyons, in France." Third state of the plate in illus. 4. From Michael Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography* (c. 1794-1796). Author's collection.





6. Blake after an unknown artist. "Presburg in Hungary." Second state from Michael Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography* (c. 1794–1796). Intaglio etching/engraving, 15.5 x 21.3 cm. Author's collection.

7. Blake after an unknown artist. "Osnaburg in Westphalia." Third state from Michael Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography* (c. 1794–1796). Intaglio etching/engraving, 14.8 x 21.7 cm. Author's collection.

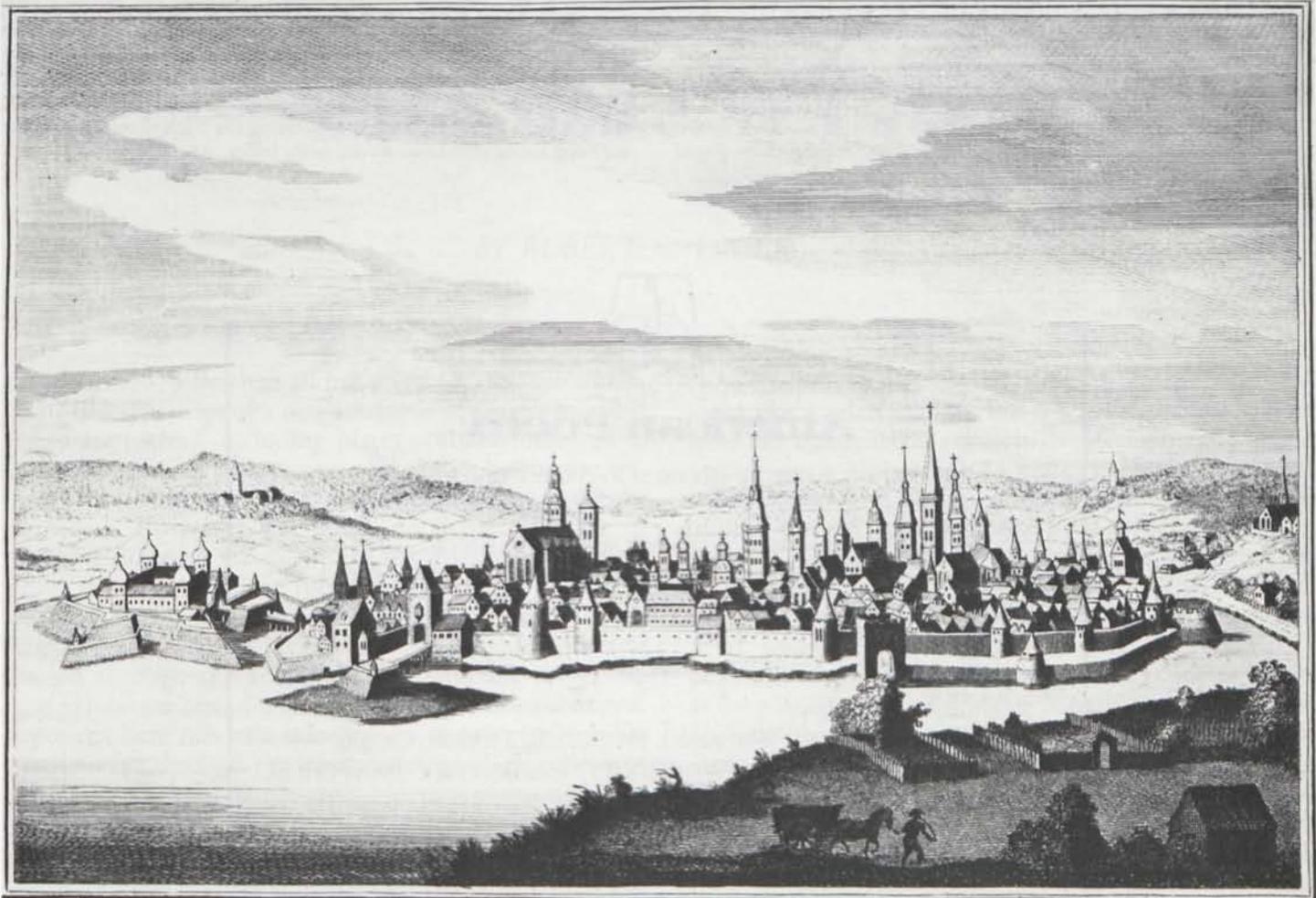
same date written in pencil on the typographic titlepage of the LC copy. The Rutgers copy, however, bears a pencil date of "1796?" The revisions in the plates indicate that Adams' *System* was issued after his *Magazine*, and thus 1794 would seem to be an approximate *terminus a quo* for the former. The reissue was published in periodic parts, perhaps beginning immediately after the conclusion of the first issue. The number and placement of plates and the "Directions to the Binders" are unchanged in the reissue.¹²

Blake's three plates appear for a fourth (and final?) time in Adams' *New Royal System of Universal Geography*. The view of Presburg is unchanged, and still

shows fragments of the first-state imprint and Blake's signature. The other two plates appear in third states. Their differences from the previous states are as follows:

1. View of Lyons (illus. 5). Crosshatching has been added over the sketchy lines indicating vegetation in the right foreground. The shady areas on the far side of the river have been darkened with crossing strokes. Many of the roofs on the near side of the river and the shaded sides of buildings have been darkened. This additional work, coupled with wear in the finer lines of the plate, creates a much greater contrast between light and dark passages.

2. Osnaburg in Westphalia (illus. 7). A good deal of hatching and crosshatching has been added to roofs and the shaded sides of buildings, much as in the third state of Lyons. The most easily observed revision appears just to the left of the archway leading into the city, about 2.5 cm. above the horse pulling a cart. In this area, the shadowed side of the tower and wall between the tower and the archway show vertical hatching strokes in the first and second states. Horizontal strokes have been added in the third state.



All impressions I have seen of Blake's three views in Seally and Lyons are on laid paper. Adams' two publications have text and illustrations on both laid and wove stock. In the LC copy of the *Royal System*, "Lyons" is on wove but the other two plates are on laid. The three final state impressions in my collection, no doubt torn from a copy of the *Royal System* issue, are all on wove paper.

For assistance with information presented here, I thank Jacquelynn Baas of the Hood Art Museum, Betsy Barofski of Rutgers University, G.E. Bentley, Jr., Thomas Lange of the Huntington Library, Philip Lapsansky of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Janice Lyle, L. Candace Pezzeria of the Rhode Island School of Design, and Peter VanWingen of the Library of Congress.

¹ G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 143, 161, 163-64. The impression of pl. 18 at Trinity College is listed with an impression of pl. 2 in the chart on p. 143, but it is not referred to in the catalogue entry on *Europe* plates at Trinity College, p. 162.

² The first state appears in proof copy a (illus. 2), the second in copy c (a miscellaneous group of proofs), and the third state in all other copies, including those color printed by Blake on paper watermarked 1794 (A, C). The second state from copy c is reproduced in William Blake, *Europe: A Prophecy* (1794), Introduction by G. E. Bentley, Jr. (Memphis: American Blake Foundation, 1978), pl. 38.

³ *Blake Books*, p. 371. Geoffrey Keynes and Edwin Wolf 2nd, *William Blake's Illuminated Books: A Census* (New York: Grolier Club, 1953), p. 69, records eighteen plates on eighteen leaves.

⁴ The most recent article, with an overview of earlier opinions, is Robert N. Essick, "The Figure in the Carpet: Blake's Engravings in Salzmann's *Elements of Morality*," *Blake / An Illustrated Quarterly*, 12 (1978), 10-14. I argue in the article that forty-five of the plates were engraved by Blake.

⁵ According to Bentley, *Blake Books*, p. 608.

⁶ Bentley, *Blake Books*, pp. 607-608; and Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake: Book Illustrator*, Volume II (Memphis: American Blake Foundation, 1979), pp. 69-70. W. Clark Durant suggests that "like Blake's *French Revolution*," the 1790 edition of the *Elements* "was set up in type by Johnson in 1791 [sic?], and only one copy of proofs struck off." See William Godwin, *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Durant (London: Constable, 1927), p. 200.

⁷ Bentley, *Blake Books*, p. 608, records an advertisement, appearing in Johnson's 1791 edition of William Enfield's *The Speaker*, offering the *Elements* (apparently of 1791) with plates for 10s.6d. and without plates for 6s. Bentley also reports that "some copies at least of the 1799 issue have no plates."

⁸ *Blake: Book Illustrator*, II, 70-86. Bentley, *Blake Books*, does not record the states of the plates.

⁹ This open, unfinished effect also appears in some of Blake's illustrations for Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (1791), Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797), and Charles Allen's *New and Improved History of England and New and Improved Roman History* (both 1798).

¹⁰ According to Bentley, *Blake Books*, p. 613, and Easson and Essick, *Blake: Book Illustrator*, II, 47-48. The latter includes reproductions of all three plates in the first states.

¹¹ See Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800* (Folkstone, Kent: Dawson, 1977), p. 112. Hogg was active at 16 Paternoster Row c. 1778-1819, and thereafter on Mark Lane to c. 1824.

¹² Curiously, the binding directions refer to "Adams' New Royal

System of Universal Geography" rather than to the *Geographical Magazine* in which they first appeared. Perhaps publication of the reissue, under a version of the subtitle of the *Magazine*, was contemplated while still printing the first issue. It is also possible that p. 956, bearing the binding directions four pages from the end of the *Magazine*, had not been printed before commencing the *System* reissue. In any case, one set of directions served both issues.



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A Supplement to *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue*

BY ROBERT N. ESSICK

In June 1981, I finished all but a few last-minute corrections in a typescript of a new catalogue of Blake's so-called "separate plates," including plates probably executed as book illustrations but known only through separate impressions. This work was published in May 1983 by Princeton University Press as *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue*. In the intervening twenty-three months, the Blake Industry did not stop its wheels within wheels. Important discoveries were made about known works, new impressions were brought to light or passed through the auction rooms, and the ownership and exhibition histories of recorded impressions changed. I present here this new information, much of which has come to me through the kindness of scholars, collectors, and dealers whose names are a pleasure to record in the following notes. Unless otherwise indicated, all entry and page numbers and impression designations refer to the *Separate Plates* catalogue. Included are some corrections of typos and stupidities perpetrated by the author.

The most significant change in ownership affects all plates listed in Sir Geoffrey Keynes' collection. Shortly after his death on 5 July 1982, they were removed to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This transfer included prints—such as the first and second states of "Job" (impressions 1A, 2D), "Ezekiel" (impression 2C), and "Mirth" (impression 2B)—not listed as part of Keynes' original bequest to the Fitzwilliam.¹ The collection is not yet owned by the Museum, but is on deposit there as part of Sir Geoffrey's estate. The materials are not at present available for study.

An important discovery about one of Blake's color printed drawings deserves notice here. In *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, Martin Butlin notes the presence of what looks like a platemaker's mark in the lower right side of "God Judging Adam" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.² In a review of Butlin's great catalogue, I noted that, if we could eliminate the overpainting from the Philadelphia Museum of Art impression of the design, "we would have a print looking very similar to a monochrome pull of a relief etching."³ Patrick Noon, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Yale Center for British Art, has now con-

clusively proven that "God Judging Adam" not only looks like a relief etching but *is* a relief etching.⁴ What looks like a platemaker's mark in the Metropolitan Museum impression *is* a platemaker's mark. Even the beautifully hand-colored Tate Gallery impression (illus. 1) has major outlines printed in monochrome from a relief etched plate. Thus, "God Judging Adam" forms the experimental link between Blake's illuminated books of c. 1794-1795 and the other color printed drawings, still believed to have been stamped from millboards. Perhaps Blake's experiences with etching such a large piece of metal, as well as the planographic printing of "Charity" and the *Song of Los* title-page,⁵ convinced him that he need not go to the expense of metal plates or the trouble of etching to produce large, color printed designs. In the *Separate Plates* catalogue, I excluded the color printed drawings because they are more in the nature of paintings than prints, and they had already been described with admirable precision by Butlin. Although defining the genre of "separate plates" is fraught with difficulties, it now would seem appropriate to include the three known impressions of "God Judging Adam" as members of that group. The techniques used to create it are the same as those Blake used in IX, "A Dream of Thiralatha," and XI, "Joseph of Arimathea Preaching to the Inhabitants of Britain."

Notes on individual sections of the catalogue follow.

P. 4, "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion," impression 2E (Estate of Sir Geoffrey Keynes). This impression was also offered for £4 in a Bernard Quaritch advertising flyer dated November 1886. A copy of this 4 pp. pamphlet has come to me through the generosity of Thomas Lange.

P. 6, "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion," impression 2I (Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 2 in the catalogue, reproduced p. 67.⁶ The sharp eyes of Patrick Noon and David Bindman have spotted on this impression "small areas of scraping out, and most unexpected, what appears to be the expressive use of plate tone on the surface to give a greater richness of texture."⁷ At the Toronto exhibition I inspected the

plate and found small touches of scraping out to create flicks of light on the large vertical fold in the center of Joseph's costume, on the fold farthest to the left on his right hip, on his right wrist, just below his right elbow, on his left hand and wrist, on the curved folds between his legs, and perhaps in the sunburst upper left. This rubbing out is similar to the "odd white lines and flicks" (p. 5) on impression 2H (National Gallery of Art, Washington). Plate tone also appears in impression 2G (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). As Bindman points out, this concern with the subtle interplay of light and shadow suggests a printing date in the 1820s. These effects also offer more circumstantial evidence that the second state of the plate itself, with its burnished passages of illumination, is also a late production.

P. 18, "Job," second state, impression 2B (British Museum). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1982-1983, no. 15 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 79.

P. 21, "Ezekiel," second state, impression 2A (British Museum). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 14 in the catalogue (see note 6).

Pp. 24-26, "Albion rose," first state, impression 1A (British Museum), and second state, impression 2D (National Gallery of Art, Washington). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, nos. 48a and 48b in the catalogue (see note 6).

Pp. 32, 34-35, "The Accusers of Theft Adultery Murder," second state, impression 2C, and third state, impression 3G (both National Gallery of Art, Washington). Exhibited at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, nos. 96 and 97 in the catalogue.⁸

Pp. 44-45, "Joseph of Arimathea Preaching to the Inhabitants of Britain," impression 1B (National Gallery of Art, Washington). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 50 in the catalogue (see note 6).

P. 49, "Deaths Door," collection of Lucile Johnson Rosenbloom. Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto 1982-1983, no. 64b in the catalogue (see note 6).

Pp. 62-69, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," third state. An additional impression: *Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery*, Birmingham, England. Wove paper, irregularly cut to 43.3 x 97.4 cm. and laid down. Horizontal tear across the lower right corner, minor staining. Presented to the Museum in 1913 by Mrs. William Harris. I thank Tessa Sidey, Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the Birmingham City Museum, for this information.

P. 67, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," third state, impression 3X (Yale Center for British Art). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 97c in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 158.

P. 69, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," Fourth state, impression 4AA (Douglas Cleverdon). The print was cleaned at the British Museum in 1983 and re-laid once again. A label, probably written by a frame maker, was removed from the old backing sheet. It states that the print should be sent to a "Mrs. Tattersall" of Bournemouth, probably a former owner of this impression of the rare fourth state.

Pp. 70-75, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," fifth state. A few further impressions:

a. *Arizona Art Museum*, Tucson. Laid India on heavy wove, 53.4 x 111.8 cm. Very probably a Colnaghi restrike. Sold anonymously at the California Book Auction Galleries, Los Angeles, 31 January 1982, lot 49, reproduced (\$1600 to W. & V. Dailey). Sold by the Daileys, Los Angeles book and print dealers, to the Arizona Art Museum for \$3500 in June 1982.

b. *Alexander Gourlay*, Wooster, Ohio. A Sessler restrike, sheet 44 x 101 cm., with the "FRANCE" watermark lower right. Slight yellow stains on edges and verso; small puncture top left. Acquired by an upstate New York dealer at a community auction for \$30 and sold "recently" (according to the owner) to Keith A. Gourlay for \$350. Given by K. A. Gourlay in 1983 to his son, the present owner, to whom I am indebted for all information about this impression.

c. *Charlotte M. Horner*, Cobourg, Ontario, Canada. Probably a Colnaghi restrike, matted and framed when seen in Toronto, February 1983. Acquired before 1905 by Arthur Harvey, from whom it passed by inheritance to his granddaughter, the present owner. Destined for the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. I am grateful to Katherine Lochnan, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Art Gallery of Ontario, for showing this impression to me.

d. *Warren Stevenson*, Vancouver, Canada. Yellowed and slightly foxed; matted and framed. Very slight fragments of the scratched inscriptions of the fourth state are present, suggesting that these were never purposefully removed from the plate but simply wore away after a few pulls (see p. 70). Acquired at an estate sale at an unknown time by Dr. Patrick, a Vancouver antiques dealer, from whom it passed to Mrs. Stephens of the Canterbury Curios antique shop, Vancouver. Acquired c. 1975 by Professor Stevenson, to whom I am indebted for this information.

P. 73, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," fifth state, impression 5RR (National Gallery of Canada). Exhibited at the Edmonton Art Gallery, Alberta, Canada, 1982, no. 22 in the catalogue,⁹ reproduced p. 21.

P. 76, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," untraced impression 11. This impression was also offered for £7.10s. in Quaritch's advertising flyer of November 1886 (see entry for p. 4, above).

P. 83, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," untraced impressions. An additional untraced impression: sold Christie's New York, 7 May 1983, lot 405, fifth state on laid India, some staining (\$1430). I have not been able to trace the purchaser. Probably a Colnaghi restrike, many of which have approximately the plate mark dimensions of this impression (35.6 x 96.5 cm.). The plate mark varies among various printings because of different amounts of paper shrinkage. The auction catalogue records the provenance as "Henry Richmond R.A., according to a pencilled note in the hand of M.A. McDonald."

I can find no record of a member of the Royal Academy named "Henry Richmond"; this may be an error for George Richmond, R.A. Perhaps the same as untraced impression 128. M.A. McDonald was a New York print dealer.

P. 86, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." It is *not* true that the plate mark dimensions of any impression exceed the size of the copperplate. The original copperplate was exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1982-1983, no. 97b in the catalogue (see note 6).

P. 86, note 30. The HARRIS platemaker's mark appears on plate 1 of Blake's Job engravings, not on "the title page." G.E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), incorrectly records the address as "N° 3" on p. 518, not "p. 618."

1. "God Judging Adam." Relief etching, c. 1795, one of three impressions color printed c. 1795 (?) with water colors and pen drawing added to the impression c. 1805 for Thomas Butts. Image 43.2 x 53.5 cm. on paper approx. 54.5 x 77 cm. Tate Gallery, London.



P. 90, "The Chaining of Orc," impression 1A (National Gallery of Art, Washington). Exhibited at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, no. 18 in the catalogue (see note 8). The catalogue includes an important discussion of the techniques that may have been used to create this print.

P. 103, "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour," second state, impression 2E (Robert N. Essick). Exhibited at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, 1981-1982, no. 2 in the catalogue.¹⁰

Pp. 106-107, "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour," second state, impression 2N (Yale Center for British Art). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 109 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 170.

P. 110, "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour." The parallel wavy lines added in the second state were probably executed with a multi-toothed graver often called a "threading-tool."

Pp. 111-17, "George Cumberland's Card." An additional impression: *Dr. Garth Huston*, Eagle Rock, California. Printed on laid paper, 9.6 x 14.6 cm., of the "rough texture" type (see p. 120), chain lines 2.1 cm. apart. Purchased by Dr. Huston in 1975 for \$50 from Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles.

P. 116, "George Cumberland's Card," impression 1AA (University of Texas, Austin). The ink is not black, but a very dark green, similar to the ink of impression 1N (Estate of Sir Geoffrey Keynes) but darker. Both are on cards of almost the same size and are probably from the same early press run.

P. 116, "George Cumberland's Card," impression 1CC (Yale University, Beinecke Library). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 125 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 190.

P. 126, "Morning Amusement," second state, impression 2F. Sold by Mrs. Lucile Johnson Rosenbloom at Christie's, 2 November 1982, lot 35, with impression 2F of "Evening Amusement," the latter illustrated in the catalogue (£918 to Donald Heald). Now in the collection of *Robert N. Essick*, Altadena, California.

P. 128, "Morning Amusement," untraced impression 7. It is *not* true that Russell, *Engravings of Blake*,¹¹ records a 1911 sale of color printed impressions of "Morning Amusement" and "Evening Amusement" once in the W.E. Moss collection. Indeed, Russell catalogues only the former, apparently not color printed, based on a 7 October 1911 sale catalogue issued by "Henry Young & Sons, booksellers of Liverpool." Thus, Young had only one set printed in colors, purchased in 1913, and these may be the prints acquired by Moss.

P. 130, "Evening Amusement," second state, impression 2B (Robert N. Essick). Exhibited at the Yale

Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 25 in the catalogue (see note 6).

P. 131, "Evening Amusement," second state, impression 2F. See p. 126 above, "Morning Amusement," impression 2F.

P. 140, "Zephyrus and Flora," second state, impression 2C (Robert N. Essick). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 26 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 85.

P. 154, "Rev. John Caspar Lavater," third state, impression 3U (Yale Center for British Art). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 29 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 88.

Pp. 155-56, "Rev. John Caspar Lavater." In my discussion of drawings possibly related to this portrait print, I failed to mention a profile of Lavater by Felix Maria Diog (or "Diogg," Swiss portraitist and engraver, 1762-1834) in a Swiss private collection.¹² The subject looks to the left, wears a skullcap, and is framed by an oval, just as in Blake's print. The two works are very similar in general format and effect, but there are many minor differences in the amount of Lavater's body shown (more in the painting) and in the hair, cravat, collar, and angle of the mouth. None of these differences, however, would exclude Diog's work from being the prototype (with an intervening drawing?) for the print. Mary Lynn Johnson Grant has told me of another similar portrait by the Swiss-German artist Markus Dinkel (1762-1832). According to Thieme & Becker, Dinkel's watercolor of Lavater, signed and dated 1790, is in a private collection in Basel.¹³ This date places the Dinkel portrait after the first state (1787) of Blake's print.

