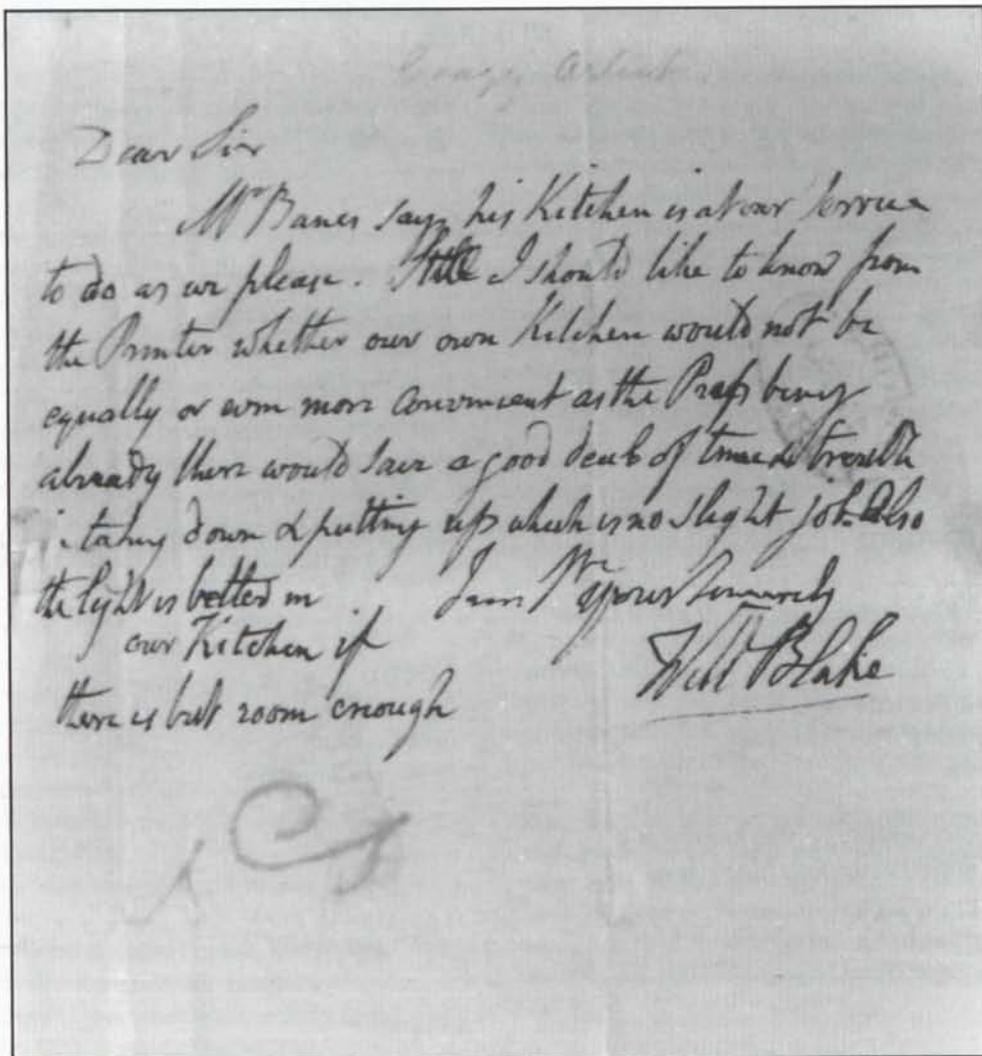


B L A K E

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY



Printers in the Kitchen and Other Recent Discoveries:
G. E. Bentley, Jr.'s Annual Checklist

Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

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

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I N F O R M A T I O N

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Cover: Recto of Blake's newly discovered letter to John Linnell of 25 November 1825, detail (reproduced by permission of the John Murray Archive). The reference to Blake printing in his kitchen is fascinating, and the reference to his brother-in-law Mr. Banes is unique in his writings.

William Blake and His Circle:
A Checklist of Publications and
Discoveries in 2004

BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF HIKARI SATO
FOR JAPANESE PUBLICATIONS

Blake Publications and Discoveries in 2004

The most massive and impressive scholarly publishing event of 2004 was the appearance of the revised *Dictionary of National Biography*, entitled the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, in Association with the British Academy, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), hard copy and online, in 61 volumes all published simultaneously on 23 September 2004. Most of the hundred-some biographies I looked at were newly written, not merely revisions of those in the *DNB*.

I have stalked individuals who, though often very minor, played a significant role in the life of William Blake as they appear first in *Blake Records*, Second Edition (2004) and then in the *ODNB*.

Most of those in the *ODNB* earned their place because they made a mark in the great world—generals, politicians, bankers, and the like. It is telling that there is a standard section for wealth at death. Of those connected with Blake, a disproportionate number are men of power and influence, his patrons, rather than mere friends or fellow artists and engravers.

The *ODNB* is especially good on archives.

The *ODNB* omits separate entries on Elizabeth Aders (b. 1785), patroness of Blake, and her husband Charles; Thomas Armitage (1722-51), haberdasher, and his wife Catherine who remarried after his death and became the poet's mother; Robert Balmanno (1780-1860), collector; James Blake, the poet's grandfather; James Blake, the poet's father; James Blake, the poet's brother; Robert Blake, the poet's brother; Stephen Blake, haberdasher with the Blake firm in 1783-84 (*BR* [2] xxxi, 735 and fn.); Rebekah Bliss, collector (*BR* [2] 65-66, 444 and fn., 844); Boucher, natal family of Blake's wife; William Brereton, JP at Blake's 1803 trial (*BR* [2] 167); Thomas Butts (1757-1845), clerk, Blake's patron; Edward John and James H. Chance, Linnell's nephews and assistants (see, e.g., *BR* [2] 433 and fn.); Private John Cock, dragoon, perjured supporter of the allegation of sedition against Blake in August 1803; Richard Dally, Blake's Chichester solicitor (*BR* [2] 175,

185fn.); Maria Denman, sister-in-law of John Flaxman, friend of Blake; Sir Edward Denny, patron of Blake; Mrs. Enoch, Blake's neighbor in South Molton Street (*BR* [2] 750); James Ferguson (1791-1871), artist, patron of Blake's widow (*BR* [2] 481fn., 496 and fn., 497); John Giles, Samuel Palmer's cousin, disciple of Blake (*BR* [2] 404); Samuel Greatheed, patron of Blake; Dr. William Guy, Hayley's physician (*BR* [2] 126, 183); Joseph Hogarth (fl. 1860-78), print dealer; Major George Hulton, dragoon, who preferred charges of sedition against Blake in 1803 (*BR* [2] 164-67); Elizabeth Iremonger, collector (*BR* [2] 298 and fn., 299, 601fn.); Joan Linnell Ivimy, custodian of the Linnell family papers; Richard Charles Jackson (1851-1923), wishful collector of Blake (*BR* [2] 320fn., 745fn., 747fn., 877); James Lahee, copperplate printer of Blake's *Job* (1826); James Linnell, framemaker, father of John; Herschel M. Margoliouth, scholar; Edward Garrard Marsh (1783-1862), poet, friend of Blake; Rev. Anthony Stephen Mathew (1733-1824), patron of Blake, and his wife Harriet and son Henry; John Peachey (1752-1830), JP at Blake's trials in 1803 and 1804 (*BR* [2] 167, 179); R. Pontifex, printseller (*BR* [2] 345fn., 823); Henrietta Poole (d. 1827), friend of Hayley and Blake; John Quantock (1740-1820), JP at Blake's trials in 1803 and 1804; William Saunders, picture dealer (*BR* [2] 178 and fn., 188, 194); Private John Scholfield (Scholfield), perjured accuser of Blake of sedition; Joseph Seagrave, Chichester printer, defender of Blake; Thomas Siv[e]wright, of Meggetland, Blake collector (*BR* [2] 344fn., 864); John Clark Strange (b. 1826), corn chandler, biographer of Blake (*BR* [2] 707-32); Arthur Tatham (1809-74), brother of Frederick; Frederick Tatham (1805-78), artist, biographer of Blake (*BR* [2] 661-91); Rev. Joseph Thomas, rector of Epsom, Blake's patron; and James Vine, patron of Blake.

Most of these omitted individuals are pretty minor, but then some pretty minor characters are included in the *ODNB*, such as Thomas Hayley (1780-1800), who was merely the natural son of Thomas Hayley and who did not even outlive his apprenticeship, and Catherine Blake (1762-1831), who is important to no one but William Blake and his admirers. She is doubtless included to fulfill the mandate of including more women than in the *DNB*. The entries which I found containing new information include: Blake's biographer Allan Cunningham, manuscript "lives of painters and related corresp." including his life of Blake (1830) in the National Library of Scotland (see the entry in Part VI); Blake's friend and patron Ozias Humphry, catalogue of his art collection (which once included *America* [H], *Europe* [O], Large Book of Designs [A], *Songs of Experience* [H], and Small Book of Designs [A]) in the British Library, Add. MS 49682;¹ Blake's reluctant patron Charles Henry Bellenden Ker, who was baptized 18 February 1787 (not 1785? as in *BR* [2] 302-03); Blake's printshop

1. However, I am told by Susanne Sklar that the document is a kind of commonplace book by Humphry's natural son William Upcott, with some notes on his collection but no reference to Blake.

partner James Parker, who was born in 1757, not in 1750 as in *BR* (2) and *DNB*; and Blake's lawyer Samuel Rose, whose correspondence is in Glasgow University Library.

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is an immense and immensely valuable resource.

Blake's Writings

Only a few score letters by Blake are known, and for a few letters no more is yet known than the date or the recipient. The last new Blake letter discovered was that of 1 September 1800 acquired by Robert N. Essick (<Blake (1998)>).

Consequently the appearance of a new Blake letter, entirely without fanfare, not to say ballyhoo and hullabaloo, is rare and welcome. A previously unknown letter entered the archives of the bookseller John Murray at an unknown date in the nineteenth century, alone and palely loitering, and was exhibited quietly at the exhibition of illustrations of *Paradise Lost* at Dove Cottage in 2004—so quietly that even distinguished Blake scholars did not register that the letter was previously unknown.

This letter, with its postmark of 25 November 1825, indicates the makeshift conditions of Blake's printing, at least in his last years, setting up his press in the kitchen of his landlord and neighbor Henry Banes. The work to be printed may be his great series for the Book of Job, the earliest professional proofs of which were pulled on 4-5 March 1825, first by Dixon and then by Lahee. The printer referred to in the text may well be James Lahee; see the appendix here.

The letter also contains the only known reference in Blake's writings to his brother-in-law Henry Banes, the husband of his wife's sister Sarah. The relationship of Henry Banes and William Blake was clearly a friendly one, if Banes was willing to give up his kitchen, perhaps for an indefinite time, for Blake's printing.

How many more such Blake treasures remain to be discovered in long-neglected archives and attics? And how grateful we should be when they do finally reach a wider public.

No News Is Bad News

In the last year or so, several important works by Blake peered shyly from the boskage, and then, when a hue and cry arose, disappeared without leaving a forwarding address. A previously unrecorded copy of *Poetical Sketches* (Q?), *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (N), and nineteen watercolors for Blair's *Grave* appeared only long enough to be identified and then withdrew, like the Cheshire Cat. Of these, the Blair designs disappeared for 165 years (1836-2001) and surfaced briefly in 2001, only to disappear in 2004 into a bank vault where they are invisible to enquirers who are not heavy in the purse. *Poetical Sketches* was assessed by a bookseller and then disappeared once more. And *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (N), never seen and described by a Blake scholar and not confidently traced since 1921, did not appear when its mate *The First Book of Urizen* (E) in the Whitney collection was sold in 1999 for a world record price for a book. Then in the

summer of 2004 *Visions* was brought off the street to Swann Galleries in New York and was to be offered for auction, until the Whitney family got wind of the affair and tied the book up with legal proceedings. As a consequence, *none* of these works is visible to Blake scholars or lovers, and indeed even their ownership is unknown or obscure.

Blake's Art

Information about Blake's art was not greatly enriched in 2004, aside from the sale of his great color print of "The Good and Evil Angels Struggling for Possession of a Child" for \$3,928,000, the highest price ever paid for a print by Blake—or by anyone else. More characteristic of the year were the records of *Coloured Prints by William Blake: 15 Pictorial Cards* (British Museum, 1927) and *Blake: 16 Art Stickers* (Dover, 2003).

Blake's Commercial Engravings

The Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus, for which Blake engraved some plates, was issued with an extraordinary variety of undated title pages (?1785-?1800), though the text and prints do not vary significantly. Nine versions of the title page are known, and more seem to appear almost yearly. No satisfactory explanation has yet been devised to account for this variety. But at least we can now firmly date Kimpton's *History of the Holy Bible*, in which the Josephus plates first appeared, on the basis of a newly discovered prospectus which announced the first of the 60 numbers for 7 April 1781.

Drawings and proofs for Allen, *History of England* (1798), Flaxman, *Hesiod* (1817), and [Gough], *Sepulchral Monuments* (1786) are newly recorded here. And the earliest repetition of Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1826) has been discovered in the tiny *English Version of the Polyglott Bible* [ed. Thomas Chevalier] (Buffalo [New York], 1836) found, acquired, and reported by Robert N. Essick.

Blake Catalogues

An exhibition of the Tate's Blakes arranged by Robin Hamlyn and Joyce Townsend in May 2004 had no separate catalogue, but the captions, from their book on Blake as an artistic craftsman, were remarkably original and illuminating.

An exhibition more difficult of access but more assiduously publicized was of the illustrators of *Paradise Lost* held by the Wordsworth Trust at Dove Cottage, Grasmere. The most memorable pictures, always commented on in the many puffs and reviews, were Blake's watercolors from the Huntington, but the most important significance of the exhibition for Blake students was its quiet inclusion of a previously unknown Blake letter to John Linnell (see appendix here).

A tiny exhibition without catalogue with a few plates from *Job* (1826) was held at the St. Louis Art Museum.

Books Owned by Blake the Poet

A small volume containing Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1668), [Jean Claude], *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the French Protestants* (1686), and Anon., *The Life & Death of that Pious ... Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Richard Baxter* (1692) is inscribed "William Blake" in a hand like the poet's, and his admiration for Dryden and the probable Huguenot connections of his wife Catherine Boucher and his master James Basire mean that the texts would have been of obvious interest to him. It was sold at auction in 2004 to a private collector.

Scholarship and Criticism

Books

This summary of discoveries and publications on Blake in 2004 covers 40 books on Blake (9 of them editions, 6 catalogues), 139 essays, 6 dissertations, and 79 reviews. Most of course are in English, but 36 are in other languages, including Dutch (2), French (3), German (2), Italian (3, plus *Italian Studies*), Japanese (15, including 2 editions and an essay in English in a Japanese publication), Korean (6), Spanish (4, including 3 editions), and Swedish (1, plus a book in English published in Sweden). In comparison, last year's checklist documented 50 books (8 of them catalogues, 17 editions), 205 essays, and 47 reviews.

The most important Blake discovery published in 2004 was the fact that Blake's mother Catherine and her first husband Thomas Armitage joined the Moravian Church in 1750. This in turn led to facts about her birthplace in Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire, about her family, and about a previously unknown son of the Armitages named Thomas who died at the age of one in 1751. The Armitages were members of the Moravian Church only briefly, in 1750-51, for both Thomas Armitages, father and son, died in 1751, and when Catherine Armitage "Became a Widow ... [she] left the Congregation." She may have left the congregation because she had married outside the Moravian community, and there is no evidence that James Blake was a Moravian. All this gives a firm context to Crabb Robinson's statement that "Blake does not belong by birth to the established church, but to a dissenting community" (*BR* [2] 599), though it is still unclear what influence the Moravians had upon the poet or indeed whether his mother ever talked about them. It would be agreeable to think that she sang to her children the Moravian hymn which she quoted in her application to join the church:

Here let me drink for ever drink
nor never once depart
for what I tast makes me to cry
fix at this Spring My heart
Dear Savour thou hast seen how oft
I've turnd away from thee
O let thy work renewd to day
Remain eternally

The documentary evidence that Catherine Armitage and her husband joined the Moravian Church was discovered by

Marsha Keith Schuchard and displayed by her and Keri Davies in *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 36-43, and at greater length in Keri Davies' Surrey doctoral dissertation (2003). This is one of the most remarkable and illuminating dissertations on Blake which has appeared since Bo Lindberg's *William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job* (1973), and Davies now has a fellowship to continue his researches on the Nottinghamshire and Moravian contexts of Catherine Blake, which promises great things for the future.

Two of the most sensational aspects of Moravian worship were the loving emphasis upon Christ's "warm hot jowcy wounds" and the connection between religious communion and sexual intercourse, which was called fellowship. The enthusiasm with which the twenty-first century press greeted this last feature may be imagined.²

Three of the books reported here will throw long shadows on the world of Blake scholarship.

The first is Morton Paley's *The Traveller in the Evening: The Last Works of William Blake* (2003), which is a fitting culmination both for the works of William Blake and for the critical career of Morton Paley. His criticism now covers all Blake's creations, with *Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake's Thought* (1970) and *The Continuing City: William Blake's Jerusalem* (1983), and *The Traveller in the Evening* is perhaps the best of them—comprehensive, novel, and illuminating on every page. For instance, Paley points out that in *The Ghost of Abel* Eve faints by Abel's grave, but there is no grave or burial of Abel in Genesis or in Byron's *Cain*. However, both appear in Gessner's *Death of Abel*. He demonstrates, with measurements, that when Blake's woodcuts for Virgil were cut down the designs lost up to 40% of their area, and he shows conclusively that the cryptic and fascinating engraving always called "Laocoön" (a term not used for it by Blake) should really be identified as "הָ & his two Sons Satan & Adam."³

The second epochal book recorded here is the collection of remarkably fine and original essays edited by Joyce H. Townsend called *William Blake: The Painter at Work* (2003), dealing with the physical materials of Blake's visual art. It is full of fascinating matter. How many of us could have said that there is no surviving original frame for any of Blake's pictures? Robin Hamlyn records, with diagrams, Blake's painting rooms; Joyce Townsend herself reproduces almost all the watercolor pigments commercially available in Blake's time; Peter Bower adds enormously to the information available about the paper Blake used;⁴ and elsewhere there is evidence of the specific colorman whose products Blake used—R. Davy of 16 Wardour Street (131, 145)—and a palette in the Victoria and Albert Museum which Blake may have owned about 1820

2. See the entry for Martin Wainwright in Part VI.

3. The important essay on "הָ & his two Sons" first appeared in *Studies in Romanticism* (2002).

4. For instance, "there are some forty different papers, several of which were used by Blake, watermarked 1794 / J WHATMAN" (55), though in records of Blake's watermarks these forty different watermarks are not distinguished from one another (e.g., *BB* 71-73).

(181). The photographs reproduced are wonderfully novel and illuminating. This is an extraordinarily original and valuable book.

The third of the books which is likely to have long influence is G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* Second Edition: Documents (1714-1841) Concerning the Life of William Blake (1757-1827) and His Family, Incorporating *Blake Records* (1969), *Blake Records Supplement* (1988), and *Extensive Discoveries since 1988* (2004). In comparison with the works it incorporates:

| | Preliminaries | Text | Reproductions |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|
| <i>Blake Records</i> (1969) | xxviii | 678 | 71 |
| <i>Blake Records Supplement</i> (1988) | xlvi | 152 | 5 |
| <i>Blake Records</i> Second Edition (2004) | xxxviii | 943 | 96 |

New information beyond *Blake Records* and *Blake Records Supplement* is incorporated throughout the second edition; the most significant addition is "John Clark Strange MS Journal (1859-61)" (707-32), which provides the notes Strange made for the biography of Blake which he proposed to write—but never did. The most important omission from *BR* (2) is information about the membership of Blake's mother (before his birth) in the Moravian congregation in Fetter Lane, London, information which did not become available until after *BR* (2) was in print. The second edition of *Blake Records* is likely to prove as useful as its first two parts have been.

A new and one hopes definitive edition of Northrop Frye's immensely influential *Fearful Symmetry*, ed. Nicholas Halmi (2004), includes not only the prefaces to the editions of 1962 and 1969 but also the Italian preface to the edition in Italian of 1976, and identifications—sometimes with corrections—of Frye's sources. This is the edition which careful critics will use in future.

Julia M. Wright's *Blake, Nationalism, and the Politics of Alienation* (2004) "follows Blake from his subversion of the linearity that enables neoclassical nationalist narratives, to his critique of the replicated text, to his own replicating imperialist vision" (xxxiii).

The discovery by Angus Whitehead of four new directories of 1795-1799⁵ indicates that the poet-engraver and his brother were not so obscure as has often been thought, though in one of them the poet masquerades under the name "William Blocke" at 13, Hercules Buildings.

Essays

In the 2004 list, 18 of the essays and 16 of the reviews come from *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* and the *Blake Journal*.

The Tools of Scholarship

Among the most important tools of scholarship are the invaluable annual records of sales of works by and related to Blake and the records of publications and discoveries about Blake which appear in Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Mar-

ketplace, 2003" and in G. E. Bentley, Jr., Hikari Sato, and Ching-erh Chang, "William Blake and His Circle" in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 37.4 (2004): 116-36, and 38.1 (2004): 4-35. Very few scholars read through these records, but all responsible Blake scholars will consult them.

Several other essays of major importance appeared in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* in 2004. Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family," *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 36-43, is the first factual published account of Blake and the Moravians,⁶ though it was also included in Davies' unpublished dissertation of 2003.

Mary Lynn Johnson, "Blake's Engravings for Lavater's Physiognomy," *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 52-74, provides fascinating verbal and graphic detail for the history of the images in Lavater's famous and enormously influential book. It had been published in German and French, but one of the images Blake engraved was not originally an illustration of Lavater at all, though Blake would not have known this.

A loose and shifting corpus of chronologically overlapping Lavater-authorized material made its way from Switzerland and Germany (with a side trip to the Netherlands) through France, leaking intellectual property rights and potential profits at every turn (52)

In their migrations, the images unwittingly altered in iconography and significance. For instance, the feminine arm holding a torch surrounded by moths engraved by Blake in 1789 had been, in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1778), a masculine arm being stung by wasps, where it is "an emblem of Lavater's resolve in the face of his detractors" (65).

Michael Phillips, "The Printing of Blake's *America* a Prophecy," *Print Quarterly* 21 (2004): 18-38, presents extensive evidence from Phillips' own printing experiments in support of the conclusion that Blake's "progress in printing was necessarily slow" by John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* (1839). Jackson's conclusion was perhaps based upon his first-hand experience with Blake. Phillips made metal facsimiles of Blake's *America* plates and tried to print them as Blake did. It took him 34-35 minutes to ink each plate satisfactorily because of the need to wipe the ink out of the hollows in the copper (31). At this rate, Blake would have needed a week to make ten sets of *America*.

The length of time seems surprising, for, according to Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade* (London: R. Griffiths, 1761) 118, the whole process of printing from copperplates "is done with such expedition, that a large plate of a whole sheet is blacked, cleaned, and worked off, in less than a minute." And this is for an intaglio plate; a relief plate should be far quicker.

6. Somewhat oddly, they say that for Blake's dissenting context there is "next to no evidence" (36n3), though in 1810 Crabb Robinson wrote quite plainly, though in German, that "Blake does not belong by birth to the established church, but to a dissenting community" (*BR* [2] 599).

5. See the entries under *Blake Journal* and Directories in Part VI.

Phillips presents invaluable and previously unrecorded evidence as to the thickness of Blake's copperplates and the depth to which he etched them.

Roads Not Taken: The Nuts in the Fruitcake

Occasionally one encounters a critic bold enough to say, some "Blake studies cannot be underestimated,"⁷ and sometimes I wish I'd had the courage to say that.

A review more remarkable for its artistic ingenuity than for the information it conveys consists of a design of a blossom with petals bearing the names of authors and titles of the work reviewed and an underprinted question: "IS THIS TO BE DIVINE IN DIGITAL"? The review is entitled "Which is the Way The Right or the Left."⁸ The answers to the questions are "No" and "Neither."

* * * * *

The annual checklist of scholarship and discoveries concerning William Blake and his circle records publications and discoveries for the current year (say, 2004) and those for previous years which are not recorded in *Blake Books* (1977), *Blake Books Supplement* (1995), and "William Blake and His Circle" (1994-2004). "William Blake and His Circle" (1994 ff.) are continuations of *Blake Books* and *Blake Books Supplement*, with similar principles and conventions.

I take *Blake Books* and *Blake Books Supplement*, faute de mieux, to be the standard bibliographical books on Blake,⁹ and have noted significant differences from them.

The organization of Division I of the checklist is as in *Blake Books*:

Division I: William Blake

- Part I: Editions, Translations, and Facsimiles of Blake's Writings
 - Section A: Original Editions, Facsimiles, Reprints, and Translations
 - Section B: Collections and Selections
- Part II: Reproductions of His Drawings and Paintings
 - Section A: Illustrations of Individual Authors
 - Section B: Collections and Selections

7. Magnus Ankarsjö, *Bring Me My Arrows of Desire: Gender Utopia in Blake's The Four Zoas* (2004) 3, written in apparent admiration of the work of Fox and Ostriker.