P. 159, "The Idle Laundress," third state. An additional impression: *Robert N. Essick*, Altadena, California. Color printed in black, brown, and light blue on wove paper, 26.6 x 29.9 cm., watermarked 1794 / J WHATMAN. Hand tinted with watercolors (blue, red, black). Two scratches on the tree; scuffed in the lower margin, with parts of the imprint obliterated. Sold anonymously at Sotheby's, 17 June 1983, lot 981, with "Industrious Cot-tager," fourth state impression described below, p. 167 (£198 to Donald Heald for Essick).

Pp. 160-61, "The Idle Laundress," impressions of unidentifiable state. Two additional impressions:

a. *Robert N. Essick*, Altadena, California. Color printed in black, reddish-brown, light brown, and dark blue on laid paper, 21.2 x 26.1 cm., with unidentifiable fragments of a watermark obscured by the image. Hand tinted with watercolors (light blue, brown, red). All inscriptions have been trimmed off, but the title has been retained. Dust and age stained, but recently cleaned. The color printing is very sim-

ilar to impression 1A, but the stippled letters of the title indicate that this must be a second or third state (probably the former, dated 1788 in the imprint like the first state). Acquired in June 1982 by the London dealer Donald Heald and sold by him to Essick in July 1982 (\$210).

b. *Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, Massachusetts. Printed in brown on laid paper trimmed inside the plate mark to 25.7 x 28.6 cm., cutting off all but the tops of the letters of the imprint. The ink color and paper are the same as impression 2B, suggesting that this is a second (1788) state impression, a companion to the third (1788) state of "Industrious Cottager" in the same collection. Bequeathed to the Worcester Museum by Laura Norcross (Mrs. Kingsmill) Marrs of Boston, whose collection stamp appears on the versos of both prints. Both prints accessioned by the Museum on 2 December 1926. For information on these two prints (see pp. 166-67 below), I am grateful to Norma Steinberg, Worcester Art Museum, and to Joseph Viscomi.

P. 165, "Industrious Cottager." The entry number for this plate, "XXXI," was not printed at the beginning of the catalogue entry.

Pp. 166-67, "Industrious Cottager," third state. An additional impression: *Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, Massachusetts. Printed in brown on laid paper trimmed inside the plate mark to 25.9 x 28.6 cm., but with the imprint present. Two small repairs in the lower margin. For provenance, see "The Idle Laundress," pp. 160-61 above, impression b.

P. 167, "Industrious Cottager," fourth state. An additional impression: *Robert N. Essick*, Altadena, California. Color printed in black, brown, and light blue on wove paper, 26.5 x 29.9 cm., watermarked J WHATMAN (remainder, if any, obscured by the image). Hand tinted with watercolors (blue, red, black). Scuffed in the lower margin, with part of the imprint obliterated. For provenance, see "The Idle Laundress," p. 159 above.

P. 171, "Head of a Damned Soul in Dante's *Inferno*," impression 1E (Charles Ryskamp). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 28 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 87.

P. 186, "James Upton," first state, impression 1A (Robert N. Essick). Exhibited at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, 1981-1982, no. 4 in the catalogue (see note 10); and at the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1983, no. 24 in the catalogue.¹⁴

P. 201, "Wilson Lowry," first state, impression 1A (Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University). Exhibited at the Johnson Museum, 1983, no. 25 in the catalogue (see note 14).

Pp. 201-208, "Wilson Lowry." Raymond Lister has

very kindly shown me two impressions of this plate acquired by him c. 1967-1968 from the London book and print dealer E. Seligmann, who probably acquired the prints from Ruthven Todd. One impression is in the third state on laid India paper, the wove backing sheet measuring 30 x 22.2 cm. The other is also on laid India with a wove backing sheet 31.5 x 26 cm. It is in a state between the third and fourth recorded in the *Separate Plates* catalogue, showing a double rather than a single line (third state) along the left outline of the figure's nose but none of the other fourth state revisions. After having this very slight difference pointed out to me, I must now concur with Keynes that his impression 3E is in a state later than his impression 3D.¹⁵ Thus, the "Wilson Lowry" plate is known in a total of six, rather than five, states.

P. 203, "Wilson Lowry," fourth (herein corrected to fifth) state, impression 4H (Robert N. Essick). Exhibited at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1982-1983, no. 119 in the catalogue (see note 6), reproduced p. 187 (image only).

Pp. 203-204, "Wilson Lowry," fourth (herein corrected to fifth) state, impression 4I (Huntington Library). I can now identify the "T" watermark as a fragment of a Dupuy Auvergne countermark. Parts of this countermark and its companion, a Dovecote watermark, are also to be found among the T.H. Riches proofs of Blake's Job engravings (Fitzwilliam Museum) and the W.A. White and J. Linnell sets of Job proofs (both National Gallery of Art, Washington). The watermark is similar, but not identical, to Heawood nos. 1232-1234.¹⁶

P. 205, "Wilson Lowry," fifth (herein corrected to sixth) state, impression 5P (Jenijoy La Belle). Exhibited at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, 1981-1982, no. 5 in the catalogue (see note 10).

P. 223, six Butts copperplates. The purchaser ("Last") of these untraced coppers at the W.E. Moss sale, Sotheby's, 2 March 1937, lot 278 (£ 1), was probably the book dealer G.H. Last, 21A High Street, Bromley, Kent. He is no longer in business and I still have not been able to turn up these remnants of Blake's activities as an engraving instructor.

Pp. 233-34, "Four Classical Figures." David Bindman has shown me that the drawing (in his collection) for this print *does* have very slight pencil indications of the fresco on the right. Indeed, these marks are visible in the reproduction (Fig. 103) in the catalogue, even though I did not notice them when I first saw the drawing.

Pp. 247, "Coin of Nebuchadnezzar and Head of Cancer." The tracing or copy of the head, formerly in Linnell's collection and probably drawn by him, was sold by Quaritch to me in June 1983. It is reproduced in Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), II, pl. 977.

P. 251, *The Wit's Magazine*. I have acquired some

hand colored impressions of these plates, but they are bound in the book and not "independent of the Work," as the quoted advertisement states. The coloring is crude and incomplete.

P. 259, "The Ancient of Days." The William Muir facsimile was also advertised in a Quaritch flyer dated November 1886 (see entry for p. 4, above). According to Keynes, *Bibliography of Blake*,¹⁷ Muir's facsimiles of the illuminated books were also advertised by Quaritch in a prospectus of May 1887, which I have not seen. This too may have listed Muir's reproduction of "The Ancient of Days."

This supplement completes the record of exhibitions and sales through May 1983. I will continue to record sales of separate plates in my biennial review of "Blake in the Marketplace" in this journal. I would greatly appreciate hearing from readers who have further information about Blake's separate plates.

¹ See the record of the bequest in David Bindman, *William Blake: Catalogue of the Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1970), pp. 65-84.

² (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), I, 162. Butlin first mentioned this odd feature in his Tate Gallery exhibition catalogue, *William Blake* (London: Tate Gallery, 1978), p. 60.

³ *Blake / An Illustrated Quarterly*, 16 (1982), 36.

⁴ I believe that the first published notice of this discovery is in Francis Broun, "William Blake: His Art and Times," *Artmagazine*, 14 (1982-1983), 16. See also David Bindman, "An Afterthought on *William Blake: His Art and Times*," *Blake / An Illustrated Quarterly*, 16 (1983), 224.

⁵ See Essick, *William Blake, Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton Univ.

Press, 1980), pp. 128-29, 132-33. For "Charity," see also the *Separate Plates* catalogue, pp. 10-11.

⁶ David Bindman, *William Blake: His Art and Times* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982). Catalogue of the exhibition at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 15 September-14 November 1982, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 3 December 1982-6 February 1983.

⁷ Bindman, "Afterthought" (see note 4), p. 225.

⁸ Ruth E. Fine, *Lessing J. Rosenwald: Tribute to a Collector* [catalogue of an exhibition, 7 February-9 May 1982], National Gallery of Art, Washington (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1982).

⁹ Victor Chan, *Leader of My Angels: William Hayley and His Circle* [catalogue of an exhibition], 17 September-31 October 1982 (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1982).

¹⁰ [Shelley M. Bennett], *Prints by the Blake Followers: An Exhibition at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery*, November 1981-February 1982 (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982).

¹¹ Archibald G. B. Russell, *The Engravings of William Blake* (London: Grant Richards, and Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), p. 137.

¹² Reproduced in [Gert Schiff], *Henry Fuseli 1741-1825* [catalogue of an exhibition, 19 February-31 March 1975, at the] Tate Gallery (London: Tate, 1975), p. 41.

¹³ Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines lexicon der bildenden künstler* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1908-1950), q.v. This is apparently the portrait reproduced in Carol Louise Hall, *Henry Fuseli and the Aesthetics of William Blake*, Univ. of Maryland Ph.D. dissertation, 1979. I am thankful to Mary Lynn Johnson Grant for telling me about this dissertation and supplying a xerox of the reproduction.

¹⁴ [Joseph Viscomi], *Prints by William Blake and His Followers*, [catalogue of an exhibition], 15 March-17 April 1983 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1983).

¹⁵ Geoffrey Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (Dublin: Emery Walker, 1956), p. 86 (his "third state").

¹⁶ Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950), q.v.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Keynes, *Bibliography of William Blake* (New York: Grolier Club, 1921), p. 295.



MINUTE PARTICULARS

Cennino, Cumberland, Blake and Early Painting Techniques

Joan K. Stemmler

Bo Ossian Lindberg recently suggested in his review of Robert N. Essick's *William Blake Printmaker* that "Blake scholars should cite Tambroni," in the 1821 edition, when the topic is William Blake's awareness of *Il Libro dell'Arte* or *The Craftsman's Handbook* by Cennino Cennini.¹ Lindberg's advice continues the discussion of a minor but unresolved problem in Blake scholarship regarding the sources and nature of Blake's ideas about artistic material and techniques of painting.² Under discussion here are Blake's so-called "Fresco Pictures," fresco being the name with which Blake himself in 1809 described his pictures made with watercolor on a kind of plaster ground: "The Art has been lost: I have recovered it."³ Blake is silent about his tempering agent and ground for the fresco technique, but J.T. Smith, a long time friend, wrote in 1828 that Blake tempered his pigments with "glue-water" made from "carpenter's glue" and used the same material in his ground.⁴ In 1862, John Linnell wrote to the wife of Blake's biographer, Alexander Gilchrist, that he gave Blake a copy of Cennino's book: "I believe that the first copy of Cennino Cennini seen in England was the copy I obtained from Italy & gave to Blake who soon made it out & was gratified to find that he had been using the same materials & methods as Cennini describes—particularly the Carpenters glue."⁵

In this note I would like to explore the "Cennino connection." As of now Essick and Lindberg follow Linnell's account that Blake was first aware of this primary source for Trecento painting material and techniques only in 1821, and that earlier he had adopted traditional methods from recipe books. Cennino's writings were available earlier, however. A copy of his lost holograph had entered the Medici Grand Duke's collection and by 1681 the location in Florence had been published: this little known manuscript was also discussed in at least three other books of 1739, 1759 and 1778 as a valuable curiosity full of ancient secrets which should be brought to light.⁶ More important, George Cumberland, Blake's close friend, knew of this manuscript and said that the Medici Grand Duke loaned it to him "for some days."⁷ I suggest that it is highly probable that Blake was aware of some of the directions for the painting of frescoes from

Cennino some twenty-five years before the published edition through the agency of Cumberland.⁸

Cumberland was on the Continent, principally in Italy, between 1785 and 1790.⁹ He mentioned "*Andrea Cennini de Colle di Valdessa*" and the manuscript in his 1796 *Thoughts on Outline* where he wrote that the "manuscript is very valuable, on account of the exact directions which it gives for the painting in fresco of those times."¹⁰ By 1794 Blake had begun engraving plates for *Thoughts on Outline*, and he offered Cumberland technical advice for his own efforts at engraving, as attested by an affectionate letter which survives.¹¹ Blake began to use experimental media and techniques for printing and painting on paper about 1795, and his biblical paintings on gesso supported by canvas or copper for Thomas Butts were begun about 1799.¹² In his new enterprises information supplied by Cumberland could have been the chief motivation for his experiments.

In the eighteenth century there were few specific references to the content of Cennino's manuscript. It was first mentioned by Giorgio Vasari in *Le Vite*, the *Lives of the Italian Painters*, in 1568, and Filippo Baldinucci in 1681 referred to its location in the Laurentian Library in Florence.¹³ Cumberland's actual references to Cennino's manuscript in *Thoughts on Outline* go beyond information which was available in Vasari's *Le Vite*, which he owned, or in Baldinucci.¹⁴ From *Le Vite*, which was well known in the second Italian edition or in two subsequent editions, anyone could learn in the "Vita d'Agnolo Gaddi" that "Cennino di Drea Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa . . . scrisse in un libro di sua mano i modi del lavorarre a fresco, a tempera, a colla ed a gommaTratto . . . del macinare i colori a olio" ¹⁵ Vasari went into no details about *how* to work in fresco, tempera, glue and gum or how to mix colors in oil, but he did establish beyond doubt that Cennino was a pupil of Agnolo whose father in turn learned directly from the early Trecento painter Giotto.

In *Thoughts on Outline* we find evidence to indicate that Cumberland read part of the manuscript. He refers in the same order as Cennino does to technical points raised in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of *Il Libro*, and compresses them in a single sentence: "I found, that the venerable author of this treatise, states, that in his time, the Artists used to draw on a smooth piece of fig-tree, and also on parchment, which had been powdered with calcined bone, and with a fine silver style, in order to attain the justest Outline possible."¹⁶ Thompson translates these instructions for learning to draw as "you begin with drawing on a panel of wood . . . For that purpose, a little panel of fig wood is good."¹⁷ The panel is prepared for drawing by spreading ground bones mixed with saliva on the smoothed wood. Old bone from the second joints and wings of fowl are good, says Cennino: "Just as you find them under the dining-table, put them in the fire

... ." Cumberland omitted the matter-of-fact reference to the source of the bones and he elevated the process for which Cennino used the word *chotto* or baking by using the more scientific term calcination. Cennino then recommends using a style of silver. The leisurely narrative chapters of Cennino are succinctly summarized by Cumberland as he presses his main point about the quality of outline.

I propose that Cumberland could and would have been interested in reading the entire manuscript. In the Laurentian manuscript a glossator had written headings for short chapters, making it easy to find out the general contents.¹⁸ The manuscript copy itself, which Cumberland said he had for some days, is written in an archaic form of Italian with expressions from the Paduan dialect,¹⁹ which is not difficult to read. In a reproduction of folio 1^r (illus. 1) it is easy to see in the last eight lines *dipignere, fantasia, hoperazione di mano, sotto ombra, naturale, fermarle*, in a passage in which Cennino describes himself as pursuing "an occupation known as *painting*, which calls for *imagination*, and *skill of hand*, in order to discover things not seen, hiding themselves *under the shadow* of *natural* objects, and to *give them shape* with the hand, presenting to plain sight what does not actually exist."²⁰ Cumberland's motivation for perusing the manuscript—his curiosity about the art of the Greeks and the Romans, his avid pursuit of old prints, antique gems and ancient artifacts, and his interest in learning details about craft techniques—is easily documented.²¹ However, unless his untraced manuscripts made during his Italian travels turn up, we cannot know exactly the extent or nature of any notes he may have taken.²² The paragraph in *Thoughts on Outline* is our clue that he saw, read and later referred accurately to information learned from the copy of Cennino's valuable early manuscript. However, we should be aware, as Thompson cautions, that there are many ambiguities in the manuscript,²³ and these may have influenced Cumberland's understanding and transmission of information.

Because Blake did experiment with painting in a variety of media in the second half of the 1790s, naming them fresco pictures, it is likely that he was acting on the "exact directions," accurate or not, which Cumberland brought back from Florence. Of course, interest in reviving ancient practices was high in the second half of the eighteenth century, and antiquarians, craftsmen and artists consulted many sources for information.²⁴ The use of a variety of materials, including plaster or whiting grounds and glues derived from animal skin, was widespread in England.²⁵ Exactly what Blake's media were is not yet known, and will not be until chemical analyses are available.²⁶ Martin Butlin may be acknowledging this reality when he calls "Blake's own changing formula" which he used from about 1795 into the 1820s by the inclusive term of "tempera."²⁷ The exact directions for painting in fresco to

which Cumberland had access include those for painting in true fresco, in which pigments suspended or dissolved only in water are painted directly on wet plaster, or gesso, and to painting on dry gesso panels with pigment tempered either with gum, glue or egg.²⁸

On the basis of Smith's 1828 account that Blake's methods involved the use of "carpenter's glue," a practice of the earliest fresco painters, and of Linnell's letter to Mrs. Gilchrist, Blake's formula has been connected with Cennino's glue called *colla di spichi*. Essick noted that W.M. Rossetti cited the specific reference to Cennino in 1863.²⁹ Cennino in several chapters mentions a glue made from parts of goats, *colla di spichi*, or leaf glue.³⁰ As Lindberg points out, he gives very precise directions for making it in Chapter 109:³¹ "And there is a glue which is known as leaf glue; this is made out of clippings of goats' muzzles, feet, sinews, and many clippings of skins . . . And it is a good glue for wood . . . it may be used for . . . gessos, for tempering colors . . . fastening pieces of wood . . . tempering gessos."³² In Chapters 16 to 22, Cennino gives all the instructions for grinding colors on a porphyry slab, tempering them with the glue purchased at the apothecary, and tinting parchment or paper. A close reading of Cennino's entire book shows that the glue which can be purchased at the apothecary is the same as leaf glue, *colla di spichi*, which is also given the name of goat's glue.³³ This is the glue to which Rossetti referred in Chapter 19. But it was easier for Rossetti, as it is for us, to understand and study instructions in a printed edition.

Linnell's report in 1862 (quoted above) that he gave the 1821 edition to Blake has influenced thinking about the artist and his painting techniques.³⁴ Essick proposed that Blake would have found in Tambroni's edition of Cennino "evidence that his own method of using wood-working glue as a fixative had been used by the Italian Renaissance masters he so much admired."³⁵ Butlin dates Blake's later paintings, in which his technique "consists of a much thinner paint film, akin to water colour, on a gesso ground laid on paper or panel" to about 1821,³⁶ perhaps also thinking of the availability of Cennino's instructions. In his review of Butlin's book, Essick in fact suggests that Blake's reading of Cennino's book perhaps caused him "to alter his practice slightly."³⁷ Indeed, the change itself may well be one of the strongest pieces of evidence that Blake did see the detailed instructions in Tambroni's edition, which, in spite of its omissions and inaccuracies, would have provided information which could be considered carefully.

However, the credit for being the first to bring information from Cennino's "very old treatise on painting" to Blake's attention should go, I propose, to George

Cennino, *Il libro dell'arte*, Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. laur. Plut.78.23, fol 1^r (after Thompson, *Il Libro*, frontispiece).

Cumberland, his long time friend and fellow searcher for knowledge about the lost art of the ancients. Blake defended the right to paint from the imagination, he valued a skilled execution and a just outline. These beliefs and values were extraordinarily like those of Cennino, who also pursued that demanding profession of painting which called for *fantasia e hoperazione di mano*.

¹ Bo Ossian Lindberg, review of Robert N. Essick, *William Blake Printmaker in Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 15 (Winter 1981-82), 148, n. 22. Essick, *William Blake Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 122-23. [Cennino Cennini], *Di Cennino Cennini trattato della pittura, messo in luce la prima volta con annotazioni*, ed. Giuseppe Tambroni (Rome, 1821). For Cennino, I have relied on the American edition and its translation: [Cennino Cennini], *Il Libro dell'Arte*, Vol. I, and *The Craftsman's Handbook*, Vol. II, ed. and trans. Daniel V. Thompson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932-33). Lindberg, in the review of Essick, p. 148, n. 22, summarizes the editions of Cennino's *Il Libro*. The most recent Italian edition, *Il libro dell'arte o trattato della pittura*, ed. Fernando Tempesti (Milan: Longanesi & Co., 1975) is based on the 1859 Milanese edition and includes recent scholarship and bibliography on Cennino.

² In addition to Lindberg and Essick as above, see Lindberg, *William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job* (Abo: Abo Academy, 1973), pp. 178-79; David Bindman, *Blake as an Artist* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977), pp. 89-90, 117-18, 128-29; Lindberg, review of Jack Lindsay, *William Blake: His Life and Work*, in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14 (Winter 1980-81), 173, n. 41; Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, Vol. I, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), xii, 132, 156, 317-18, 472, 483, 549; and Robert N. Essick, review of Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 16 (Summer 1982), 60.

³ Geoffrey Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 560-66, esp. 561.

⁴ For a convenient citation of the entire text, originally in J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, see G.E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 472. John Linnell and Frederick Tatham also say that Blake used carpenter's glue, but their acquaintance with Blake begins after 1818 (Bentley, *Blake Records*, pp. 3, 33).

⁵ G.E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 684-85.

⁶ Although Vasari (see n. 13 below) first mentions Cennino, the location in the Laurentian Library in Florence seems to be published first by [Filippo Baldinucci], *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue . . .*, ed. Fernando Ranalli (Florence: V. Batelli & Co., 1845), p. 312. My thanks to Dr. Lindberg for pointing out the Baldinucci reference to me. I derive the following account of the manuscript from Thompson, *Il Libro*, I, ix-xii. Three manuscript copies of Cennino's lost original written after 1396 are known. The two earliest recensions upon which Thompson relies are the Quattrocento MS in the Laurentian Library, 78.P.23, finished by 1437, and the Cinquecento MS in the Riccardian Library, 2190, not mentioned until 1810. The third is an eighteenth century copy of the Laurentian MS, the Vatican Ottobonian 2914, dated 1737, which is the one upon which Tambroni's edition is based. The Laurentian Library MS was examined and mentioned by Bernard de Montfauçon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum nova* (Paris: 1739), I, 395C, and was included in A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum italicorum bibliothecae medicae laurentianae . . .* (Florence: 1778), V, 307. An allusion to "L'opera del Cennini nato in Valdelsa si ritrova nella libreria Medicea di S. Lorenzo al banco 78 cod. 24" is contained in the 1759 Bottari edition of Vasari's *Le Vite*, I, 21, as cited in Barocchi, *Le Vite*, II, 638 (see n. 13 below).

⁷ For their friendship, see Bentley, *Blake Records*, pp. 17, 19, and Bindman, *Artist*, p. 26. George Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that guided the ancient artists in composing their figures and groupes* (London, 1796), p. 27.

⁸ Blake and Cumberland were also exploring solutions to the problem of making plates for printing their own works as early as 1784-85, and may also have shared information at that time (Bentley, *Blake Records*, p. 32; Bindman, *Artist*, pp. 42-43).

⁹ For Cumberland's travels, see G.E. Bentley, Jr., *George Cumberland Bibliography, 1754-1848* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1975), pp. xviii, xix, 96, 125-26. For the dates between which Cumberland traveled to and remained in Italy, see Clementina Black, ed., *The Cumberland Letters, Being the Correspondences of Richard Dennison Cumberland and George Cumberland Between the Years 1771 and 1784* (London: Secker, 1912), p. 338, and Geoffrey Keynes, "Some Uncollected Authors XLIV: George Cumberland 1754-1848," *Book Collector*, 19 (1970), 35-36.

¹⁰ Cumberland, *Thoughts*, p. 27.

¹¹ Keynes, *Writings*, p. 790.

¹² Butlin, *Paintings*, pp. 156, 317-18.

¹³ For Vasari I rely on [Giorgio Vasari], *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazione del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini, Vol. II, Text, and Paola Barocchi, comm., Vol. II, Pt. 1, Commentary (Florence: Sansoni, 1966-), "Vita d'Agnolo Gaddi," 248-49. For Baldinucci, see Ranalli, *Notizie*, p. 312.

¹⁴ The 1568 edition of Vasari was listed as Item 22 of *A Catalogue of the Collection of Books on Art, Antique Bronzes, Terra Cottas, and Coins, the Property of George Cumberland, Esq. . . .*, sold by auction at Christie & Manson, 6 May 1835.

¹⁵ For the two subsequent eighteenth-century editions before 1785, see Barocchi, *Le Vite*, II, 1, vii. Bettarini, *Le Vite*, II, 248-49.

¹⁶ Cumberland, *Thoughts*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁷ Thompson, *Handbook*, Chapters 5, 6, 7, for all the quotations in this paragraph.

¹⁸ Thompson, *Il Libro*, I, xv.

¹⁹ See Thompson, *Il Libro*, xvi, for the archaic form, and Tempesti, *Il libro*, p. 11, where he cites the Milanese identification of Cennino's Paduanisms.

²⁰ Thompson, *Il Libro and Handbook*, Chapter 1.

²¹ Cumberland's interests are recorded, especially in Black, *Letters*, pp. 83, 138, 267; Keynes, "Uncollected," p. 35; Bentley, *Bibliography, passim.*; and all of Cumberland's writings, including especially references to his days in Italy in the Preface of *Outlines from the Ancients* (London, 1829).

²² For the untraced manuscripts, see Bentley, *Bibliography*, pp. viii, 123-27.

²³ Thompson, *Il Libro*, xiv.

²⁴ The most recent treatment of a phase of this revival of interest in ancient practices that I know of is the fascinating unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of Danielle Rice, "The Fire of the Ancients: The Encaustic Painting Revival, 1755-1812," Yale University, 1979. Rice's work provides a detailed description of the international nature of these explorations of early manuscripts for techniques and the interest in technical matters and shared experimental results in the second half of the eighteenth century.

²⁵ Rice points out that experiments and interest in encaustic painting peaked in England in the 1760s, and she mentions many variations in the process of wall painting (Chapters 4 and 5, especially pp. 196 and 201).

²⁶ Lindberg refers to such chemical analysis of an Essick colorprint in his review of Essick's book. His talk in Toronto, February 1983, on "The Chariot of Genius: Blake's Binders and Pigments" (which is in the future at the time of this writing) may address this problem.

²⁷ Butlin, *Paintings*, p. xii.

²⁸ For a clear description of terms, see Thompson, *Handbook*,

pp. xv–xvii, and Chapters 67, 109, 113–17 especially. The Italian terms *colla*, *gesso grosso*, *gesso sottile*, *tempera* and *calcina*, as Thompson both points out and clarifies, are difficult to translate. Words used by English, American and other translators have subtle differences of meaning. Thompson's merit is that he explains what he means by his terms.

²⁹ Essick, *Printmaker*, p. 122–23.

³⁰ Thompson, *Handbook*, Chapters 16–22, 25, 109, 113–17.

³¹ Lindberg, *Job*, pp. 178–79.

³² Thompson, *Handbook*, Chapter 109.

³³ In Chapter 25, Cennino says, "Then get some fish glue and some leaf glue, which the druggists sell," and in Chapter 16 he directs, "get a leaf of druggists' glue, not fish glue."

³⁴ Aside from the problem about when Blake learned Italian (see Bentley, *Blake Records*, pp. 349–50, 475), another minor problem is connected with this claim. In January of 1838, Linnell wrote to his son-in-law, Samuel Palmer, in Italy, "quoting Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*, which he had seen at Callcott's" (as cited in Edward Malins, *Samuel Palmer's Italian Honeymoon* [London: Oxford University Press, 1968], p. 88.) Malins had access to the Ivimy MSS, the Linnell family papers. I raise the question of why Linnell would have mentioned Cennino's book to Palmer as though he had seen it for the first time at the Kensington home of his neighbor, Sir Augustus Callcott, if he indeed had the first copy in England and gave it to Blake.

Also contributing to the idea that Blake saw the Tambroni edition are two artifacts mentioned by E.J. Ellis and Geoffrey Keynes, which however cannot be traced. E.J. Ellis, in *The Real Blake*, 1907, p. 420, first mentioned a sentence by Blake in the "Linnell" copy of Cennino, as noted by Geoffrey Keynes in *A Bibliography of William Blake* (New York: Grolier Club of New York, 1921), pp. 53–54. For references to this artifact see David V. Erdman, *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 659, 803, and also see Bentley, *Blake Books*, pp. 684–85. Erdman and Bentley both cast doubt on Ellis's reliability and accuracy. Keynes, in *A Bibliography*, p. 53, also describes as an eyewitness an extract from Cennino's work in Blake's hand in a sketchbook belonging to George Richmond sold at Sotheby's on 28 July 1920. For other references see Bentley, *Blake Books*, pp. 684–85, Butlin, *Drawings*, p. 548, and Essick, review of Butlin, p. 60.

³⁵ Essick, *Printmaker*, p. 123. Cennino's manuscript deals with Trecento practices, not those of the Cinquecento, as one might infer from Essick's use of the word Renaissance.

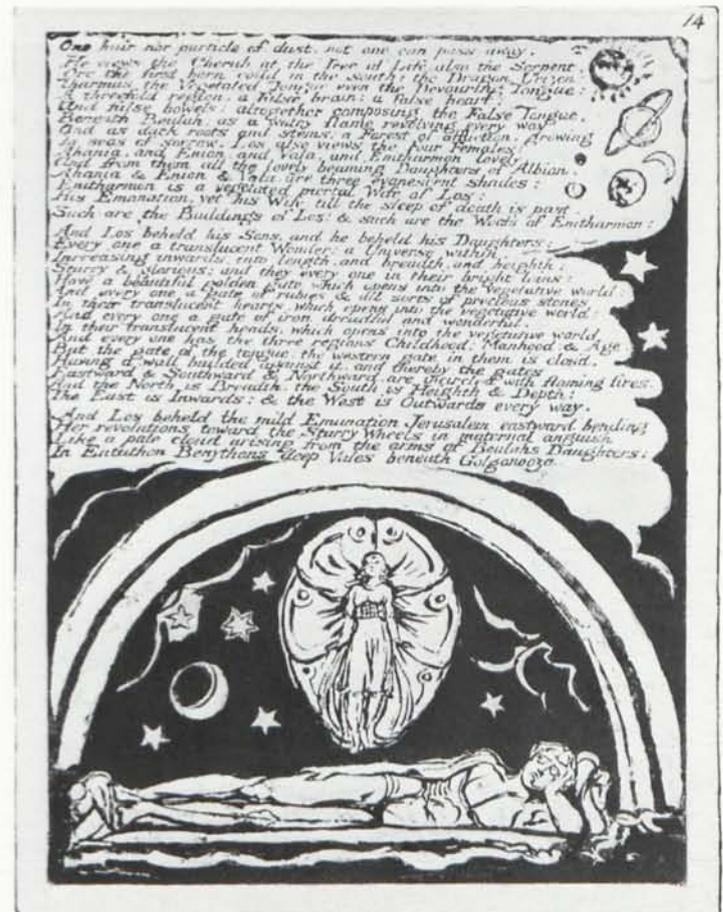
³⁶ Butlin, *Paintings*, p. 549.

³⁷ Essick, review of Butlin, p. 60.

Iris & Morpheus: Investigating Visual Sources for *Jerusalem* 14

Judith Ott

The design on plate 14 of *Jerusalem* (illus. 1) consists of a winged Jerusalem descending from a rainbow through a starry sky to awaken Albion from his deathlike sleep of mortality beside watery shores where he is attended by



1. William Blake. *Jerusalem*: 14. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

two angels.¹ Although this design has been variously identified, the specific iconographic sources have not yet come to light. Attention paid to the particulars of the scene clearly shows that the illumination on plate 14 is, among other things, a parallel visual interpretation of the Greek myth of Iris and Morpheus.²

Iris was the Greek goddess who personified the rainbow on which she descended to earth as a messenger of the gods.³ Juno sent Iris to release the soul of Dido by rousing the sleeping Morpheus, the god of dreams.⁴ The Kingdom of Hypnos was described by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 11:589–632) as a cave in a hollow mountainside below which ran the River Lethe and next to which Blake shows Albion asleep. Lethe is the River of Forgetfulness, one of the five rivers surrounding Hades—an appropriate resting place for the god of dreams (and for Albion at this stage of *Jerusalem*).⁵ Iris is most often represented with her rainbow, as in this emblem from Boudard's *Iconologie* of 1766 (illus. 2), or descending on bright wings from a rainbow to rouse the sleeping god.⁶ Perhaps the lines around Albion's shoulder in plate 14 are meant to indicate wings at rest.⁷

16 ICONOLOGIE



NYMPHES DE L'AIR.

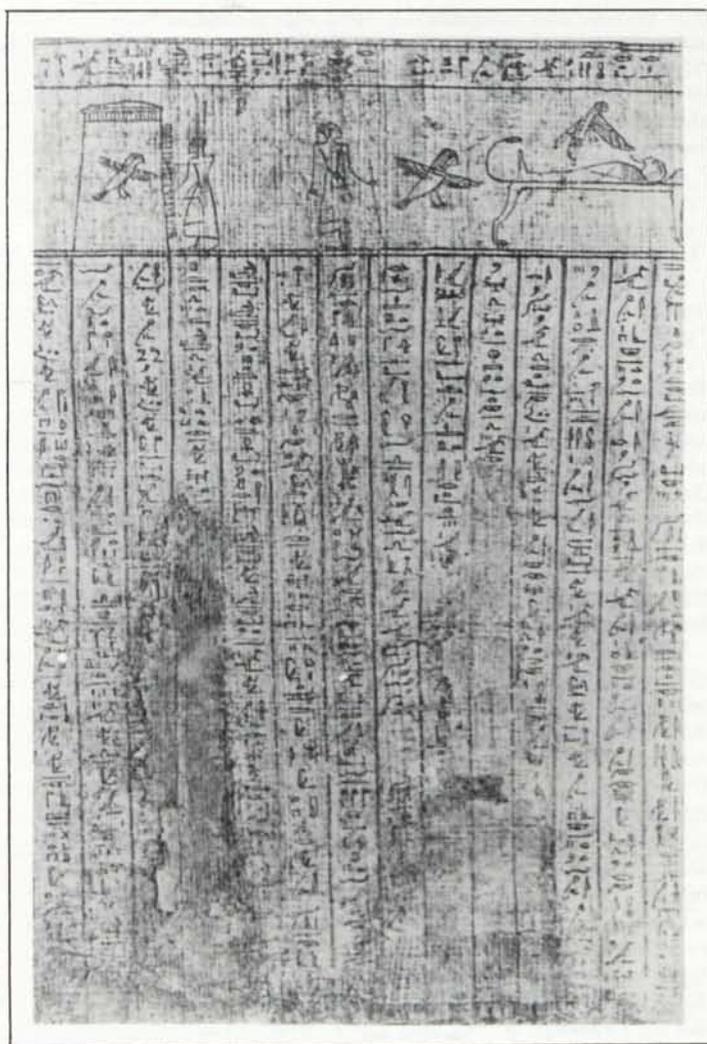
Iris.

Les Poètes la font messagere de Junon. On la peint ordinairement volant sur l'arc-en-ciel, & vêtue d'une draperie légère, dont les couleurs sont variées comme celles de cet arc. L'Iconologie la caractérise par un soleil devant lequel tombe une légère pluie.

Virgile dans ses opusc. décrit ainsi l'Iris.

*Nuncia Junonis vario decorata colore,
Æthera nubificum complectitur orbe decoro,
Cum phœbus radios in nubem jecit aquosum.*

NYM.



2. J.B. Boudard, *Iris*, from "Nymphes de L'Air," *Iconologie* (Vienna: 1766; Parma: 1759), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

3. Portion of a funerary inscription, Egyptian papyrus. John G. White Rare Book Collection, the Cleveland Public Library.

4. Preliminary study for *Jerusalem* 14 (c. 1810), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

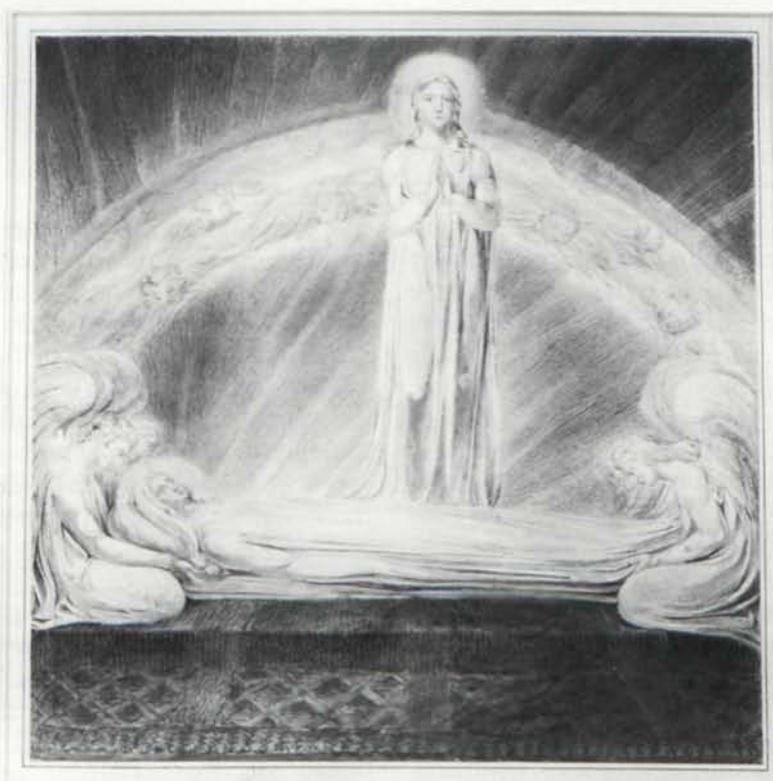
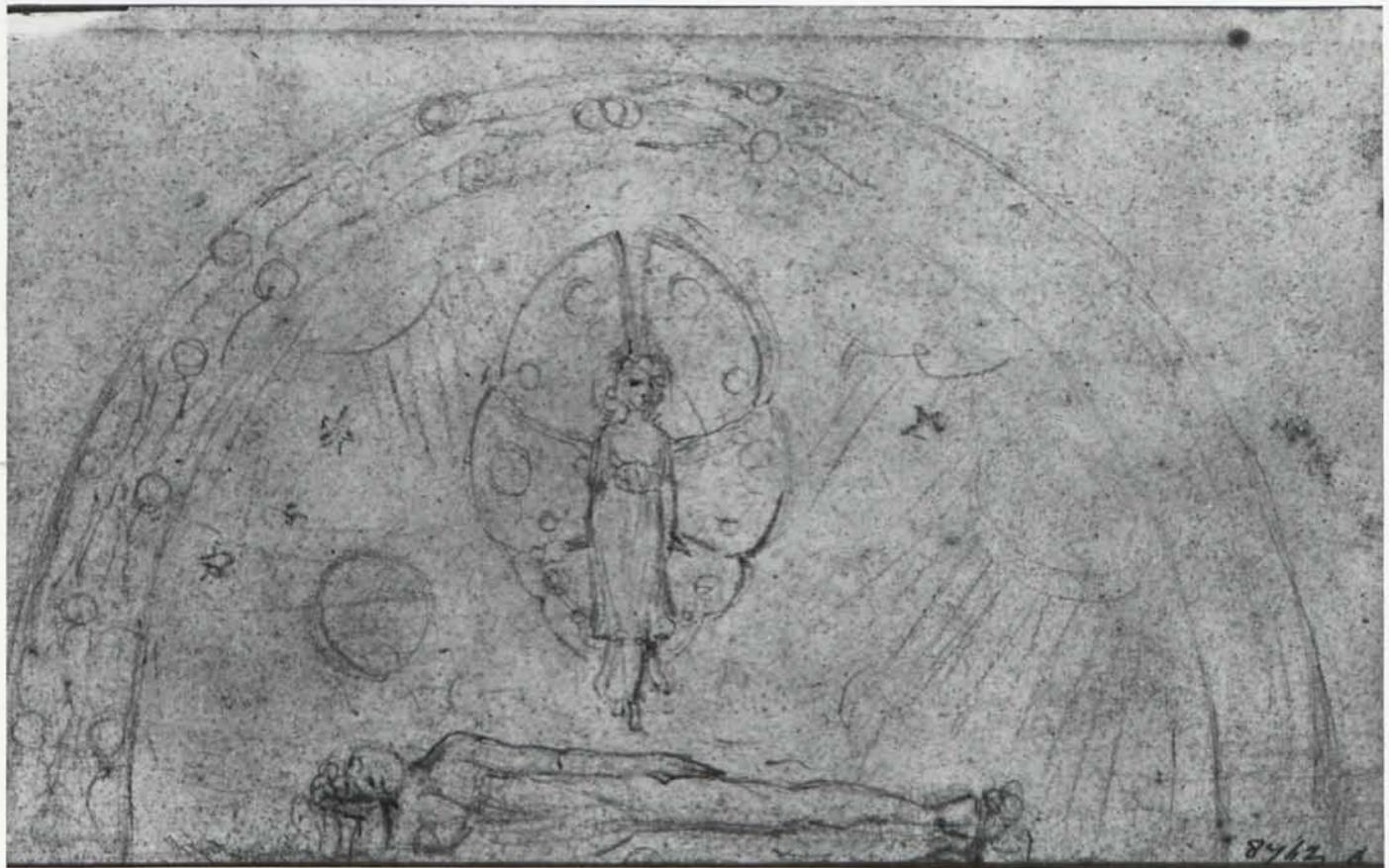
5. William Blake. *The Death of The Virgin*. (1803) Tate Gallery, London.

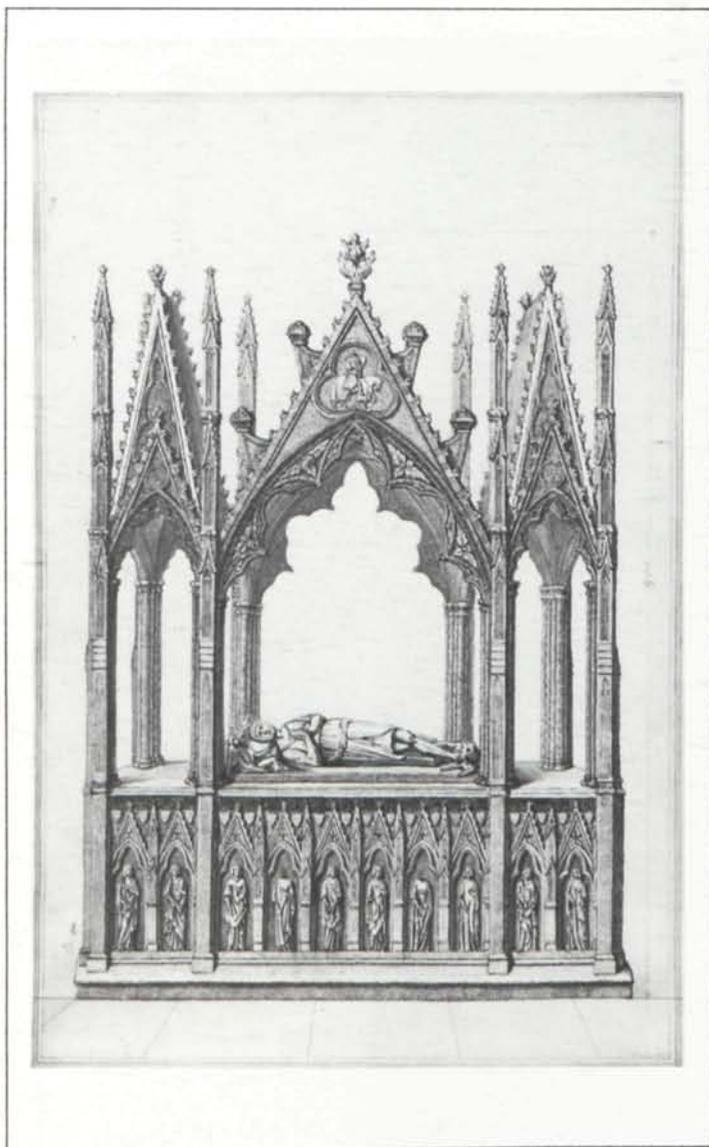
Although the various elements in plate 14 (rainbow, butterfly / woman, sleeping figure, water) clearly point to the myth of Iris and Morpheus, this parallel with the Greek theme alone does not account for the entire composition. The visual motif of reclining-male/hovering-female appears in several representations of physical-death/spiritual-rebirth throughout art. Ancient Egyptian funerary inscriptions (illus. 3) depict the Pharaoh in his tomb attended by a hovering, female-headed, Ba bird—the soul separated from the physical body.⁸ The soul as female, hovering over the body as male, is a visual motif used repeatedly by Blake.