8. Tim Heath, review of *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, ed. Morris Eaves, in *Blake Journal* no. 8 (2004): 92.

9. Except for the states of the plates for Blake's commercial book engravings, where the standard authority is Robert N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991). Significant further details, especially about collations, are given in Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake Book Illustrator: A Bibliography and Catalogue of the Commercial Engravings, Volume 1: Plates Designed and Engraved by Blake* (Normal, Illinois: American Blake Foundation, 1972), Volume 2: *Plates Designed or Engraved by Blake 1774-1796* (Memphis, Tennessee: American Blake Foundation, 1979); Volume 3 never appeared.

- Part III: Commercial Book Engravings
 - Part IV: Catalogues and Bibliographies
 - Part V: Books Owned by William Blake the Poet
 - Part VI: Criticism, Biography, and Scholarly Studies
- Note: Collections of essays on Blake and issues of periodicals devoted entirely to him are listed under the titles; their authors may be recovered from the index.

Division II: Blake's Circle¹⁰

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

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

I have made no systematic attempt to record manuscripts and typescripts, audio books and magazines, CDs,¹¹ chinaware, comic books, computer printouts, radio¹² and television broadcasts, calendars, exhibitions without catalogues, festivals and lecture series, furniture with inscriptions, lipstick, microforms, mosaic pavements,¹³ music, pillows, po-

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

11. See the entry for Nachmanovitch in Part VI; *William Bolcom, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience: Soloists, Choirs*, University of Michigan School of Music Symphony Orchestra, University Musical Society, Leonard Slatkin. ([Ann Arbor: Live Concert produced ... April 8th 2004]) Naxos American Classics (The liner notes include William Bolcom [b. 1938], "Songs of Innocence and of Experience: A Musical Illumination of the Poems of William Blake," 1984 [5-6] [when "I was seventeen, ... the reading of William Blake ... (made) a profound difference in my life"] and "Recollections on the Twentieth Anniversary of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*," 2004 [7]). See the review by John Rockwell.

12. "Masao Hataya ... was devoted to 'popularizing' Blake, and from 6 pm on August 12 [1927], the time of the artist's death, he broadcasted a 30-minute radio program [in Japanese] called '100 Years since Blake's Death'" (Yoko Ima-Izumi, *Blake* 38.3 [2004-05] 113).

13. For instance, the mosaic pavement by Boris Anrep (1923) on the main floor of Tate gallery 2 illustrating proverbs from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (*William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend [2003] fig. 139 and 170-71).

ems, postage stamps, postcards,¹⁴ posters, published scores, recorded readings and singings, rubber stamps, stained-glass windows,¹⁵ stickers,¹⁶ T-shirts, tattoos, tiles,¹⁷ video recordings, or e-mail related to Blake.

The status of electronic "publications" becomes increasingly vexing. Some such works seem to be merely electronic versions of physically stable works, and some suggest no more knowledge than how to operate a computer, such as reviews invited for the listings of the book sale firm of Amazon.com, which are divided into those by (1) the author, (2) the publisher, and (3) other, perhaps disinterested, remarkers. I have not searched for electronic publications, and I report here only those I have happened upon which appear to bear some authority. Many periodicals (including newspapers), books, and authors (e.g., Joseph Viscomi—see entry in Part VI) now have electronic shadows online; this duplication is recorded here only when my evidence comes from the electronic version, or when the electronic version differs significantly from the three-dimensional copy.

In transliterations from Chinese and Japanese, foreign proper names are given as they are represented in our script (e.g., "William" and "Blake") rather than as they would be pronounced in Chinese and Japanese ("Iriamu" and "Bureiku").

The chief indices used in compiling this 2004 checklist were *Books in Print 2004-2005* ([Sept.] 2004) subjects (104 books); *Books in Print Supplement 2003-2004* ([May] 2004) titles (21); *Book Review Index 2003* (2003) and *2004* (2004); Modern Language Association International Bibliography online (viewed Nov. 2004).

I am indebted for help of many kinds to Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Dr. E. B. Bentley, Mr. Robert Brandeis (librarian of Victoria College, University of Toronto), Dr. Iain G. Brown (principal keeper of manuscripts, National Library of Scotland), Mr. Martin Butlin, Mrs. Margaret Carlson, Mrs. Edna Cooper, Dr. Ava Weinberger Cross, Dr. D. W. Dörrbecker, Professor Robert N. Essick (especially for a typescript copy of his "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004" for *Blake* [2005]), Senor Francisco Gimenes (for Spanish publications), the Rev. Derek Hollis (for information about Walkeringham), Mrs. Heather Howell, Ms. Sarah Jones of *Blake*, Mr. Allan King (press officer of the Wordsworth Trust), Mrs. Birgitta Kurtèn, Folke Lofgren,

14. E.g., *Coloured Prints by William Blake: 15 Pictorial Cards Printed in Colours* ([London: British Museum, 1927]) British Museum Set C13, a portfolio (or rather envelope) with a note by Campbell Dodgson: "A Series of Postcards: Coloured Prints by William Blake (1757-1827)," 2 pp.

15. In 1976, stained-glass windows with designs by John Hayward after Blake's portrait of Catherine and Catherine's portrait of Blake were installed in St. Mary's Church, Battersea, where Catherine Boucher and her siblings were christened.

16. See the entry for *Blake: 16 Art Stickers* in Part II, Section B.

17. "Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve" (from the Thomas set of watercolors for *Paradise Lost* in the Huntington), reproduced in color on 30 "tumbled Italian Botticino marble" tiles (?2003) each c. 10.2 cm. square, is recorded in Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 139.

Mr. Jeffrey Mertz (our man at the Library of Congress, for re-productions), Professor Karen Mulhallen, Virginia Murray (archivist, John Murray Archive), Professor Morton Paley, Professor Hikari Sato, Ms. Susanne Sklar, Mr. David Weston (Special Collections, Glasgow University Library), Mr. Angus Whitehead (for information about directories and William Bolcom and inconsistencies in *BR* [2]), and Mr. Dominic Winter.

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

Research for "William Blake and his Circle, 2004" was carried out in the Bodleian Library, the British Library, University of Toronto Library, and the Toronto Public Library.

Symbols

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

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

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BB | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books</i> (1977) |
| BBS | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books Supplement</i> (1995) |
| Blake | <i>Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly</i> |
| BR (2) | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Records</i> , Second Edition (2004) |
| Butlin | Martin Butlin, <i>The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake</i> (1981) |

Division I: William Blake

Part I: Blake's Writings

Section A: Original Editions, Facsimiles,¹⁸ Reprints, and Translations

Table of Collections

MURRAY (JOHN) ARCHIVE¹⁹ ALS: 25? Nov. 1825

Watermarks in Paper Used by Blake <Blake (1998)>

This table provides only very crude evidence. Paper watermarked W ELGAR | 1796 is of course different from paper watermarked 1794 | J WHATMAN. However, some paper wa-

18. In this checklist, "facsimile" is taken to mean "an exact copy" attempting very close reproduction of an original named copy including size of image, color of printing (and of tinting if relevant), and size, color, and quality of paper, with no deliberate alteration as in page order or numbering or obscuring of paper defects, or centering the image on the page.

19. Virginia Murray, Archivist, John Murray Archive, tells me that there is no other Blake material in the Murray Archive.

termarked 1794 | J WHATMAN may be quite distinct from other paper watermarked 1794 | J WHATMAN, for "there are some forty different papers, several of which were used by Blake, watermarked 1794 / J WHATMAN,"²⁰ differing in size, paper materials, thickness, etc.

For information on the makers and mills of paper used by Blake, see the table of "Blake's Papermakers: Watermarks Found in Papers Used by William Blake (1757-1827)" (72-73) in Peter Bower, "The Evolution and Development of 'Drawing Papers' and the Effect of This Development on Watercolour Artists, 1750-1850," 61-74 of *The Oxford Papers: Proceedings of the British Association of Paper Historians Fourth Annual Conference, Held at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, 17-19 September 1993*, ed. Peter Bower (London: British Association of Paper Historians, 1996) *Studies in British Paper History*, Vol. 1.

Three curved lines enclosing a rampant lion or dragon
Letter (25 Nov. 1825)

BASTED MILL | 1820²¹

Butlin #714 (1820)

W D[ICKI]E²² | 1803

Letter (25 Mar. 1805)

W DI[CKI]E & CO | 1804

Letter (4 Dec. 1804)

America

Pl. a

The surviving fragment is 8.2 cm. wide by 5.8 cm. high by 0.141 cm. thick and etched (in two bites, 0.005, then 0.007) to a depth of 0.012 cm.²³

Copy M

History: Reproductions of it were added to the William Blake Archive in 2004.

Europe

Copy H

History: Reproductions of it were added to the William Blake Archive in 2004.

For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise (1826)

Pl. 1 (not pl. 2 as in Blake [2004])

History: It is to go with Harold Bloom's archives and "personal library" of 25,000 books to St. Michael's College, Colchester, Vermont.²⁴

20. Peter Bower, "The Vivid Surface: Blake's Use of Paper and Board" 55 in *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend (2003).

21. BASTED MILL is the watermark used by John Pine and William Thomas at their Basted Mill, Hertfordshire.

22. The watermark, misread, or rather misreported, in *BB* p. 71 as "W DA[CI]E" was commissioned by William Dickie, Bookbinder, Paper Maker, and Stationer of the Strand; he did not have his own mill.

23. Robert N. Essick, *William Blake: Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) 92.

24. Dinitia Smith, "Critic's Books Go to Small College," *New York Times* 12 April 2003: D7.

Jerusalem

Pl. 96

There are irregularities on pl. 96, such as the white-line striations as of shading at the bottom left of the design and a strong—and graphically irrelevant—horizontal line across the knee of the man, which suggest that Blake's relief etching is over an intaglio engraving. *BB* p. 225 says merely that "Something else seems to have been originally engraved under the present etching," and none of the facsimiles I have now [2004] looked at—C (1955), D (1877), E (1955, 1991, William Blake Archive), and H (*William Blake's Writings* [1978])—enables me to be more precise.

However, David V. Erdman, "The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *Studies in Bibliography* 17 (1964): 36-38, says that he sees in *Jerusalem* pl. 96,

a good deal of submerged cross-hatching in the area below the center of the picture and along its left side near the text, the only distinguishable form being a perspective drawing of what looks like a small Grecian temple. From the top to the center of the picture some 7 irregularly spaced lines of cursive italic writing are fragmentarily visible, as white loops across the thick outlines of Blake's drawing. In the Rosenbloom copy [of *Jerusalem* (J) pl. 96] the first words are decipherable as "The Greatest" ... the first words, in the same cursive engraver's lettering, of a commercial manifesto ... for "Moore & Co's Manufactory & Warehouse of Carpets"

which Blake engraved in 1797 or 1798.²⁵ He identifies the readings of "the visible seven lines" from Blake's "Moore & Co" advertisement, though he does not actually say that they are legible. And he concludes that "*Jerusalem* 96 is etched on a piece of copper cut from the lower left quarter (roughly speaking) of the [Moore & Co] plate."

After careful study with a magnifying glass, I can see the features of pl. 96 which suggest that the plate was previously used for something else, but can neither read any of these words nor even find precisely where they appear on the plate, nor can Susanne Sklar, who looked at copy J pl. 96 on my behalf.

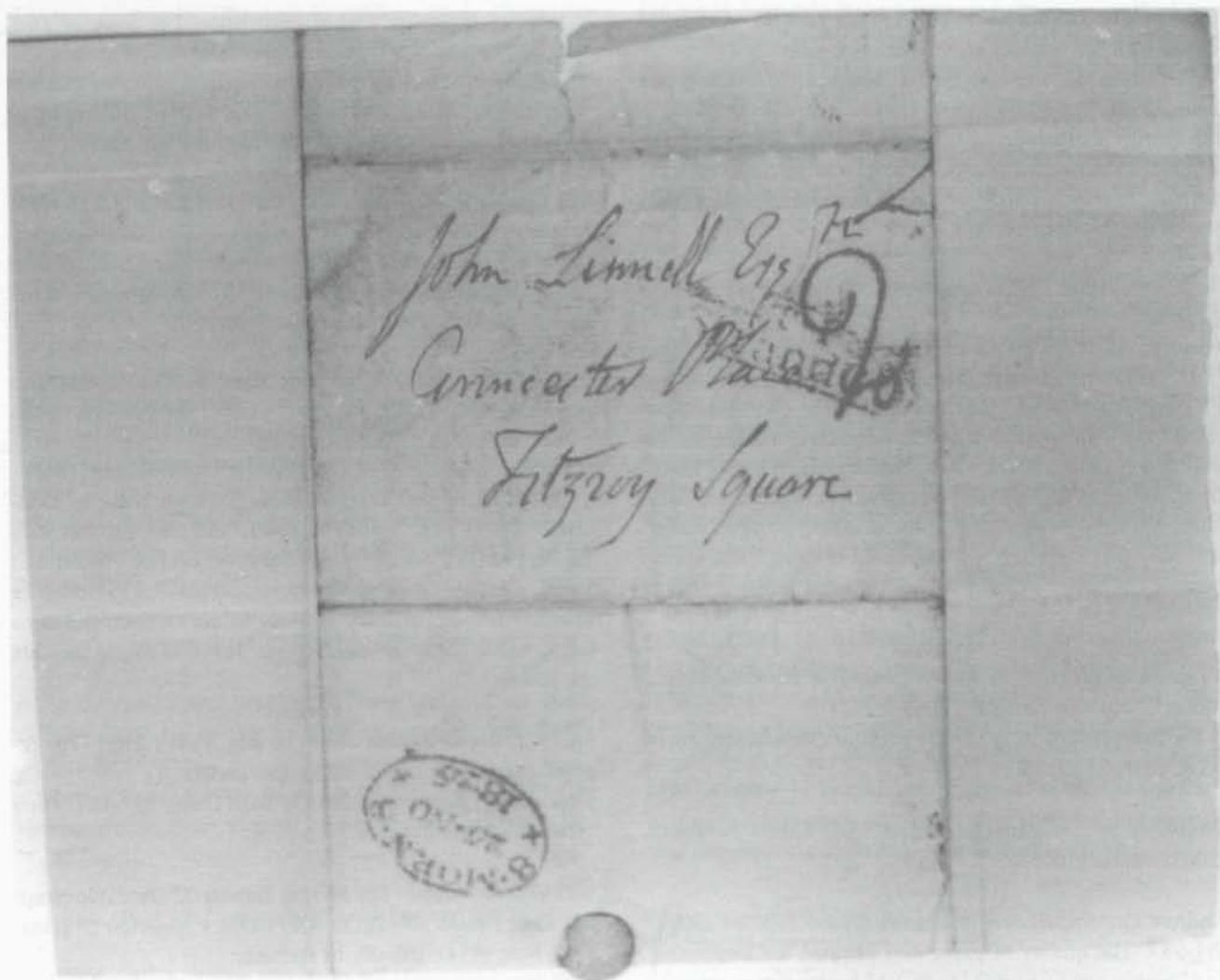
Letters Table

*A wafer sealed the letter.

| Date | Postmark | Watermark | Collection | Size |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1825 Nov. [25?]* | TP StrandCO 8 · MORN · 8 25 · NO 1825 ²⁶ | Three curved lines enclosing a rampant lion or dragon | John Murray Archive | 16.5 x 20.3 cm. |

25. Reproduced in Geoffrey Keynes, *William Blake's Engravings: The Separate Plates* (1956) pl. 10, and Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake* (1983) pl. 23.

26. The postmarks are like those in the letters of 11 Oct., 10 Nov. 1825, 31 Jan., 19 May, 2, 16, 29 July, 1 Aug. 1826; only the letter of 10 Nov. 1825 has a watermark with a design. The upper postmark has "2" scrawled across it.



1. Verso of Blake's newly discovered letter to John Linnell of 25 November 1825 (reproduced by permission of the John Murray Archive). The recto is the cover illustration here.

Previously Unrecorded
[25?] November 1825

History: Acquired presumably by John Murray (1778-1843), bookseller, or his son and successor John Murray (1808-92), both of them keen collectors,²⁷ and inscribed "Crazy Artist"; it was lent from the John Murray Archive to the Wordsworth Trust exhibition of *Paradise Lost: The Poem and Its Illustrators* (6 July-31 October 2004), in whose catalogue, item 54, it was partially transcribed and reproduced (see cover illus. and illus. 1).

Song of Los

Copy A

History: In 2004 reproductions of it were added to the William Blake Archive.

27. According to Virginia Murray, Archivist, John Murray Archive.

Copy D

History: In 2004 reproductions of it were added to the William Blake Archive.

Songs of Experience (1794)

Edition

§*Cantos de la Experiencia*. Translation and notes by Roberto Díaz. (Barcelona: Editorial Astri, S.A., 2000) 91 pp.; ISBN: 8446908123. English and Spanish on facing pages.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience (1794)

Edition

§*Songs of Innocence and Experience* [sic]. Photographs by Joel-Peter Witkin. Ed. and with an introduction by John Wood. (Brewster, Massachusetts: "An Art Publication of Leo and Wolfe Photography, Inc.," according to the colophon, but "Published by Steven Albahari" according to the title page, 2004); ISBN: 1892733110 (trade edition, 915 copies plus 200

copies "hors commerce"), 1892733129 (deluxe edition, 85 copies with "an original, signed platinum print").

According to Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 139, "The black and white photo illus. feature dismembered body parts, laceration, amputees, deformed infants and fetuses, decapitation, torture, cruelty to animals, hermaphroditism, and child pornography. And that's just in the *Innocence* section."

Visions of the Daughters of Albion (1793)

Copy N

History: After the death of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1877-1942), daughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt and widow of Harry Payne Whitney (1872-1930), *Visions* (N)²⁸ was separated from her copy of *Urizen* (E); *Visions* (N) was acquired as part of a private collection not related to the Whitney family by an antiques dealer²⁹ (not a bookseller), who sold it to an anonymous buyer who brought it in 2004 to Swann Galleries (New York) where it was to be sold in April 2005, until it became embroiled in a dispute over ownership.³⁰

Editions

**Visiones de las Hijas de Albiñ* (*Visions of the Daughters of Albion*). Tr. Pablo Neruda. <*Blake* §(2004)>

The first printing in 1934 has a prefatory note in Spanish by "C.K. CHESTERTON."

Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Ed. Robert N. Essick. (2002) <*Blake* (2003)>

Reviews

Andrew Lincoln, *Review of English Studies* N.S. 54 (2003): 691-93 ("The quality of paper and printing are impressive" and "readers can be grateful to Essick" for his commentary).

§*Reference and Research Book News* 18 (2003): 227+.

Catherine L. McClenahan, *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 77-79 ("*Visions* could scarcely ask for a more experienced and informed editor," who has provided a "lucid" commentary).

Section B: Collections and Selections

**Blake Shishu*: Taiyaku [*Blake's Poetry*: A translation printed side by side with the English text]. Ed. Shoichi Matsushima. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004) 345 pp., 16 plates; ISBN: 40022217729. In Japanese and English.

28. *Urizen* (E) passed at the death of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney to Helen Hay Whitney, thence to Harry Payne Whitney's nephew John Hay Whitney, thence to John's widow Betsy Cushing Whitney (d. 1998), and sold with her estate at Sotheby's (New York), 23 April 1999.

29. According to letters to me from Edwin Wolf 2nd and R. B. Adams of Sept. and 15 Oct. 1965, *Urizen* (E) and *Visions* (N) were seen in a desk drawer in Gertrude Whitney's house after her death by Arthur Swann, then of Parke Bernet, and by Hyatt Mayor. Can *Visions* (N) have been in the desk when it was sold as an antique?

30. All the post-1942 provenance here derives from Robert N. Essick's account in "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," generously shown me in draft.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, The Book of Thel, portions of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, portions of Poetical Sketches, extracts from the Pickering Manuscript, with a short biography of Blake. A handy, pocket-size collection for a beginner.

The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake. Ed. David V. Erdman. (1988) <*BBS* p. 162>

It is available online both at <<http://www.english.uga.edu/nhilton/Blake/blketxt1/>> and at <<http://www.blakearchive.org/cgi-bin/nph-1965/blake/erdman/erd>>.

"The Edition of the Works of Wm. Blake" by "The Blake Press at Edmonton" [England] of William Muir (1884-90). <*BB* #249> "Volume 1"

h. *On Homer's Poetry* [&] *On Virgil* [?C]. (Edmonton, 1886).

According to Keri Davies' thesis "William Blake in Contexts" (2003) 268, "Muir's facsimile and that printed with Herbert R. [sic] Horne, 'Blake's Sibylline Leaf on Homer and Virgil', *Century Guild Hobby Horse*, 2 (1887), 115-16, differ in many respects and are unlikely to derive from the same lithographic plate," though *BB* pp. 488, 836 imply they are the same.

Reviews

§Anon., *Athenaeum* no. 2964 (16 Aug. 1884): 216 ("The reproduction of the outlines is simply perfect").

§Anon., *Athenaeum* no. 3203 (16 Mar. 1889): 351-52 ("Their verisimilitude is absolute").

*"El Viajero Mental (The Mental Traveller)." Tr. Pablo Neruda. *Cruz y Raya: Revista de Afirmación y Negación* 20 ([Madrid] Nov. 1934): 103-09. In Spanish.

**The Poems of William Blake*. ([N.p. (England), 2002 or 2003]) Faerie Queene Library, 7 unnumbered leaves; no ISBN.

A miniature edition, 2.7 x 2.0 cm., consisting of "The Tyger" plus 2 pp. about Blake.

William Blake Archive <<http://www.blakearchive.org>>

In 2004 the archive added *America* (M), *Europe* (H), *Song of Los* (A, D), *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (a, A), and 23 reproductions of the 12 large color prints.

*Joseph Viscomi, "Illuminated Printing," 37-62 of *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, ed. Morris Eaves (2003), was incorporated in the archive in 2004 with almost 90 additional reproductions.

Part II: Reproductions of Drawings and Paintings

Section A: Illustrations of Individual Authors

John Milton, *Paradise Lost*

Thomas Set (Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

Reproduced in the 6 July-31 October 2004 Wordsworth Trust exhibition catalogue of *Paradise Lost: The Poem and Its Illustrators*.

Thirteen Watercolor Drawings by William Blake Illustrating Paradise Lost by John Milton. The first facsimiles printed at full scale in full color from the original works in the collection of The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California with descriptions and commentaries by Robert N. Essick & John T. Shawcross to accompany the edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 2002 by The Arion Press text edited by John T. Shawcross and with an introduction by Helen Vendler. (San Francisco: Arion Press, 2004) folio (43.0 x 55.6 cm.), 30 unnumbered leaves loose in a portfolio, limited to 426 copies; no ISBN.

Reproductions of the Thomas set of illustrations to *Paradise Lost* plus the Huntington's large "Satan, Sin and Death." Essick's commentary is essentially the same as that in his *William Blake at the Huntington* (1994) <Blake (1995)>.

The portfolio is a companion to *Paradise Lost: a Poem in Twelve Books The Author John Milton.* Ed. John T. Shawcross, introduction by Helen Vendler. (San Francisco: Printed by Andrew Hoyem at the Arion Press, MMII [2002]) xxxiv, 396 pp.; no ISBN.

Section B: Collections and Selections

Blake: 16 Art Stickers. (Mineola [New York]: Dover Publications, 2003) 12° (4 1/16" x 5 3/4"), 6 pp. and covers; ISBN: 0486430685.

Anon., "Note" (inside front cover) ("a new work"). The stickers derive from *Urizen, Songs, Milton, Jerusalem,* and "Glad Day."

Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Charles Allen, *A New and Improved History of England,* Second Edition (1798)

Pl. 2 "King John Absolved by Pandulph": The true-size drawing for it, acquired by Robert N. Essick, "bears all the hallmarks of a work by Fuseli, including the characteristic left-hand hatching strokes." This is perhaps the clearest evidence to support the long-held belief that the designs to Allen's books are by Fuseli. The drawing was calked and counterproofed, presumably by Blake, onto the copperplate for engraving.³¹

Bible (1836)—*Job*

THE | ENGLISH VERSION | OF THE | POLYGLOTT BIBLE: | CONTAINING THE | *Old and New Testaments,* | TOGETHER WITH | A COPIOUS AND ORIGINAL SELECTION OF REFERENCES, | TO PARALLEL AND ILLUSTRATIVE PASSAGES. | EXHIBITED IN A MANNER HITHERTO UNATTEMPTED. | - | NORTHAMPTON [Massachusetts]— J.H. BUTLER. | BUFFALO [New York]—T. AND M. BUTLER. | 1836. [Within a double frame of rules.] <Essick Collection>

An engraving labelled "Job and His Family" ("Blake"—Anon.), image c. 5.8 x 9.0 cm., derives from Blake's *Job* pl. "1"

31. See Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 125, 140, and illus. 9-11.

(16.5 x 21.3 cm.). In it the foreground sheep are omitted, two are moved to the flocks at the left and right, and a band of foliage is added. This is apparently the earliest repetition of Blake's *Job* designs.