With his broad knowledge of art themes, Blake frequently drew from one artistic tradition while illustrating

events from another.⁹ An example of this flexibility is seen in the motif of the swirling arch of angels in the preliminary drawing for plate 14 (illus. 4) which Blake also used in his *The Death of The Virgin* (illus. 5). The two compositions are remarkably similar and enlightening when one considers the changes enacted: the substitution of mythological figures for Christian ones; the turning of the angels away from their charge; and the reversal of female/male positions. If there is a visual connection between plate 14 in *Jerusalem* and Gothic tomb sculpture, the derivation of Blake's composition for *The Death of The Virgin* is too obvious to be overlooked.¹⁰

In Gothic tomb sculpture, the Medieval gisant, usually shown reclining on his back, is sometimes de-





picted lying on his side, as in plate 14. This is the position of *Edmund Earl of Lancaster* (illus. 6) in an engraving from Basire's *Sepulchral Monuments* believed to have been executed by the apprentice Blake. As in this engraving, the deceased is frequently attended by miniscule angels who often support his head and feet (illus. 7), or, occasionally, kneel in perpetual prayer.¹¹ In the *Tomb of Frederigo di Lavellongo* (illus. 8), the reclining knight is visited by a vision of the Blessed Virgin, intercessor for Christian souls, a role not unlike Iris'. Her double halo resembles both the butterfly wings of the Greek messenger and of the Egyptian Ba.¹² Beneath her is the waning moon and a picture of Frederigo himself, upon presentation by his patron saints. The arch above the Virgin's head serves the same compositionally enclosing function as Blake's rainbow.

Finally, the celestial bodies in plate 14 are worth noting.¹³ The placement of the waxing moon is similar in the preliminary drawing, the finished plate design and



the Frederigo tomb painting, but the optimism of Blake's waxing moon is more in keeping with the artist's intent for *Jerusalem*. The sun, sending out such bright rays in the preliminary drawing, is here hidden by clouds (or cave mouth?). This may be further indication of the location of Iris' descent—a land of perpetual twilight beneath the earth. In these surroundings, the rainbow could not be a natural phenomenon but a hopeful attribute of the promised salvation Iris/Jerusalem brings.¹⁴ Surely the rainbow is an omen of Albion's awakening, for, as Wicksteed pointed out, even Albion's eyes seem to watch her descent behind heavy lids.¹⁵

The artistic sources for plate 14 of *Jerusalem* demonstrate the diversity, richness and amazing clarity with which Blake chose his visual parallels.¹⁶ In plate 14, he tied Jerusalem and Albion to compatible and expansive sources: the Egyptian Ba-Soul hovering over the material body; the Blessed Virgin in her role as intercessor for Christian souls; and, most obviously, the rainbow mes-



senger, Iris, in her descent to awaken Albion/Morpheus from his mortal dreams to spiritual life. The rays of the sun may be temporarily dimmed and the angels recoiled in momentary grief, but the design clearly heralds the positive outcome of *Jerusalem*.

¹Some Blake scholars have identified the woman as Jerusalem: David V. Erdman, *The Illuminated Blake* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974), pp. 111, 293; Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *Jerusalem* (London: Trianon Press, 1974), pl. 14; Vivian de Sola Pinto, *William Blake* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), p. 53; Jean H. Hagstrum, *William Blake, Poet and Painter* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964), p. 42; and Joseph Wicksteed, *William Blake's Jerusalem* (London: Trianon Press, 1954), pp. 139-40, identifies her as "Jerusalem-Enitharmon/Fairy."

Those who identify her as someone else include S. Foster Damon, *William Blake, His Philosophy and Symbols* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), p. 469, as Enitharmon; Edwin John Ellis and William Butler Yeats, *The Work of William Blake: Poetic, Symbolic & Critical* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893), vol. I, pp. 313-14, identify her as Leutha, daughter of Beulah "that follows sleepers in their dreams." All further references to these authors are taken from the sources listed above unless otherwise indicated.

The male figure is identified either as Albion (Wicksteed, de Sola Pinto, Erdman) or Los (Hagstrum, Damon, Keynes). Keynes identifies

6. *Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Side View of His Tomb* (c. 1774-1779), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

7. *Edmund Earl of Lancaster, his Effigy seen from above . . .* (c. 1774-1779), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

8. *Tomb of Frederigo di Lavellongo* (St. Antonio, Padua). Alinari Art Resources.

the last four lines on plate 14 as the passage from *Jerusalem* interpreted in Blake's design.

²Martin Butlin, in *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) illus. 795, identifies a sketch on a sheet from Hayley's ballads (1802) as "Enitharmon shown as Iris with peacock wings, at the floor of plate 14"; Erdman offers an interpretation that is the most agreeable with the Iris myth, "a vision of the soul as the portion of man that wakes him from sleeping as body" (p. 111); Wicksteed and Ellis and Yeats state that the figure appears as if in a dream; de Sola Pinto calls her "Divine Womanhood" watching over his sleep; Damon interprets the design as inspiration visiting the poet in his sleep, but this is more likely an interpretation for *Jerusalem* 37 and 64.

³Hall, James, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 162.

⁴Hall, p. 284. Morpheus was the brother of Thanatos (Death) and son of Hypnos (Sleep) and Nyx (Night). Nyx is usually represented with black wings outspread and holding an infant on each arm, one white (Sleep) and one dark (Death)—a possible thematic source

for *Jerusalem* 4 and 33.

⁵Several scholars have commented on the watery shore in plate 14: Wicksteed calls it "a promontory surrounded by gentle water"; Keynes notes the "water's edge"; and Erdman names it a "foaming ocean."

⁶Hall, p. 284. Blake's engraving of a Cumberland design of Cupid and Psyche (in Irene Chayes, "The Presence of Cupid and Psyche," *Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic*, ed. Erdman and Grant (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), illus. 14, 118) shows two butterflies resting on a hill that looks like a rainbow. Could this further connect Iris with the butterfly wings that Blake has given her?

⁷Another interpretation could be that Albion is shown as a body, without its soul, carried down to the banks of Lethe by Sleep and Death.

⁸A. S. Roe, "The Thunder of Egypt," *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon*, ed. A.H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown University Press, 1969), p. 170. Bryant's *Mythology* (1774) contains a section entitled "Of Egypt and Its Inhabitants . . ." that was probably Blake's early source for Egyptian symbols.

⁹Many scholars have commented upon this quality in Blake's art: W.J.T. Mitchell, *Blake's Composite Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 10, where he asserts the "multiple metaphorical complexities"; Bo Lindberg, *William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job* (Abö: Abö Akademi, 1973) p. 114, states that what Blake was really using in his images was a "common language of art"; and Wicksteed pronounces Blake's borrowings a "pictorial language."

¹⁰Erdman, p. 293, describes Albion as "miserable in his tomb" and "as stone cold as an effigy on a gothic tomb" (p. 293). It is well known that Blake sketched tomb monuments in Westminster Abbey as a young apprentice engraver. He was also linked to current funerary symbolism through a close friendship with John Flaxman, who conducted a substantial and successful trade in designs for tomb monuments.

¹¹Seemingly unique to Blake (I have found it nowhere else) are the angels turned *away* from the deceased. Their unusual position certainly lends gravity to Albion's condition.

In Buddhist iconography, Albion's pose is called the "lion-posture," a pose assumed by Buddha when he was about to pass from the world of rebirths or into the state of Parinirvana.

Although this symbolic posture contains none of the other elements of Blake's design, its similarity to the actual pose of Albion is intriguing. Joseph Campbell, *The Mythic Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 355.

Keynes and Wicksteed refer to the angels as "guarding" the figure. Ellis and Yeats state that the human form "lying upon its side . . . is then in . . . [a] region of instinctive or vegetative feeling."

¹²The arch in the Frederigo tomb is an Islamic/Gothic one and contains grape leaves symbolizing Christ's role as the Vine of the Church. It could just as well be a rounded arch and contain cherubs, as in *The Death of The Virgin*. Erdman and Hagstrum both note the "mandorla" wings of Jerusalem.

¹³Erdman identifies the planets on the upper right of plate 14 as Saturn, Venus, Mercury, Earth and the Moon. He presents an interesting theory: the six stars surrounding Jerusalem identify her as the true sun or seventh star. Several scholars have commented upon the portion of the sky within the arch of the rainbow: Erdman "Universe within" Albion (p. 293); Damon the State of Beulah; and Ellis and Yeats, Mundane Shell.

¹⁴The rainbow in emblem literature (i.e., Emblem XXXII, Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient & Moderne*, 1635) follows the Old Testament precedent as a good omen, covenant or reward for suffering. John Gage in "Blake's *Newton*," "Warburg & Courtald Institute Journal," 34 (November 1971), 376, argues that the rainbow in Blake's work represents materialism (coming from water, not light) because it used the Newtonian order of colors, thus representing a negative or pessimistic element. This does not seem an accurate reading for *Jerusalem*.

¹⁵Wicksteed, p. 140. "The eyes seem to be watching the Vision as though to show it as a dream . . ." This detail in plate 14 varies among the copies of *Jerusalem*.

¹⁶As Mitchell says (p. 6) "the essential point is to note the wealth of implication which Blake can deposit in a design that has no 'illustrative' function . . . an independent symbolic statement."

The 1821 Edwards Catalogue

G. E. Bentley, Jr.

One of the most important early printed references to William Blake appeared in the 1821 shop catalogue of Thomas Edwards of Halifax. However, the catalogue is very uncommon and has rarely been seen in this century. It was first—and last—reported in print in an article by T. W. Hanson on the Edwards family in 1912–1913¹; there-after Mr. Hanson forgot where he had seen it, and numbers of scholars searched vainly for it in scores of libraries on four or more continents, particularly since about 1960. Now a copy of the catalogue has been found in the collection of a member of the family, and a few more details can now be provided about it.

Thomas Edwards was a member of a family important for selling antiquarian books, for publishing new books, particularly illustrated ones, and for inventing new and beautiful methods of binding, particularly in painted transparent vellum or Etruscan calf with illuminated fore-edges. The firm was apparently founded by William Edwards in Halifax in the first half of the eighteenth century, and four of his sons carried on the business, Thomas in Halifax until about 1826, and James, John, and Richard with two shops in London from 1785 to 1799. Richard Edwards commissioned William Blake's 537 watercolors for Young's *Night Thoughts* and published the first forty-three engravings of them in the autumn of 1797, before he abruptly left the publishing business midway through 1798. The *Night Thoughts* designs evidently stayed in his possession even when he went briefly to Minorca in 1799 as a servant of the crown, for they bear an inscription on the titlepage of High Elms where he lived for a time on his return to England about 1803. However, the drawings had passed to his brother Thomas in Halifax by 1821, for they were offered in his shop catalogue for that year,² with a description in terms which are not repeated elsewhere:

3 Young's *Night Thoughts*, the Author's original Copy, illustrated with drawings, very spirited designs by Mr. Blake, many of them in the style of Michael Angelo, they occupied nearly two years of the time of this singular and eminent Artist, which renders this Work unique, as well as highly valuable, in 2 vols. Atlas Folio, each leaf surmounted with a border and sumptuously bound in red morocco, gilt leaves, 300 l.

1743

This Work is perhaps unequalled for the boldness of conception, and spirit of execution, exhibited in the masterly designs of Mr. Blake. The Bookbinder from inattention lost the blank leaf, with the Author's signature.

Fortunately T. W. Hanson had quoted this passage accurately, so there is little need to expatiate upon it here.³

What is important is to record other details about the newly rebound volume. Its owner was Mrs. Rosa M. Edwards, whose husband the late Col. Walter P. Edwards, Emeritus Professor of Greek, was a descendant of James Edwards; Professor Edwards seems, however, to have acquired the book by purchase rather than by inheritance. The work is described here through the courtesy of Mrs. Edwards, who generously provided me with a xerox copy of it. It was sold in 1983 to the Bodleian Library.

Unfortunately the title leaf of this copy is missing, so the title can only be reconstructed hypothetically as EDWARDS'S CATALOGUE. I = I *Superb Books of Prints, Atlases, Books printed on Vellum I with Miniatures, and other Superlatively fine Articles.*⁴ I R. Sugden, Printer, Hall-end, Halifax⁵ I [for Thomas Edwards] At No 2. Old Market Halifax, 1821.⁶

Size: 12.4 x 20.2 cm.

Format: Octavo by half-sheets: [?a]² [A]⁴ B-P⁴ A-D⁴ [bis]
Contents: [?Half-title]; [titlepage]; Folio Books of Prints, &c. (pp. [1]-20); [other] Folios (pp. [21]-27); Quarto (pp. [28]-53); Octavo (pp. [54]-84); Duodecimo Et Infra (pp. [85]-117); Magazines and Odd Volumes Octavo (pp. [117]-118) and Duodecimo (p. [119]); advertisements for Whitaker's *Craven* (1811) and *Whalley* "lately published by Thomas Edwards of Halifax", plus colophon (p. [120]); Drawings (pp. [1]-4); Books of Prints (pp. 5-6); Historical Prints (pp. 6-10); Shakespeare (pp. 10-12); Shipping (p. 12); Views (pp. 13-15); Scripture Prints (pp. 15-17); Antiquities (p. 18); Battles (pp. 18-19); After the Antique (p. 19); Portraits (pp. 19-27); and [miscellaneous] Prints (pp. 27-31, p. [32]). In all, there are 2103 lots of books and 901 lots of prints.

Plate: None.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the catalogue is the bindings. One might expect splendid bindings in the catalogue of a famous bookbinder, but the care with which the bindings are described here is unusual even among the Edwards' catalogues, and Thomas Edwards is unlike his brother James in identifying the family styles of binding. Two lots here are said to be "sumptuously bound," three are "richly bound," thirty-one more are "superb" or "splendid,"⁷ and ninety-nine lots (one in twenty-six volumes) are merely "elegant." A number of the "elegantly bound" works are in Etruscan calf (thirty-four lots, fourteen omitting the qualifier "elegantly"), and eighteen of these are further described as "Elegant in Etruscan binding, gilt leaves, with a drawing thereon," while five more lots specify a fore-edge painting but do

not mention Etruscan calf. The Etruscan style of binding, with classical designs burned with acid through the surface patina of the calf, was apparently invented by the Edwards family and largely confined to their Halifax and London binderies, but none of the shop catalogues of James Edwards in 1785, 1787, 1789, 1790, 1794, and 1796 mentions these bindings, though some of the books there were certainly bound thus.

Even more striking is the mention of fore-edge paintings, for though the Edwardses had revived this long-lapsed art, it was apparently quickly imitated, and today it is very difficult to ascertain whether an individual fore-edge painting on an old book was made either for the Edwards family or even in their time—some have been added to eighteenth century books in very recent times. When the fore-edge subject is actually identified, we have information which will enable us to identify positively a work from this catalogue, if it were found today, as being virtually unimpeachably from the Edwards atelier. These valuably identified copies with fore-edge painting are:

- 629 Bewick, *General History of Quadrupeds* (Newcastle, 1807), 8vo, in Etruscan calf, gilt edges (= g.e.) "with a drawing of Blackfriars bridge," £2.12.6
- 630 Bewick, *History of British Birds* (Newcastle, 1809), 8vo, Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing of Blenheim thereon," £2.12.6
- 644 Bewick, *Quadrupeds* (Newcastle, 1807), 8vo, Large Paper, Etruscan binding, g.e., "with a drawing of Chatsworth thereon," £3.10.0
- 818 Gessner, *Death of Abel*, with plates after Stothard ([London:] Heptinstall, 1791), 8vo, Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of Melvin Constable," £2.10.0
- 827 *Ibid* (1797), 8vo, Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of Harewood House," £2.12.6
- 934 Mason "on Self-Knowledge" (1813), 8vo, in Etruscan calf, g.e., "and a drawing thereon of Coomb Lodge on the Thames," £1.16.0
- 973 [Dodsley] *Economy of Human Life* ([London:] Gardiner, 1806), 8vo, "first impressions of Harding's fine plates," in Etruscan binding, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of Coghill Hall," £2.10.0
- 1021 [i.e., 1022] Lady Rachel Russell, *Letters, from the Manuscript in the Library at Wooburn Abbey* (London, 1801), 8vo, in Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of Harewood House," £2.10.0⁸
- 1023 D. Robertson, *Tour to the Isle of Man* (1794), 8vo, in Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a Drawing thereon of Milton Constable in Norfolk," £2.12.6
- 1244 Young, *Night Thoughts* (1798), 8vo, Large Paper, in Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing of the Grounds in Ham Hall, Staffordshire," £2.7.6
- 1899 [i.e., 1299] *Holy Bible* ([London:] Bowyer, 1796), 12mo, red morocco, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of King's College Chapel," £3.3.0
- 1378 *The Book of Common Prayer* ([Edwards] 1791), 12mo, in vellum "with a drawing of Oxford on the leaves," £1.16.0
- 1706 Milton, *Paradise Lost* (Edinburgh, 1810), 12mo, in red morocco, g.e., "with a drawing of Comb Lodge thereon," £1.7.6

1865 Rev. F. Skurray, *Bidcome Hill and other Rural Poems* ([London:] W. Miller, 1808), 12mo, in Etruscan calf, g.e., "with a drawing thereon of Bocket Hall, Herts," £1.15.0

Clearly the prices of the twenty-three books with fore-edge paintings were based chiefly upon size; £3.13.6 for a quarto, £2.7.6 to £2.12.0 for an octavo (with one inexplicably at £1.16.0 and a Large Paper copy at £3.10.0), and £1.15.0 to £1.16.0 for a duodecimo. Manifestly the genius of the artist scarcely affected the price.

The catalogue contains a number of publications by the Edwards family, four by Richard Edwards, eleven by Thomas Edwards, and a striking thirty-six by James Edwards, who had gone out of business over twenty years before. In particular, there are five copies of *The Book of Common Prayer*, the printing of which James Edwards had arranged with Didot in Paris and which the Edwardses published in 1791, and three of them (lots 1378–1380) have fore-edge paintings, while two (lots 1377–1378) are in "vellum bindings," which may well be the painted transparent vellum style of binding which James Edwards patented in 1785—no book is identified in any Edwards catalogue known to me as being in a painted transparent vellum binding.

Many of the lots are colored, extra-illustrated, with proofs, or otherwise "unique." Two works of special incidental interest are:

13 *Holy Bible*, 7 vols. ([London:] Macklin, 1800), folio, extra-illustrated "with a great profusion of old and curious prints by Sadeler, Lucas Van Leyden, Martin Schoen, Albert Durer, Visscher, Pintius, Bloemart, Rembrandt, Goltzius, Barraccio, Poilly, Strange, and others; after the finest pictures by Raphael, Caravaggio, Rubens, Pietro di Cortona, Guercino, Pous[s]in; etchings by Bartolozzi, Strange, &c. likewise a fine miniature of the Virgin Mary, in gold and colours, executed by Don Sylvestro about the year 1350. Splendidly bound in russia, gilt leaves, and the insides lined with crimson velvet, *unique*," £200⁹

75 Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632), Second Folio, purple morocco, g.e., £12.12.0

There are also three minor Blake items:

16 Young, *Night Thoughts* ([London:] R. Noble for R. Edwards, 1797), "Many fine plates by Blake," g.e., half russia, £2.12.6

314 R. Blair, *The Grave* "with 12 Etchings after Blake's designs, by Schiavonetti," ([London:] "Bensley" [not Cromek], 1808), boards, £3.3.0

217 in the appended prints "Fall of fair Rosamond, 6s. [Painter] Stothard [Engraver] Blake"

All these Blake lots seem somewhat random; the remarkable thing is that there is only *one* copy of Blake's edition of Young's *Night Thoughts*—and no more appear in Thomas Edwards's other catalogues of 1826 and 1828. What happened to them all? Clearly the work was not sold out when Richard Edwards went out of business in 1798—indeed, it is generally assumed that the work was a commercial failure. Who then got the copies Richard Edwards still had in stock when he went out of business?—for the work is not rare today. One might perhaps expect them to have gone to his brother James, whose business in Pall Mall was not far from Richard's

shop in Bond Street, but James too was winding up his business then, and they did not go to James Edwards's successor R.H. Evans—or at least, they do not appear in Evans's catalogues of 1804 and later. And they do not appear, except very casually, in Thomas Edwards's catalogues either. Indeed, I know no contemporary catalogue in which there are more than a couple of copies of the 1797 *Night Thoughts*. Even the discovery of a copy of the long-lost Thomas Edwards shop catalogue of 1821 does not solve this mystery.

The long-lost-to-sight Thomas Edwards shop catalogue of 1821 is an exceedingly impressive work for a provincial bookseller, and it is of considerable importance today for what it tells us of William Blake and of the Edwards bookbindings.

¹ T.W. Hanson, "Edwards of Halifax. Book Sellers, Collectors and Book-Binders," *Halifax Guardian*, Dec. 1912 & Jan. 1913, reprinted in *Papers, Reports, &c. Read before the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1912* (Halifax [1913]), pp. 142–200; Hanson deals cursorily with the same material in "Richard Edwards, Publisher," *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 Aug. 1942, p. 396.

² It is possible, I suppose, that Thomas was merely offering the drawings on commission for Richard Edwards, but this seems unlikely, as he offered them again, also in vain, in auctions of his stock in 1826 and 1828.

³ Such commentary may be found in *Blake Records* (1969).

⁴ The title thus far derives from the heading on p. 1, which may apply only to the first section of the catalogue.

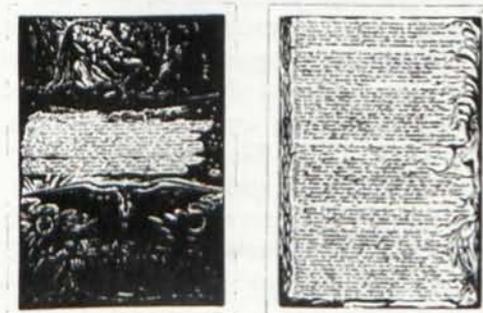
⁵ The printer's name derives from the colophon on p. [120].

⁶ Thomas Edwards's address derives from the inscription by Professor Edwards on the flyleaf; as this address is not recorded elsewhere, it must derive from another copy of the 1821 catalogue which Professor Edwards had seen.

⁷ "Splendidly" and "superbly" are evidently used here as synonyms, for lot 13, Macklin's Bible (1800) "Splendidly bound," is "uniform" in binding with lot 14, which is Boydell's Shakespeare (1802) "superbly bound."

⁸ No. 1019 is a Large Paper copy of the same work with an unidentified fore-edge painting (£2.10.0), and this (or another) copy, with a fore-edge of Woburn Abbey and an inscription of 1826 by Thomas Edwards, is now in my own collection.

⁹ Extra-illustrated Macklin Bibles were popular; see E.B. Bentley & G.E. Bentley, Jr., "Bishop Phillpotts Library, The Franke Parker Bequest and Its Extra-Illustrated Bible, 1800," *Book Collector*, 29 (1980), 363–94.



Unlisted Articles on Blake Published in China

Gu Jing-yu

The following works¹ of 1957–1982 supplement those in *Blake Books* (1977) and in the article by N.G.P. Malmqvist, "Blake in China," in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly*, 13 (1979), 24–28.

1. Wang, Ke-wu.² "Wei-lian Bu-lai-ke Ying-guo Ge-ming Shi-ren" ["William Blake, The English Revolutionary Poet"]. In *Jiao-shi-bao* [*Teacher's Newspaper*], 30 April 1959, in Russian.

2. Sun, Xi-zhen. "Zao-qi Lang-man-zu-yi Dai-biao Zuo-jia Bu-lai-ke" ["Blake, The Representative Writer of Early Romanticism"]. In *Hangzhou Re-bao* [*Hangzhou Daily*], 5 May 1957, in Chinese.

3. Cheng, Xiao-nan. "Wei-lian Bu-lai-ke di Yi-shu Ji-qi Sheng-ping" ["The Life and Art of William Blake"]. In *Mei-shu* [*The Art*], 11 (November, 1957), 52–54, in Chinese. There are two plates attached to the article: one is the portrait of Blake by John Linnell, the other is Blake's "Glad Day."

4. Fan, Cheng-zhong. "Ying-guo Lang-man-zu-yi Shi-ge di Xian-qu, Wei-lian Bu-lai-ke" ["William Blake, The Precursor of English Progressive Romanticism"]. In *Jiang-hai Xue-kan* [*Jiang-hai Journal*], 1 (January, 1960), 43–52, in Chinese.

5. Wang, Zuo-liang. "Ying-guo Lang-man-zu-yi Shi-ge di Xing-qi" ["The Rise of English Romantic Poetry"]. In *Ying-guo Weng-xue Leng-weng-ji* [*Essays on English Literature*]. Beijing: Foreign Literature Press, 1980, pp. 57–129, in Chinese. One fourth of the essay, pp. 67–76 is about Blake, and the rest is about Robert Burns, Wordsworth and Coleridge.

6. Liu, Bing-shan. "William Blake." In *A Short History of English Literature*. Kaifeng, China: Foreign Language Department, Henan Teacher's University, 1980, pp. 168–73, in English.

7. Chen, Jia. "William Blake." In *A History of English Literature*, Vol. II. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1981, pp. 237–66, in English.

In China William Blake is not a popular poet, as compared with poets like Byron and Shelley. According to *A Bibliographical List of Articles on Foreign Literature* (overlapping those in *Blake Books* and "Blake in China") from 1920 to 1978, there are only nineteen essays on Blake, while there are sixty-four on Byron and thirty-four on Shelley. But 1957 saw a sudden spurt of interest in Blake. The publication of most of the Blake essays clustered round the bicentennial year 1957, in which Blake was elected "one of the famous cultural figures of the year by the World Peace Congress."³ So most of the

articles are introductions to Blake, and their chief concern is with the revolutionary elements in Blake's poetry.

1. Cheng, Xiao-nan. "The Life and Art of William Blake" (1957). According to this bicentennial appreciation, Blake is a progressive artist, fighting, by means of his artistic works, for truth, democracy, and freedom of mankind. Citing Erdman's *Blake, Prophet against Empire* (1954), Cheng holds that Blake is a poet with a clear political motif, "taking part in some demonstrations and revolts of London citizens, for instance, the demonstration against colonialism and English interference in the United States on 6 June 1780."⁴ Permeated with humanistic spirit, Blake's artistic works have their base in real life and, at the same time, they are treated with romantic methods. His art breaks away from the limited boundary of lifeless academic art and expresses the people's desires and expectations. His method is symbolic. It is only as a means of disguise that Blake takes his subjects from the Bible, Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and Milton's poetry. His purpose is to attack and fight against the strong and wicked. His art is not decadent or mystical. Cheng then explains Blake's artistic sources and his achievements in engraving, etching, and design. The style of Blake's pictures is decorative, stereoscopic, with striking contrasts of colors, and much concerned about revealing his figure's inner mind. To illustrate his point, Cheng, at the end, analyzes two of Blake's pictures: "Europe Supported by Africa and America"⁵ and "Glad Day."

2. Fan, Cheng-zhong. "William Blake, The Precursor of English Progressive Romanticism" (1960).

Blake's poetry was the progressive forerunner of English Romanticism, which, Fan says, was the offspring of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. When man's world outlook underwent a change, his feelings underwent a corresponding change, or, rather, liberation. This is the central idea of *Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience*. The theme of *The French Revolution, America and Europe* is the reformation of the world. Like Thomas Paine and William Godwin, Blake held that organized and tyrannical oppression was the cause of sufferings and griefs in the world, and that this oppression was represented by kings, aristocrats, and priests. Revolution was the only way to realize the ideal world. In *The Book of Urizen, The Book of Ahania, The Book of Los, The Song of Los*, the cause of man's fall, Fan explains, is the tyrannical Urizen, who is a reactionary figure in several respects: a representative of the past, the old tradition, belief and ethics, and a tyrant in the primitive age; "His wisdom is confined to senses and rationality." He invents religion and science merely for the convenience of his rule. Man can create a new world only by overthrowing the ruling class, the oppressors and exploiters. But it is a defect in Blake to give in to a doctrine of universal love at the end of *The Four Zoas*, which marks the summit of Blake's writing career. In order to

oppose rationalism, Blake accents imagination, inspiration, and vision. But when he strays too far from reality, he slips into idealistic aesthetics, as is seen in his later Prophetic Works. Such tendencies should be objected to. At the end of his essay, Fan proposes to call the English Romantic period the period of Blake, Byron, and Shelley, clearly for their political sympathies.

Since the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976), China's intellectual life has awakened slowly from that long and destructive chaos. People long to have a clearer and better understanding of Western culture. This situation makes possible some attempt at unbiased, honest judgment of Blake, as seen in the following articles.

3. Wang, Zuo-liang. "The Rise of English Romantic Poetry" (1980).

At the end of the eighteenth century, Wang says, great changes and innovations occurred in the poetic field, and English romantic poetry took form under the strong influence of the French and American revolutions. In his essay, Wang regards Robert Burns, William Blake, William Wordsworth, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge as the major figures in the formation of the new poetry and talks especially about the four poet's respective contributions to that formation.

As for Blake, Wang dwells on his dialectical way of thinking and his ambivalent attitude towards the French Revolution. Wang calls Blake an idiosyncratic thinker, who had a profound understanding of both the bright and the dark sides of the French Revolution. Blake must be studied with dialectic methods, because he adopted dialectics in his poems, for instance, his "Lamb" and "Tyger." He described such contraries as intuition and rationality, innocence and sophistication, vision and reality. To these contraries Blake had an unmistakable inclination. He was not a modern intellectual who is all the time hesitating and self-torturing, but a nineteenth-century artisan with a strong sense of good and evil. Blake's poetry, especially his lyrical poetry, is melodious and in simple language but with profound meaning, like his famous poem "London." In his late magnificent long poems, such as *Vala* or *The Four Zoas*, the poet writes about human experience, or wisdom, and about the grievous cost of obtaining and calculating that wisdom. There is the poet's vision of the future and his solution to social problems. His peculiar mystical system is only his mask to escape censorship.

The underlying theme of Wang's essay is Blake's ambivalent reaction to the French Revolution eulogizing the violent force manifested by the Revolution in its destruction of the old system on one hand, and, on the other hand, expressing his disgust at the highly rational and philosophical ideas, such as those of Voltaire, which had made way for the French Revolution. Therefore, Blake particularly stressed the significance of feelings and imagination. In this respect, he is consistent. So, in his later

poems, his thought is more profound, his words are more penetrating and precise, and his versification is as free as the later "free verse," inaugurating a magnificent new style.

4. Liu, Bing-Shan. "William Blake" (1980).

Liu's book is a brief survey of all English literature, and it serves in many of China's universities as a textbook for the introductory course in English literature. The slight information about each writer is arranged in the order of the writer's biography, a list of his literary works and evaluation. The very brief Blake section mentions only Blake's *Poetical Sketches*, *Songs of Innocence*, *Songs of Experience*, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. He says of the theme of *Songs of Experience* that human desire for freedom has to endure the limitation of worldly experience at least for a time, and that the ultimate freedom is still to come through passionate revolt, through revolution. Blake's statement that "without contraries is no progression" is actually his outlook on life. Liu says that Blake, in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, expresses his spirit of revolt against social oppression and his desire to maintain liberty against the law of bourgeois society. At the end, Liu mentions Blake's Prophetic Books generally, but only makes some vague remarks on them as long and obscure. So this Blake section is almost as brief as the Blake entry in the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*,⁶ but without the latter's accuracy.

5. Chen, Jia. "William Blake" (1981).

Of Blake's poetry, Chen holds that *Songs of Experience* is the best, because it is a more mature work than his previous poems and it does not have the great handicap of obscurity of the later Prophetic Books. The dominant theme of *Songs of Experience* is social criticism. Of Blake's Prophetic Books, *Tiriel* and *The Book of Thel* are less mystical and more lyrical. *The French Revolution* and *America* are among the most significant for their direct reference to historical events. Other works which also have reference to historical and political events of the modern world are *Europe* and *The Song of Los*. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is obscure, but its general drift is a spirit of rebellion against conventional religion, morality, and art. Other Prophetic Books, like *The Book of Urizen*, *The Book of Ahania*, and *The Book of Los*, have much less value as poetry, because they are purely allegorical and have no direct reference to historical events. *Milton* and *Jerusalem* are complicated and extremely obscure. But at the end, Chen admits that after much laborious deciphering we can find spiritual freedom and Blake's emphasis on poetry and imagination as against the extreme rationalism of the Enlightenment.

Obviously, the greatest part of the above articles is dedicated to the discussion of Blake's political attitude. And his political works, especially *The French Revolution*, are highly valued in China. Consequently, very little is said of Blake's intellectual and artistic achievement. But a reasonable change in the attitude toward Blake's

major works, his Prophetic Books, can be perceived in Wang Zu-liang and Chen Jia's essays of 1980 and 1981. Wang praises the works particularly highly in terms of intellectual and artistic value.

Even so, the analysis and scholarship of Blake are still elementary and superficial in China. Such critical positions indicate ignorance of Blake criticism and scholarship for at least twenty years.⁷ This situation is largely due to the fact that China's intellectual life was virtually shut off from the West for about twenty years. With a new animation in China's intellectual life, and with an enlargement of cultural exchanges with Western countries, there may be a hope of advance in the study of William Blake in China.

Notes

¹I have examined all the works in the list except the first two. About these two bicentenary notices, "William Blake, The English Revolutionary Poet," and "Blake, The Representative Writer of Early Romanticism," the information comes from *Wai-guo Wen-xue Lun-wen Mu-lu Sue-ying* [A Bibliographical List of Articles on Foreign Literature, 1920-1978], ed. Lu Yong-mao, et al. (Kaifeng, China: Chinese Department, Henan Teachers' University, 1979), pp. 262-63, in Chinese. This is prepared as a preliminary list and distributed to many universities in China inviting opinions and advice to be incorporated in a later edition. This is a common Chinese academic practice for some important works. The previous edition was in 1957.

²The rendering of Chinese names in my writing is in this order: the first name given is the family name, and the name after the following comma is the personal name.

³This is quoted from Cheng's essay, "Wei-lian Bu-lai-ke di yi-su ji-qi Sheng-ping" [The Life and Art of William Blake]. This Congress was sponsored by the World Peace Council, which in 1957 was called the International Institute of Peace—see the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, ed. Richard F. Staar, et al. (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1979), p. 446.

⁴This refers to the Lord Gordon No-Popery Riots, whose purposes were quite different, and Blake's part in it was involuntary, according to *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), II, 643.

⁵The title of this plate is transliterated from Chinese as it appears in Cheng's essay. The plate under the same title is indicated in G.E. Bentley, Jr.'s *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 499, as only engraved, not designed, by Blake (it was designed by J.G. Stedman for his *Surinam* [1796]). Since I now have no access to any reproduction of that plate, I cannot verify my suspicion that Cheng used an engraving after Stedman for his analysis of Blake's power of design.

⁶*The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey, fourth edition, revised by Dorothy Eagle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 94.

⁷This statement was confirmed by G.E. Bentley, Jr., bibliographer and Blake scholar, who was a visiting professor in Fudan University, Shanghai, China. I must take this opportunity to express my gratitude for his detailed assistance on my present essay.

Paintings and Drawings of William Blake (1981): Some Minor Additions

Martin Butlin

The presence in the *Blake e Dante* exhibition (see Reviews) of some of the watercolors from Melbourne that had not been exhibited in Europe either at the Hamburg and Frankfurt Blake exhibition in 1975 or that held at the Tate Gallery in 1978 gave me the opportunity to examine these for the first time. This and other information has led to some minor additions to information given in my *Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 1981.

In my no. 812 31 the "17" in the inscription b.r. has been written over another figure, apparently "16". No. 812 99 has been disfigured by a stamp, "Felton Bequest", b.r.

Two updatings of my catalogue continue the saga of the "1795" color prints. "Nebuchadnezzar," my no. 301, is watermarked "JWhatman/1804". This is not surprising, as it was the companion "Newton" that was first found to have a similar 1804 watermark. On the other hand no. 320, "The House of Death," is watermarked "1794 ITAYLOR". Unfortunately, this color print also having been dated "1795" by Blake, this discovery upsets what one was hoping to establish as "Bindman's Law," that Blake only dated his prints 1795 if they were on paper watermarked 1804! This is in part based on the fact that the Tate Gallery's examples of "Pity" and "Hecate," which are not dated, do not seem to bear dated watermarks. The rest of the examples in the Tate are in the process of being examined, and any new discoveries will be reported in due course.

There are minor corrections concerning a drawing newly back from Australia, my no. 654, the sketch for the engraving "The Canterbury Pilgrims," which is to be sold at Christie's shortly. My own new measurements come out very slightly different from those given in my catalogue: 13 15/16 x 37 11/16 (35.4 x 85.7). In addition there is a roughly drawn framing line which reduces the height of the composition to approximately 13 in. (33 cm.). The paper has been folded a little to the right of center. A few corrections should be made to the transcript of Henry Cunliffe's inscription. In his copy of Frederick Tatham's original inscription "Canterbury" is split by a line break after "Canter-". The word "engraved" is followed by ". —". In the next part of his inscription he does in fact give Blake's address correctly as "3 Fountain Court," though as usual he gives his date of death as 1828. In his reference to Cunningham he spells "extraordinary" "extradordinary". At the end of that sentence, after "Blake", there is a full stop, and in the note on Sotheby's the apostrophe appears to follow the final "s". On actual viewing the drawing on the back, which is upside down in relation to the inscriptions, seems less directly related to the "Canterbury Pilgrims" composition than I tentatively suggested, though there are elements that can be read as figures on horseback. The paper of the drawing is considerably discolored but could almost certainly be bleached, in which case the drawing itself should stand out with much greater clarity.

REVIEWS

Blake e Dante, an exhibition organized by Corrado Gizzi, Casa di Dante in Abruzzo, Torre de' Passeri, Pescara, 10 September–31 October 1983. Catalogue edited by Corrado Gizzi. 191 pp, 23 color plates, 132 illustrations in black and white. Italian L40,000.

Reviewed by Martin Butlin

The Castello Gizzi già Mazara in the little village of Torre de' Passeri, some 35 kilometers from Pescara, will always hold an honorable place in the history of Blake studies as the first place in Italy to present an exhibition devoted to Blake's works. The location is not perhaps quite as surprising as it may seem. This is the fifth year in which the Casa di Dante in Abruzzo has presented an exhibition of works of art related to the poems of Dante and, some 55 kilometers down the coast the small town of Vasto honors the birthplace and home for many years of *the* Rossetti, as he is for the Italians, Gabriele, a Dante scholar whose exile to England from Italy led to the happy chance that his sons, Dante Gabriel and William Michael, were born in London and played a leading part in the rediscovery of Blake in the middle of the nineteenth century. Without this connection one wonders how much longer it would have taken for Italy to have discovered, in an alien land, one of the greatest illustrators of their greatest poet. As it is, nothing could exceed the enthusiasm, devotion and magnificence with which this exhibition was mounted and publicized.

The exhibition consisted of a selection from Blake's watercolor illustrations to Dante. Fifteen examples came from the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, six from the Tate Gallery and two from the Ashmolean Museum. In addition there was a British Council didactic display of photographs and texts (in English but accompanied by a leaflet in Italian) and an audiovisual show covering Blake's life and artistic career.

In an area in which the name Rossetti appears at almost every corner, if only as the title of an English language school, one should not perhaps have been so surprised at the presence of posters (well named "manifesti" in Italian) on every advertising site along the

seafont in Pescara, in practically every other shop window, and as far afield as L'Aquila and Rome. The image chosen, the giant Antaeus leaning from the cliff, was one that no passerby could miss. The presentation, by Enrico Valeriani, was discreet and ideally suited to the scale of the works with a subtly but simply achieved effect of luxury, produced by narrow gold strips round dull green screens, that together with the setting of the basically eighteenth-century Castello added a distinct sense of occasion. The sense of occasion was re-doubled at the opening, attended by among others two ambassadors and leading national and local politicians, literary and artistic figures.

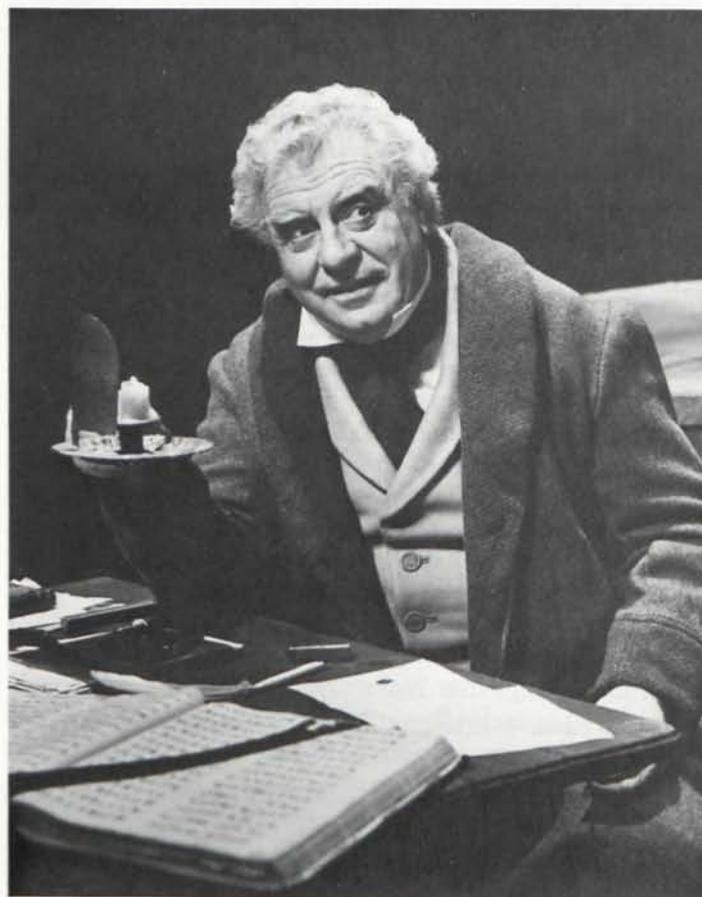
The catalogue is a sumptuous affair. All twenty-three exhibits are reproduced in color, ranging in quality from good to exceptional. The whole series of Blake's illustrations to Dante is also reproduced in black and white, accompanied by the relevant texts and a commentary, and prefaced by a short introduction, "Una lectura Dantis visionaria e immaginativa," by Corrado Gizzi. In addition there were eight prefatory essays discussing both Blake's illustrations to Dante and his more general place in European art. Among the former is a reprint of Ursula Hoff's introduction to the National Gallery of Victoria handbook on Blake's illustrations to Dante, Ferruccio Ulivi's "William Blake tra i 'messaggeri celesti' e Dante," and Fortunato Bellonzi's "Blake spiritualista visionario e il suo incontro con Dante," which placed the illustrations in the context of Blake's work as a whole. Renato Barilli, in "Blake e il 'gran rifiuto' dell'età moderna" claimed Blake as the first of the Moderns, even though his revolutionary achievement both in thought and art did not really find a successor until a hundred years later. Luigi Paolo Finizio's "Precorrimenti della cultura inglese del primo Romanticismo" put Blake into the context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art in England, though he perhaps overemphasized the romantic aspect as opposed to the neoclassical beginning. Two papers set out two important aspects of Blake's thought, Corrado Gizzi's "La stampa miniata e *Il matrimonio del Cielo e dell'Inferno*" and Claudia Corti's "William Blake scrittore e poeta: il sistema numerologico," a discussion of single, twofold, threefold and fourfold vision and its reflection in Blake's mythology. Finally there was a short paper by myself on "La fortuna di William Blake," an examination of the growth of Blake's reputation (not all the faults of which should be blamed on the original English text!).