This tiny Bible (6.8 x 11.0 cm.), of a "convenient size for the Pocket," with a preface signed "T.C." as "the Editor," may be rare; at any rate it, the Butlers, Northampton, and Buffalo do not appear in *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of The English Bible 1525-1961* Revised and Expanded from the Edition of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule 1903 by A. S. Herbert (London: British and Foreign Bible Society; New York: American Bible Society, 1968) (abbreviated D&M).

The *Polyglott* in the title is justified only in the work from which the Butler edition was indirectly pirated: *The English Version of the Polyglott [sic] Bible ...* With a ... selection of references to parallel and illustrative passages (London: Samuel Bagster, [1815,] 1816), with a preface signed "T.C." for Thomas Chevalier; this *English Version* appeared with separately issued versions of the Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, and Spanish (D&M #1628). Bagster's *English Version* was reprinted in 1819, 1825, 1826, 1828, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1838 [1840?], [1844] (3 varieties) (D&M #1628) and in U.S. editions of 1825 [Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle, D&M #1748], 1831 [Philadelphia: Key & Meikle, D&M #1785], 1837, 1841, 1842, and 1844—a total of "well over a hundred [U.S. versions of Bagster's *Polyglott*] reprinted within fifty years" (D&M #1628, 1785). Plainly the English text of Bagster's *Polyglott* was freely pirated and frequently reprinted; apparently the only remarkable feature of the 1836 edition is in the illustrations.

Robert Blair, *The Grave* (1808, 1813, ...)

1813 New Location: Liverpool Public.

Gottfried Augustus Bürger, *Leonora* (1796)

New Location: Liverpool Public.

John Flaxman, *Hesiod* (1817)

Pl. 21 ("Theogony" fly-title): A proof before all letters on paper watermarked 1812 is "now [2004] in a private British collection."³²

John Gay, *Fables* (1793, [1811])

1793 New Location: Liverpool Public.

[Richard Gough,] *Sepulchral Monuments, in Great Britain* Vol. 1, Part 1 (1786)

Pl. 9: A proof before letters of Blake's plate³³ of the third state of Queen Philippa on a leaf 38.5 x 49.5 cm., formerly in the collection of Raymond Lister and subsequently in a "private collection, London," was offered in March 2004 by Christopher Ed-

32. According to Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 130.

33. Blake's responsibility for the drawing is plausibly asserted by Malkin (*BR* [2] 563), and his responsibility for the engraving is a generally accepted hypothesis.

wards (for £2,750 [sic]) and acquired by Robert N. Essick. The proof is especially interesting because of the inscriptions, in the same hand Gough used on other proofs now in the Bodleian, giving directions to the writing engraver: *above the image but within the platemark*: "pl. xlix p. 125"; *below the image but within the platemark*: "Portrait of .Queen. Phillippa [Queen of Edward III] from her monument | Basire In & sc"; *at the bottom of the page*: "[Put under d portrait of Q Eleanor Pl xxiii*]." The print as published is inscribed: "Pl. XLVIII, p. 123." "Monument of Philippa Queen of Edward III. 1369" and "Basire del & sc".

Gough wrote in pencil on the proof: "Mr Ashley your people have made a mistake which appears very extraordinary as it is very clearly wrote with only one l—Philippa."³⁴ Presumably "Mr Ashley" is the writing engraver, but there is no Ashley in *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, ed. D. F. McKenzie (1978), or William B. Todd, *Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (1972), and the only Ashley in Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (1977) 6, is John, a music publisher.

Josephus, Works ([?1785-?1800])

A cumulation of BB, BBS, Blake (1994 ff.), Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake Book Illustrator: A Bibliography and Catalogue of the Commercial Engravings, Volume 2: Plates Designed or Engraved by Blake 1774-1796* (Memphis, Tennessee: American Blake Foundation, 1979) 21-26,³⁵ and Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005).

- A *The Genuine and Complete Works*, ed. George Henry Maynard (London: J. Cooke [?1785-86]) Locations: British Library, British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, Houston Public, National Library of Canada (imperfect), Newberry, Union Theological Seminary (New York), Southampton
- Ab *The Genuine and Complete Works*, ed. George Henry Maynard and Edward Kimpton (London: J. Cooke [?1786-87]) Location: GEB <Blake (1995)>
- Ac *The Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1787-88]) "Useful" substituted for "Copious," omits "Together with Time of the AUTHOR," adds "Illustrated with MARGINAL REFERENCES ... to the HOLY BIBLE" Location: GEB <Blake (1995)>
- Ad *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1788-89]) <Blake (1995)>
- B *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1789-90]) substitutes "Useful" for "Copious," ends "And sold by all other Booksellers in Great Britain" Locations: British Library (2, both imperfect), Cam-

bridge, Durham Cathedral, Leeds, National Library of Scotland (2), Nottingham, Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary

- Ba *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1789-90]) Location: Dörrbecker <Blake (1996)>
- Bb Between B and C <Essick (2005)>
- C By the King's Royal License and Authority *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1795]) Locations: GEB; BBS adds under B-C Durham Cathedral, Harvard, Lancaster Theological Seminary (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), New York Public Library, Virginia, Yale
- Ca By the King's Royal License and Authority *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: J. Cooke [?1790-91]) "is now first added" substituted for "will now be first added"; ends "And sold by all other Booksellers in Great Britain" Location: Cambridge <Easson and Essick>
- D By the King's Royal License and Authority *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: C. Cooke [?1799]) Locations: Arizona State (Tempe), GEB, British Library, Boston Public, Bristol (Wesley College [imperfect]), Dalhousie, Delaware, Library of Congress, Newberry, New York Public Library, North Carolina State
- E *The Whole Genuine and Complete Works* (London: C. Cooke, etc. [?1800]) Locations: GEB, Bodleian, Boston Public, British Library, British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, Tate, Ushaw College (Durham)

John Caspar Lavater, *Aphorisms* (1788; 1789)

1788 New Location: Liverpool Public.
1789 New Location: Liverpool Public.

John Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789-98; 1810; "1792" [i.e., c. 1817])

<BB 481; BBS pp. 235-36; Blake (1994-98, 2000-04)>
1789-98 New Location: Liverpool Public.
1810 New Location: Liverpool Public.

The sources of the plates signed merely "Blake Sc" or "Blake sculp" are brilliantly identified by Mary Lynn Johnson, "Blake's Engravings for Lavater's *Physiognomy*: Overdue Credit to Chodowiecki, Schellenberg, and Lips," *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 52-74:

- 1 A vignette of two old men planting trees (Vol. I, p. 127) originally appeared in Gellert's *Leçons de Morale* (1772) engraved by Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki, and Chodowiecki engraved another version (1772) for the Huguenot Seminaire françois de theologie à Berlin, where it indicates the fostering of young theology students. It was engraved, reversed, by Rudolf Schellenberg for Lavater's *Essai sur la physiognomie I* ([1781]) 127. Blake re-reversed the design and made minor alterations.
- 3 A female arm and hand delicately holding up a candle with moths nearby (Vol. I, p. 206) derives from an engraving (Anon.-Anon.) of a sturdy male arm and hand gripping a candle and being stung by a wasp in *Essai I*: 213, where its significance is not explained. It derives from a plate (Anon.-

34. The inscription is reported by Christopher Edwards but is invisible to me from his reproduction. This inscription is not given in Robert N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991) 119, which cites this proof and reproduces the final state with printed inscriptions (pl. 291).

35. Easson and Essick describe A as First Issue, B as Second Issue, C as Third Issue, Ca as Fourth Issue, D as Fifth Issue, and E as Sixth Issue.

Anon.) in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* IV (1778) (Vol. IV was never translated) where it represents Lavater's determination to uphold the light of Truth in the face of the stings of public mockery.

- 4 A profile head of the Lutheran theologian Johann Joachim Spalding, a dear friend of both Lavater and Fuseli (Vol. I, p. 225), was first printed in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* III (1777), 4 portraits on one plate after Chodowiecki engraved by Johann Heinrich Lips, and repeated, alone [?by Lips] in *Essai* I: 232.

Novelist's Magazine

Vol. X-XI (1783,1785,1793)

1783 New Location: Liverpool Public.

C. G. Salzmann, *Elements of Morality*

(1791,1792,1799,1805,1815)

1791 New Location: Liverpool Public.

John Scott, *Poetical Works* (1782)

New Location: Liverpool Public.

John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative* (1796,1813)

1796 New Location: Liverpool Public.

John Varley, *Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1828)

New Location: Physiology Sherrington Library (Oxford).

Virgil, *The Pastorals*, ed. R. J. Thornton (1821)

According to Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake* (1863) 275, Blake's wood "blocks ... proved ... too wide for the page and were ... summarily cut down to the requisite size by the publishers." Proofs from eight blocks (2-5, 6-9) before they were cut down are in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and reproduced, inter alia, in *The Illustrations of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1937) 42-43. The differences before and after this surgery were:

| Design | Before trimming | After trimming | Trimmed chiefly on |
|--------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) | 3.9 x 8.8 | 3.9 x 7.4 | Left, right, top, bottom, plus chip at top left |
| (3) | 3.4 x 8.5 | 3.3 x 7.4 | Left, right, top |
| (4) | 4.5 x 8.6 | 3.2 x 7.3 | Left, right, top |
| (5) | 4 x 8.7 | 3.7 x 7.4 | Left, right, top, bottom, plus chips at top left and top right |
| (6) | 4 x 8.4 | 3.4 x 7.3 | Left, right, bottom, top |
| (7) | 3.6 x 8.6 | 3.6 x 7.4 | Right |
| (8) | 3.3 x 8.7 | 3.3 x 7.3 | Right, top |
| (9) | 3.9 x 8.7 | 3.4 x 7.3 | Right, top ³⁶ |

36. The dimensions in centimeters given here are reported by Morton D. Paley, *The Traveller in the Evening* (2003) 31, from proofs of the blocks

The Wit's Magazine (1784)

Pl. 1: ("The Temple of Mirth") the first of two separate engravings of the same design: A print of the second state is in the collection of Robert N. Essick.

Edward Young, *Night Thoughts* (1797)

New Location: Liverpool Public.

Colored Copies

Addenda

Copy E

History: John Alexander Fuller-Maitland (1856-1936) remembered seeing before 1872 at the house of his uncle William Fuller-Maitland (1813-76) "a wonderful old chest" in which he was "allowed to forage, containing books by Blake that would now fetch their weight in gold. There was the unique copy of *Jerusalem* [E, plus *Thel* (a)] There were two copies of Young's *Night Thoughts*, and when I referred to the fact in talking about the books to my uncle, he stoutly maintained that he possessed only one. I assured him that one was coloured [E] and the other plain, but he was so sure that I was wrong that he said he would give me the second [plain one] if it was there. It was"³⁷

Part IV: Catalogues and Bibliographies

1812

A | CATALOGUE | OF THE | FIFTH ANNUAL | EXHIBITION | BY THE | ASSOCIATED PAINTERS | IN | *Water Colours* | - | AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, | No. 16, OLD BOND STREET. | - | ADMITTANCE, ONE SHILLING. | CATALOGUES, SIXPENCE. | - | LONDON: | PRINTED BY J. MOYES, GREVILLE STREET, HATTON GARDEN. | - | 1812. <BB #531>

New Locations: Strathclyde (Scotland), Victoria & Albert Museum; a very rare complete set of the society's catalogues (1808-12) was offered in Ken Spelman, catalogue 52 (2004), item 18, and is now in the Essick Collection.

"The landlord seized the contents of the gallery in distraint of rent,"³⁸ including Blake's Chaucer's Pilgrims (item 254), "The Spiritual Form of Pitt" (279), "The Spiritual Form of Nelson" (280), and "Detached Specimens of ... *Jerusalem*"³⁹ (324). Thomas Butts, who apparently owned "Nelson" and

before trimming in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and from the woodblocks themselves after trimming in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings. The differences were summarized in BB #504 as "about 0.5 to 1.0 cm." The dimensions there are given as design size rather than block size and the cut down designs as "c. 7.6 x 3.2 cm."

37. J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music* (London: Murray, 1929) 38.

38. J. L. Rogers, *History of the Old Water Colour Society* (1891) 1: 271, noted in BB under *Jerusalem* but not under the 1812 catalogue, nor in Butlin, nos. 649, 651, 653 and BR (2) (mea culpa).

39. Probably *Jerusalem* pl. 25, 32, 46 (BB pp. 262-63).

Chaucer,⁴⁰ may have bought them—or bought them back—from the distraining landlord.

1922

§*Reproductions from the Works of William Blake*. (Seoul, Korea, 1922).

9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001;

27 March-24 June 2001

William Blake. (London: Tate Publishing, 2000). Tate exhibition. <Blake (2002)>

Comprehensive online information on the exhibition is still (in 2004) at <<http://www.tate.org.uk/britain/exhibitions/blake.htm>>.

Review

*Kausalya Santhanam, "Celebrating Blake," *The Hindu* 4 Mar. 2001 <<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2001/03/04/stories/1304007u.htm>> ("Richly sourced and imaginatively conceived, it was a splendid show").

27 November-27 December 2003

**The Glad Days in the Reception of Blake in Japan: The International Blake Conference "Blake in the Orient": A Concurrent Exhibition*. <Blake (2004)>

Review

Yoko Ima-Izumi, *Blake* 38.3 (2004-05): 109-15 ("The catalogue of the exhibition will long stand as one of the most solid and reliable accounts of Blake's legacy in Japan" [115]).

24 February 2004

Printed Books and Maps [to be sold] Tuesday 24 February 2004 [by] Bonhams 101 New Bond Street, London W15 1SR. ([London: Bonhams, 2004]).

It included 47 Blake lots, with 18 letterpress books with Blake plates.

5 May 2004

* *William Blake's Good and Evil Angels*: Property of the Greentree Foundation from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Hay Whitney, New York May 5, 2004. This lot will be offered as Lot 5, [Sotheby] Sale 7989, Impressionist and Modern Art. (New York: Sotheby, 2004) 4°, 19 pp. (one a fold-out page); no ISBN.

Anon. "The Greentree Foundation: Mrs. John Hay Whitney." 6.

*David Bindman. Untitled, about the color print. 8-19.

Estimate \$1,000,000-1,500,000. It was sold for a record price of \$3,928,000 (including buyer's commission) to a collector in Europe not previously associated with Blake.⁴¹

40. They were sold by his son in 1853. The history of "Pitt" is not known before 1882, when Samuel Palmer's son offered it for sale at auction—Samuel Palmer was seven years old in 1812.

41. For details of the sale, see Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 124, 127.

22 June-19 September 2004

**Heaven in a Wild Flower: William Blake's Book of Job*. Curated by Phillip Prodger. St. Louis Art Museum, 22 June-19 September 2004.

A flyer for the exhibition of "selections from the Saint Louis Art Museum's rare proof edition of the *Book of Job*."

July 6-October 31 2004

*Robert Woof, Howard J. M. Hanley, Stephen Hebron. *Paradise Lost: The Poem and Its Illustrators*. [An exhibition 6 July-31 October 2004.] (Grasmere: Wordsworth Trust, 2004) 4°, viii, 227 pp., 55 Blake reproductions (including all 12 from the Thomas [Huntington] set of *Paradise Lost*); ISBN: 1870787943.

An admirable work with splendid reproductions. The work consists of:

Allan Guest. "Sponsor's Preface." vi.

Robert Woof. "Foreword." vii-viii.

*Howard J. M. Hanley. "'Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea': Seeing Milton's Voice." 1-53, including "William Blake," 23-24.

*Robert Woof. "The Romantics and Milton." 55-76.

"Catalogue." 83 entries (77-221) including (47) *Marriage* ([H]), (48) *Milton* ([A]), (49) *Paradise Lost* drawings from the Thomas (Huntington) set, (50-53) *Paradise Lost* drawings from the Butts set, and (54) a previously unrecorded undated letter from Blake to John Linnell.

Anon. "Appendix: The Reverend Joseph Thomas." 227.

Notices, Reviews, etc.

*Adrian Mullen, "Paradise Lost: The Poem and Its Illustrators," *Westmorland Gazette* 2 July 2004: 3.

*Anon., "Rare Drawings on Show," *Keswick Reminder* 2 July 2004.

*Kate Rees, "Rare Visions of Heaven and Hell," *Cumberland News* 2 July 2004.

Anon., "Paradise Lost," *Carlisle News & Star* 3 July 2004.

*Dalya Alberge, "Returned: Blake's pictures of Paradise Lost," *Times* 5 July 2004.

*Anon., "Poet's Drawings Go On Display," *Carlisle News & Star* 5 July 2004.

*Anon., "Blake Watercolours Return to UK for Exhibition," *Scotsman* 5 July 2004.

*John Ezard, "Paradise Regained: Blake's vision on show," *Guardian* 6 July 2004: 6 ("Arguably, the legacy of Blake's ideas is now as great as the influence of Wordsworth's nature poems").

*Ian Herbert, "Paradise Found: Blake works back in UK," *Independent* [London] 6 July 2004 ("The bicentenary of [Blake's] *Milton* is being celebrated").

*Anon., "Blake Watercolours Back in Britain for the First Time in Nearly a Century," *Irish News* [Belfast] 6 July 2004.

*Anon., "In Pictures: Paradise Lost Exhibition," *BBC News* 6 July 2004 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_pictures/3870363.stm>.

*Anon., "Blake Paintings for Grasmere," *North West Evening Mail* [Barrow-in-Furness edition] 6 July 2004.

Anon., "Blake Works at Exhibition," *Birmingham Express & Star* 6 July 2004.

*Anon., "Paradise Found at Grasmere," *North West Evening Mail* [Barrow-in-Furness edition] 8 July 2004.

Anon., "Reading in Paradise," *East Cumbrian Gazette* 8 July 2004.
 *Anon., "Top Author Inspires Pupils," *Westmoreland Gazette* 9 July 2004 (about Philip Pullman's opening the exhibition).
 *Anon., untitled, *Church Times* 9 July 2004 (merely a reproduction with caption).
 Kate Rees, "Plenty of Dark Material at Paradise Lost Exhibition," *Cumberland News* 16 July 2004 (On the opening of the exhibition by Philip Pullman, author of *His Dark Materials*).
 *Tom Paulin, "This Way to Paradise: Milton's great poem—an English republican allegory—has inspired generations of writers and illustrators. Now their work has been gathered together at Wordsworth's cottage. Tom Paulin drops in for a visit," *Guardian Review* 17 July 2004: 14-15 ("Twelve illustrations by Blake ... from the Huntington ... dominate the exhibition").
 *Anon., "Paradise Regained," *Week* 20 July 2004.
 *Matthew Sturgis, "Poetic Works: Matthew Sturgis hopes a new show will reinstate Milton in the national consciousness," *New Statesman* 23 Aug. 2004: 29-30.
 *Anon., "If you're only going to see one thing this week ... Art: Milton: Paradise Lost, the Poem and Its Illustrators," *Guardian* 23 Aug. 2004: 15.
 *Anon., "Wordsworth Trust: A dozen rare Blake drawings in UK for the first time in nearly a century," *Lancashire Today* Aug. 2004.
 *Clive Wilmer, "Prophet of Life and Liberty: The Romantics' Sympathy for the Devil, and John Milton," *Times Literary Supplement* 17 Sept. 2004: 18-19 (with Pamela Woof, Reading "Paradise Lost").
 *Anon., "Paradise Regained," *Heritage* [Milton Keynes] Sept. 2004.

2004

**Blake at Work*. Exhibition at Tate without printed catalogue. <<http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/CollectionDisplays?roomid=2780>>.

An admirable, ground-breaking exhibition.

Reviews

Antoine Capet, "Blake at Work Exhibition: Tate Britain, London," online at H-Museum, the H-Net Network for Museums and Museum Studies <<http://www.h-museum.net>> 13 August 2004. Reprinted in *Blake* 38.3 (2004-05): 115-19 ("a magnificent introduction to 'art appreciation' from the point of view of the media used" [115]).

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

§John Dryden. *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders*, M.DC.LXVI [1666]. An Historical Poem: containing The Progress and various Successes of our Naval War with Holland, under the Conduct of his Highness Prince Rupert, and His Grace The Duke of Albemarle. And describing The Fire of London. ([London]: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1668) Small 8°.

Bound with

[Jean Claude.] *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the French Protestants*, to which is added, the Edict of the French King, prohibiting all Public Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in his Kingdom ... with the Form of Abjuration the

Revolting Protestants are to Subscribe and Swear to. ([London]: Printed by G. M., 1686) Small 8°.

Bound with

[Anon.] *The Life & Death of that Pious, Reverend, Learned, and Laborious Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Richard Baxter, who departed this life Decemb. 8, 1691, and of his age 77*. ([London]: Printed for Randal Taylor, 1692) 12°.

Bound in contemporary full vellum; on the front endpaper are signatures of "William Blake" and, in modern ballpoint pen, another owner dated 1955. The Blake signature is in a hand of c. 1800 which is significantly like the poet's.

Offered in the auction catalogue of Dominic Winter, *Printed Books & Maps ...* 23 June 2004 (Swindon, Wiltshire), lot 559 (estimate £200-£300); acquired by an anonymous collector.

Joseph Thomas. PROPOSALS | FOR PUBLISHING BY
 SUBSCRIPTION, | *A Series of Engravings on Wood*, | FROM |
 SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS, | IN THE MANNER OF |
 QUARLES'S EMBLEMS, | AFTER THE | DESIGNS OF J.
 THURSTON, ESQ. | AND EXECUTED BY | THE MOST
 EMINENT ENGRAVERS ON WOOD. | THE SUBJECTS WILL
 BE SELECTED, AND THE DESCRIPTIONS WRITTEN, BY
 | THE REV. J. THOMAS, A.M. | DESIROUS that my Friend Mr.
 THURSTON'S Talents, with which the World have long been |
 partially acquainted, should be more fully known, I thought
Divine Emblems particularly suited | to his Genius, the Subjects
 for which might be selected from Quotations of Scripture, as in
 | QUARLES'S celebrated Work on the same Subject: taking care to
 choose such only as were | best adapted to the Wants and
 Comforts of Man in his present State, and most likely to suggest
 | and enforce the due Preparation for a happy Immortality.

The Art of Engraving on Wood being yet in its Infancy, and presuming, with many respect- | table and distinguished Artists,
 that it is capable of producing Effects infinitely superior to what
 | has hitherto been seen, the Object of this Work is to present to
 the Public the most perfect Spe- | cimen that has ever yet been
 executed.

J. THOMAS. | - |

CONDITIONS.

1. The Work will consist of Twenty Engravings, with a Head and Tail-piece, and will be printed in Royal | Quarto, on India Paper, by T. BENSLEY, in his best Style.
2. The Price to SUBSCRIBERS will be TWO GUINEAS | ... The Price will be considerably advanced to Non-Subscribers.
3. The Work is intended to be published with all due Dispatch. | Subscriptions are received by ROBINSON and SON, Paternoster Row; MILLER, Albemarle Street; WILLIAMS, | Strand; COLNAGHI, Cockspur Street; DEIGHTON, Cambridge; and COOKE, Oxford; PARISH, Circulating | Library, Epsom; Mr. THURSTON, Twickenham Common; and the Rev. JOSEPH THOMAS, Abele Grove, | near Epsom. | - | [*Printed by Thomas Bensley*] Bolt Court Printing Office, Fleet Street [?1809]. <Glasgow University Library> <Blake §(2003)>

The "List of Subscribers" in the prospectus and in the published work (Ackermann, 1809) <BB #746> includes "William Blake, Esq." who may well be the poet despite the elevating "Esq." Almost all the males in the lists who have no other

title (Rev., Captain, Earl, Doctor) and who are not blatantly commercial (like the booksellers) are endowed with "Esq."—even the Yorkshire engraver "R.H. Crombeck, Esq. 2 Copies"—just as tailors in Oxford used to do for undergraduates, even when they were benighted colonials. Note that the designer's style is "J. THURSTON, ESQ." but as a subscription collector he is "Mr. THURSTON."

The 138 subscribers include Blake's friends and patrons W. S. Poyntz, Esq., John Flaxman, R.A., Richard Cosway, R.A., and Henry Fuseli, R.A., for 198 copies. The subscription list in the work as published has 178 subscribers for 249 copies, so this proposal apparently elicited 40 new subscribers (including Mr. Charles Heath, perhaps the engraver [1785-1848]) for 51 new copies.

R. H. [Robert Hunt] says in the *Examiner* (July 1808): 494, "We have lately seen some specimens" of it (there is no specimen with the prospectus) in which "Nothing ... can exceed these specimens in richness, sweetness, and delicacy of tint," and *The Repository of Arts* 2 (Sept. 1809): 183, 252, announced that the book would be published in September and reviewed it in October.