The catalogue is indeed an unashamedly Italian production. Even for myself, with only an incomplete knowledge of the language, it gives a fascinating picture of a newcomer's outside view of an artist, the intricacies of whose work and thought have become perhaps all too familiar in certain Anglo-Saxon centers. The attitude is sane, well founded and refreshing. Only minor criticisms can be made. Albert Roe's fundamental interpretation of the way in which Blake criticized Dante's text is given on-

ly one, passing mention. The essays, set out by me in the previous paragraph in a fairly logical order, are arranged in alphabetical order of author. The complete series, in illustration, text and commentary, is renumbered to follow Dante's text more closely. In one case, the reversing of the accepted numbers 90 and 91 in fact reverses the text order, at least as given in the catalogue (on the other hand, number 70 is not moved to put it in its correct place after number 71). An identification is suggested for number 100, the passage in *Inferno* XIV, 1-24, where Dante sees the violent against God, some lying on the ground, some sitting all crouched up, and some condemned to roam incessantly.

"Blake: Innocence and Experience," a play written by Elliott Hayes. Stratford Festival of Canada, production. Directed by Richard Monette with Douglas Campbell as William Blake. Stratford Festival Third Stage, 18 June-13 August 1983.

Reviewed by V. A. De Luca



Douglas Campbell as William Blake. Photo by Robert C. Ragsdale. Courtesy, Stratford Festival of Canada.

The rich, gentle farmland surrounding Stratford, Ontario, and its famed Shakespeare festival might pass as a reasonable facsimile of the restored "green & pleasant Land" of Blake's vision. In the summer of 1983 a living facsimile of Blake himself might be found there, aptly chanting the lyric "And did those feet. . . ." The occasion was the Stratford Festival's production of a one-man play *Blake: Innocence and Experience*, with the distinguished Canadian actor Douglas Campbell in the title role. Campbell achieved a remarkable physical likeness and delivered the many Blakean passages in his script with eloquence, force, and clarity. Indeed there was much in this production to beguile the eye and ear. But all through it admirers and students of the poet would have done well to be on guard. Stratford, Ontario, after all, is not England's green and pleasant land, and this *Blake* is not Blake.

The play makes a nice first impression, as Blake enters his workshop, outfitted with the frock coat, broad hat, and lantern of Los in the frontispiece of *Jerusalem*. The simply-furnished thrust stage includes a fine period recreation of an engraver's work table. In these convincing surroundings for the next hour and a half Campbell/Blake rambles, reminisces, and recites. He even sings, for there are lovely melodies (composed by Loreena McKennit) accompanying some of the *Songs of Innocence* and stand-

ing in for the lost tunes that Blake is said to have actually composed. Campbell's Blake is, in the first act at least, cheerful, reflective, and given to quiet recollective musing. As he patters about the workshop, he becomes a loveable eccentric, a Dickensian "character." What one misses here is Blake's awesome tone of authority, of a passion that arises not from personal eccentricity but from an impersonal commitment to truth. Passion flares in the second act, during a long medley composed of passages on political revolution, but, as directed by Richard Monette, Campbell's reading gives to the passion more than a little hysteria; attention is thus deflected from the political content of the text to the private frenzy of the bard. Not all of this need be faulted. If we are presented an image of a smaller, more daunted Blake than the one that comes through his works, we should not rule out utterly the possibility that this image captures some actual biographical truth.

An accurate picture of Blake, however, cannot emerge out of an inadequate representation of what he wrote, what he meant, and what was important to his life. Here the playwright Elliott Hayes bears a heavy burden of responsibility. His text is largely an achronological pastiche of passages from Blake's writings, loosely arranged,

as the subtitle suggests, on the scheme of Innocence and Experience (which is to say that the lighter matters go mostly in the first act and the heavier in the second). Pastiche and disregard for chronology are virtually inevitable in a biographical monodrama that must be squeezed into a mere hour and a half, but they impose on the dramatist a special need for care in the selection, arrangement, and emphasis of his materials. How well Hayes has fared in this regard may be gauged from the many Blakean lines that he has reset in false contexts. For instance, when Blake exclaims, "O rose thou art sick," he is not addressing himself on the subject of his final illness; "A Poison Tree" is not a personal confession of his envious disposition, nor is the "foe" of that poem Sir Joshua Reynolds; when he speaks of exploring "the secrets of the vegetable world," he does not mean that he likes taking long nature walks.

The playwright's treatment of Blake's texts seems as capricious at times as his juggling of their contextual settings. In a presentation of "London," for example, Hayes relies entirely on the Notebook draft, ignoring the authority of the final etched version. Furthermore the Hayes text conflates readings that Blake saved for etching with readings deleted at early stages of the poem's drafting. Among Hayes's dubious restorations are "dirty" (in place of the famous "charter'd") and the earliest of three rejected try-outs for the fourth stanza:

But most the midnight harlot's curse
From every dismal street I hear,
Weaves around the marriage hearse
And blasts the newborn infant's tear.

Left unexplained is the playwright's decision to edify his Stratford audience with these inchoate beginnings rather than the imperishable lines that Blake himself chose to print and reprint for half a lifetime.

A nineteenth-century aura hangs over this production. The Blake of Elliott Hayes is essentially Gilchrist's Blake. Many of the charming though dubious old anecdotes are here—William and Catherine playing Adam and Eve, Blake swept away by the mob in the Gordon riots—and most of the biographical data presented in the play come from Gilchrist's early chapters (very closely paraphrased in some spots). The result is a skewing of biographical emphasis, for the really key events in Blake's life are simply left out. There is room for Blake's boyhood encounter with Goldsmith, for his participation in the opening of the tomb of Edward I (a mere conjecture in Gilchrist here turned into fact), and for his courtship, but no mention of Hayley or the three years at Felpham, no failed exhibition of 1809, no Ancients, and, most astonishingly, considering its inherent drama and its theatrical potential, nothing of Schofield and the sedition trial at Chichester (one begins to wonder how far Hayes actually read in his biographical sources). In artistic and intellectual matters, the situation is much the same. There is a reasonably good representation of Blake's views on art, but not a

word in the play about illuminated printing. There are random passages about "vision," a dash of libertarian politics, but nothing on Bacon, Newton, and Locke, no doctrine of contraries, no allusion to Blake's mythic cosmos or even to his interest in myth making. Hayes nearly redeems himself by reserving to a climactic point the great passage from *Milton*, "I come in self-annihilation and the grandeur of Inspiration" (splendidly rendered by Campbell), but this "nearly" is not good enough, coming as it does after such extended thinness of substantive content.

Hayes, who is a member of the Stratford Festival staff, received his commission to write *Blake* from the Festival itself. This then is very much an in-house script, which raises an important point. Stratford is Canada's major classical theatre and an international tourist attraction. Many people come to see its plays who have never seen any other live drama. We can only be grateful therefore that it has chosen to celebrate Blake and to make him known to its audiences in an engaging performance. At the same time, however, the Stratford Festival bills itself as an important educational resource, for which it is handsomely subsidized by the Canadian and Ontario governments. In what is essentially a documentary dramatization, it has an obligation to provide accuracy and substance as well as entertainment. Instead *Blake* gives us charm and eloquent locution, and along with these, trivia, avoidance of substance, and garbled texts. If this play comes to your neighborhood, see it but take care to warn students.

A text of the play is published by Echo Hill Ltd., Stratford, Ontario (1983), and is available from the Stratford Festival.

The British Neo-Romantics, 1935–1950, an exhibition held at the Fischer Fine Art Ltd., London, 13 July–19 August 1983, and National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 27 August–25 September 1983. Catalogue with foreword by Peter Cannon-Brookes. 40 pp., 75 illustrations.

Reviewed by Martin Butlin

It has long been suggested that there is a line of development from Blake, through the Ancients, to a school of British artists working in relatively isolated conditions during the Second World War. Such a development was spelled out by examples in a section preceding the main exhibition of Blake's work held at the Tate Gallery in 1978 and was at least in part the argument of the exhibition under

review. The first section, of thirty-two works, included examples of Blake's illustrations to Thornton's *Virgil*, prints by Linnell, Calvert and Samuel Palmer, by whom there was also a sepia drawing, and a further group of prints ranging in date from 1913 to the 1930s by artists such as F.L. Griggs, Robin Tanner, Paul Drury and Graham Sutherland. In some cases the feeling of continuity arose more from details of technique than from overriding mood or purpose, but in a general sense a re-evocation in the early twentieth century of the aspect of Blake's late work particularly influential on his followers could be seen.

The second section of the exhibition, eleven works under the heading "Emergence of a New Style," spelt out the continuation of this development in further, more mature works by Sutherland together with a group by John Piper and examples of the work of other artists; Paul Nash's surrealist works were mentioned in the introduction, to this section but were not represented in the exhibition itself. John Piper's works introduced a new element in British twentieth-century neo-romanticism, the influence of J.M.W. Turner; his name, together with that of Caspar David Friedrich, was indeed mentioned in the introduction to the first part of the catalogue.

The main body of the exhibition, entitled "The Flowering of Neo-Romanticism," consisted of sixty-eight works by a fairly homogeneous group of artists including Michael Ayrton, John Minton, John Craxton, Keith Vaughan, Robert Colquhoun, Robert MacBryde, further works by Piper and Sutherland, Ceri Richards, Bryan Wynter, William Scott, David Jones and others. Francis Bacon and Lucien Freud had, apparently, refused to allow themselves to be represented. In many works the visionary tradition of Blake could be seen in one way or another. The monochrome drawings of Minton and Craxton clearly pursued the development in engraving of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples earlier in the exhibition. Works by Sutherland, Richards and Vaughan combined text and design in a way that could perhaps be traced back to Blake, though here there is also a strong French influence; in fact in many of these artists the example of Picasso was as strong as that of any local British artist. David Jones, unfortunately represented by a single work only, was perhaps the artist most akin in spirit to the tradition. Other claimants, such as Cecil Col-

John Minton (1917-1957), *Summer Landscape*. Pen and ink, 62.2 x 70.7 cm., 1945. Private Collection.



lins (who was represented, if only as a result of pressure from my colleagues, in the Tate display), were not included. On the other hand "Suburban Garden" of 1947 by Victor Pasmore, painted shortly before his conversion to abstraction, seemed alien to the whole spirit of the exhibition.

The exhibition clearly suffered not only from the abstention of Bacon and Freud but also from the exigencies of what works happened to be available for loan at the time. What is now needed is a far more thorough examination of how far, and in what precise respect, twentieth-century artists can be said to have returned either consciously or unconsciously to the imaginative landscape and figurative tradition established by Blake and Palmer, and, alternatively, how much of this can be seen as an independent line of descent from the tradition established by Turner, whose influence is already apparent in the later works of Palmer and Linnell. That there is some continuity is now clearly apparent, thanks to exhibitions such as this.

David Punter. *Blake, Hegel and Dialectic*.
Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982. 268 pp. \$23.00.

Reviewed by Nelson Hilton

David Punter obviously is interested in Blake and in dialectic; in addition to this book, he has published an article on "Blake, Marxism and Dialectic" (*Literature and History* 6 [1977]). The shifting middle terms of the article and the book—which was completed, he writes, in 1975—suggests something about the nature of his interest in their brackets, an interest confirmed by another article of the same general time and orientation, "Blake: Creative and Uncreative Labour" (*Studies in Romanticism* 16 [1977]). In all of these, Punter's recurrent concern is with Blake's "conception of the social role of poetry" ("Blake, Marxism and Dialectic," p. 219), Blake's "attitude toward the social determination of form, an attitude which places the figure of the poet at a crucial point in the dialectic of social experience" ("Blake: Creative and Uncreative Labour," p. 561), his vision of Blake's and Hegel's "doctrine based on social progress" and its roots in "objective social changes" (pp. 253, 255). There are the predictable references to Herbert Marcuse and N.O. Brown. Such formulations may strike us now as somewhat passé—

not that the social issue, after Thatcher and Reagan, has in any way progressed—but because of our deepening sense that the informational, technological complexities underway are reformatting all vestiges of our classical, nineteenth-century sense of the "social." To speak of the "human-shaped" world while the Spirit was moving toward a recognition of the disappearance of man would be to throw sand against the wind. *Of course* we will come to the question of which (whose) side is Blake on. Still, I think that *Blake, Hegel and Dialectic* would have had more effect if it had been published when first completed; as it is, it seems likely to become just a glitch in the graph of Blake studies.

So, to begin with the perennial question, "what is dialectic"? As I understand Punter's view, dialectic names, if named it can be, the progression that orders and emerges from the strife of contraries, the major experienced form being History. At any rate, through initial sections on Heraclitus, Giordano Bruno, and Boehme, Punter makes clear his stand with [his] Hegel that "formal perception of contrariety is not tantamount to a realisation of dialectic" (p. 35). The idea of Progression is essential, for Punter, if we are to have "any notion of *real* change, as opposed to that change which merely repeats itself cyclically" (pp. 43–44). Since the fundamental contrary is that of (potentially) infinite man and finite nature, the progression, by some uncertain logic, must involve the social dimension. Of course, since Blake and Hegel both reject "a simple high view of 'human nature,'" they are "therefore prevented from adopting the optimistic belief that progress is necessarily direct" (p. 222). Nonetheless, it's still there, the spectre of a theology, a teleology. So in the "Conclusion" Punter summarizes:

Blake's dialectic and Hegel's are indeed dialectics of "contraries and progression", and it is, as we have said in several contexts, the element of progression which constitutes the advance made over previous version of dialectical thought. The necessity for conceiving of a doctrine based on social progress emerges, it seems fair to say, from the experience of doubt and from the struggle against disillusion. (p. 253)

True enough, we might agree, for Hegel—noting Walter Kaufmann's observation that "So far from closing his eyes to the misery of humanity, Hegel needed his work, his philosophy to cope with it. He tried to show himself and others that the indubitably monstrous sufferings recorded throughout history had not been altogether for *nothing*."¹ Yet despite the edifying outcome of a "doctrine based on social progress," one wonders what would result, to adapt Punter's expression, from a struggle *for* disillusion. All of which is to say that Hegel's dialectic is part and parcel of his Absolute Idealism,² whereas for Blake, as Punter notes in "Blake, Marxism and Dialectic," there is "the question of whether Blake is setting out this [Hegel-like] theory of knowledge on a materialist or an idealist basis" (p. 233).

As indicative as the citations to Marcuse, Brown, and two studies by the venerable J.M.E. McTaggart (1896, 1901) is the book's almost complete lack of reference to or use of contemporary work on Hegel and dialectic. This is most noticeable in Punter's use of Baillie's dated translation, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, and complete neglect, even in the bibliography, of A.V. Miller's more accessible 1977 translation, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. We are certainly dealing with a manuscript that spent its hiatus in the deep-freeze. Similarly absent from the book's bibliography and critical consciousness is any reference to Gadamer's *Hegel's Dialectic* (1971, trans. 1976), to Stanley Rosen's powerful 1974 *Hegel: An Introduction to the Science of Wisdom*, to Andries Sarlemijn's *Hegel's Dialectic* (1975), to Levi-Strauss' "History and Dialectic" in *The Savage Mind*, to E.F. Fackenheim's *The Religious Dimension in Hegel's Thought* (1967), to Heidegger, to Althusser, and, what prompts the contrary I wish to explore—the absence of any reference to the work of Derrida.

If my notes and the memory of several readings are correct, the key term of Hegel's dialectic, *aufhebung*, never appears in Punter's work (the book's index—only proper names and no subentries—is useless). Or perhaps it appears as the ubiquitous "progression" (a word, by the way, which Blake uses only once in the singular). But *aufhebung* (and its verb, *aufheben*), the dynamic and outcome of the dialectical movement, is emphatically not "progression." A.V. Miller uses the word "sublate," so that in his translation of Hegel's own note on the term we read:

To *sublate* has a twofold meaning in the language: on the one hand it means to preserve, to maintain, and especially it also means to cause to cease, to put an end to . . . it is certainly remarkable that a language has come to use one and the same word for two opposite meanings. It is a delight to speculative thought to find in the language words which have in themselves a speculative meaning. . . .³

We are at a curious moment—*aufhebung* is what dialectic is all about, the term for "the advance" (as Punter sees it) "over previous versions of dialectical thought," yet it is "a delight" (this from Hegel!) "in the language." What, to complete our swerve away from "social progress," is the status of a formulation "in the language"?—especially when, as Derrida observes, that term "is *the* concept of history and of teleology"⁴

Language thus opens a crucial category, and Punter (as he might say of Blake [cf. p. 12]) is dialectically directed towards its crisis in the book's final discussion before the conclusion: "Language, Culture and Negativity." Hegel notoriously (understandably, we might feel today) avoids extended meditation on language, but the little he writes is revealing, and Punter quotes one of the memorable formulations: "The forms of thought are, in the first instance, displayed and stored in human language. . . . Into all that becomes something inward for man, and image or conception as such, into all that he makes his own, language has penetrated ['intruded' (Kaufmann)]" (p. 241 [*Science of Logic*, p. 31]). The

issue to be addressed, then, is that of the relations envisaged by Blake and by Hegel "between writing and the social order." But what does Punter mean by "writing"? Given all the emphasis on "labour," "work," and struggle, it seems that writing for him is an *activity*, a means of production at the author's command which may be used to engage in dialectical/historical/social struggle. "Writing" for Punter is what one does with language; it is another form of presence and self-presentation, as in this opaque formulation: "Writing cannot set out to provide a simple, positive alternative to the given world; it must adopt a *self-consciously* negative stance, and seek its roots in the inadequacies which the imagination attempts to remedy" (p. 241). Such "writing" is "an exposé of mystery." Such "writing" is, evidently, not only a "self-conscious" subject in its own right, but subject as well to its author; Punter concludes that both Hegel and Blake "saw that a more than theoretical commitment was needed to dialectical principles, and they both realised that this commitment required the evolution of new forms of writing, forms of writing which would incorporate a degree of organisation and system impossible in conventional terms and yet true to the innermost dialectical processes of life" (p. 250). This explains the announced focus on *The Four Zoas* and the *Phenomenology of Spirit*.

The question for us is whether writing is the vehicle of a system, or whether it is, as Derrida would suggest, a kind of system in itself. As vehicle of a system one does not have to look far to discover its failure, judged by the diametrically (not dialectically) opposed interpretations such writing engenders.⁵ As Derrida notes, even with Feuerbach we recognize "the problem of Hegel the *writer*, of a certain *contradiction* (Feuerbach's word) between Hegel's writing and his 'system.'"⁶ With his emphasis on system, Punter can speak of Blake's "dialectical theory" (p. 59) and his "theory of literature" ("Blake: Creative and Uncreative Labour," p. 558). But for Derrida, "Hegel is . . . the thinker of irreducible difference . . . he reintroduced . . . the essential necessity of the written trace in a philosophical . . . discourse that had always believed it possible to do without it; the last philosopher of the book and the first thinker of writing" (*Of Grammatology*, p. 26). This powerful expression awaits its needed application to Blake, changing, perhaps, "philosopher" to "poet" and "thinker" to "artist." Hegel and his dialectic, in this view, cannot be divorced from writing, from their being written (their written being). Hegel's choice of *aufhebung* as the characterization of dialectic makes the point precisely: the synthesis or product or dynamic he wishes to name—the identity of apparently opposite effects—can happen only in language/writing; moreover, it can happen only thus because language/writing is ineluctably constituted ("always already") through the play of differences or, to stretch the point, contraries.

Derrida's work can be seen as a gloss and extension of the key insight by Ferdinand de Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics*: "in language there are only differences. Even more important: a difference generally implies positive terms between which difference is set up; but in language there are only differences *without positive terms*."⁷ Every term, signifier or signified, thus contains—is, in a sense, made up of—traces of that which it is not. The dental stop "d" has no "identity" in itself except as it is distinguished from the dental stop "t"; a person's handwritten "t" has no identity except as it is distinguished from the other letters which it is not. Without difference, no distinction.

To emphasize the role of writing, Derrida coins the term *différance*, whose silent *a* marks it as a phenomenon that can only exist in writing and which, as a verbal marker, creates a term suggesting "difference," "differing," and the temporal "deferring." *Différance* typifies Derrida's approach to reading texts, which involves synthesizing such a polyvalent word that, as it were, resonates with what he identifies as the different, even conflicting, conceptual drives at work in the text in question. *Aufhebung* is Hegel's version of the same gesture, and the question Derrida puts to Hegel is how it can exist outside the system of differences (writing/language) that permit its formulation.

How, that is to say, is there "progress"—unless that progress is something already inscribed in our language (hence our conceptions) and so, in Punter's terms, "real change"? If one wishes to argue that after the "real change," "social progress," revolution or what not that we will write a new language (BASIC?), then obviously one can't say any more. Within the differential system, to speak of "social progress," "struggle," "progress," and especially "labour" and "work" is only to engage in further idealization and semantization. Gadamer writes that "For Hegel, the point of dialectic is that precisely by pushing a position to the point of self-contradiction it makes possible the transition to a higher truth which unites the sides of that contradiction: the power of spirit lies in synthesis as the mediation of all contradictions."⁸ But that *aufhebung* is only in writing/language: *it cannot write itself*, it cannot "take into account its consumption of writing."⁹ Ergo, "spirit" = "writing"; "Absolute Knowledge" = "writing"; "Absolute subject" = "writing": writing is its own thing, untouched by Hegelian dialectic.¹⁰

Hegel recognizes the concept of difference (the bond of Being and Nothing, for example), but he determines it as "contradiction" in order "to resolve it, to interiorize it, to lift it up (according to the syllogistic process of speculative synthesis)" ([Derrida, *Positions*, p. 43]—out of the difference of Being and Nothing issues Becoming, to continue that example). That is to say, the "advance" that Punter sees in Hegelian (and "Blakean") dialectic, the *aufhebung* or progression, is that you get to eat your cake

and have it too; more emphatically: *you* get to remain *you!* only fuller and better, more socially engaged, more human. It is as consoling as the notion that it's not all for nothing. But Derridean *différance* is implacable, and it challenges that meaning of consciousness as self-presence, as an identity that gets to author or to experience dialectical progression. *Différance*, we might say, is the name of dialectic without psychologizing, without idealizing, another name for a system that cannot, by its nature, enable us to see beyond "self-annihilation":

Those who dare appropriate to themselves Universal
Attributes
Are the Blasphemous Selfhoods . . .
(J 90.31–32)

Différance is an inherent condition of human life, so the attempt to transcend it—for better or worse—is inhuman. Self-presence, for example, is an instance of *différance*: one "I" must be attending what another "I" is saying, writing, thinking, etc. The language-effect of the shifter "I" allows us to conceal the *différance* and, in so doing, give expression to the mastery of a desire for there to be an "I", an illusion of presence as being-present-to-onself. This desire for self-consciousness, characterized in the *Phenomenology* as the ground of the contest between master and slave, receives curiously little attention—though at one point it seems analogized to Boehme's "desire for knowledge" (p. 41; cf. pp. 86, 91). Note, though, that the desire/struggle for self-consciousness achieves itself only with difference (master/slave; consciousness/body; I/you; North/South). The desire is in a sense engendered by *différance*, and the bottom line is whether we believe (could it ever be more than a belief?) that this desire has its own *telos*, progression, dialectical *aufhebung*, or whether we accept it as a ceaseless weaving of *différance*, of a diaphoristics (from the Greek etymon of "difference"—"diapherein"): "Going forth & returning wearied . . . reposing / And then Awakening."

What of Blake in all this? "Cogent reasons for the points of similarity" between Blake and Hegel which Punter offers are that both react against an ideology of "reason," both "draw heavily" on a tradition of dialectical thinking (Heraclitus, Bruno, and Boehme, as mentioned above), and both have "a central interest in the social and cultural implications of philosophical systems" (p. 74). Early on, Punter announces that he will focus on *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and *The Four Zoas*: "the first . . . Blake's major statement of the *theory* of dialectic . . . the second, his major attempt to put this theory into practice" (p. 69). Punter is interested in these particularly as examples of work that "strains . . . accepted boundaries," work, we might say, that is quintessentially *writing*, that, more overtly than others, exists in its writing. For the same reason, his focus for Hegel is the *Phenomenology*.¹¹

An important instance of Blake's "statement of the *theory* of dialectic" is the dictum that "Without Con-

traries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence." This single use of progression on Blake's part, as suggested before, is certainly important for Punter's argument; it implies, he writes, "a condemnation of that kind of thought which seeks to progress without conceiving of a moment of negation and opposition," but, he adds, it also serves "to condemn the world of blind opposition which in the end has no direction" (p. 26). Again the ghost of teleology; but Blake nowhere says, "With Contraries is progression." As Steven Shaviro has recently argued, "Blake's system of Contraries is generated by a movement which is endlessly contradictory, inadmissible by the standards not only of formal logic but also of Hegelian dialectical logic," so "progression . . . has a very special meaning for Blake, implying the continuation of a lived tension of opposites, rather than any sublation or furthering resolution."¹² "Without contraries" is no progression over "with contraries." Later in Punter's book we read that the significance of the passage "derives from the criteria 'progression' and 'Human existence', especially if we consider existence as a goal to be achieved, a potential to be actualized rather than as a given. Blake is not saying that contraries are the 'ground of all being' in an ontological or theological sense, for 'all being' is not the centre of his interest. This interest remains throughout firmly centred on *man* . . ." (p. 106). We will have to worry later about Blake's interest in "all being" with the awakening of *Albion*, but as for the goal to be achieved of "Human existence," we ought to consider the passage concerning the Prolific and the Devouring elsewhere in *The Marriage* (a passage which I don't think appears anywhere in the book): "These two classes of men are always upon earth, & they should be enemies; whoever tries to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence." Dialectic, no less than "religion," is an endeavor to reconcile them.

As for *The Four Zoas*, "history" or the "continual dialectic of division and regeneration which is the true agent of the poem" takes three forms. These are "the metaphysical abstraction of an ideal world from concrete reality, the division of human consciousness within itself, showing itself as a disjunction of faculties; the severance of mind from the body," and, Punter adds, "it is these three distinct but fundamentally connected processes which also form the recurring pattern of the *Phenomenology*" (p. 174). "Disharmony and disjunction run through every plate [sic]," reflecting the poem's thematic center in the sleep of *Albion*, "Blake's version of 'Geist'" whose sleep is "the historical inadequacy of spirit, and his awakening the dawn of that absolute knowledge in which man realises the human shape and meaning of the world, and alienation is banished" (p. 163).

Albion, Punter quotes the *Phenomenology*, is "the remembrance of the activity of self-consciousness" which

eventually has "its necessary impact on the fragmented mind." Reunification, then, "is not an inexplicable phenomenon but the *realisation*, in the full sense, of a desire which is irrepressible, and the consequent creation of a society designed to facilitate the liberation of the whole man" (p. 197). This whole man is evidently *Albion* himself, though he "will only become the universal individual when he awakens; that is, when he becomes conscious of his own unity" (p. 133). Or is it, rather, when he becomes conscious of his own contradiction, seeing as how he has now the remembrance of unity? Once again we seem to be in the middle of a language game, with *Albion* denoting shifting signifieds. As in the case of the shifter "I," the formulation of a single (universal) individual is a means of postulating the abolition of difference. Again quoting Hegel, Punter proposes that "The characters in *The Four Zoas* can be seen as 'the shapes which the concept assumes', as their configurations and relations change from book to book in the search for the final reintegration of spirit and matter" (p. 182). Here, evidently, it is not the "characters" which are the "shapes," but their "configurations and relations"—and while those may indeed "change," that seems a different thing than the unfolding progression of the *Phenomenology* ("the spirit's growth to self-consciousness," as Punter puts it [p. 161]).

"The distinctive feature of Blake's thinking" which Punter perceives leads to his volume's own distinctive orientation; that is, because of "Blake's evolution of a theory of States, which signify the interposition in the dialectic of universe and individual of a crucial mediating category of the 'social' or 'collective' . . . the formation of *Albion* can be discussed in precise historical detail, as a past, present and future labour" (p. 139). What we have here is an idealization and semanticization of "labour": just another literary/critical category, more material of/for writing: a pseudo-transcendental signified which is imagined to stand behind, beyond writing. But "For Hegel," explains Punter, "there were two principal mediations"—these are the mediations qua Blake's "States" that enable man's transformation of nature and of himself—"if one wants to speak of a "dialectical method" used by History, one must make clear that one is talking about war and about work." The quotation, significantly, is not from Hegel, but from Kojève.

Consider the following intriguing progression, which comes after Punter quotes one of Hegel's crucial pronouncements on the nature of work: "Labour, therefore, is the *form* of energy, and civilization requires the establishment of a just dialectic between labour and energy" (p. 227). One could translate: "Labour, therefore, is the form of energy, and civilization requires the formation of a just dialectic between the form of energy and energy." "Labour" now falls victim to a new transcendental signified, "civilization." One could go on indefinitely like this, the point being that Punter doesn't know

he is only writing. (In "Blake, Marxism and Dialectic" we hear of "kinds of energy" as irrepressible identity-features within the system [p. 229]). The mysteries of this paragraph deepen as Punter finds that the quoted definition from Hegel, that "'Labour . . . is desire restrained and checked' . . . reminds us of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, in which Blake, alongside his exaltation of exuberance, takes care to describe the *form* of this exuberance: 'I was in a Printing house in Hell & saw the method in which knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation'" (p. 227). One wonders here as well whether Punter has been dialectically summoned to this formulation, for that passage goes on to culminate in the vision of " . . . Unnam'd forms, which cast the metals into the expanse. There they were reciev'd by Men who occupied the sixth chamber, and took the forms of books and were arranged in libraries." The final *forms* of the transmission and organization of knowledge are unnamed, though one reading suggests that it is Men themselves who receive the metals (me-tells) *and themselves take the forms of books*. We call them "books" or "writing," but we still do not know their form ("Nor is it possible to Thought / A greater than itself to know" ["A Little BOY Lost"]).

If any one phrase summarizes the burden of this book, it is the five times repeated formulation of "the infinite at the heart of the finite" (pp. 33, 41, 143, 158, 214; see also 235): "Correct perception, or in Blake's term, imaginative vision, illuminates the infinite at the heart of the finite; therefore, since man and infinite are here identified, this perception is simultaneously an awareness of the human form in the world" (p. 214). "Perception," we were told earlier, is "the manifestation of a particular historical state in the constitution of consciousness" (p. 113), so "correct perception" must stand for the ultimate achievement of ultimate consciousness, whose work, like that of Los, "recognizes the perceptual flux which characterizes real . . . perception" (p. 127). The ground is getting miry—dialectic or difference? Surely the revelation at hand will take us into the nature of identity (such that correct, real perception can be of perceptual flux and yet remain correct and real):

It is this continual dialectical flux, by which the human form becomes also the form of the world, and by which man can assert his ability to transcend the given forms of nature, which is portrayed at the end of *Jerusalem*:

All Human Forms identified even Tree Metal Earth & Stone. all Human Forms identified, living going forth & returning wearied
Into the Planetary lives of years Months Days & Hours reposing
And then Awakening into his Bosom in the Life of Immortality

What is the identity of this "identified"?—do the forms achieve each its own identity, or do they become all identical? do they repose (even repose the question) and then awaken once for ever? Or is there, to return to the phrase of Swedenborg's that Blake annotated "A going forth & returning": "a Progression from first Principles to Ulti-

mates, and from Ultimates to first Principles"?¹³ Is such two-way progression "progression"? Or is it not, as the language that permits it to be written, the play of difference?—a play whose *différance* is written in the final line, which Punter does not quote, "And I heard the Name of their Emanations they are named Jerusalem." Is "I" one of the identified Human Forms? or is s/he something else, with the concomitant self-division which permits her or him to hear the name (but not the name of the forms themselves)? But, as hearing the name emphasizes, all *this* takes place in the differential play of the system (the infinite at the heart of the finite). To adapt the quotation from Schiller with which the *Phenomenology* closes: "from the chalice of this realm of writing/foams forth for Him his own infinitude." "Writing" replaces "spirits"; and the *work* of "writing" is more writing, even unto "the Divine Revelation in the Litteral expression" (M 42.14).

Blake, Hegel and Dialectic displays a breadth of reading equal to that of any serious dissertation, and has also its share of lapses, as when Punter writes that "four years after the completion [sic] of *Milton*, he wrote in his *Vision of the Last Judgement* [sic]. . . ." Yet the *Vision* referred to is "For the Year 1810"—which would put the completion of *Milton* at 1806, neither the 1804 colophon date nor the 1808 watermark of the earliest copies. Now that it is published, this volume can take its place on the shelf next to other comparative studies, like *Blake and Novalis*. Which is a pity, because the topic is worth much more. Indeed, the topic of Blake/Hegel—last poet/philosopher of the book and the first artist/thinker of writing—could sustain the labor (writing) of a generation. But neglecting the topos (which is even its own) of "writing," *Blake, Hegel and Dialectic* neglects each of its terms, dominating them, instead, with academic idealization.

¹ Walter Kaufmann, *Hegel: A Reinterpretation*, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), p. 252.

² Andries Sarlemijn argues that "Because of its theory of *sublation* of everything finite, Hegel's philosophy is an *absolute* idealism. *Every moment* of the whole is denied separateness, independence, reality and finitude. These properties have completely 'vanished' at the end of the *Logic*. Nothing remains but the unitary circle of the all-encompassing, absolute subject" (*Hegel's Dialectic*, trans. Peter Kirschenmann [Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel, 1975], p. 49. For Michael Rosen, "the rationality of Hegel's dialectic is . . . inextricably linked to Hegel's Absolute Idealism" (*Hegel's Dialectic and Its Criticism* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], p. ix).

³ *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (London and New York: George Allen & Unwin and Humanities Press, 1969), p. 107.

⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 25.

⁵ For Alexandre Kojève, "Dialectic for [Hegel] is quite different from a method of thought or exposition" (*Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*, assembled by Ramond Queneau, trans. James H. Nichols, Jr., ed. Allan Bloom [1968; rpt. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980], p. 179). But for Kaufmann, "Hegel's dialectic is at most a method of exposition; it is not a method of discovery" (p. 162).

⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans., ann. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 77-78.

⁷ *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, trans. Wade Baskin (1959; rpt. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 120.

⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Hegel's Dialectic: Five Hermeneutical Studies*, trans., int. P. Christopher Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 105.

⁹ Alan Bass, Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans., ann. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 20n.

¹⁰ On the obvious idealism of *this* formulation, see Richard Rorty, "Nineteenth-Century Idealism and Twentieth-Century Textualism" in his *Consequences of Pragmatism: Essays 1972-1980* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

¹¹ "Of course," we read in a bizarre comparison, "there is work of Blake's which does not diverge far from eighteenth-century poetic norms—the lyrical work in particular—just as there is work of Hegel's, especially perhaps the *Science of Logic*, which employs all the traditional philosophical apparatus" (p. 69). But for Michael Rosen, "the characteristic feature of Hegel's dialectic—*determinate negation*—is . . . only displayed and developed freely in the *Science of Logic*" (pp. 21-22).

¹² "Striving With Systems": Blake and the Politics of Difference," *Boundary 2*, 10.3 (Spring 1982), pp. 234, 231.

¹³ *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, Newly Revised Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 607.

Robert J. Bertholf and Annette S. Levitt, eds.
William Blake and the Moderns. Albany: State
Univ. of New York Press, 1982. 352 pp.
Cloth, \$39.59; paper, \$14.95.

Reviewed by Paul Mann

Is Harold Bloom the Covering Cherub of *William Blake and the Moderns*? His work is mentioned in only a few of these thirteen essays, and discussed in any depth in only one, but as the most visible current theorist of influence, he must be taken into account in any discussion which attempts to graph potential arcs of influence—even if that accounting turns out to be merely a prelude to dismissal. And dismissal appears to be one of Bertholf's and Levitt's purposes:

The literature which contains reference to preceding literatures becomes an indication that the central imagination is alive and provocative, and not an indication of a metaphysical scheme of influence dominated by the anxiety of that influence and the obligation to remove that antecedent force. Harold Bloom's system in the end only explains the psychology of itself, and not the literature it raids for illustrations. Instead of declaring a necessary independence from antecedent masters, writers in this tradition seek out (often consciously) examples of this central imagination in order to penetrate further into the life of the sustaining vision. (xi)

It's fairly clear from this passage that Bertholf and Levitt have misread Bloom. Where in his writing does he claim that poets are under an obligation to remove their precursors? Ashbery wants to *remove* Stevens? To what misty realm? Bloom's theory seems rather to insist that, even in their most strident oppositions, poets manifest an indissoluble bond with their precursors. If "strong" poets do labor to revise antecedent masters, if they "swerve" from those masters in what Bloom terms a *clinamen*, they remain nonetheless anchored in them. Bloom's theory is a great deal more dialectical than Bertholf and Levitt credit it with being: it is a theory of sublation, not of excision. But it's the word "anxiety" which appears to cause them the greatest anxiety; what they desire for this central imagination is a healthier rhetoric, something purer and less troubled than the neurotic imagery of Bloomian influence.

And what they arrive at is something rather like a platonic Form:

The poet seeks out, both consciously and unconsciously, influences, attunements, and disruptions that provoke his awareness of his engagement in a literary history of recurring forms. His occupations are not driven by a creative anxiety into intricate procedures of misreading in an effort to do away with his predecessors. The forms of expressions dominate. The generation of particular forms to present a vision specifies a line of writing that grew out of the period of the Romantic in literature. The forms develop within the vision, present and enact it; they are not imposed as external agents of structure. But while the freedom of the imagination acts as a bulwark against the passivity of conventional structures, the active principle of insistent reference to preceding literature picks out what is most vital in the line. If Blake had not taken up Milton's *Paradise Lost*, for example, as a projection of what he called "The One Central Form," that omission would have been an indication that Milton's poem had so mismanaged itself that it was not part of the common form of the imagination's life. The tradition of enacted forms by necessity refers to itself because it seeks out examples that most vigorously present the vision of the imagination engaged in an area of meaning greater than itself. If there is one central form of the imagination, then the possibilities of imaginative literature are manifestations, as approximations, of that central form. (x-xi)

If I understand this passage, literary history is construed here less as a set of intimate relations than as a wide field in which all writers can participate in "One Central Form," the Imagination itself. Writers may constellate in or around that form, but no single writer can ever embody it. A writer might be taken to exemplify it, or to mediate other writers' encounters with it, but that writer can never be entirely central to it. In other words, the true title of this work is not *Blake and the Moderns* but *Imaginative Form and the Moderns*; the book is centered in Blake primarily in the sense that it is his definition of that form which mediates its relations—in which case, it is certainly curious that so many of the essays in the collection are rather superficial and old-fashioned influence studies.

It is difficult, of course, to lump together thirteen essays by thirteen different critics, and foolish to hold the contributors responsible for the claims and errors of their editors. This is, however, a remarkably coherent book.

There are certainly differences—in focus, in emphasis, in style, in interpretive skill—but, in the view of these critics, the writers influenced by Blake have much in common. And what this common denominator turns out to be is a fairly superficial reading of Blake. For according to their critics, the writers under consideration prize Blake not so much for his poetry but as a symbol of the Poet, an exemplar of the central imagination.

It might have been useful, then, for the editors to have employed critics concerned with how this imagination operates in and is transmitted through history; they might have attended more closely to discourse as a determining force, to linguistic systems, to the functions and interference of ideology, to the critique of the subject, to discontinuity as well as continuity, or, at the very least, to the ways in which "Romanticism" is variously defined by twentieth century writers and critics. But no. "Even without a survey of contemporary criticism—which would not be to the point here—the fundamental principle persists that a poet names the preceding artists who will comprise his essential literary history, the authors and the texts which extend into his own work, either consciously or unconsciously" (ix). Why isn't contemporary criticism relevant? It simply isn't. The cursory treatment of Bloom is the editors' single gesture of contemporaneity; the "fundamental principle" of interpersonal literary influence is merely posited. Context in *Blake and the Moderns* will be barely sketched: intertextuality here is *mano a mano*.

Take, for instance, the book's first essay: Hazard Adams, once again, on Blake and Yeats. If Yeats was influenced by Blake, and it would be impossible to deny that he was, he did not, according to Adams, really understand Blake. Adams notes seven areas or Blakean themes from which Yeats borrowed— notions of contraries and negations, center and circumference, the creative primacy of belief, and so on—but in all cases rather superficially, and distorted by other previously-held beliefs and ideas. Adams explicitly rejects Bloom's proposal that such distortions are the result of a *clinamen*; in Yeats's case, Adams argues, "a simpler, more mundane explanation" is in order: "an inexperienced or fanatical interpreter will interpret through what is either familiar or an *idée fixe*." "The reasons for Yeats's misinterpretation of Blake were principally his lack of critical sophistication and the occultist thoughts that dominated him at the time" (4-5).

We find such preconception and lack of critical sophistication in most of the writers addressed in *Blake and the Moderns*. What these writers tended to take from Blake was obvious, general and personal: divisions in mental activity cause divisions in and alienation from the "external" world; creative imagination can reintegrate subject and object; and Blake's personal example serves as a sort of muse for other writers inclined toward similar activity. Blake's influence is less as an actual writer of actual

poems than as a good angel of the imagination perched on the shoulders of writers who do not, for the most part, take much more from him than that. If his work explores division and reintegration in complex and pertinent forms, his successors seem to have found these forms, these actual poetic operations, either irrelevant or secondary. When one of these writers wants to make use of Blake's "minute particulars" it is not in their minute particularity but as a general rule; Blake *exemplifies the general possibility of attention to particulars*.