The subscription price of £2.2.0 is substantial for an engraver like Blake, the sum he might have expected for a week's engraving work, but perhaps he had a special price or a gift because of his special relationship with the author who, according to Nancy Flaxman (Sept. 1805) "wishes to collect all B— has done." Thomas commissioned from Blake his 6 watercolors for Milton's *Comus*, 6 for his Shakespeare first folio (1806-09), 12 for *Paradise Lost* (1807), 6 for "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1809), and also bought Blair's *Grave* with Blake's designs (1808) and *Songs* (Q, 1810).

Part VI: Criticism, Biography, and Scholarly Studies

Ackroyd, Peter. *Blake*. (1995) <*Blake* (1996)>
Review

Penelope Fitzgerald, "Innocence and Experience," *New York Times Book Review* 14 April 1996: 5 (Ackroyd is "a brilliant guide and interpreter").

Agha, Marisa. "UCR Professor [Robert N. Essick], Colleagues Break New Ground: William Blake: Their web site devoted to the poet is the first electronic effort to win a key honor." *Press-Enterprise* [Riverside, California] 1 Jan. 2004: B10.

§Ando, Kiyoshi. *Igirisu Romanha to Furansu Kakumei—Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge to 1790 nendai no kakumei ronso* [English Romanticism and the French Revolution—Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge and the Revolutionary Arguments in the 1790s]. (Tokyo: Kirihara Shoten, 2003); ISBN: 4342627019. In Japanese.

Review

Michiko Kanetake, *Igirisu Romanha Kenkyu: Essays in English Romanticism* 28 (2004): 102-06. In Japanese.

Ankarsjö, Magnus. *Bring Me My Arrows of Desire: Gender Utopia in Blake's The Four Zoas*. (Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2004) Gothenburg Studies in English 87, 4°, xi, 206 pp.; ISBN: 9173465054.

A dissertation arguing that in "*The Four Zoas*, Milton and *Jerusalem*, Blake emerges as an advocate of a utopian existence with complete gender equality" (1).

*Anon. "And Did Blake's Feet, in Ancient Time, Walk upon County's Fields?" *Gainsborough* [Lincolnshire] *Target* 5 Mar. 2004.

David Worrall is alleged to believe that Blake "may have been inspired by fields by the River Trent near Gainsborough" to write his "Jerusalem" hymn in *Milton* when he "visited the area to see his mother."

Anon. "Blake, William." *Columbia Encyclopedia*. 6th ed. (2001). Licensed to various sites online.

Anon. "An Evening of Blake." 10 Mar. 2004 <<http://www.bookbuffet.com>>.

On the occasion of the book launch 17 February for Janet Warner's book, Amir Hussain (Department of Religious Studies, California State University, Northridge) was interviewed about Blake.

*Anon. "Jerusalem, Nottinghamshire?" *Misterton and West Stockwith* [Nottinghamshire] *Parish News* May 2004.

About the connection of Blake's mother with Walkeringham "Courtesy of [Anon., "And Did Blake's Feet ..."] *Gainsborough Target*," with additional, and this time accurate information about Blake himself.

Anon. "Midlands Stakes a Claim to William Blake Heritage." Nottingham Trent University electronic press release. 1 Mar. 2004.

David Worrall has won a grant of £110,000 for research on the birthplace (Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire) and religion (Moravianism) of Blake's mother.

*Anon. "William Blake." *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Viewed 2004 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Blake>. Also in *TutorGig Encyclopedia*. Viewed 2004 <http://www.tutorgig.com/ed/William_Blake>.

Ansari, A. A. "Double Perspective of *Songs of Experience*." *Aligarh Critical Miscellany* 10 (1997): 55-85. <*Blake* §(2004)>

A poem-by-poem analysis; the "insistent and continuous eagerness to be acclimatised to the lost region of Eternity as an anticipatory gesture is very much in evidence in the *Songs*" (84).

Ansari, A. A. "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell." *Aligarh Critical Miscellany* 11 (1998): 30-44. <*Blake* §(2004)>

"*The Marriage* appears in all essentials to be a shrewd, sensuous, spirited and powerful advocacy for the tendency to stabilize and not reconcile the Contraries" (44).

Ansari, A. A. *William Blake's Minor Prophecies*. (2001) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Shernaz Cama, *Aligarh Critical Miscellany* 14.1 (2001 [Spring 2004]): 99-104 (This "particularly useful" book comes "to the conclusion that from the very beginning Blake's genius was individual" [99, 104]).

§Beer, F. B. "William Blake." *Poets: American and British*. 3 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1998); ISBN: 0684806053.

Apparently derived from the Scribner Writers series.

*Beer, John. "Blake's Fear of Non-Entity." Chapter 2 (12-20, 184-85) of his *Romantic Consciousness: Blake to Mary Shelley*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) <Blake §(2004)>

"Throughout the Prophetic Books, the prospect of falling into 'Non-Entity' ... is the ultimate nightmare" (19).

§Behrendt, Stephen C. "'The Soul of Sweet Delight': Blake and the Sensual Soul." *European Romantic Review* 15 (2004): 409-23.

Bentley, G. E., Jr. "Blake and the Xenoglots: Strange-Speaking Critics and Scholars of Blake." *Blake*. 2005 <<http://www.blakequarterly.org/bentleyxenoglots.html>>.

Blake scholarship and criticism 1811-2004 is in 37 non-English languages (2,490 essays in all), including French (267), German (254), Italian (155) and Spanish and Catalan (221), but 48% are in Japanese (1,196); "let us admit that we are all more extensively ignorant than we had thought."

Bentley, G. E., Jr. *Blake Records* Second Edition: Documents (1714-1841) Concerning the Life of William Blake (1757-1827) and His Family, Incorporating *Blake Records* (1969), *Blake Records Supplement* (1988), and Extensive Discoveries since 1988. (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2004) 8°, xxxviii, 943 pp., 103 reproductions; ISBN: 0300096852.

It adds to *Blake Records* and *Blake Records Supplement* "New References to Blake" (xxiii-xxiv), "Seven Red Herrings" (xxv-xxix, 847-48), "Genealogies of Blake, Armitage, Boucher-Butcher" (xxx-xxxiv, 848), Appendix I G: "John Clark Strange MS Journal (1859-61)" (707-32), Appendix V: "Blake's Poems Reprinted, 1806-1849" (825-28, 878-79), and Appendix VI: "'My Name is Legion: for we are many': 'William Blake' in London 1740-1830" (829-46, 879). It omits the introduction: "Blake the Man: The Public and the Buried Life" and Appendix II: "Blake's Library" from *Blake Records Supplement* (1988) xxii-xli, 124-29.

Reviews

*Seamus Perry, "The Wise Man's Table: In William Blake's world, nothing is what it first seems," *Times Literary Supplement* 15 Oct. 2004: 3-4 (with Morton D. Paley, *The Traveller in the Evening* [2003]) (a "magnificent," "exhaustive," "wholly absorbing" "masterpiece ... that reads like an augmented epistolary novel").

Anon., "The Pick of the Year: Looking for the perfect book to give someone this Christmas? Read on for our reviewers' recommendations," *Evening Standard* [London] 29 Nov. 2004. Anon., "Chapter and Verse on 2004: Critics select their favourite books of the last 12 months," *Yorkshire Post Magazine* 11 Dec. 2004: 26-27 (John Mullan calls it "a biography unobstructed by the self-regard of a biographer, an achievement of passionate scholarship").⁴²

Bentley, G. E., Jr. "Blake's Visionary Heads: Lost Drawings and a Lost Book." Chapter 12 (183-205) of *Romanticism and Millenarianism*. Ed. Tim Fulford. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Andrew Lincoln, *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 43-47 (a summary).

Bentley, G. E., Jr. *The Stranger from Paradise*. (2001) <Blake (2002)>

Reviews

Kathryn Freeman, *Criticism* 44 (2002): 297-301 ("meticulously" researched, "deftly" written, the book gives "the most nuanced and intimate portrait yet of Blake at each phase of ... life" [297]).

Alexander Gourlay, *BARS Bulletin & Review* no. 23 (Mar. 2003): 25-27 (here "hard evidence drives out all the fuzzy kinds," and there is little speculation about the poet's "inner" life, but "its enduring value as a readable summary of the latest and hardest biographical evidence is secure" [26, 27]) <Blake §(2003)>.

Paul Youngquist, *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57 (2002): 414-18 ("a new standard for biographical writing on Blake," "monumental" and "beautiful," characterized by "indomitable learning").

*Jöran Mjöberg, "Flöjtspelaren som såg himmel och helvete: Som sexåring såg William Blake ett träd fullt av änglar framför sig. Liknande visioner präglade hans liv såväl som hans måleri och poesi, där hans politiska patos förenades med ett säreget system av myter och symboler. Nu föreligger en biografi av den framstående Blake-kännaren G E Bentley Jr.," *Svenska Dagbladet* 4 Apr. 2004: 9, in Swedish ("Bentley är en nästan perfektionistisk litteraturvetare, som belyser Blakes liv, familj, tidsbakgrund, arbetssituation och även gravrytning samt redovisar [Bentley is an almost perfectionist literary

42. There is no apparent difference between the two Anon. reviews (aside from the title and the omission in the *Yorkshire Post Magazine* of the few photos in the *Evening Standard*) and no apparent acknowledgment in the *Yorkshire Post Magazine* that its essay is merely a reprint.

scholar who throws light on Blake's life, family as well as on the times in which he lived, his work situation and even his technique of engraving]).

§Morton D. Paley, *La Questione Romantica* (Sept. 2004).

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Volume 37, no. 4 (Spring [14 April] 2004)

*Robert N. Essick. "Blake in the Marketplace, 2003." 116-36. (Masterful.)

*Robert W. Rix. "Blake, Bacon and 'The Devils Arse.'" 137-44.

Reviews

Nancy Moore Goslee. Review of Dee Drake, *Searing Apparent Surfaces: Infernal Females in Four Early Works of William Blake* (2000). 144-48.

Daniel Gustav Anderson. Review of Subir Dhar, *Burning Bright: William Blake and the Poetry of Imagination* (2001). 149-50.

Corrigenda & Addenda

G. E. Bentley, Jr. "Blake Records, Second Edition." 151.

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Volume 38, no. 1 (Summer [12 July] 2004)

G. E. Bentley, Jr., with the assistance of Hikari Sato for publications in Japan and of Ching-erh Chang for publications in Taiwan. "William Blake and His Circle." 4-35. ("Blake studies are alive and well This checklist records 50 books, 205 essays, and 47 reviews" in English, Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Russian, and Spanish [5].)

Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard. "Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family." 36-43. (A major discovery which will echo through Blake studies.)

Review

Andrew Lincoln. Review of Tim Fulford, ed., *Romanticism and Millenarianism* (2002). 43-47. (A summary of each essay.)

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Volume 38, no. 2 (Fall [28 October] 2004)

*Mary Lynn Johnson. "Blake's Engravings for Lavater's *Physiognomy*: Overdue Credit to Chodowiecki, Schellenberg, and Lips." 52-74. (A brilliant analysis of the graphic and bibliographical intricacies of Lavater's *Physiognomy*, identifying for the first time the sources of three of Blake's engravings.)

Reviews

Jennifer Davis Michael. Review of Kevin Hutchings, *Imagining Nature: Blake's Environmental Poetics* (2002). 75-77. (A "powerful," "impressive book"; "This book will change forever the way we read Blake's reading of nature.")

Catherine L. McClenahan. Review of Robert N. Essick, ed., *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (2002). 77-79. ("Visions could scarcely ask for a more experienced and informed editor," who has provided a "lucid" commentary.)

Dena Bain Taylor. Review of Sheila A. Spector, "Wonders Divine": *The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Myth* (2001). 79-85. ("Wonders Divine" offers a brilliant explication of the kabbalistic pattern of Blake's development the next step is to link Blake's Kabbalah more firmly with the Christian esoteric tradition" [85].)

Kathleen Lundeen. Review of Nick Rawlinson, *William Blake's Comic Vision* (2003). 85-87. (Rawlinson "allows us to hear Blake in a different key.")

Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly

Volume 38, no. 3 (Winter [24 January] 2004-05)

*Adam Komisaruk. "Introducing The Blake Model." 92-102. (A "prospectus" to "an immersive digital environment through which users might navigate to encounter Blake's characters, places and objects" "Using the digital modeling program Bryce 3D (Corel)" [93].)

Reviews

*Thomas Frosch. Review of Tristanne J. Connolly, *William Blake and the Body* (2002). 102-07. (The book is "more notable for its highlighting of issues, questions, and complexities than for persuasive or vivid formulations" [106].)

Joseph Wittreich. Review of Alexander S. Gourlay, ed., *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant* (2002). 107-09. ("In the eloquent testimony of all these essays, ... Grant is a mental prince" who has produced "nearly half a century of dazzling scholarship" [109].)

Yoko Ima-Izumi. Review of "The Program of the International Blake Conference *Blake in the Orient* and the Catalogue of a Concurrent Exhibition *The Reception of Blake in Japan*" (2003). 109-15. ("The catalogue of the exhibition will long stand as one of the most solid and reliable accounts of Blake's legacy in Japan" [115].)

Antoine Capet. Review of "Blake at Work Exhibition, Tate Britain, London." 115-19. ("A magnificent introduction to 'art appreciation' from the point of view of the media used" [115].) "This review ... first appeared online at H-Museum, the H-Net Network for Museums and Museum Studies <<http://www.h-museum.net>>, on 13 August 2004."

David Shaddock. "Nobodaddy Wakes from His Slumber (After Blake 12)." 119. (A poem.)

Newsletter

"Go to <<http://www.blakequarterly.org>> for ... G. E. Bentley, Jr., 'Blake and the Xenoglots' [and] 'A report by Susanne Sklar on a recent reading of *Jerusalem*.'" 119.

Blake Journal

No. 8 ([June] 2004)

Chad E. Rackowitz. "Auguries of Innocence': Blake's Fractal Poem." 4-27. ("Fractals ... exhibit detailed structure at all scales"; in "Auguries of Innocence," the 128 lines [2'] [omitting the introductory quatrain] are here observed "on a number of different scales to see its pattern of self-similar scaling" [5, 7].)

Shirley Mungapen. "Catherine Blake's Fireside." 28-29. (A poem.)

Angus Whitehead. "'William Blocke': New References to Blake in *Boyle's City Guide* (1797) and *Boyle's City Companion* (1798)." 30-46.

Shirley Mungapen. "Little Girl Lost." 47, 49. (A poem about Blake.)

*Jason Whittaker. "'The poetical vigour of history': Blake's Use of Milton's *History of Britain*." 50-63. ("The *History* is, as I believe, the most important text for Blake's notions of the antiquity of Britain" [55].)

Jim McCord. "17 South Molton Street." 64-65. (A poem.)

*Susanne Sklar. "Jerusalem's Embrace." 66-73. ("In [*Jerusalem*] plate 99, the poem climaxes as Albion embraces his emanation in petals of name [flame?], fountains of living water" [73].)

Shirley Mungapen. "Dennis Severs' Silk-Weaver's House, Spitalfields." 75-78, 80.

"Kathleen Raine, 1908-2003"

Andrew Vernède. "The Transcendental Cheek (Memories of Kathleen Raine)." 82-84.

Mary Gifford Brown. "Tea-Time Memories." 85-86. ("Kathleen was a splendid cake-maker.")

Reviews

Will Easton. Review of K. E. Smith, *William Cowper: A Reappraisal* ([Olney]: Cowper and Newton Museum, 2003). 87-89.

Andrew Solomon. Review of "Lucien Posman, 'Some Blake Works' (Cypres CYP 4616) Performed by the Goeyvaerts Consort directed by Marc Michael De Smet, with Els Crommen (soprano), Marc Legros (flute), and Bart Meynckens (piano)." 89-91. (The CD is "an interesting addition to the repertoire of Blake settings.")

*Tim Heath. "Which is the Way The Right or the Left." Review of *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, ed. Morris Eaves. 92. (The "review" consists of a design of a blossom with Blake's head at the center and petals bearing the names of authors and titles of essays, underprinted with "IS THIS TO BE DIVINE IN DIGITAL.")

Peter Cadogan. Review of "'A Man without a Mask' performed by Ruth Rosen at the New End Theatre, part of the Sixth Hampstead & Highgate Festival, May 11th, 2003 at 8 p.m. and May 12th at 3:30 p.m. and 8 p.m." 93. ("It worked by virtue of its very simplicity, a delightful disguise for sophistication and hard work.")

Bower, Peter. "The Evolution and Development of 'Drawing Papers' and the Effect of This Development on Watercolour Artists, 1750-1850." 61-74 of *The Oxford Papers: Proceedings of the British Association of Paper Historians Fourth Annual Conference, Held at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, 17-19 September 1993*. Ed. Peter Bower. (London: British Association of Paper Historians, 1996) *Studies in British Paper History*, Vol. 1.

"Blake's Papermakers: Watermarks Found in Papers Used by William Blake (1757-1827)" (72-73) in "Appendix: Water-

marks Found in Papers Used by William Blake (1757-1827), John Constable (1776-1837) and John Sell Cotman (1782-1842)" (72-74) gives the name and mill of each papermaker identified by a watermark.

Brooke, Stopford A. "William Blake." 1-54 of his *Studies in Poetry*. (London, 1907) <BB #1291> B. §*Great English Poets and Their Works*. (Delhi: Shubhi, 2002).

Butlin, Martin. "Word as Image in William Blake." Chapter 13 (207-17) of *Romanticism and Millenarianism*. Ed. Tim Fulford. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Andrew Lincoln, *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 43-47 (a summary).

§Chauvin, Danièle. "Londres dans l'oeuvre poétique de William Blake: La mémoire, le mythe et l'art." 19-30 in *La Mémoire des villes: L'inscription de l'histoire dans l'espace urbain, du romantisme à nos jours*. Ed. Yves Clavaron and Bernard Dieterle. (St.-Etienne: Presses Universitaires de Saint-Etienne, 2003); ISBN: 2862722758. In French.

Compares London and Jerusalem.

Chen, Zhifan. "Wen dao yu mang [Seeking Advice from an Ignorant Person]." *Lianhe bao* [*United Daily News*, Taipei] 1 Nov. 1993: 37 (Literary Supplement). In Chinese.

For a reply, see Mu Yang.

§Chong, Cue-huan. "[Blake's Poetics of Self-Liberation and Holistic Imagination]." *Journal of English Language and Literature: Yongo Yongmunhak* 44 (1998): 275-98. In Korean, with an English summary.

§Chong, Cue-huan. "[The Muse and the Femininity of the Other: Blake's *Comus* Designs]." *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 4 (1998): 119-49. In Korean, with an English summary.

*Clark, Madeline. "The Theosophy of William Blake." *Sunrise Magazine*. (Dec. 2000-Jan. 2001) <<http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/sunrise/50-00-1/ar-mcl6.htm>>. B. "De theosofie van William Blake." <<http://www.theosofie.net/sunrise/sunrise2001/meijuni2001/blake.html>>. In Dutch.

Connolly, Tristanne J. *William Blake and the Body*. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

*Thomas Frosch, *Blake* 38.3 (2004-05): 102-07 (The book is "more notable for its highlighting of issues, questions, and complexities than for persuasive or vivid formulations" [106]).

[Cooper, Joe and Edna.] "Did You Know that the Mother of William Blake (1757-1827) Was a Moravian[?]" *Moravian*

History Magazine no. 20 (18th and 19th Century Personalities) (Sept. 2001): 31.

§Corbett, William. "William Blake." *World Poets*. Ed. Ron Padgett. 3 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 2000) Scribner Writers series; ISBN: 068480591X.

Corti, Claudia. "Blake, Goethe e le arti sorelle." 191-202 of *Il primato dell'occhio: Poesia e pittura nell'età di Goethe*. Ed. Emilio Bonfatti and Maria Fancelli. (Roma: Artemide Edizioni, 1997) "Proteo" 41. In Italian. <Blake §(2004)>
Concerned with "Arti sorelle o arte composita?" (198).

§Corti, Claudia. *Stupende fantasie: Saggi su William Blake*. (Pisa: Pacini, 2002) Studi di Letterature Moderne e Comparsate 6, 254 pp.; ISBN: 887781442X. In Italian.

Cunningham, Allan. "William Blake." 2: 140-79 of his *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects ...* (1829-98) <BB #1433>

A set of Cunningham's *Lives* in the National Library of Scotland (MS. 827) with ms. notes on the life of Blake from the second edition (1830) by Allan's son Francis⁴³ carries information from Malkin (1806) <BB #482>, Robert Hunt in the *Examiner* (1808) <BB #1912> and (1809) <BB #1911>, Cunningham's *Cabinet Gallery of Pictures* (1833) <BB #1431>, Gilchrist (1863) <BB #1680>, and Swinburne (1868) <BB #2795>—but, oddly, not Cromek's letter to Blake of May 1807 which Cunningham's son Peter (1816-69) lent for publication in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1852) <BB p. 280>. The notes were apparently used by Mrs. Charles Heaton in her edition of Cunningham's life (1880). The only previously unrecorded information seems to be that on MS. f. 92: "I saw in Harvey's shop (1867) an exquisite little drawing of Angeli non Angli." Butlin (#55) records that the drawing was sold in 1862 to Palser and that Francis Harvey sold it in 1869 to the Victoria & Albert Museum. Clearly Harvey had it by 1867.

This is *not* the manuscript of Cunningham's *Lives*, as claimed in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Curnutte, Rick. "Mad Poets: William Blake, Jim Jarmusch and *Dead Man*." *Film Journal* 1 (2002). <<http://www.thefilmjournal.com/issue1/curnuttedeadman.html>> <Blake §(2004)>

The American Indian idea that "life [is] a journey that continues even after death ... is at the core of the relationship between William Blake and *Dead Man*."

Davies, Alan Philip Keri. "William Blake in Contexts: Family, Friendships, and Some Intellectual Microcultures of Eighteenth-

teenth- and Nineteenth-Century England." Surrey Ph.D., 2003; 375 pp., 27 reproductions.

An extraordinarily original and mature dissertation, with valuable new information in chapters

- I. "Catherine Armitage: the family context" (34-58): Blake's mother was baptized on 25 November 1725 in Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire. Davies' essay "William Blake's Mother: A New Identification," *Blake* 33.2 (1999): 36-50 "forms the basis of ... Chapter I" (3).
- II. "Rebekah Bliss: a book-collecting context" (59-91): Her extraordinary library, including *For Children* (A) and *Songs* (P), is "a possible vector of influence on Blake's art" (63). The chapter "began" in his "Mrs Bliss: A Blake Collector of 1794," 212-30 of *Blake in the Nineties*, ed. Steve Clark and David Worrall (1999).
- III. "Richard Twiss: the context of a circle of connoisseurs" (92-133).
- IV. "Alexander Tilloch: the context of printing technology" (134-86): Tilly Lally (Lally is a diminutive of "Alexander") in *An Island in the Moon* may be Alexander Tilloch, scientist, alchemist, Rosicrucian, book collector, journalist, stereotype inventor, and Dissenter.
- V. "Isaac Newton: the context of a private library" (187-224): Books in Tilloch's remarkable library included scientific, alchemical, and astrological works which could have influenced Blake.
- VI. "Samuel Varley: the context of (al)chemical science" (225-50): "Inflammable Gass, the Wind Finder" in *An Island in the Moon* is "most likely Samuel Varley" (232), uncle of Blake's friend John Varley.
- VII. "William Muir: a context for the *Blake Press* facsimiles" (251-78): "A first version" of Chapter VII was published in his "William Muir and the Blake Press at Edmonton with Muir's Letters to Kerrison Preston," *Blake* 27.1 (1993): 14-25 (4).
- VIII. "Catherine Wright: the religious context" (279-307): Blake's mother and her first husband were members of the Moravian Church in Fetter Lane in 1750?-52, and their (previously unknown) baby was buried there in 1751.

There are also genealogical tables of:

- [1] "Descendants of Richard Armitage (father of Thomas)" (Blake's stepfather) (364)
- [2] "Descendants of Thomas Gorham (including Rebekah Bliss and William Fuller Maitland)" (365-67)
- [3] "Descendants of William Muir of Kilmarnock" (368)
- [4] "Descendants of John Tilloch (including Alexander Tilloch and William Muir)" (369-70)
- [5] "Descendants of — Twiss (grandfather of Richard)" (371-72)
- [6] "Descendants of John Varley (father of Samuel, grandfather of John)" (373-74)
- [7] "Descendants of Gervase Wright (grandfather of William Blake)" (375)

43. The hand is that of the note among them signed "E.C." (MS 831, f. 172^v) and of Francis Cunningham's letter to Thomas Carlyle in 1869 (MS 1769, f. 119), according to Iain G. Brown, Principal Curator, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland.

Dhar, Subir. *Burning Bright: William Blake and the Poetry of Imagination*. (2001) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Daniel Gustav Anderson, *Blake* 37.4 (2004): 149-50.