Donald Pease's Crane "returns to Blake to recover the tradition of epic prophecy" (16); since his own epic era differs from Blake's he cannot use Blakean prophecy directly, only as an idea for a project he might himself enact. When Jay Parini's Roethke finds in Blake's "Orc cycle" the twin of his own desire to "compete with papa" (73), it seems merely in the sense that it is possible to do so; and Roethke appears to find himself under no obligation to compete with Blake as a *poetical* papa. Bertholf's Duncan is an avowedly "derivative poet" who both "takes off from Blake's poems" and "regards Blake as a poetic companion of the sacramental imagination" (92). Alicia Ostriker's Ginsberg models his own prophetic or "shamanistic" career on what he takes to be Blake's; he too tries to invert socially determined definitions of "madness," and proceeds from "giving Error a body" to "visions of reintegration" (118); but his own poetry has little of the psychological depth or verbal density which, in Blake's work, are keys to such a project. Most peculiar, but in many ways most representative of all, Robert Gleckner's Joyce seems barely to have read Blake's poetry; his chief "Blakean" influence was E. J. Ellis's highly embellished quasi-biography, *The Real Blake* (sic) of 1907. According to Gleckner, what Joyce took from Blake were less poetic insights and particular strategies than a more general *confirmation* for what must have been a predisposition to devote himself to the life of the imagination.

Surely it is natural for writers to seek such confirmation. For writers working in often severe isolation, discouraged by countless mundane influences from continuing in their work, to be able to attach themselves to so single-minded and dedicated an artist as Blake, an artist so firmly persuaded and persuasive about the virtue and necessity of imaginative labor, must seem a saving grace. As Gleckner says, for Joyce "it was the *fact* of Blake that he finally adhered to, what he knew *of* him rather than his works that finally mattered" (159). So also, evidently, for many of these poets and writers: they might have read Blake more closely than Joyce did—Duncan is certainly a student of Blake, and Joyce Cary is said by Levitt to have used "The Mental Traveller" to organize several chapters of *The Horse's Mouth*—but what they all find in Blake is not so much the practice of poetry, but spiritual affinity.

Affinity is, finally, the true subject of *Blake and the Moderns*: affinity is the answer to anxiety. It is for this

reason that the editors include among so many influence studies a number of essays about writers who knew little or nothing at all about Blake. In one of the book's more interesting essays, Leroy Searle domesticates one of the strangest *ménages à trois* on record: Blake, Eliot and Williams. Eliot hated Blake and Williams hated Eliot, and Williams cannot even be said with any certainty ever to have opened a book of Blake's poetry, but Searle is nonetheless able to unite them through each writer's concern with "the continuity of imaginative labor"—again, the attempt to counter perceived disintegration with artistic reintegration, with the unity of the imagination itself. But what does this really tell us about imaginative practice? Given affinity, would it not be possible to link any two imaginative writers?

The answer to that question appears to be affirmative. In the book's nadir essay, we encounter Blake and Marx. Certainly, as Minna Doskow argues, both men believed that the individual's labor tends to be alienated from his or her world, and that the world should be reconceived as the actual product of a labor defined in more or less humanistic terms. But whether this constitutes true affinity or only a vague coincidence of interests authorized by the most general aegis, whether Blakean humanism and Marxian humanism have anything substantial in common, whether humanism itself might then be a determining form, and, most importantly, whether this surface similarity is belied by deeper and more abiding differences in *practical* approach—none of this is seriously considered. Doskow herself notes, in discussing the subject-object problem, that for Blake "the answer lies in man's loss of imagination, while for Marx it lies in the alienation of his labor under capitalism," but she immediately glosses over this crucial difference: "Yet these answers are not as different as they may at first appear, for the causes, evidences, and consequences of each are almost identical. Both writers see a distortion of human subjectivity which extends outward to encompass the world and results in distorted practices and a distorted world which are further reflected by the subject." (232)

The passage not only describes a circle, it rhetorically enacts one: Doskow begins to consider effective response to a general problem but immediately reverts to the problem itself. Given her premise, she can really go no further. But the differences between these responses cannot be ignored. Each writer, in his own way, insisted on the unity of theory and practice, but where Blake's practice led through visionary art, Marx's led through political economy—matters which Blake would likely have rejected as mathematical ratios. In fact, the two men's courses run exactly opposite: Blake increasingly away from "political" solutions, Marx increasingly toward them. To ignore such deep-seated difference renders the connection purely gratuitous. Indeed, Doskow is able to make this connection only by giving heavy priority to the early Marx of the

Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, in which he was just beginning to formulate his approach, rather than the later work which fully demonstrates how different from Blake's that approach always was.

But if Doskow's essay is the most ludicrous argument for affinity in the book, it is not unrepresentative. The minute particulars of formal strategy and discursive context are continually sacrificed to the most general notions of affinity; actual work is continually glossed over for the sake of the brotherhood of individual writers. It is only in the book's final essay that such individuality, at least, is considered *as problematic*, and it leads me to believe that *Blake and the Moderns* might better have begun than ended here. William Dennis Horn is willing to wrestle with influence as a question, not as an a priori answer, and to wrestle with it in the current terms of the debate. He doesn't exactly embrace Bloom, but neither does Horn merely dismiss him. And in addressing the "problematic of the self" in Blake's work, Horn indirectly points up one of the most disturbing traps of the entire book: "In the case of Blake we find a criticism, as problematic, of all notions of self, occurring in works which have as their main action the creation and psychomachia of mental agents" (280). In the jolly fraternity of *Blake and the Moderns* there is no such problematic, no such critique, no psychomachia of mental agents. Blake was indeed concerned with imaginative reintegration, but he was also concerned with the annihilation of the selfhood, and that selfhood is reincarnated in essay after essay of this volume.

Furthermore, the critique of agency indicated by Horn should have been, but was not, extended to the mediating influence of criticism itself. There is no chapter on Blake and the modern critic. One misses it, first of all, for the simple fact that Blake seems to have influenced some critics as much as some poets and novelists. A number of Blake's most influential critics—Frye, Hirsch, Bloom himself—have progressed from early studies of Blake to theoretical or metacritical interests. Frye would have been particularly worth considering: his work might be the closest anyone has yet come to a Blakean theory of literature and literary history; and Bloom's own theory of influence must owe something to what Frye originally termed the Orc cycle. Parini seems to believe the term was invented by Blake himself, and his essay further demonstrates the danger of ignoring critical mediation of writer relations. (Adams and Gleckner do not exactly ignore it, but neither do they fully explore it.) "Blake gives us," says Price, "a world conceived as the manifestation of imaginative energy, hardened into opacity as energy fails, raised through intense and confident assertion to the image of One Man, containing all powers within himself and exercising them in the creation of works of art." *Like-wise Roethke*, in "The Far Field," envisions "the end of things, the final man . . ." (79; emphases added). The

rhetorical, and possibly the actual, connection demonstrated by Parini in this passage is not between Roethke and Blake but between Roethke and Martin Price.¹ My point is not simply that, like Adams's Yeats, Roethke was an unsophisticated reader of Blake, nor that, like Gleckner's Joyce, he might have relied heavily on critical accounts, but that this mediation is virtually ignored by the book's contributors, and most grievously in terms of *their own* critical agency.

It is undeniable that Roethke took Blake as an ancestor, but Roethke himself claimed that a "son has many fathers" ("O, Thou Opening, O"), and when he wrote, "Walk into the wind, willie!" ("I Cry, Love! Love!"), he probably also meant Willie Wordsworth and Willie Yeats. It is undeniable that Yeats valued Blake, but simply to privilege this relation over others—Dante, Swift, Shelley, Rossetti (albeit mentioned by Adams), Lady Gregory, Synge, Pound, Rosicrucianism (simply to note the prism of occultism doesn't go far enough), Irish mythology and history, even Maud Gonne—begs too many questions of discursive context and actual compositional practice, and brute differences of time and place. It is undeniable that Marx and Blake held a handful of notions in common, but what good does it do anyone who is interested in either Marx or Blake to note them without also noting differences, or noting that these notions were much more widely held? By isolating such influences and affinities, *Blake and the Moderns* virtually unravels the intertextual fabric. By embodying influence strictly in persons and separating it from discursive practice on a larger scale—if not from an ill-defined central imaginative form then certainly from historical contexts which are both literary and non-literary, from the intercessions of critical ideologies themselves, and from the complex of ways in which all of this affects the actual production of actual works—*Blake and the Moderns* distorts both immediate influence and more general problems of literary history. The book is of very little use to the reader of Blake, who will learn nothing new about Blake from it, or to readers of Blake's heirs, for whom these links must already be common knowledge, or even to those who might still be waiting for an adequate way to swerve from Bloom.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Jenijoy La Belle for pointing out this apparently unwitting trope, and for supplying the Roethke quotations that appear in the following paragraph. The Price citation is from "The Standard of Energy," *Romanticism and Consciousness*, ed. Bloom (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 273.



H. T. Dickinson, ed. *The Political Works of Thomas Spence*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Averro Publications, Ltd., 1982. xviii + 154 pp. 19 illustrations. Paperback, £ 4.74

Reviewed by G. E. Bentley, Jr.

The Golden Age, so form'd by Men of Yore
Shall soon be counted fabulous no more
—*The Important Trial of Thomas Spence*, 2nd ed.
(1801), p. 93

Thomas Spence (1750–1814), founder of Spensonia, reformer of the English language, an obscure little Newcastle "malcontent" (as he called himself, p. 6), and political agitator chalking prescriptions for the millenium on midnight walls, is likely to be known chiefly to historians of late eighteenth-century radical English politics—at least he was scarcely known to me. But he was known to Bewick, Cobbett, Francis Place, Coleridge, Malthus, Southey, and thousands of others, and he may have been known to William Blake. Certainly during the last twenty-two years of his life, from 1792 to 1814 when he was in London, Spence had a surprising amount in common with Blake: poet, prophet, radical, publisher of his own writings, arrested (repeatedly) for sedition, of unshakable integrity, friendless (p. 93), considered as a "lunatic" by the reputable public (p. 93). What Southey wrote of him in 1817 might have been said of Blake then: he was "poor and despised but not despicable, for he was sincere, stoical, persevering, single-minded and self-approved."¹

Most of Spence's many pamphlets and broadside ballads from 1775 to 1814 were published by himself for one pence to sixpence at his shop, which was for a time The Hive of Liberty in High Holborn, and in 1801 he claimed that he had already "sold many thousands of copies" (p. 88). He wrote prolifically, but he chiefly confined himself to two subjects: the reform of the English language and the reform of the English land. The former is a new system of spelling which he clung to with a characteristic tenacity or, as he might have confessed, pig-headedness, and he popularized it in works with titles such as *The Repository of Common Sense and Innocent Enjoyment*. Some of his own works were published both in conventional orthography and in his own spelling, such as *A S'UPL'M'INT Too thi Histire ov Robinsin Kruzo, being TH'I HIST'IRE 'OV KRUZONEA* (1782).

Fortunately, all the versions printed here are in regularized form.

His other great reform was of land tenure. Whether his pamphlet was called *The Real Rights of Man* (1775) or *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe* (1782), or *The Important Trial of Thomas Spence* (1803), the real theme is that God gave the earth to mankind, not to landlords, and that therefore the true and only owners of the land are the people at large. Though he called his last periodical *Giant-Killer or Anti-Landlord* (1814), he was not at all opposed to the ownership of land or to landlords (p. 3); he just believed, or rather knew, that the landlord should be the parish and that the land should be, could only be inalienable. To this theme he returned, repeatedly, as to his own darling, and his editor goes so far as to assert, repeatedly, that Spence was "undoubtedly fixated [*sic*] with his Land Plan" (pp. XII, XIV).

Spence's style is vivid, direct, earthy, humorous, and commonsensical, and his titles are aggressive and memorable: *The End of Oppression* (1795), *The Rights of Infants* (1797), which is about Land Tenure, and his most important work, his periodical called *Pig's Meat; or, Lessons for the People Alias (According to Burke) the Swinish Multitude* (1793-95).² He promulgates his Plan in dialogues, in fiction, like the continuation of *Robinson Crusoe*, in songs, in popular tracts, and in periodical commonplace books. He is trying to establish the "empire of right reason" (p. 5), and he claims that The Trial of Thomas Spence is in fact "nothing but the trial of common-sense" (p. 96). Most of his work is surprisingly temperate, considering the wanton government persecution which he suffered; he was arrested three times in December 1792 and January 1793 but not convicted; he spent seven months in jail in 1794, during the suspension of habeas corpus, without even being charged; and he was convicted by a special jury in 1801 for publishing his own book called *The Restorer of Society to its Natural State* (1801). "D—n these idle-bred people, I was going to say. But I'll try to keep my temper" (p. 84). In a triumph of temper-keeping, on his release from prison he published *The Important Trial of Thomas Spence* (1803), incorporating in it the whole of the pamphlet for which he had been jailed, on the grounds that he had read the whole of it to the jury and that therefore it was part of the court record.

Occasionally, however, he lost his temper and burst forth in an apocalyptic vein, as when he wrote of the "odious" and "bloody landed interest" and its "Gothic emblems of rapine";

Your horrid tyranny, your infanticide is at an end! Your grinding the faces of the poor, and your drinking the blood of infants, is at an end! . . . And behold the whole earth breaks forth into singing at the new creation . . . and the Meridian Sun of Liberty bursts forth upon the astonished world, dispelling the accumulated mists of dreary ages and leaves us the glorious blue expanse of serene unclouded reason (*The Rights of Infants* (1797); Dickinson, p. 50)

Land tenure was only the foundation of the profoundly radical utopia which Spence conceived. Many of its features seemed dangerously impractical or scarcely imaginable to his contemporaries; some of its features have not yet been adopted by any nation, East or West. In some respects, the nation most nearly approaching Spensonia is China, whence this is being written and where Spence's writings are remembered with honor.

In Spence's peaceable kingdom, all land belongs to the parish; all public revenues derive from the rent of the land, and the remainder of the rent (the majority) is divided equally among every man, woman, and child in the parish, legitimate or illegitimate; voting is by secret ballot (p. 29), and all residents of the parish vote, men, women, and children; there are free public hospitals (pp. 89-91): "every parish has a free-school . . . a public library . . . [*with*] all the best books in the world . . . [*a*] theatre and assembly rooms to which all have access gratis. Thus each parish is a little polished Athens" (p. 13). Divorce is easy (p. 76); children have "a right to good nursing, to cleanliness, to comfortable clothing and lodging" (p. 48); there is no lawyer (p. 14) and "little occasion for money" (p. 22); "the real wealth of nations . . . is the produce of labour" (p. 88); and "There is also a national university, which every parish is allowed to keep one student at . . . and this one is chosen by ballot" (p. 13).

Of course the system was altered over his forty years of pamphleteering, but the essentials remained unchanged. One of the peripheral areas was spiritual; in 1782, Spence wrote, "religion . . . I had almost omitted" (p. 14), but then he permitted every parish to choose its own; but in 1796, after the French Revolution, he would not permit his citizens to be "poisoned and depraved by superstition," i.e., "religion" (p. 41).

Much of this is expressed in the language of the millenium, as in his broadside "Something to the Purpose: A Receipt to Make a Millenium" (?1806). Spence writes of "this paradisaical system" (p. 14) and of "my millennial form of government"³, under which "the country . . . has more the air of a garden or rather a paradise than a general country scene"⁴; "the whole earth shall at last be happy, and live like brethren" (p. 5).

In one of the many dialogues in which the Land Plan is set forth, a Courtier remarks, "You may form, Sir, what aerial plans you please" (p. 41), and normally Spence dismissed the likelihood of violent opposition to his Plan as negligible because manifestly suicidal. However, at least after 1789, he was willing to be quite ruthless with opponents: "if the aristocracy rose to contend the matter, let the people be firm and desperate, destroying them root and branch and strengthening their hands by the rich confiscations" (p. 37).

The violence of such an opinion, coupled with Spence's open sympathy with the French Republic, not

unnaturally alarmed a government of landed aristocrats. He addresses a series of letters to "Citizens" (pp. 73-92), he adapts the constitution of the new France in his *Constitution of a Perfect Commonwealth; Being the French Constitution of 1793, Amended* (1798) and *The Constitution of Spensonia, A Country in Fairyland Situated between Utopia and Oceana* (1803), and during the hysteria about the imminent French invasion of England in 1801 he proclaimed that he "would not" fight the French (p. 79; see p. 121) in defense of English landlords.

The immediate sequels to Spence's persistent propaganda were pathetic rather than heroic. After his death, on 1 October 1814 his disciples established a Society of Spencean Philanthropists which was "closely watched by a suspicious government and infiltrated by a government spy" (p. XVII). In an Act for Suppressing Societies of 31 March 1817, the Spencean Society is singled out; "certain societies or clubs calling themselves Spenseans or Spencean Philanthropists" were to be "utterly suppressed" (Rudkin, p. 156). Its leaders increasingly fostered political violence; they were involved in the Spa Fields Riot of 2 December 1816 and the grossly bungled Cato Street Conspiracy of 23 February 1820. By then, the "Land" in Spence's Land Revolution had been largely forgotten.

Thomas Spence was, then, a fascinating political reformer, and his editor H. T. Dickinson has proved a benefactor to us all by reprinting here "the great Bulk of Spence's political writings" (p. V). From a political point of view, this is a wonderful series of documents.

From the point of view of the historian and editor, however, it leaves a good deal to be desired. Spence reprinted his works repeatedly, often first appearing in *Pig's Meat* and later separately, sometimes altering the text and changing the title in the process, for example from *The Real Rights of Man* (1775), the title used for the text printed here (pp. 1-5), to *The Rights of Man* (1793), the titlepage reproduced here (p. 137), to *The Meridian Sun of Liberty* (1796), but there is no indication here as to which edition is printed or why it was chosen or how it differs from the others. There is no bibliography of works by Spence (for this one must turn to Rudkin, pp. 206-33), so we cannot ascertain what political writings are

omitted, much less why. The editor does not indicate the sources of his information in the useful Introduction (pp. VII-XVIII), or the collections from which his reproduced titlepages come, or even, once or twice, what publication the reproduction comes from, as with the frontispiece bust of Spence. To judge from the reproductions here, the text has been thoroughly and silently normalized, with extensive alteration of capitalization, italicization, punctuation, and spelling, and the reader is likely to wonder whether Spence or Dickinson is responsible for "villians" (pp. 48, 49) and "Cupid . . . is not so stern an jailor like a deity" (pp. 76-77)—presumably it should be something like "Cupid . . . is not so stern and gaoler-like a Deity."

The publisher, Avero (Eighteenth-Century) Publications Ltd. of Newcastle, is a new one likely to be of importance to students of late eighteenth-century English history and society. This is their first publication, and it exhibits some signs of immaturity, with a few footnotes on the wrong page (pp. 25, 39, 48) or a footnote continued from the bottom of one page to the top of the next (pp. 16-17). We have not yet reached the Golden Age of editing or printing, though we still have Spence's promise of it.

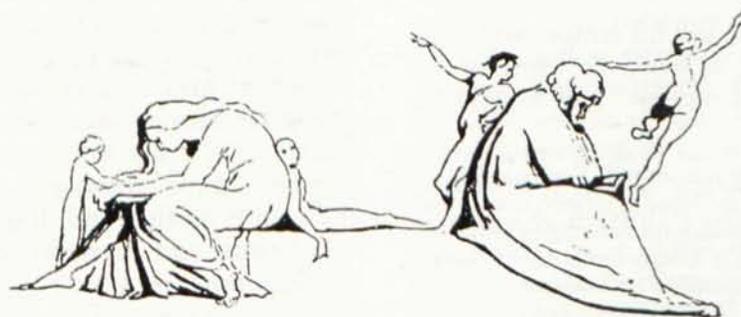
If Thomas Spence and William Blake were introduced to one another, neither man seems to have left a record of it. They clearly had much in common, though Spence's paradise is in the future and on the land, whereas Blake's is now and in the mind. Both were ignored and scorned by their contemporaries, but both have taught succeeding generations to "break forth into singing at the new creation."

¹ "On the State of Public Opinion and the Political Reformers," *Quarterly Review* (1817), quoted in Olive D. Rudkin, *Thomas Spence and His Connections* (1927), p. 141.

² The pig in the frontispiece "bears a striking resemblance to the picture of a wonderful performing pig in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, July 27, 1787", according to Rudkin, p. 16.

³ p. 97. ". . . who can tell but the Millenium / May take its rise from my poor Cranium?" (pp. 117-18).

⁴ pp. 10, 31; the same passage appears in *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe* (1782) and *Description of Spensonia* (1795), illustrating Spence's penchant for plagiarizing himself. One of the characteristics of paradise is that "the corn is cultivated in rows."



NEWSLETTER

BEST SPECIAL ISSUE 1982-83

The journal *Studies in Romanticism*, edited by David Wagenknecht (Boston University), won the award for Best Special Issue of the academic year 1982-83 given by the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals. The fall 1982 issue was *Romantic Texts, Romantic Times: Homage to David V. Erdman*, guest-edited by Morris Eaves (University of New Mexico). The contents of the issue included essays by Norman O. Brown, Kenneth Neill Cameron, Northrop Frye, Robert Langbaum, and Ronald Paulson with subsections on "Inside the Blake Industry: Past, Present, and Future" (ed. Eaves, contributors Hazard Adams, Morris Eaves, David V. Erdman, Robert N. Essick, Robert Gleckner, John E. Grant, Nelson Hilton, Karl Kroeber, W.J.T. Mitchell, Morton D. Paley, and Joseph Viscomi); on "Coleridge: The Politics of the Imagination" (ed. Carl Woodring, contributors Jerome Christensen, Michael Fischer, Raimonda Modiano, R.F. Storch, and Carl Woodring) and "Some Romantic Texts: Reviews" (ed. Donald H. Reiman, contributors James H. Averill, John Barnard, Frederick L. Beaty, Doucet Devin Fischer, Donald H. Reiman, E.J. Rose, Elinor Shaffer, and Jack Stillinger). Publication of the issue was supported in part by a grant from the Carl H. Pforzheimer Foundation.

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