*Dimock, Wai Chee. "Nonbiological Clock: Literary History against Newtonian Mechanics." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102 (2003): 153-77.

Especially about Blake, Newton, and Dante; "If physics has anything to tell us, it is that Blake's arguments are worth revisiting" (154).

Directories⁴⁴

Boyle's City Companion to the Court Guide for the Year 1798 (1798) is merely a reprint of *Boyle's New London Guide* (1797).

Boyle's New London Guide (London: P. Boyle, 1795) 26 for "Blake & Sons, hosiers and haberdash. 28, Broad-st. Carnaby-mar."

Boyle's New London Guide for the Year 1797 (London: P. Boyle, 1797) 34 for "Blocke, William,—13 Hercules [Buildings, Lambeth]" and, under 13, Hercules Buildings, Lambeth "William Blocke," at the address of the poet.

Universal British Directory (London, 1797) 77 for James Blake.

Drake, Dee. *Searing Apparent Surfaces: Infernal Females in Four Early Works of William Blake*. (2000) <Blake §(2001), (2002)>

Review

Nancy Moore Goslee, *Blake* 37.4 (2004): 144-48.

§Drechsler, Maximiliane. "Geister und Dämonen aus dem Jenseits: William Blakes 'Pitt' und 'Nelson.'" 103-07 of her *Zwischen Kunst und Kommerz: Zur Geschichte des Ausstellungswesens zwischen 1775 und 1905*. (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996) *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* 63. In German.

Part of a dissertation turned into a book on Blake's exhibition (1809-10). Other sections are on Barry's exhibition strategies.

*Eaves, Morris, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*. (2003) <Blake (2004)>

Reviews

§Detlef W. Dörrbecker, *BARS Bulletin & Review* no. 25 (Mar. 2004): 30-31.

*Tim Heath, "Which is the Way The Right or the Left," *Blake Journal* no. 8 (2004): 92 (The "review" consists of a design of a blossom with Blake's head at the center and petals bearing the names of authors and titles of essays, underprinted with "IS THIS TO BE DIVINE IN DIGITAL").

44. Information about Boyle's directories and the *Universal British Directory* (1799) derives from Angus Whitehead (see the entry under *Blake Journal*).

Eaves, Morris, Robert N. Essick, and Joseph Viscomi. "The William Blake Archive: The Medium, When the Millennium is the Message." Chapter 14 (219-33) of *Romanticism and Millenarianism*. Ed. Tim Fulford. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Andrew Lincoln, *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 43-47 (a summary).

Essick, Robert N. "Blake [née Boucher], Catherine Sophia (1762-1831), wife and assistant to William Blake" 6: 94 of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Essick, Robert N. "Blake William (1757-1827), engraver, artist, and poet" 6: 119-130 of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

It replaces the account by Anne Gilchrist in 5: 180-84 of the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1886) <BB #1682>.

Fischer, Kevin. *Converse in the Spirit: William Blake, Jacob Boehme, and the Creative Spirit*. (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004) 4°, 258 pp.; ISBN: 0838640060.

"The difficulty of reading each visionary is considerably lessened if each is read in the light of each other. To an extent, Blake and Boehme may, through 'the Holy Ghost ... the only Key,' be seen as a key to each other" (67).

*Frye, Northrop. *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake*. (1947 ff.) <BB #1646> <BBS p. 478> I. Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake*. Ed. Nicholas Halmi. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) Collected Works of Northrop Frye Volume 14, 4°, I, 516 pp.; ISBN: 0802089836.

In the collected edition are "Editor's Preface" (ix-xiii), "Note on the Citation of Blake's Writings" (xv-xvii), "Abbreviations and Short Titles" (xix-xxi), Ian Singer, "Introduction" (xxiii-1), "Preface to the 1969 Edition" (5-7), text (9-418), "Appendix A: Preface to the Beacon Press Edition 1962" (419-20), "Appendix B: Preface to the Italian Translation of *Fearful Symmetry* 1976" (421-22), "Appendix C: Frye's Shorter Writings on Blake" (423-24), "Notes" (425-78), "Emendations" (479-81), "Index" (483-516).

§*Galvin, Rachel. "William Blake: Visions and Verses." *Humanities: The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities* 25.3 (May-June 2004): 16-20.

A general essay on Blake prompted by the NEH support for the online William Blake Archive. GEB is told that "All the statements attributed to 'Eaves' were actually uttered by Essick over the telephone."

Gilchrist, Alexander. *Life of William Blake*. Ed. Richard Holmes. (Harper Perennial, 2004 [rescheduled for 2005]) Flamingo Classic Biographies.

Notices, Reviews, etc.

*Richard Holmes, "Saving Blake: When he died in 1827, William Blake was widely regarded as 'mad'. His reputation was

restored by an extraordinary biography, begun by a young lawyer and finished by his wife. Richard Holmes celebrates the work of Alexander and Anne Gilchrist," *Guardian* 29 May 2004: Review 34-35 (an extract from Holmes' introduction, with information on ordering).

*Matt Shinn, "On a Classic Biography that Rescued the Visionary Poet from Obscurity," *Times* 28 July 2004 (Gilchrist's biography, to be "reprinted next week," is "a great read").

Gilchrist, Anne. *Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings*. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887) <BB #1681> B. Second Edition. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887).

The "Second Edition" is either a reissue of the same sheets or a reprint from standing type, in either case with the title page slightly emended.

*Gilpin, George H. "William Blake and the World's Body of Science." *Studies in Romanticism* 43 (2004): 35-56.

The First Book of Urizen may have been "intended as an anti-elegy" countering the lavish mortuary praise for Dr. John Hunter on his death in 1793, and *Urizen* is "a more sophisticated, cosmological version of the gruesome 'Jack Tearguts'" (40, 42).

Gimeno, Francisco. "William Blake, vidente de este cielo." *Caracteres literarios: Ensayos sobre la ética de la literatura* Año 6, no. 7 (2003): 43-80. In Spanish.

Gleckner, Robert F. *The Piper and The Bard: A Study of William Blake*. (1959) <BB #1702> B. §(2003)

§Goslee, Nancy Moore. "'Soul-shudd'ring Vacuum': Space for Subjects in Later Blake." *European Romantic Review* 15 (2004): 391-407.

Gourlay, Alexander S., ed. *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant*. (2002) <Blake (2003)> Review

Joseph Wittreich, *Blake* 38.3 (2004-05): 107-09 ("In the eloquent testimony of all these essays, ... Grant is a mental prince" who has produced "nearly half a century of dazzling scholarship" [109]).

Hamilton, William L. "House Proud: Dürers Near the Kitchen, William Blake in the Bedroom." *New York Times* 14 Oct. 2004.

On the collection of Charles Ryskamp in Princeton.

Hayes, Elliott. *Blake: Innocence and Experience: A Play*. (1983) <BBS p. 503>

A two-act monologue consisting mostly of quotations from Blake.

Elliott Hayes. *Blake: A Staged Reading*. Directed by Richard Monette, Music by Lawrence Stevenson (Toronto: Recorded

in front of an audience, CBC Broadcast Centre, April 1995); ISBN: 0660179717. One cassette, with liner notes by Barbara Worthy.

*Hayes, Tom. "William Blake's Androgynous Ego-Ideal." *ELH* 71 (2004): 141-65.

Blake's Visionary Head of "the Man Who Instructed Blake in His Dreams" "is Blake's ego-ideal ... how Blake would like to have looked if he had been able to avoid conforming to the code of heterosexual masculinity"; it is "a metonym of so-called queer desire" (143, 144).

Hazlitt, William. *Lectures on the English Poets*. (London, 1818).

The date is 1818 (as in *Blake Records* [1969] 254fn3, *BR* [2] 865 endnote 93), not 1819 (as in *BB* #1816), as Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004," *Blake* 38.4 (2005): 136 points out gently.

§Heringman, Noah. "Blake, Geology, and Primordial Substance." Chapter 3 (94-137) in his *Romantic Rocks: Aesthetic Geology*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[Hollis, Derek, Vicar of Walkeringham.] "Did you see the article in 'The Guardian' on Wednesday March 3d which revealed a connection between the artist and poet William Blake (1757-1827) and the village of Walkeringham?" *Walkeringham and Beckingham Newsletter* Apr. 2004: 6.

[Hollis, Derek.] "William Blake." *Walkeringham and Beckingham Newsletter* Aug. 2004: 5.

"Can anyone help with research into William Blake's connection with Walkeringham [for] Professor G. E. Bentley, Jr. of Toronto?"

Horne, Herbert P. "Blake's Sibylline Leaf on Homer and Virgil." *Century Guild Hobby Horse* 2 (1887): 115-16. <BB #1885>

According to Keri Davies' thesis "William Blake in Contexts" (2003) 268, "Muir's facsimile and that printed with Herbert R. [sic] Horne, 'Blake's Sibylline Leaf on Homer and Virgil', *Century Guild Hobby Horse*, 2 (1887), 115-16, differ in many respects and are unlikely to derive from the same lithographic plate," though *BB* pp. 488, 836 imply they are the same.

Hutchings, Kevin. *Imagining Nature: Blake's Environmental Poetics*. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Jennifer Davis Michael, *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 75-77 (A "powerful," "impressive book" which "will change forever the way we read Blake's reading of nature").

*Hutchings, Kevin D. "William Blake and 'The Nature of Infinity': Milton's Environmental Poetics." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 25 (2003): 55-77.

"Blake's alternative vision of nature, 'the nature of infinity,'" involved "an expansive, open, complexly interrelated system of temporal cycles, the multifaceted temporal structure" (71).

§Iwasaki, Toyotaro. *Roman Shugi no shi to kaiga* [The Poetry and Paintings of Romanticism]—Blake, Wordsworth, Turner and Constable. (Tokyo: Eichosha, 2002) 224 pp.; ISBN: 4268003657. In Japanese.

Review

Mamiko Katayama, *Igirisu Romanha Kenkyu: Essays in English Romanticism* 27 (2003): 104-08. In Japanese.

Jackson, M. W. "Blake's Appropriation of the Newtonian 'Moment.'" *Notes and Queries* 249 (N.S. 51) (2004): 134-36.

"Blake dismantles the mechanical stasis of the Newtonian cosmology by focusing on Newton's mathematical definition of the 'moment' as measurable time" (135).

§John, Donald. "'They became what they beheld': Theodicy and Regeneration in Milton, Law, and Blake." In *Radicalism in British Literary Culture 1650-1830*. Ed. Timothy Morton and Nigel Smith. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

§Kang, Ok-Sun. "[A Reading of Blake's Prophetic Poems from the Point of View of Feminism]." *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 5 (2001): 5-25. In Korean, with a summary in English.

§Kang, Ok-Sun. "[A Study of the Image of the Father in William Blake's Poems—Focusing on *The Songs of Experience* and *The Four Zoas*]." *Journal of English Language and Literature: Yongo Yongmunhak* 45 (1999): 117-36. In Korean, with an English summary.

§Kang, Ok-Sun. "[William Blake's Prophetic Poems and His Social Consciousness: Focusing on *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem*]." *Journal of English Language and Literature: Yongo Yongmunhak* 47 (2001): 755-73. In Korean, with an English summary.

§Kashiwabara, Ikuko. "William Blake, *Songs of Innocence* Spring ni okeru shi teki geijutsu shi teki gengo [Poetic Art and Language in 'Spring' in William Blake's *Songs of Innocence*]." *Osaka Denki Tsushin Daigaku Ningen Kagaku Kenkyu* [Osaka Electro-Communication University, Research in the Humanities] 6 (2004): 9-13. In Japanese.

§Kawasaki, Noriko. "Richi no kako, 'kage no josei' no baai—Blake no Milton da 18 [20] yo ni tsuite [An Error of Reason, the Case of 'the Shadowy Female' about the 18th (20th) Plate of Blake's Milton]." *Gifu Shiritsu Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyu Kiyo* [Bulletin of Gifu City Junior College] 53 (2003): 325-40. In Japanese.

*Kelleway, Kelly. "The Strange Attraction of Blake's *Urizen*." *Reconstruction: A Culture Studies eJournal* 2 (2002): 32 paragraphs <<http://www.reconstruction.ws/021/Urizen.htm>>. <Blake §(2004)>

"Using the technologies afforded by information theory and chaos" —"Message transmission, noisy channels, the Lorenz attractor, information looping and looping serpents" —according to the editor, the essay "decidedly complexifies ... *Urizen*."

Keynes, Geoffrey. "'To the Nightingale': Perhaps an Unrecognised Poem by William Blake." *Book Collector* 30 (1981): 335-45. <BBS p. 534-35> B. 144-52 of *The Pleasures of Bibliophily: Fifty Years of The Book Collector: An Anthology*. Ed. Nicolas Barker. (London: British Library; New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2003).

§Lee, Hyungsoo. "[Vision of Liberty in Blake's *Songs of Experience*]." *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 7 (2003): 31-54. In Korean, with an English summary.

*Leigh, Peter. *William Blake*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000) Livewire Real Lives, 27 pp.; ISBN: 0340776153.

*Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker. "Blake's African Orc." 344-51 of "Conclusion: Tyger! Tyger!" (327-54, 438-41) of their *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

In *America* (1793) pl. 3, Orc is bound down like the slave Neptune in "The Execution of Breaking on the Rack" in Stedman's *Surinam* (1796), and Stedman's accounts of "Red Tiger" inspired Blake's "The Tyger" (1794) (348).

*Livergood, Norman D. "William Blake As Mystic." *The New Enlightenment*. (2004) <http://www.hermes-press.com/Perennial_Tradition/blake.htm>.

*Lukacher, Brian. "Visionary History Painting: Blake and His Contemporaries." Chapter 4 (98-114) of *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, with 369 illustrations, 51 in color. Ed. Stephen F. Eisenman. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994) <Blake §(2004)>

Mostly about Blake.

§MacPhee, Chantelle. "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité: Shakespeare and Blake." *Upstart Crow* 22 (2002): 51-62.

On Blake's sources in Shakespeare.

Makdisi, Saree. *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s*. (2003) <Blake (2004)>

Review

David Wagenknecht, *Studies in Romanticism* 43 (2004): 297-303 (deplores "the book's dogmatism and annoying self-

promotion"; "The pioneer spirit here is a bit overdone" [303, 299]).

§Matsushima, Shoichi. *Blake no Shiso to Kindai Nihon: Blake wo Yomu* [The Idea of Blake and Modern Japan: A Reading of Blake]. (2003) <Blake §(2004)>

Review

Hiroko Nakamura, *Igirisu Romanha Kenkyu: Essays in English Romanticism* 28 (2004): 74-78. In Japanese.

McQuade, Molly. "The Lives of Blake." *Booklist* 99 (1-15 June 2003): 1737.

An interview with Aileen Ward about her biography of Blake, in progress since about 1969 ("I'm behind schedule"), though she has a contract with Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Mellor, Anne K. "Blake, the Apocalypse and Romantic Women Writers." Chapter 9 (139-52) of *Romanticism and Millenarianism*. Ed. Tim Fulford. (2002) <Blake (2003)>

Review

Andrew Lincoln, *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 43-47 (a summary).

*Minton, David. "William Blake: A Vision of the Last Judgment from the Note-book." *Kanto Gakuin Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyo* [Bulletin of Kanto Gakuin University Society of Humanities] no. 100 (2003): 163-200.

*Minton, David. "William Blake's Good & Evil Angels." *Kanto Gakuin Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyo* [Bulletin of Kanto Gakuin University Society of Humanities] no. 98 (2003): 75-121.

§Moore, Michael. "Wounds and Roses in Yalom, Blake, Kafka, and Heller." *Notes on Contemporary Literature* 34 (2004): 5-7.

Mounsey, Chris. "Christopher Smart and William Blake: A Distinctive Mode." Chapter 9 (166-81) of *Early Romantics: Perspectives in British Poetry from Pope to Wordsworth*. Ed. Thomas Woodman. (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

"Smart's and Blake's theories of language are similar" (178).

*Nachmanovitch, Stephen. *Job Returns: A Meditation on William Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job*. Music & multimedia by Stephen Nachmanovitch. 11 minutes. ([Charlottesville, Virginia: Stephen Nachmanovitch, 2002]).

A flyer for the CD-ROM created for the exhibition of *William Blake: Portions of the Eternal World* at the University of Virginia Art Museum 26 January-31 March 2002 <Blake (2003)>.

The work is a descendant of Stephen Nachmanovitch Miller, "Job's Return: William Blake's Map of Everything," University of California (Santa Cruz) Ph.D., 1975 <BBS p. 575>.

§Nagashima, Kazuhiko. "Blake no 'Vision'—sozoryoku to eien no jitsuzai [Blake's 'Vision'—The Realism of Imagination

and Eternity]." *Kawamura Gakuen Joshi Daigaku Kenkyu Kiyo* [Journal of Kawamura Gakuen Women's University] 15 (2004): 45-59. In Japanese.

§Nair, Rajeev Kesavan. "Mapping Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: An Exercise in Textual Cartography." *DAI* 63 (2002): 956A. Arizona State Ph.D., 2002.

*Nakagawa, Kazuo. "Blake no 'seimei no kawa'—nagareru 'mizu', yodomu 'mizu' sono ni [Blake's River of Life—Flowing Water and Standing Water, the Second Part]." *Gifu Daigaku Chiiki Kagakubu Kenkyu Hokoku* [Bulletin of the Faculty of Regional Studies, Gifu University] 12 (2003): 189-200. In Japanese.

§Newman, Marcia. "'Milton's Track' Revisited: Visual Analogues to Blake's Vortex in the 'Law Edition' of Boehme." *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 5 (2004): 73-93.

§Nudelman, Bryan C. "Spaces of Transformation: Liminality and William Blake's *America: A Prophecy*." *Lamar Journal of the Humanities* 28 (2003): 33-46.

Ormsby, Bronwyn Ann. "The Materials and Techniques of William Blake's Tempera Paintings." 2 vols. *DAI* 64 (2003): 786. University of Northumbria at Newcastle Ph.D., 2003.

§Østermark-Johansen, Lene. "Victorian Angles on Blake: Reading the Artist's Head in the Late Nineteenth Century." 141-64 of *Angles on the English-Speaking World Volume 3: Text, Authority and Posterity in British Romanticism*. Ed. Lene Østermark-Johansen. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003).

On phrenology or physiognomy.

*Otto, Peter. "Blake, William 1757-1827." 1: 94-96 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

*Otto, Peter. *Blake's Critique of Transcendence: Love, Jealousy, and the Sublime in The Four Zoas*. (2000) <Blake (2002)>

Review

Wayne C. Ripley, *Romanticism on the Net* 27 (Aug. 2002) <<http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n27/006567ar.html>> <Blake §(2004)> ("For all these difficulties, the book is at its best in its extensive reading of the poem").

Otto, Peter. "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell 1790: Illuminated Book by William Blake." 2: 713-14 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

§Otto, Peter. "A Sublime Allegory: Blake, Blake Studies, and the Sublime." *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 43 (2002): 61-84.

*Paley, Morton D. *The Traveller in the Evening: The Last Works of William Blake*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 8°, xiv, 332 pp., 52 reproductions; ISBN: 0199255628.

Chapters on (1) Blake's Virgil woodcuts, (2) "H & his Two Sons Satan & Adam" ("Laocoön"), (3) his Dante drawings and engravings, and (4) "The Everlasting Gospel," *The Ghost of Abel, Job*, the Genesis mss., the Enoch drawings, and the notes to Thornton's *Lord's Prayer*, plus a supplementary note on the Visionary Heads.

Part of chapter 4 first appeared in his "William Blake and Dr. Thornton's 'Tory Translation' of the Lord's Prayer," 263-86 of *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant*, ed. Alexander S. Gourlay (2002), and chapter 2 is reprinted with minor corrections from his "H & his two Sons Satan & Adam," *Studies in Romanticism* 41 (2002): 201-35.

It is a comprehensively scholarly work, illuminating on every page, deft with Blake's designs, a worthy continuation of a lifetime of criticism covering all Blake's literary works, with *Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake's Thought* (1970) and *The Continuing City: William Blake's Jerusalem* (1983).⁴⁵

Review

*Seamus Perry, "The Wise Man's Table: In William Blake's world, nothing is what it first seems," *Times Literary Supplement* 15 Oct. 2004: 3-4 (with G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* Second Edition [2004]) ("superbly lucid and learned").

§Paulson, Ronald. "Blake: The Harlot and the Lamb." In his *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

§Pawłowski, G. "William Blake." *La Grande encyclopédie* (1885-92). Apparently digested in "William Blake. Biographie en résumé Poète et peintre anglais." *L'Encyclopédie de L'Agora*. Viewed 2004 <http://agora.qc.ca/mot.nsf/Dossiers/William_Blake>. In French.

§Pellis, Valeria. "Goethe e Blake: I molteplici volti dell'io nell'eterna lotta tra materia e spirito." 197-222 of *L'io del poeta: Figure e metamorfosi della soggettività*. Ed. Ingrid Hennemann Barale and Patrizio Collini. (Pisa: Pacini, 2002) *Studi di Letterature Moderne e Comparate* 7; ISBN: 8877815043. In Italian.

P[éricaud, Val.] "Blake (Guillaume)." 1: 405-06 of *Biographie Universelle (Michaud) Ancienne et Moderne ... Nouvelle Édition*, Publiée sous la Direction de M. Michaud (Paris: chez Madame C. Desplaces, ... 1854). <Bodleian>

Blake wrote *America, Descriptive Catalogue, Europe, The Gates of Paradise*, and *Songs of Experience*, and made illus-

45. Not to mention editing (e.g., *Jerusalem* [1991], *Blake Newsletter* [1967-77], *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* [1977 ff.], *Studies in Romanticism*), important collaborations (e.g., with Michael Phillips [1973] and Robert N. Essick [1982]), and scores of essays and reviews.

trations to Young's *Night Thoughts*, Hayley's *Ballads* (1805), Blair's *Grave*, Chaucer, and Job. "Il ne sortit jamais d'une position voisine de la misère, mais ... il était heureux."

See BB #2380 for the 1843 version.

Phillips, Michael. "No. 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth: William Blake's Printmaking Workshop and Etching-Painting Studio Recovered." *British Art Journal* 5.1 (2004): 15-21.

Detailed reconstructions, with minutely precise measurements (e.g., 12' 9" x 12' 1½" for the printing room), of Blake's house, apparently based largely upon the rudimentary sketch of 1853 (reproduced in Robin Hamlyn's essay in *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce Townsend [2003]), which lacks almost all these details.

*Phillips, Michael. "The Printing of Blake's *America a Prophecy*." *Print Quarterly* 21 (2004): 18-38.

Minutely detailed evidence supports the conclusion of John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* (1839) (BR [2] 45-46) that Blake's "progress in printing was necessarily slow."

§Plotnitsky, Arkady. "Chaomic Orders, Nonclassical Physics, Allegory, and the Epistemology of Blake's Minute Particulars." 52 paragraphs. *Romanticism and Complexity*. Ed. Hugh Roberts. (College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland Press, 2001), *Romantic Circles Praxis Series*. <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/complexity/plotnitsky/plotnitsky.html>>.

*Punter, David. *Songs of Innocence and of Experience: Notes*. (1998); ISBN: 5823293292 <Blake (1999)> B. §**Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Notes by David Punter. (London: York Press, 2003) *York Notes Advanced*, 112 pp.; ISBN 0582784336.

2003 is a "new and fully revised edition."

Raffel, Burton. "Excerpt, "Translation: Processes and Attitudes." *Literary Review* 45 (2002): 632-34. <Blake §(2004)>

About the difficulties of his current translation of "The Tyger"; "This excerpt is part of a longer essay that will be published in *Creativity Research Journal*."

*Raine, Kathleen. *Blake and Tradition*. (1968) <BB #2478> B. §*(London: Routledge, 2002); ISBN: 0415283981; 0415290872 [Vol. 1]; 0415290880 [Vol. 2].

The 2002 edition is a facsimile of that of 1968.

Rawlinson, Nick. *William Blake's Comic Vision*. (2003) <Blake (2004)>

Review

Kathleen Lundeen, *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 85-87 (Rawlinson "allows us to hear Blake in a different key").

§Reinhart, Charles. "William Blake." *Concise Dictionary of British Literary Biography* Vol. 3: *Writers of the Romantic Period, 1789-1832*. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992).

§Rix, Robert W. "William Blake and the Prophetic Marketplace." 47-61 of *Angles on the English-Speaking World* Volume 3: *Text, Authority and Posterity in British Romanticism*. Ed. Lene Østermark-Johansen. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003).

Rockwell, John. "No Rap but Just About Everything Else for Blake Cycle." *New York Times* 12 April 2004.

Music review of William Bolcom's poetic cycle *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*⁴⁶ performed by "nearly 500 musicians" at the University of Michigan 8 April 2004; it is "musically ... pretty awesome" and "dazzlingly" "diverse."

*Roe, Albert S. *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*. (1953, 1967) <BB #2543> C. §(2003).

§Rowland, Christopher. "'Rouzing the Faculties to Act': William Blake, Merkabah Mysticism, the Theology of Liberation and the Exegetical Importance of Experience." *Biblical Interpretation* 11 (2003): 543-54.

*Rudd, Margaret. *Organized Innocence: The Story of Blake's Prophetic Books*. (1956, 1973) <BB #2586> C. §(2003).

§Samoyault, Tiphaine. "L'Oeuvre visible illisible: A propos de Jerusalem de William Blake." *Lecture Littéraire: Revue de Recherche sur la Lecture des Textes Littéraires* 5-6 (2002): 31-43. In French.

Sato, Hikari. "'I saw a Devil in a flame of fire': Tengoku to jigoku no kekkon ni okeru 'hi' no yakuwari [The Function of Fire in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*]." 23-35 of *Romanha Bungaku no Sugata II [Aspects of Romantic Literature II]*. Ed. Naoki Ishihata. (Tokyo: Eihosha, 2004); ISBN: 4269711086.

Scott, Peter Dale. "Alone on Ararat: Scott, Blake, Yeats, and Apocalyptic." *Essays on Canadian Writing* no. 55 (1995): 288-302.

On F. R. Scott's poem "Lakeshore."

§Sklar, Susanne. "The Jerusalem Marathon." <<http://www.blakequarterly.org>>; see *Blake* 38.3 (2004-05): 119.

"A report ... on a recent reading [aloud] of *Jerusalem*."

Smith, Cyril. "Marx and the Fourfold Vision of William Blake." *New Interventions: A Journal of Socialist Discussion and Opinion* 11. 3 (spring 2004): 23-28.

"Whatever their huge differences, each of these men saw the entire world ... as centred on the activity of the human social individual" (23).

Snart, J. "'Orison': A Possible Source for William Blake's 'Urizen.'" *Notes and Queries* 247 [N.S. 49] (2002): 14-15. <*Blake* §(2004)>

46. See *BBS* pp. 352, 402, 422, 608, and *Blake* (1996, 1997).

The source "suggests ... Blake's ability to satirize prayer and speech through Urizen."

§So, Tat-Sang. "Eternal Death in William Blake's *The Four Zoas*." *DAI* 63 (2002): 957-58A. Dallas Ph.D., 2002.

Spector, Sheila A. "*Glorious incomprehensible*": *The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Language* (2001); "*Wonders Divine*": *The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Myth* (2001). <*Blake* (2002)>

Reviews

Sibylle Erle and Mei-Ying Sung, *Studies in Romanticism* 42 (2003): 579-84 ("notwithstanding Spector's superbly illustrated volumes, Blake's kabbalism must still remain an enigma" [584]). Dena Bain Taylor, *Blake* 38.2 (2004): 79-85 (review of "*Wonders Divine*" only; "*Wonders Divine*" offers a brilliant explication of the kabbalistic pattern of Blake's development ... the next step is to link Blake's Kabbalah more firmly with the Christian esoteric tradition" [85]).

Stanger, James Aaron, reviser. "William Blake." 1: 211-22 of *Cyclopedia of World Authors*. Revised third ed. (Pasadena, California: Salem Press, 1997) <There were earlier editions in 1958, 1974, 1989>.

*Stavis, Henriette B. "Songs of Innocence and of Experience: Collection of Poetry by William Blake, 1794." 2: 1071-72 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

Strange, John Clark, Ms. Journal (1859-61)

At his death in 2003, Ray Watkinson bequeathed Strange's journal, with the rest of his collection, to the library of the University of Brighton.

§Suzuki, Masayuki. "William Blake, 'A Poison Tree': Hanshin-wa no monogatari." *Eigo Seinen: The Rising Generation* 148 (2003): 702-03. In Japanese.

Tambling, Jeremy. "Dante and Blake: Allegorising the Event." Chapter 2 (33-48) of *Dante's Modern Afterlife: Reception and Response from Blake to Heaney*. Ed. Nicholas Havelly. (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). <*Blake* §(2004)>

About representations of Count Ugolino.

*Townsend, Joyce H., ed., consultant ed. Robin Hamlyn. *William Blake: The Painter at Work*. (London: Tate Publishing, 2003) 4^o, 192 pp., 158 reproductions; ISBN: 1854374680 (U.K.); 0691119104 (U.S.). <*Blake* §(2004)>

A remarkably fine and original book dealing particularly with the constitution, use, and deterioration of Blake's pigments, the materials of the supports, and the framing of his pictures (no frame survives from Blake's time), with telling reproductions. An exhibition at Tate in 2004 used captions from this work. The book consists of:

Joyce Townsend. "Preface." 7-8.

Anon. "Acknowledgements." 8-9.

Part One: Introduction

*Robin Hamlyn. "William Blake at Work: 'Every thing which is in Harmony.'" 12-39, 175-77. (Deals particularly with the rooms in which Blake painted, including previously unreproduced diagrams of the Blakes' rooms at 17, South Molton Street [18, "drawn by Robin Hamlyn 2003"] and of their house at 13, Hercules Buildings [29, "Done Feb' 1853"].)

Bronwyn Ormsby and Joyce H. Townsend with Brian Singer and John Dean. "The State of Knowledge on William Blake the Painter." 40-44, 177-78. (Heretofore "Blake's paint medium for temperas and colour prints has not been investigated with great success" [44].)

*Joyce H. Townsend. "Analytical Methods." 45-51, 178. (She reproduces "Almost the complete range of watercolour pigments available within Blake's lifetime" [47].)

Part Two: Watercolours

*Peter Bower. "The Vivid Surface: Blake's Use of Paper and Board." 54-60, 178. (A learned and persuasive demonstration that "Understanding the nature and type of papers that Blake used is fundamental to an accurate understanding of his working practices" [56].)

*Noa Cahaner McManus and Joyce H. Townsend. "Watercolour Methods, and Materials Use in Context." 61-79, 178-79. (They deal with Blake's "pigments ... with a focus on their appearance in Blake's works, their properties, permanence and the likelihood of their use in his time" [68].)

Part Three: Large Colour Prints

*Noa Cahaner McManus and Joyce H. Townsend. "The Large Colour Prints: Methods and Materials." 82-99, 179. (In "God Judging Adam," the only "relief etched copper plate" among the large colour prints, "the colour printing was done in more than one pull," but in "Naomi Entreating ...," "the colour printing was done in one pull" [84, 92].)

*Piers Townshend and Joyce H. Townsend. "The Conservation of a Large Colour Print: Satan Exulting over Eve." 100-07, 179.

Part Four: Temperas

*Bronwyn Ormsby with Brian Singer and John Dean. "The Painting of the Temperas." 110-33, 179-80. ("The structure of temperas such as *Camoens* and *Chaucer* [from the "Heads of the Poets"] has been made more complex by the presence of what is possibly an abandoned image underneath the final design" [122].)

*Bronwyn Ormsby with Joyce H. Townsend, Brian Singer and John Dean. "Blake's Use of Tempera in Context." 134-49, 180-81. ("Contrary to the historical accounts ... that Blake rejected gum as a binder ... the analysis of Blake's tempera paints also revealed the consistent presence of a mixture of gums Arabic (or karaya) and tragacanth with the additions of sugar or honey, and occasionally cherry gum" [138].)

*Bronwyn Ormsby with Brian Singer and John Dean. "The Appearance of the Temperas Today." 150-59, 181. ("Thirty per cent of Blake's temperas have been lost through neglect and poor condition," including the "almost complete repainting prior to 1885 of each of the eighteen 'Heads of Poets,'" but

"There appears to be little evidence of the wholesale fading of pigments on Blake's temperas, and no remaining evidence of the blackening of the lead-based pigments reported by D.G. Rossetti [Gilchrist (1863)]" [157, 159].)

Part Five: Epilogue

*Joyce H. Townsend, Robin Hamlyn and John Anderson. "The Presentation of Blake's Paintings." 162-74, 181-82. (An account of the framing and display of Blake's pictures in the past and the present, particularly at Tate.)

Anon. "Appendix 1: Watercolours Discussed in the Text." 183. (Includes a column on "Colour Change.")

Anon. "Appendix 2: Watercolours—Analytical Results." 184. (In particular, "Lead White" was not used in the pictures examined.)

Anon. "Appendix 3: Large Colour Prints Discussed in the Text." 185. (Includes a useful column on "Signature" on pictures.)

Anon. "Appendix 4: Large Colour Prints—Analytical Results." 186. (It indicates that, inter alia, "Indigo in Green" was never used here.)

Anon. "Appendix 5: Temperas Discussed in the Text." 187.

Anon. "Appendix 6: Temperas—Analytical Results." 188.

§Traeger, Jörg. "Luzifers Revolte um 1800: Blake, Runge, Goya." 57-62 of *Kopfüber: Kunst am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004); ISBN: 340651538X. In German.

Viscomi, Joseph. "Blake after Blake: A Nation Discovers Genius." 8 March 2003 <<http://sites.unc.edu/viscomi/blakeafterblake.html>>. ⁴⁷

On Linton and Gilchrist's *Life*.

*Wainwright, Martin. "Blake District: Connection revealed between erotic writers and artists." *Guardian* 3 Mar. 2004: 90.

The writers and artists are William Blake and D. H. Lawrence; the "Blake district" is in Nottinghamshire (Blake's mother in Walkeringham and Lawrence in Eastwood nearby), and the connection is the discovery that Blake's mother was born in Walkeringham (pop. 419 in 1801) and composed [i.e., transcribed] a hymn, still extant, when applying to join the Moravian Church.

§Wardi, Eynel. "Space, the Body, and the Text in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*." *Orbis Litterarum* 58 (2003): 253-70.

Warner, Janet. *Other Sorrows, Other Joys: The Marriage of Catherine Sophia Boucher and William Blake*. (2003) <*Blake* (2004)>

Review

*Gerry Hopson, "Love among the Angels," *Globe and Mail* [Toronto] 7 Feb. 2004: D12 ("a serious though homely book, in its quirky way honest, direct and ambitious").

47. See <http://sites.unc.edu/viscomi/frontend_page.html> for his §"Collected Essays on William Blake and His Times" (but not his great book).

§Westerweel, Bart. "Some Reflections on William Blake and the Emblem." 11-25 of *Configuring Romanticism: Essays Offered to C. C. Barfoot*. Ed. Theo D'haen, Peter Liebrechts, Wim Tigges, Colin Ewen. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003) *Costerus: Essays in English and American Language and Literature*, 147.

§Whissell, Cynthia. "The Emotionality of William Blake's Poems: A Quantitative Comparison of *Songs of Innocence* with *Songs of Experience*." *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 92 (2001): 459-67.

§Whitman, Vincent Miller. "'Clos'd by Your Senses Five': William Blake's Early Illuminated Prophecies and Berkeleyan Epistemology." *DAI* 63 (2003): 3567A. Connecticut Ph.D., 2002.

*Williamson, Richard. "Visions of Greatness: Poet, artist and radical thinker William Blake spent a number of years of his artistic career in Felpham. His experiences there were set to inspire the great poem and song Jerusalem. Richard Williamson looks at Blake, telling the story of the life behind the blue plaque which commemorates the poet's time in West Sussex." *The Magazine* (supplement to the *Bognor Regis Observer*) 13 Feb. 2003: 14-15.

Wittreich, Joseph. "'The Illustrious Dead': Milton's Legacy and Romantic Prophecy." *Milton and the Romantics* 4 (1980): 17-32 <BBS pp. 682-83> B. §313-28 in *John Milton: Twentieth Century Perspectives*, Volume 1: The Man and the Author. Ed. J. Martin Evans. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

"Together, Blake and Wordsworth may epitomize the possibilities of prophecy in the Romantic Age" (20 [1980]).

*Wright, Julia M. *Blake, Nationalism, and the Politics of Alienation*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004) 8°, xxxiii, 230 pp.; ISBN: 0821415190.

She "follows Blake from his subversion of the linearity that enables neoclassical nationalist narratives, to his critique of the replicated text, to his own replicating imperialist vision" (xxxiii).

Chapter 1, "The Line of Progress: Blake's *Laocoön* and Classicist Theories of Art," appeared in a shorter version as "The Medium, the Message, and the Line in William Blake's *Laocoön*," *Mosaic* 33 (2000): 101-24, and chapter 4 was printed with the same title in *European Romantic Review* 7 (1996): 61-84.

Yang, Mu [pen name of Jingxian Wang]. "Wei Blake chengqing [A Petition for Blake]." *Lianhe bao* [United Daily News, Taipei] 21 Nov. 1993: 37 (Literary Supplement). In Chinese.

Pace Zhifan Chen, "Wen dao yu mang [Seeking Advice from an Ignorant Person]," *Lianhe bao* [United Daily News, Taipei] 1 Nov. 1993: 37, Blake is not "a painter" or "a mystic poet" but "an engraving artist," and the first two lines of "Auguries of Innocence" ("To see a World in a grain of Sand / And a heaven in a wild flower") are not "frequently cited."

§Yeshima, Kenkichi. "Whitman to [and] Blake." *Eigo Seinen: The Rising Generation* 150 (2004): 95. In Japanese. On Whitman and Blake's "Infant Joy."

Division II: Blake's Circle

Entries for members of Blake's circle in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) are listed in Table 1.

Richard Cosway (1742-1821)

Miniaturist, friend of Blake

"Richard Cosway." 72-75 of *British Paintings at the Huntington*. Catalogue researched and written by Robyn Asleson; Shelley M. Bennett, general editor; with technical notes by Rosamond Westmoreland and Shelley Svoboda; and additional contributions by Melinda McCurdy and Elizabeth Pergam. ([San Marino:] Published by the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, 2001).

Lloyd, Stephen. "The Cosway Inventory of 1820 Listing Unpaid Commissions and the Contents of 20 Stratford Place, Oxford Street, London." *Walpole Society* 66 (2004): 163-217, and pl. 61-130.

The inventory is at Fondazione Cosway at Lodi (Italy).

John Flaxman (1755-1826)

Sculptor, intimate friend of Blake

Baines, Paul. "Flaxman, John 1755-1826." 1: 358-60 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

Hendriks, Ella. "The First Patron of John Flaxman." *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984): 618, 620-22, 625.

Chiefly extracts from the notebooks (1759-92) of Edward Knight (1734-1812) in Kidderminster Public Library.

King, James. "Flaxman, Kemble, and Talma: A New Anecdote." *Notes and Queries* 219 (N.S. 21) (1974): 175.

The anecdote of 1817 is from the commonplace book of W. G. Meredith.

Miller, Charlotte. "John Flaxman's Working Copy of Dante's *Divina Commedia*." *Italian Studies* 58 (2003): 75-87.

"Flaxman" is written by Nancy Flaxman on the title pages of *Divina Commedia*, ed. Andrea Rubbi, 3 vols. (Venezia: Antonio Zatta & Figli, 1784), which is Vol. III-V of *Parnaso Italiano* in the Harold Acton Library in the British Institute of Florence.

Stoker, Mark. "John Flaxman 1755-1826." 1: 565-67 of *The Encyclopedia of Sculpture*. Ed. Antonia Boström. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

John Henry Fuseli (1741-1825)

Swiss painter, intimate friend of Blake

§Bätschmann, Marie Therese. "Neuentdeckte Zeichnungen des jungen Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741-1825)." *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 56 (1999): 137-48. In German.

Four drawings at Berne were made by Fuseli as an adolescent.

§Deuchler, Florens. "'Windsturm und Ungewitter': Zu einem Bild von Johann Heinrich Füssli in der Fondazione Magnani Rocca." *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 56 (1999): 129-36. In German.

The picture demonstrates Fuseli's close reading of Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*.

Haycock, David. "Fuseli, Henry 1741-1825." 1: 392-93 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

Thomas Johnes (1748-1816)

Patron of Hafod, North Wales

Macve, Jennifer. *The Hafod Landscape: An Illustrated History and Guide*. (Ymddiriedolaeth yr Hafod, The Hafod Trust, 2004) 4°, 52 pp.; ISBN: 095279411X.

An account of the famous grounds (not the house, which "was demolished with explosives" in 1958). Malkin's biography of Blake (1806) is dedicated to Johnes, *Songs of Innocence* (P) was given by Malkin to Johnes, and George Cumberland's *Attempt to Describe Hafod* (1796) has a map of Hafod which, it has been argued, was engraved by Blake.

John Linnell (1792-1882)

Painter, patron of Blake

"John Linnell." 256-63 of *British Paintings at the Huntington*. Catalogue researched and written by Robyn Asleson; Shelley M. Bennett, general editor; with technical notes by Rosamond Westmoreland and Shelley Svoboda; and additional contributions by Melinda McCurdy and Elizabeth Pergam. ([San Marino:] Published by the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, 2001).

John Marsh (1752-1828)

Lawyer, musical composer, friend of Blake

Marsh's important journal with its references to Blake is in the Huntington Library (see Robert N. Essick, "William Blake and John Marsh," *Blake* 25.2 [1991]: 70-74 <BBS p. 408> and *BR* [2] *passim*), and a microfilm of it is in the West Sussex County Record Office.

Marsh of Chichester (1752-1828): Gentleman, Musician, Composer, Writer. Ed. Paul Foster. (Chichester: University College, 9 October 2004) Otter Memorial Papers Number Nineteen, 8°, 158 pp.; ISBN: 0948765348.

A collection of essays:

[Paul Foster.] "Introduction." 11-13. (The focus is "on his music and on the record of his own activity in Chichester and elsewhere" [11].)

Alison McCann. "John Marsh and the Intellectual Life of Chichester." 15-35.

Ian Graham-Jones. "Marsh and Music: John Marsh—the Composer." 36-48.

Martin Renshaw. "John Marsh and the Organ." 48-53.

Alan Thurlow. "John Marsh and Chichester Cathedral: Reflections by a Twenty-first-Century Organist of the Cathedral." 55-61.

Nicholas Plumley. "John Marsh and Domestic Music-Making in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century England." 62-71.

Brian Robins. "John Marsh and the Chichester Volunteers." 72-83.

Timothy J. McCann. "Marsh at Goodwood." 89-112. (On the Duke of Richmond.)

Ron Iden and Emlyn Thomas. "Marsh at the Seaside." 113-21.

Patrick Moore. "John Marsh—Astronomer." 122-24.

Barry Fletcher. "Much Pleased with Life." 125-43. (On Marsh's character and life.)

Appendix. 144-55. It consists of:

Barry Fletcher. "A Note on *Peregrine Project*." 146-49. (There is no reference to "John Marsh and *Peregrine Project: A Tour through Some of the Southern Counties of England* (1804)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 49 [1997]: 80-81.)

"Will of John Marsh—Dated 1828." 150-55.

Samuel Palmer (1805-81)

Artist, disciple of Blake

Christie's (South Kensington) vainly offered 104 Palmer letters to Richard Redgrave and family (1859-80) and 47 letters to the Wright family (1866-81) 8 June 2004, lots 158-59, and 17 November 2004, lots 32-33; *The Letters of Samuel Palmer*, ed. Raymond Lister, 2 vols. (1974) contains some letters to the Redgraves and Wrights, but not nearly so many as were offered in 2004.

Wootton, Sarah. "Palmer, Samuel 1805-1881." 2: 846-47 of *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. Ed. Christopher John Murray. 2 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004).

George Richmond (1809-96)

Painter, disciple of Blake

George Richmond's unrecorded drawing of Blake on his deathbed will be given by Harold Bloom to St. Michael's College, Colchester, Vermont.⁴⁸

48. See note 24.

Thomas Stothard (1755-1834)

Book illustrator, early friend of Blake

An apparently unrecorded engraved design (1818) by Stothard, reported by Alexander Gourlay, is in

§The SELECTOR | CONTAINING THE POETICAL | *Works of* | Gray Falconer | Goldsmith Somerville | [vignette] | London | Publish'd by Suttaby, Evance & Fox, Stationers Court | and Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, Paternoster Row. | 1815[-1818]. | -

Each of the four sections has its own title page (1816, 1818, 1817, 1817) and pagination. There is a Stothard frontispiece (1818) to

§THE | POETICAL WORKS | OF | Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. | - | WITH AN ACCOUNT OF | *THE LIFE AND WRITINGS* | OF | THE AUTHOR | = | LONDON: | PUBLISHED BY SUTTABY, EVANCE AND | FOX STATIONER'S COURT; | AND BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY. | 1818. | - | Ellerton and Henderson, Printers.

Appendix: Corrigenda and Addenda to *Blake Records*, Second Edition (2004)

For previous corrigenda and addenda, see *Blake* 37.4 (2004): 151.

Owners and Repositories of Unique Materials
Moravian Church Archives (London)
Murray (John) Archive (London)
Nottinghamshire County Archives (Walkeringham Church Register)
Universitätsarchiv (Herrnhut, Germany)

P. 2
Information about Blake's mother Catherine's birth in Nottinghamshire, her family, and her connection to the Moravian Church during her first marriage to Thomas Armitage can be found in Keri Davies, "William Blake in Contexts: Family, Friendships, and Some Intellectual Microcultures of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England," Surrey Ph.D., 2003 (unpublished; see "William Blake and His Circle," *Blake* 39.1 [2005]: 22), and Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family," *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 36-43.

P. 15
"James Parker (1750-1805)" should be "(1757-1805)."

Pp. 33 and footnote, 34
Omit the references to James Parker's wife.¹

1. G. E. Bentley, Jr., "The Journeyman and the Genius: James Parker and His Partner William Blake ...," *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 210

P. 281, 1809
"William Blake, Esq." appears as a subscriber in the prospectus for Joseph Thomas' *Religious Emblems* (1809). See "William Blake and His Circle," *Blake* 38.1 (2004): 7, 16, and 39.1 (2005): 17.

Pp. 302-03
In an undated letter to George Cumberland, Charles Henry Bellenden Ker wrote that his commission to Blake for two drawings, for which Ker did not wish to pay, was given "2 years ago" when he "was not of age." As Ker was christened on 18 February 1787 (according to the entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004] 31: 379), the commission was presumably given in late 1807 or very early 1808 when he came of age, and the present letter may be of 1809 or 1810.

P. 314, the Associated Painters in Water Colours exhibition
For the landlord's seizing the contents of the gallery, see "William Blake and His Circle," *Blake* 39.1 (2005): 15.

P. 363, footnote to "Blake-Varley Sketchbook"
This cumulation of Blake's Visionary Heads also appeared in G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Blake's Visionary Heads: Lost Drawings and a Lost Book," *Romanticism and Millenarianism*, ed. Tim Fulford (New York: Palgrave, 2002) 183-205.

P. 418
On 25 November 1825 (the postmark date), Blake wrote to John Linnell (see cover illus. for *Blake* 39.1 [2005]):

Dear Sir
M^r Banes says his Kitchen is at our Service to do as we please. I should like to know from the Printer whether our own Kitchen would not be equally or even more convenient as the Press being already there would Save a good deal of time & trouble in taking down & putting up which is no slight job. Also the light is better in our Kitchen if there is but room enough.

I am yours Sincerely
Will Blake

Henry Banes, the husband of Catherine Blake's sister Sarah, was the owner of 3, Fountain Court, where Blake lived in 1821-27, and Banes may well have lived in the same building. Probably the work referred to is Blake's *Job*; the first commercial proofs were pulled on 4-5 March 1825, and on 10

says that on 17 Aug. 1782 James Parker (aged 25 and up [the engraver was 25 then]), Stationer of the Parish of St. Dunstan in the West, contracted to marry Ann Serjeantson in the County of York. As Keri Davies points out to me, this is probably not James Parker, engraver, of the Stationers' Company, but the James Parker, stationer, of 36, Chancery Lane in 1782-97 (see Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800* [Folkestone: William Dawson & Sons Ltd, 1977] 170).

February 1826 Mary Ann Linnell wrote to her husband about "the Job . . . from all I can learn the printing is going on well [at Lahee's shop] by a man of the name of Freeman." The work was published in March 1826.

P. 495

The date of Frederick Tatham's letter offering Blake's works for sale is 11 April 1829, as in *Blake Records Supplement* (1988) 90, not 1 April.

P. 622, J. T. Smith

"Blake preferred mixing his colours with carpenter's glue, to gum"²

P. 676, footnote † to Tatham's story of theft from Blake 1796-1800

Add: The "Plate to the Value of 60 Pounds" can scarcely be silver or gold, for the modest Blakes could not afford or wish such things; it was probably copper, Blake's stock in trade. The copper cannot be his own works in illuminated printing, for these would have cost only about £21 (calculating the price of copper as 1d for a cubic cm., the price of his plates for Flaxman's *Naval Pillar* [1799]—see p. 759—and the thickness of the copper as 0.141 cm., as in his fragmentary surviving copperplate from *America* pl. a), and besides many of them were printed after his death. But the cost of Blake's 43 large copperplates for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) would have been sixty guineas (assuming the plates were 0.183 cm. thick, as in Blake's Dante plates of the same size). Probably the thieves took the 207 pounds of copperplates for Young's *Night Thoughts*.

P. 734, Appendix II: Blake Residences

Add Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire, 1725.

P. 736, Residences

After "from 1794 to 1800" add: "Blake & Sons, hosiers & haberdash. 28, Broad-st. Carnaby-mar" appear in *Boyle's New London Guide* (London: P. Boyle, 1795).

P. 736, Residences

After "James Blake continues by himself in," add "*Universal British Directory* (1797) 77."

P. 741, Residences, fn ‡

For "Townshend" read "Townsend."

2. The phrase is echoed by Tatham (671), but the scientific "analysis of Blake's tempera paints ... revealed the consistent presence of a mixture of gums Arabic (or karaya) and tragacanth with the additions of sugar or honey, and occasionally cherry gum" (Bronwyn Ormsby, Joyce H. Townsend, Brian Singer, and John Dean, "Blake's Use of Tempera in Context," *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend [2003] 138).

P. 742, Residences

For John Blake "voted in 1784 and 1788 for Fox and Hood" read "voted in 1784 for Fox and Hood and in 1788 for Townsend."

P. 745, Residences

13, Hercules Buildings, "a long narrow garden": A plan "Done Feb' 1853" shows the width of the lot as 18' (nearby lots vary from 13' 11" to 22') and the depth as 110' 3" (Robin Hamlyn in *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend [2003] 29).

P. 746, Residences

13, Hercules Buildings: For "One of the few ... Carnaby-market" read: Blake's name rarely appeared in directories, but in 1797 he was transmogrified or renominated "Blocke, William,—13 Hercules [Buildings, Lambeth]" and "William Blocke" under Lambeth, 13, Hercules Buildings (the poet's address) in Patrick Boyle's *New London Guide for the Year 1797* (London: P. Boyle, 1797) 34, and the entries were repeated without change in *Boyle's City Companion to the Court Guide for the Year 1798* (1798). And in the spring of 1799 the following striking constellation appeared in [W.] *Holden's Triennial Directory* [Corrected to the end of April] 1799, 63:

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Blake W.S. | <i>Engraver and Printer</i> | 16, 'Change-alley, Cornhill |
| Blake William | <i>Engraver</i> | Lambeth Green ³ |
| ... | | |
| Blake James | <i>Hosier</i> | 28, Broad-street, Carnaby-market |

Pp. 829-46, Appendix VI

According to the Biography Database 1680-1830 (currently 3 CDs), there were printed accounts of non-poetical men named William Blake and of others in the poet's circle which supplement the information in *Blake Records* Second Edition (2004), particularly in Appendix VI: "My Name is Legion: for we are many": 'William Blake' in London 1740-1830."

William Blake:

Aldersgate Street (1765-1800); Mercer (1767-70); Stationer's Company Apprentice (1772); Grocer (1784); Tin Plate Worker and Watch Case Maker, of 75, Whitechapel Road (1784-90); Auctioneer (1784-1823); Inn Keeper, Bull and Gate, Holborn (1785); Wimbledon (1790); Glue-Maker (1790, 1805); Grosvenor Square (d. 4 March 1795); Tortoise-shell Case-maker (1799)

William Staden Blake, Engraver (1748-c. 1817)

Mathew, Mrs [Harriet], wife of A. S. Mathew

3. "Lambeth Green" (omitted from *Blake Records* [1969] 561 and *BR* [2] 746) is apparently the previous name of Carlisle Lane, which in Horwood's map (1792-99) is two streets west of Hercules Buildings.

Table 1: Blake's Circle in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

| Name | Profession/connection to Blake | ODNB entry | ODNB entry author |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------|
| BARTON, Bernard (1784-1845) | Quaker poet | 4: 191-92 | A. H. Bullen, rev. James Edgar Barcus, Jr. |
| BASIRE, James (1730-1802) ¹ | Engraver, Blake's master | 4: 234-37 | Lucy Peltz |
| CALVERT, Edward (1799-1883) | Artist, disciple of Blake | 9: 579-81 | Raymond Lister |
| COSWAY, Richard (1742-1821) ² | Miniaturist, friend of Blake | 13: 557-63 | Stephen Lloyd |
| CROMEK, Robert Hartley (1770-1812) ³ | Engraver and entrepreneur | 14: 293-94 | Dennis M. Read |
| CUMBERLAND, George (1754-1848) | Dilettante, lifelong friend of Blake | 14: 614-15 | Francis Greenacre |
| CUNNINGHAM, Allan (1784-1842) ⁴ | Biographer of Blake | 14: 669-70 | Leslie Stephen, rev. Hamish Whyte |
| ENSOM, William (1796-1832) | Engraver | 18: 464 | B. Hunnisett |
| FINCH, Francis Oliver (1802-62) | Artist, disciple of Blake | 19: 559-60 | Raymond Lister |
| FLAXMAN, John (1755-1826) | Sculptor, intimate friend of Blake | 21: 4-10 | Sarah Symmons |
| FUSELI, John Henry (1741-1825) | Swiss painter, intimate friend of Blake | 21: 207-15 | D. H. Weinglass |
| GIBSON, John (1790-1866) | Sculptor | 22: 82-87 | Martin Greenwood |
| GILCHRIST, Alexander (1828-61) | Biographer of Blake | 22: 215 | H. H. Gilchrist, rev. Michael Thorn |
| GILCHRIST, Anne (1828-85) | Wife of Alexander Gilchrist | 22: 215-17 | Michael Thorn |
| HAWKINS, John (1761-1841) | Patron of Blake | 25: 929-30 | H. S. Torrens |
| HAYLEY, Thomas Alphonso (1780-1800) | Natural son of William Hayley | 26: 46 | L. H. Cust, rev. Jason Edwards |
| HAYLEY, William (1745-1820) | Poet and biographer, Blake's patron | 26: 46-49 | Vivienne W. Painting |
| HESKETH, Harriet, Lady (1733-1807) | Cousin of William Cowper, reluctant patron of Blake | 26: 876-77 | James William Kelly |
| HUMPHRY, Ozias (1742-1810) ⁵ | Miniaturist, patron of Blake | 27: 812-14 | V. Remington |
| JOHNSON, Dr. John (1769-1833) | Cowper relative, friend of Hayley and Blake | 30: 279 | Thompson Cooper and Rebecca Mills |
| JOHNSON, Joseph (1738-1809) | Bookseller, patron of Blake | 30: 282-84 | Carol Hall |
| KER, Charles Henry Bellenden (ca. 1785-1871) | Dilettante, disgruntled patron of Blake | 31: 378-79 | W. R. Cornish and David J. A. Cairns |
| KIRKUP, Seymour Stocker (1788-1880) | Artist, friend of Blake | 31: 816-17 | L. H. Cust, rev. David Robertson |
| LAMB, Caroline, Lady (1785-1828) | Byron's <i>bête noire</i> , entertainer of Blake | 32: 257-59 | Caroline Franklin |
| LEIGH, James Mathews (1808-60) | Art teacher and painter | 33: 237-38 | Martin Postle |
| LINNELL, John (1792-1882) | Painter, patron of Blake | 33: 934-37 | Christiana Payne |
| LIZARS, William Home (1788-1859) | Painter and engraver | 34: 90-91 | Jennifer Melville |
| MALKIN, Benjamin Heath (1769-1842) | Biographer of Blake | 36: 323-24 | G. Martin Murphy |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------|
| MARSH, John (1752-1828) | Lawyer, musical composer, friend of Blake | 36: 801-02 | Brian Robins |
| MARTIN, John (1741-1820) | Baptist minister | 36: 947-48 | J. H. Y. Briggs |
| MONTGOMERY, James (1771-1854) | Poet | 37: 856-58 | G. Tolley |
| PALMER, Samuel (1805-81) | Artist, disciple of Blake | 42: 530-35 | Raymond Lister |
| PARKER, James (1757-1805) | Engraver, Blake's printshop partner | 42: 689 | Vivienne W. Painting |
| PARS, Henry (1734-1806) | Drawing school master | 42: 904 | W. C. Monkhouse, rev. Mark Pottle |
| PUGHE, William Owen (1759-1835) | Cambrian enthusiast, patron of Blake | 45: 515-17 | J. E. Lloyd, rev. Glenda Carr |
| RICHMOND, George (1809-96) | Painter, disciple of Blake | 46: 872-74 | Raymond Lister |
| ROBINSON, Henry Crabb (1775-1867) | Diarist, friend of Blake | 47: 343-45 | Vincent Newey |
| ROSE, Samuel (1767-1804) ⁶ | Blake's lawyer | 47: 768-69 | W. P. Courtney, rev. S. C. Bushell |
| RYLAND, William Wynne (1733-83) | Engraver and forger | 48: 473-75 | Timothy Clayton |
| SCHIAVONETTI, Louis (1765-1810) | Engraver of Blake's designs for Blair's <i>Grave</i> | 49: 217-18 | Vivienne W. Painting |
| SHARP, William (1749-1824) | Engraver, friend of Blake | 50: 39-40 | Richard Sharp |
| SMITH, John Thomas (1766-1833) | Biographer of Blake | 51: 229-31 | Lucy Peltz |
| STEDMAN, Captain John Gabriel (1744-97) | Soldier of fortune, friend of Blake | 52: 344-45 | Richard Price |
| STOTHARD, Thomas (1755-1834) | Book illustrator, early friend of Blake | 52: 964-66 | M. G. Sullivan |
| TATHAM, Charles Heathcote (1772-1842) | Architect, father of Frederick, friend of Blake | 53: 818-22 | Richard Riddell |
| THORNTON, Dr. Robert John (1768-1837) | Physician, patron of Blake | 54: 640-41 | Martin Kemp |
| TILLOCH, Alexander (1759-1825) | Inventor, friend of Blake | 54: 790-91 | John Burnett |
| TRUSLER, Rev. Dr. John (1735-1820) | Almost patron of Blake | 55: 470-71 | Emma Major |
| TULK, Charles Augustus (1786-1849) | Swedenborgian, friend of Blake | 55: 538 | Alexander Gordon, rev. Timothy C. F. Stunt |
| UPCOTT, William (1779-1845) | Autograph collector | 55: 921-23 | Janet Ing Freeman |
| VARLEY, John (1778-1842) | Painter, astrologer, friend of Blake | 56: 146-49 | C. M. Kauffmann |

1. Included in the entry for "Basire, Isaac (1704-1768)."

2. See also Stephen Lloyd, "Baroness Maria Louisa Catherine Cecilia (*née* Hadfield)," 13: 554-57.

3. See also Michael Warrington, life of the entrepreneur's son "Cromek, Thomas Hartley (1809-1873), painter ...," 14: 294-95, who went to the Moravian school at Fulneck in 1820.

4. It says that manuscript "lives of painters and related corresp." including his life of Blake (1830) are in the National Library of Scotland. [The National Library of Scotland does *not* have the ms. of Cunningham's *Lives*, though it does have (MS 827) a mixed set of the printed version (1830-39) annotated by Cunningham or (in the case of Blake) by his son (used in Heaton's edition of Cunningham [1879-80]), plus correspondence connected with the *Lives*.]

5. See p. 4 here, footnote 1.

6. The Rose mss. in Glasgow University Library consist chiefly of 91 letters of 1783-1800, mostly *to* Rose.

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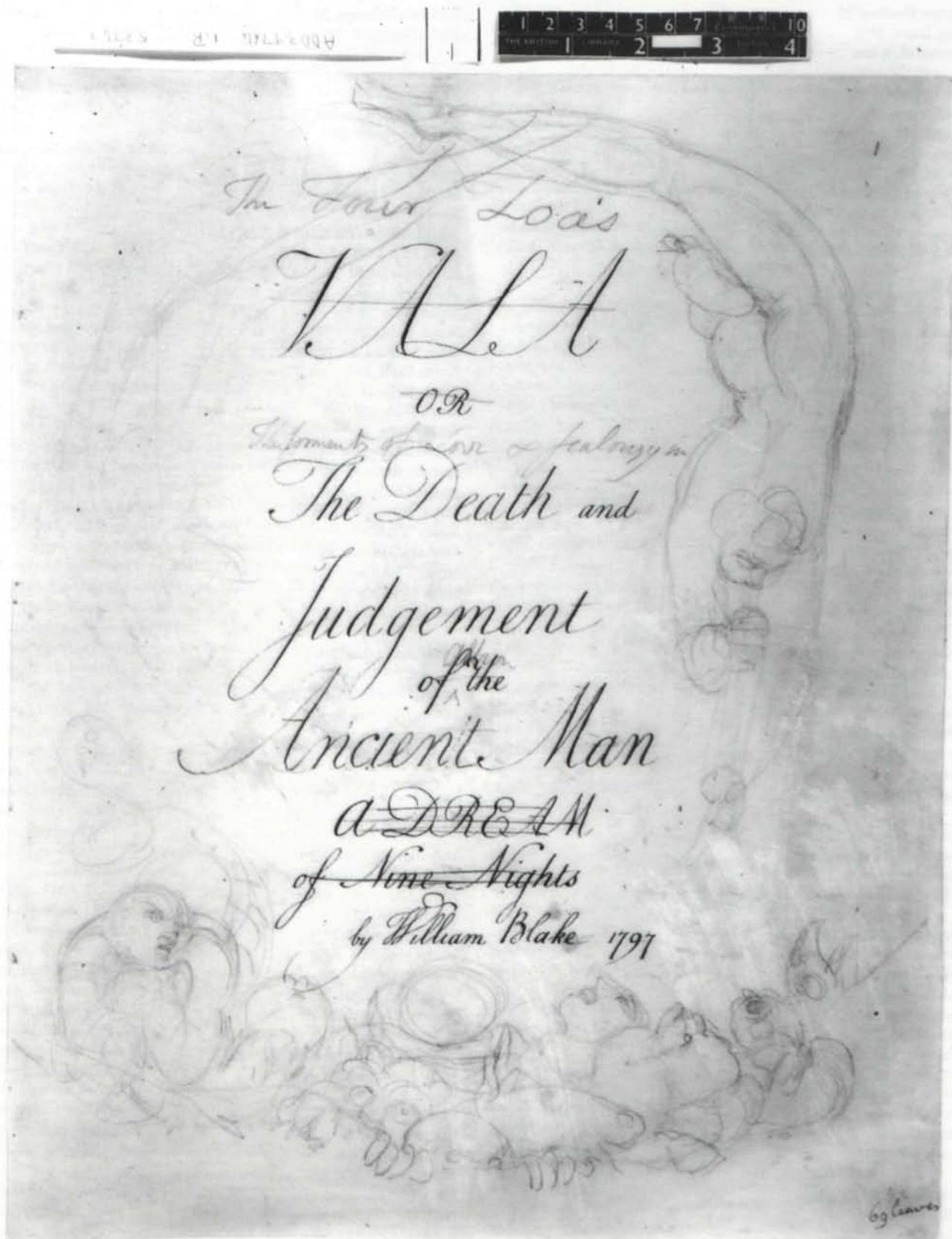
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1. *The Four Zoas*, page 1 (title page); with inch/centimeter scale. By permission of the British Library. Add. 39764.

Blake's Four ... "Zoa's"?

BY JUSTIN VAN KLEECK

Every word and every letter is studied and put into its fit place
William Blake, *Jerusalem*, plate 3

The manuscript of *The Four Zoas* is famous in Blake studies for its complexity, difficulty, and manifold challenges to traditional approaches to texts, as well as for its richness of interpretive possibilities. Whether one chooses to focus on the text, on the illustrations, or on the two together, those large folio and several smaller leaves require serious decisions for readers, scholars, bibliographers, and editors. And this is true in all its dimensions, from the highest organizational level—those two pesky Nights the Seventh; the second Night that is not quite "Night the Second"—progressively downward to the minute particulars—the multiple transpositions and additions; the status of those circled passages on pp. 5, 6, and 7; the many notes not by Blake.

I recount all of these well-known data to put in relief an extremely minute particular that appears to have gone largely unnoticed in editorial and critical treatments of *The Four Zoas*. While preparing a transcription of the manuscript for part of my dissertation and a new electronic edition,¹ I noticed the presence of an apostrophe between the "a" and "s" of "Zoas" on the title page (see illus. 1 and 2), which is one of Blake's late revisions to the poem written in pencil above the cancelled original title "VALA".² My reaction was first surprise, then confusion. In my years of studying the poem closely in its many printed and then facsimile forms, I had never noticed, nor been directed to, the presence of this curious mark on

I would like to thank Robert N. Essick for his helpful comments on this essay and Morris Eaves—who may still be reeling from my two-day crash course on the manuscript—for his encouragement.

1. My dissertation project is an editorial history of the *Four Zoas* manuscript currently underway at the University of Virginia; the textual transcription was originally for the dissertation but now will be part of the *William Blake Archive* at some time in the future. I based my original transcription on the facsimiles by Bentley (1963) and Magno and Erdman (1987), as well as on a microfilm from the British Library, and then I consulted the manuscript itself from 7 to 11 March 2005. I am grateful to the entire staff of the British Library Department of Western Manuscripts for granting me access to this "Z Safe Restricted" artifact, as well as for their helpfulness and kindness during my visit (including lugging the bound manuscript back and forth to the safe for me!).

2. G. E. Bentley, Jr., dates the revision of the title page to "perhaps 1807" (*Vala or The Four Zoas* 165) and thus late in the long process of Blake's engagement with the manuscript, which probably began sometime around "1797" as written on the title page.

the very first page of the manuscript. Indeed, despite many differing opinions about the title—the manuscript's very (disturbed) identity, as it were—I could not recall having heard any mention of Blake's "Zoa's". Thus, what follows is an attempt to fill in what I believe to be a hole in treatments of the manuscript to date.

The history of the title is an interesting facet of *The Four Zoas*, which I offer here in brief to help explain part of my surprise and confusion. The first public acknowledgment of the manuscript is William Michael Rossetti's catalogue in Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*. The catalogue entry in List 2 ("Uncoloured Works"), no. 7, gives the title as "Vala, or the Death and Judgment of the Ancient Man: a Dream of Nine Nights; by William Blake" (Gilchrist 2: 240). The pencil addition is not mentioned and the cancellations are ignored (the spelling of "Judgement" is also changed, but that by the by). E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats, the first to edit and publish the manuscript's text for their *The Works of William Blake* (1893), take a similar approach to the title. Certainly, they played a crucial part in determining the shape of the poem as it appears today—reordering the manuscript's disarrayed pages, making sense of transpositions and revisions, editing (and altering) the text for publication. The pencil notes by Ellis and others reveal their struggle with the material as they found it, which they describe in "About 'Vala'" (2: 295-301). For them, the poem is without doubt "VALA", for here they explain how after Blake initially gave it this title,

Another title was considered as better suited to the poem and was written higher up on the page. It was to have been called

THE FOUR ZOAS

OR

THE TORMENTS OF LOVE AND JEALOUSY. (2: 296)

But according to them, Blake reconsidered, and "VALA" "was boldly repenned as the true title, and repeated as the heading of the poem's first page" (2: 297).

Despite Ellis and Yeats's argument, and their publication of the poem as "VALA" (and their later republications of portions of that text in individual editions), John Sampson published brief selections from "*The Four Zoas*" in his 1905 edition, *The Poetical Works of William Blake* (see 345). In his 1913 edition, along with providing fuller selections and a reproduction of the manuscript's title page (facing 348), he transcribes the first part of the title in his bibliographical introduction as "THE FOUR ZOAS" (xxxix). Subsequent to Sampson's use of this title, in 1918 the manuscript was entered in the British Museum's catalogue as "The Four Zoas", Add. 39764, after being auctioned at Christie's on 15 March and then donated anonymously to the Museum on 11 May of that year.³

3. The auction catalogue gives the title of the manuscript, Lot 206, as "VALA: OR, THE DEATH AND JUDGMENT OF THE ANCIENT MAN: A DREAM OF NINE NIGHTS; by WILLIAM BLAKE, 1797" (28). The description, however, notes that "The Title was altered by Blake (in pencil) to The Four Zoas"

Geoffrey Keynes, too, transcribes the title (in its "second form") as "The Four Zoas" in his *A Bibliography of William Blake* (1921). Here, Keynes begins what has been a common editorial and critical approach to the title, listing both forms: "VALA, or: THE FOUR ZOAS" (32). He would go on to follow this same practice in his later critical editions of Blake (1925, 1927, 1957, 1966 ff.)

It is only with D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis's *The Prophetic Writings of William Blake* in 1926 that we find the title transcribed as "'The Four Zoa's'" in their bibliographical preface to the poem (2: 136). Nonetheless, they did not make a particular note about the presence of the apostrophe, nor did they give the poem that title (or explain their choice) in their edition—it is still *The Four Zoas*. In subsequent full editions of the text, no later editors have noted that there is something between that "a" and "s", despite growing attention to the material manuscript and despite literal transcriptions of at least the title and a discussion of the revision: H. M. Margoliouth in *William Blake's Vala* (1956) xiv; G. E. Bentley, Jr., in *Vala or The Four Zoas* (1963) 1 and see also 165, *Blake Books* (1977) 457, and *William Blake's Writings* (1978) 1072 and 1725; David V. Erdman in *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (1965) 738 and *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (newly rev. ed. 1988) 817; W. H. Stevenson in *Blake: The Complete Poems* (2nd ed. 1989) 292; Alicia Ostriker in *William Blake: The Complete Poems* (rpt. 1981) 273 and 921-22. So too have editors of other types of editions consistently published the poem as *The Four Zoas* without a discussion of the apparent apostrophe in the title. Landon Dowdey gives a prose rendering and an eclectically Blakean visual re-presentation of the manuscript in his *The FOUR ZOAS* (1983), discussing the title in appendix B (3). In their facsimile *The Four Zoas by William Blake* (1987), Cettina Magno and David Erdman do not transcribe the text but do comment on the title page and the revision (25-26).⁴

All of these editors, it must be emphasized, have made valuable contributions to Blake studies, and some have also played significant roles in the fields of editing and bibliography. But the texts we receive in editions largely determine the interpretations of those texts, by the editors themselves and by others, and thus critical discussion of *The Four Zoas* also has not acknowledged the possible apostrophe, despite growing attention to the network of revisions and ambiguities in the text. For example, the Santa Cruz Blake Study Group made both punctuation in general and *The Four Zoas* in particular key parts of their criticism of Erdman's 1982 edition when reviewing it in 1984. Meanwhile, David M. Baulch, exploring the "multiple plurality" of the manuscript and the advan-

tages of hypertext, begins by zeroing in on the word "zoas," its implications for "many sets of four zoas," and the challenges posed to editors, yet he does not mention the richly ambiguous mark in the new title (154). These are just two of the many important articles devoted to the textual state(s) of *The Four Zoas*, whether as a whole or in part.⁵

The number of recent monographs on *The Four Zoas* is even more encouraging in many ways, since most of them make the revisionary and unbounded complexity of the manuscript a central part of their interpretations. Donald Ault's *Narrative Unbound* (1987) is probably the most extreme example, "the first minutely detailed interpretation of the verbal text," yet he transcribes the title as "'THE FOUR ZOAS'" (xii). More significantly, he moves on to discuss the "heterogeneity" of the poem and states, "Perhaps the most immediately visible mark of this self-differing of the text ... is in Blake's revision of the poem's title"—without drawing attention to one particular mark in that revision (xiii). George Anthony Rosso, Jr., (*Blake's Prophetic Workshop* [1993] 165) and Andrew Lincoln (*Spiritual History* [1995] 32, including a transcription of the original title) both discuss the revision to the title. John B. Pierce gives a reproduction of the title page and explains how "The title changes are easily visible, even the rather tentative addition of 'The Four Zoas'" (*Flexible Design* [1998] xxix; see also xix and 65-66). Peter Otto (*Blake's Critique of Transcendence* [2000]), while paying careful attention to the manuscript and the revisions, focuses on the title page in his interpretation of the poem's trapped circularity without actually transcribing the revised title (3, 342-46).

Perhaps the first question we might ask in this context is, what exactly is this mark? As described above, an apostrophe shows up as part of the title only in Sloss and Wallis's prefatory transcription, but they offer neither an explanation of why their actual title is given without it nor a discussion of what it is or could be. Now, looking at the title page as reproduced in both Bentley's and Magno and Erdman's facsimile editions, which are the means by which most readers will view the manuscript, it is evident that the mark is placed where one would normally expect to find an apostrophe. Further, it does not appear to be part of, nor in any feasible way related to, the pencil sketch just above it, and it is unlike the various random marks scattered across the page. (All of this is also true in the reproductions of the page in Sampson's 1913 edition and in Pierce's 1998 critical work.) At first glance, then, I interpreted it as an apostrophe. And yet at the same time, we can see in all of these reproductions that the mark is distinctly darker than the added pencil line.⁶ But facsimiles can tell only so much, of

and then refers to Sampson's use of that title in his 1905 edition. The manuscript was sold to "Parsons" for £420.

4. In *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake* (1981), Martin Butler also transcribes the first line of the revised title as "The Four Zoas" (1: 275); he reproduces the title page in vol. 2, no. 430.

5. For example, *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* has devoted several issues entirely or in large part to *The Four Zoas* (see my bibliography).

6. In this instance, Magno and Erdman's infrared photography actually conceals more than it reveals, darkening the pencil marks on the page so that distinguishing tone is difficult; still, the difference between the title and this particular mark is somewhat perceptible. Bentley's, Sampson's, and Pierce's reproductions show the difference much more starkly.



2. *The Four Zoas*, page 1 (title page), detail. By permission of the British Library. Add. 39764.

course, and often what they tell is different from the original tale. In the manuscript itself, the mark is almost certainly in pencil, as the color and the slight granulation (characteristic more of pencil than of ink writing) suggest. It is quite clearly darker than the pencil writing below it, but its placement makes it very hard when scanning the line—or even simply looking at the page—to deny the strong possibility, if not the likelihood, that it is an intentional apostrophe.

Even if we agree that this is an apostrophe rather than an accidental accidental, the issue of intention raises a second and far more difficult question: is this mark (and the intention) Blake's? The history of the manuscript makes answering such a question more complex than it might be otherwise. As the presence of non-Blakean text on many pages testifies, such a miniscule scratch of the pencil could have been added by a number of individuals between the time the manuscript left Blake's hands late in his life and the time when Sampson first reproduced the title page in 1913: John Linnell or someone in the Linnell family, Gilchrist or Rossetti, Ellis or Yeats, are all equally viable candidates.⁷ The contrast between the mark and the text below it makes this possibility an important one. However, most instances of such non-authorial text are limited to page and line numbering or other editorial notes, and the unknown censor of the illustrations seems to have been largely concerned with visual bowdlerizing. Further, it would be quite odd if Ellis or Yeats or someone working with them had added the mark, since they transcribe that portion of the title *without* it.⁸ Why try to pass something off as Blake's and then neglect to include it in the transcription of Blake's text?

7. The best example of inscriptions not by Blake are Ellis's two notes at the top of p. 15, the first from 1891 and the second from 1904, regarding the placement of that leaf; the pencil note takes up a fair portion of the top margin and continues down into the right margin as well. Many other pencil notes by some unknown individual(s) occur on various pages—for instance, the pencil note "Beginning of / Night VII" in the middle of the left margin on p. 95 that is almost certainly not in Blake's hand, or the small note "Ellis / p. 81" written just above it. These latter notes for page collations with the Ellis-Yeats text appear with great frequency throughout the manuscript, beginning in the top left corner of p. 5.

8. They also do not record any such alteration in their list of "Author's and Editor's Verbal Emendations," nor do they describe it in their "Descriptive Notes" (3: 149-74).

We can next try to rule out the individual who added the page number "1" in the right corner, also in pencil but lighter than the mark. This is surely not Blake's notation, as Bentley argues in his discussion of the poem's order and reorderings (*Vala or The Four Zoas* 197). But we can check the number against the mark using Sampson's reproduction from 1913. In that image, the page number does not appear, which ostensibly suggests that it was added some time later. Looking more closely, however, it is also clear that Sampson's reproduction is not of the *full* page, the image being cropped at least at the sides. So might not the page number simply be cut off? First, the "6" of "69" is almost fully visible in the lower right corner. I measured both the bottom of the "1" (which is the leftmost point of the number) and the left edge of the "6" in the manuscript, and I found that the first point is approximately 3.7 cm. from the right border of the page and the second is approximately 3.3 cm. from the border. Thus, at least *some* portion of the "1" should appear in Sampson's reproduction if it had been there at the time; tilted cropping is possible but does not appear to have occurred, since the text and sketches are situated properly in relation to the image borders. Bentley's account of the British Museum's page numbering (after Keynes) adds to the likelihood that the number on the title page is indeed later than the possible apostrophe.⁹ But even if we disregard entirely the "1" in relation to our current point of enquiry, the ambiguous mark *is* there in the 1913 reproduction, but Sampson does not comment on it.

Much more important in thinking about the mark's authority is the internal and external evidence of Blake's characteristic use of an apostrophe for the plural form of "Zoa." Blake adopted the Greek word *zoa*, already plural for *zoon*, as used by John in Revelation for the four "Living Creatures." Whether or not Blake knew the number of the original, pluralizing *zoa* with -s is one way he anglicized the word and thus brought it under the domain of English grammar—a linguistic syncretism entirely suitable to Blake. In English, adding an apostrophe to form the simple plural of a word ending in

9. Keynes's *Bibliography* offers visual proof of the numbers added by the British Museum: his reproduction of manuscript p. 27 (in the current order), facing p. 34 of his work, shows that the "13" in the upper right did not have a line through it in 1921, nor was there a "14" written above and to the right.

a vowel was and is fairly common practice. Two examples of Blake's use of the apostrophe for simple plural are "Eccho's" in the line "Demons of Waves their watry Eccho's woke!" on p. 13 of the manuscript (l. 23 in Bentley, *Vala or The Four Zoas* 16 and Erdman, *Complete* 308) and, more tellingly, the naming of the Zoas as "Life's in Eternity" on p. 123 (l. 38 in Bentley, *Vala or the Four Zoas* 131 and Erdman, *Complete* 393).

While the singular word "Zoa" and its plural form do not appear anywhere else in *The Four Zoas*, Blake did use the plural form of "Zoa" in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. Of course, Blake is famously inconsistent (or we might say liberated) in his grammar, and so there are instances of both "Zoa's" and "Zoas" for the plural in these works. However, "Zoa's" is the more frequent spelling, occurring twelve times, three in *Milton* (copy C, 20:19, 43:14, 45:8) and nine in *Jerusalem* (copy E, 36:26, 36:32, 36:45, 41:27, 42:24, 58:48, 74:2, 74:5, 88:56); Blake used the latter form, without the apostrophe, only four times: once in *Milton* (copy C, 38:29) and three times in *Jerusalem* (copy E, 59:14, 63:4, 74:53).¹⁰ In purely quantitative terms, then, "Zoa's" is the more common plural form of Blake's neologism. Whatever the case may be with this specific instance of the word, the fact that he *did* use "Zoa's," and more often, is highly significant when judging the "accidental" nature of the mark.¹¹

My concern with the exactness of the title of *The Four Zoas* may seem to be making a proverbial molehill on the mountain of the manuscript. Nevertheless, I think that the history of this ambiguous mark in the title of *The Four Zoas* raises two important, interrelated issues: the centrality of interpretation to editorial practice and the dependence of subsequent interpretations on the products of that practice. Obviously, editors to date have interpreted the mark as not being an intentional apostrophe by Blake and thus not significant enough to appear in the title. While one can respect these editorial judgments, the evidence that I have presented seems to call, if not for a change in the accepted title, then at least for a textual note in future editions discussing the physical

10. My source for the plate images and line numbers for these copies of *Milton* and *Jerusalem* is the *William Blake Archive* (<http://www.blakearchive.org>), which presents copy-specific plate orders and numbers every individual line of text on a plate, including plate numbers (hence differences from printed editions). I also collated these readings against 300 dpi digital images of the corresponding plates in copies A and D of *Milton* and A and I of *Jerusalem* stored (unpublished) in the *Blake Archive* and found no variants (though the apostrophe in 36:45 of *Jerusalem* copy I printed very lightly); I would like to thank the editors of the *Blake Archive* for access to the images. Lastly, I checked these readings against Erdman's *Complete*, with which they all agree, and Bentley's *Writings*, with which they agree except that Bentley omits the apostrophe in his *Jerusalem* 36:25, 36:44, and 58:47 (my 36:26, 36:45, and 58:48)—though each has one in the copies cited here.

11. A more tantalizing option is that the apostrophe indicates a possessive: the work to follow is that of the Four Zoa (already plural), something along the lines of, say, Chapman's Homer—the authors, after all, being in Eternity. This is doubtful, though, since Blake did not cancel "by William Blake 1797."

mark as it appears to an editor, the possibility that it is indeed Blake's apostrophe, and the bases for that editor's ultimate decision. This is especially true given that scholars and readers largely depend on reproductions and printed texts in lieu of the original manuscript. There never may be a way to prove once and for all that Blake deliberately added this mark, but my hope is that editors will recognize the value that their explicit commentary would have for anyone suddenly seeing a world in this textual grain of sand.

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William Blake's *A Pastoral Figure*: Some Newly Revealed Verso Sketches

BY ROBERT N. ESSICK

In December 1993 I acquired a leaf of pencil sketches by Blake titled *A Pastoral Figure and Other Sketches* (illus. 1).¹ The drawing was for many years in the collection of W. Graham Robertson and appeared as lot 74 (with 2 other works) in the legendary auction of his Blake collection at Christie's in London, 22 July 1949. After passing through the hands of at least two dealers, the sheet of studies was acquired by the American librarian and bibliographer Edwin Wolf 2nd. After his death in 1991, the drawing was inherited by one of his sons, who placed it for sale with the dealer Nicholas W. Lott, from whom I purchased the leaf. Lott told me that he had removed the badly stained drawing from its old, acidic mat and found more pencil sketches on the verso. Several of these were almost invisible before I cleaned the leaf. The purpose of this brief essay is to reproduce the heretofore unpublished verso sketches (illus. 2), describe them, and suggest some ways they can be situated within Blake's career as an artist and poet.

The recto drawings, to which the verso sketches are related, are dominated by a young male seated under a tree. A wavy line below his feet might be the bank of a stream; behind the man and to the right is a distant mountain. He appears to be nude except for a cloak visible below and to the left of his right elbow, a line at his left wrist that suggests a cuff, and the gently curving lines defining his left upper-arm that hint at a cloth sleeve. The diagonal line across his chest may be a string holding the cloak. His posture, with his left hand raised to his face, vaguely hints at one of the traditional *pathos formulae* for melancholy. However, a loop about 1 cm. above this hand, and the shape of the hand itself, suggest that there may be something—possibly a staff with a knob at its upper termination—held in his left hand. All but the top of the staff is either left unexecuted or hidden behind the man. The most significant object, however, is the light outline of a lyre held by the figure's right hand and extending between his legs. He is not only a "pastoral figure," as the title indicates, but a musician/poet. Five versions of this figure, one of whom is clearly holding a staff, appear on the verso of Blake's *Job, His Wife and His Friends: The Complaint of Job*, since 1940 in the Tate Collection (Butlin #162 verso, dated to c. 1785). Four of these figures, like the main figure on the recto of *A Pastoral Figure and Other Sketches*, appear to be nude or only partly clothed. The

largest figure, however, bears an arc below his neck that indicates a shirt or gown. Blake was clearly interested in developing the representation of a pastoral lyricist in the mid-1780s.

The remaining figures on the recto include two versions of a recumbent male, perhaps wearing a brimless hat, sideways along the right margin; a third version of this same figure, sideways near the left margin; and two standing figures (the lower barely indicated), sideways above the bottom margin. The most interesting of the smaller sketches is once again a seated figure, upside down just above the bottom margin. He holds a large, triangular harp of the sort associated with the bard, not the lyric poet.

Several of the previously unpublished verso sketches (illus. 2) continue themes and types known from the recto. All the verso drawings were probably executed at about the same time as the recto images, in the early- to mid-1780s.² Of the three largest figures, the one on the left would appear to be a side view of the pastoral figure dominating the recto. He sits under a tree and may be holding a lyre on his lap. The lightly sketched lines inhibit a clear identification of other features. The next, more darkly drawn figure to the right is gowned. The wide strap extending diagonally across his chest and left hip recalls the slenderer string over the chest of the major figure on the recto. He holds two objects, possibly the upper reaches of a triangular harp in the right hand and a staff in the left. The rightmost major figure is a further development of the central standing figure. He is similarly gowned, wears a cape that extends below the back of his legs, and now holds the large harp in both hands. He is probably playing the instrument. Some lightly drawn vertical lines right of his left shoulder may be the trunks of trees or the columns of a portico; a wavy line below his feet and three verticals right of his left leg also hint at a landscape.

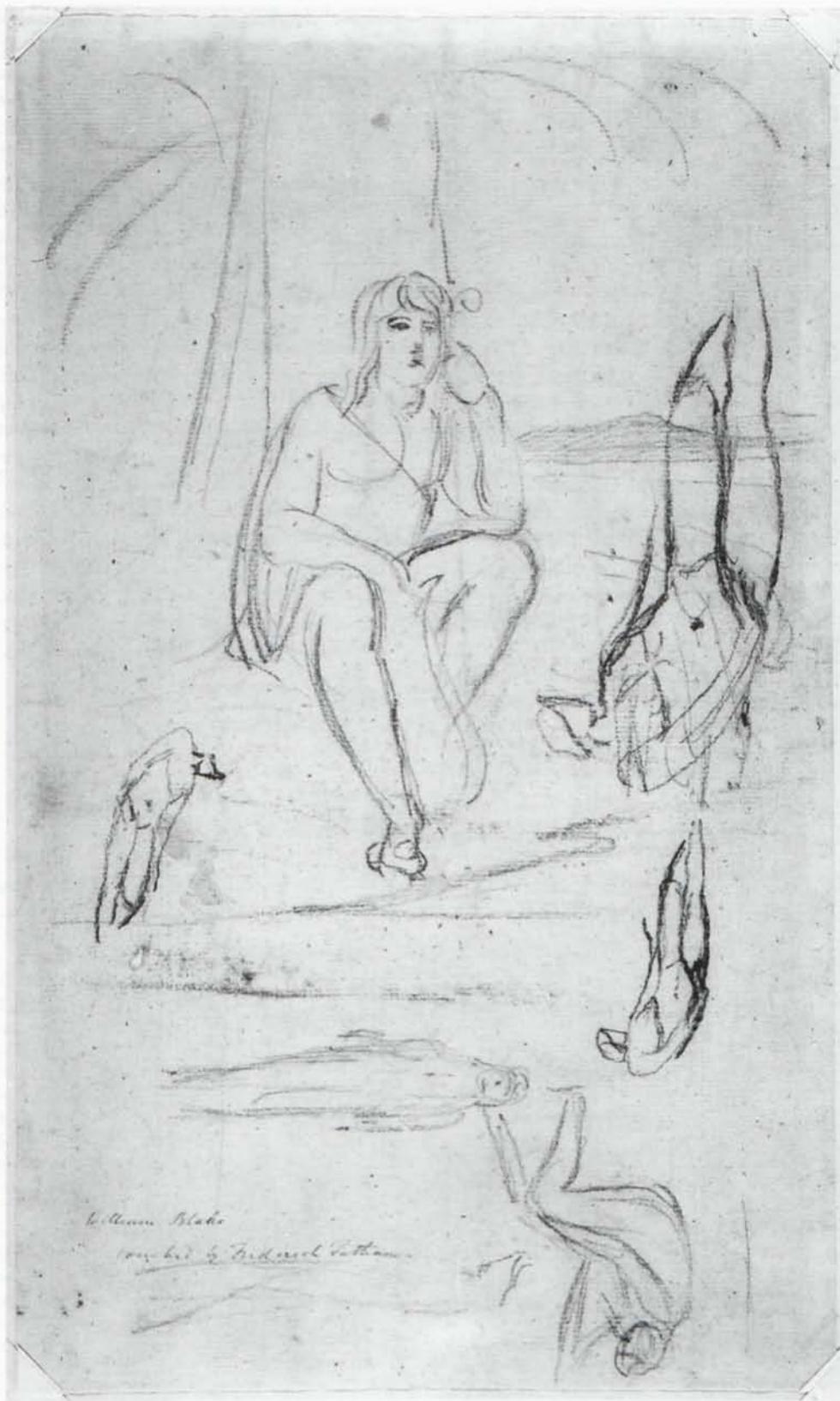
The smaller verso designs include a standing figure drawn sideways upper right, perhaps a female wearing a wimple or hood and possibly holding, and looking down toward, a child in her right arm; a standing figure among trees lower right, with an outline frame drawn around the composition; and three very sketchy figures drawn sideways lower left. The hooded figure may be a further development of the full-frontal standing figure drawn sideways in the lower half of the recto.

Motifs evocative of the lyric/pastoral on the one hand, and the bardic/epic on the other, are the most significant images on both recto and verso. The former recalls the classical inheritance of eighteenth-century poetry. The latter might suggest the Homeric epic, but the decidedly non-Greek shape of the harp implies a nativist British tradition harkening back to the Welsh bards and Ossian.³ These two genres and their

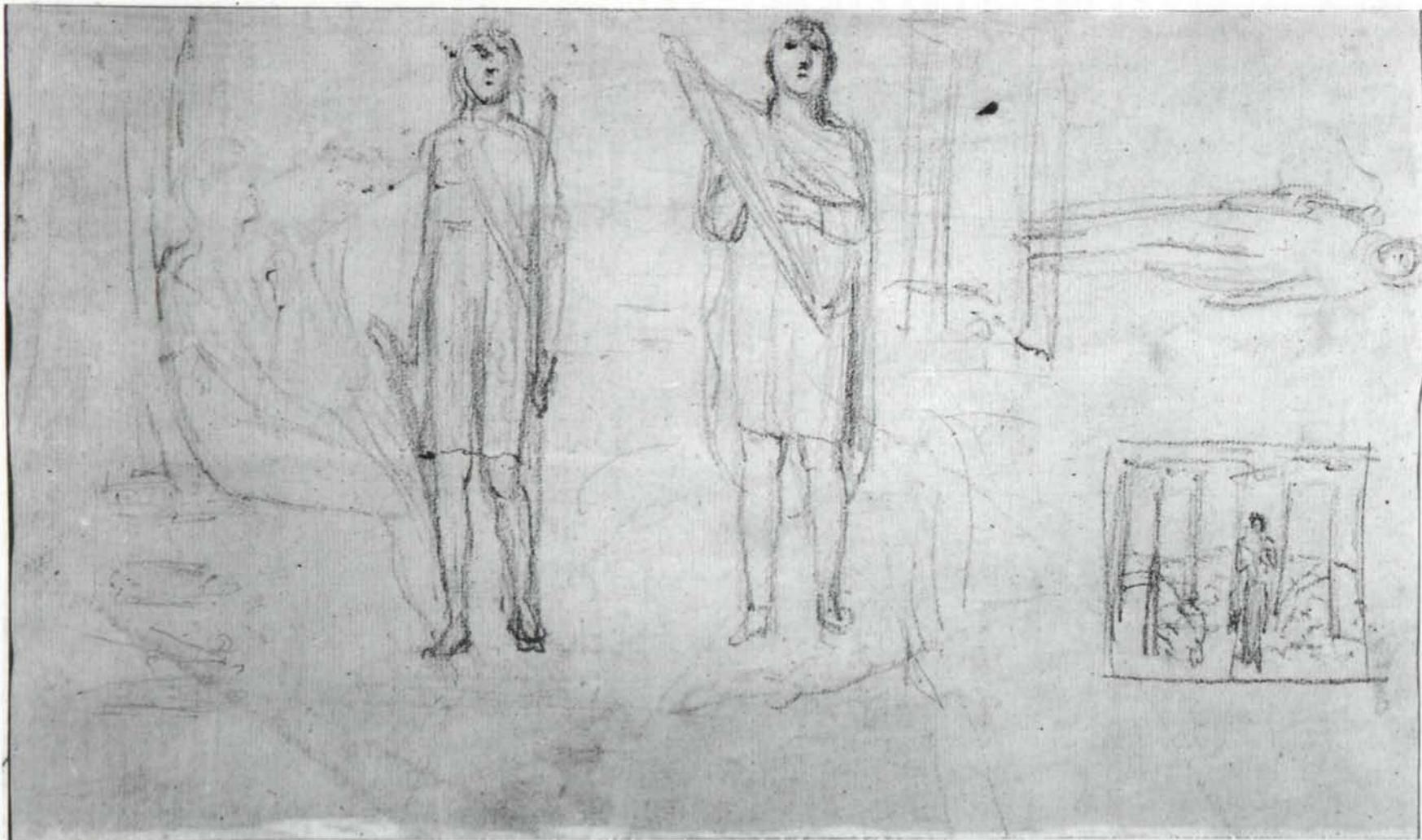
1. Number 81, recto only, in Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981), hereafter cited as "Butlin" followed by entry number. Butlin describes the paper as "grey," but cleaning the sheet revealed it to be a typical off-white eighteenth-century paper.

2. I suspect that Butlin's dating of the recto to c. 1785 represents the upper end of the date range.

3. John Flaxman's first outline design to the *Iliad* pictures the Greek harp, or *cithara*, traditionally associated with classical epic. See *The*



1. *A Pastoral Figure and Other Sketches, recto*. Pencil on sheet 31.0 x 18.4 cm. Inscribed in now-faded brown ink, lower left, "William Blake / vouched by Frederick Tatham." Laid paper with a crown and "GR" watermark. Butlin #81, dated to c. 1785. Collection of Robert N. Essick.



2. *A Pastoral Figure and Other Sketches*, verso drawings in pencil. See illus. 1 for details. Not previously published.

attendant cultural associations also resonate through Blake's earliest poems, published as *Poetical Sketches* in 1783. He laments the attenuated state of both traditions. "The shepherd leaves his mellow pipe" in "Gwin, King of Norway," while "the languid strings do scarcely move" for the "bards of old" in "To the Muses."⁴ Here and elsewhere in Blake's poems and designs, the shepherd's pipe is a more common motif than the lyre, but carries much the same meaning. The specifically British associations of the harp are indicated in "A War Song to Englishmen," in which King "Alfred shall smile, and make his harp rejoice" (E 440). *Songs of Innocence*, etched and first printed in 1789, also indicates the complementary differences between pastoral musician and bard. The "Introduction" to the anthology (E 7), coupled with the frontispiece directly illustrating that poem, announces a revived lyricism, while "The Voice of the Ancient Bard" (E 31-32) reaches toward an epic vision that encompasses experience as well as innocence.⁵ In the design above the text, the bard strums a triangular harp even larger than the one played by his younger counterpart in the verso sketch (illus. 2). Poised chronologically between *Poetical Sketches* and *Songs of Innocence*, the drawings reproduced here show Blake experimenting with visual representations of the two poetical modes, and the states of consciousness they embody, in which he worked throughout most of his career.

Iliad of Homer Engraved by Thomas Piroli from the Compositions of John Flaxman Sculptor (Rome: [Piroli], 1793). For some of Blake's major pictures of the large triangular Celtic or Welsh harp, see his illustrations to Thomas Gray's "The Bard" (Butlin #335.53) and "The Triumphs of Owen" (Butlin #335.89), and the tempera painting and recto/verso drawings of *The Bard, from Gray* (Butlin #655-56). Homer holds a large lyre in Blake's first design to Gray's "The Progress of Poesy" (Butlin #335.41). In Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the Celtic harp became a symbol of national independence in the late eighteenth century; see Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997) 3-34. For Blake's possible allusions to the Irish harp and its attendant politics in *Jerusalem*, see Catherine L. McClenahan, "Blake's Erin, the United Irish, and 'Sexual Machines,'" in *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant*, ed. Alexander Gourlay (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill P, 2002) 165-67.

4. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, newly revised edition (New York: Doubleday, 1988) 417-18, hereafter cited as "E" followed by page number. According to the prefatory "Advertisement" to *Poetical Sketches* (E 846), the poems were composed well before 1783, roughly 1770-78.

5. "The Voice of the Ancient Bard" was composed and etched no later than 1789 and was included in most separate copies of *Songs of Innocence*. In later copies of the combined *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, printed 1818-27, Blake moved "The Voice of the Ancient Bard" to the *Experience* section, which the poem anticipates. The "Bard," who "Present, Past, & Future sees," is invoked in the "Introduction" to *Experience* (E 18). For printing dates, see the chart in Joseph Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 376-81.

"Great and Singular Genius": Further References to Blake (and Cromek) in the *Scots Magazine*

BY DAVID GROVES

The generous review of "Blake's Illustrations of Blair's Grave" in the *Scots Magazine* of November 1808 has been known for some time.¹ No critic, however, has yet noted the existence of two short anonymous notices, earlier in the same magazine, which paved the way for the volume's reception in Edinburgh. The first, in July 1807, appeared as the first of three paragraphs in the "Scottish Literary Intelligence" column. It announces the forthcoming Blake-Blair volume and describes an exhibition, organized by the book's publisher Robert Cromek, in St. James's Square in Edinburgh. The exhibition featured Blake's original paintings for Robert Blair's poem *The Grave*, as well as a painting to illustrate *The Canterbury Tales*:

A Splendid Edition of Blair's Grave is about to be published, illustrated with paintings by Mr Blake, an artist and poet of great and singular genius. These paintings are now exhibiting in James's Square No. 9. by Mr Cromek, a very ingenious young artist, who proposes to engrave them for the above-mentioned work, for which he is now taking in subscriptions. A beautiful painting of the procession of Chaucer's pilgrims is exhibited at the same time, and Mr Cromek is also taking in subscriptions for an engraving which is to be made from it.²

The "paintings" by Blake here were presumably the set of nineteen watercolors which have recently come to light, in what has been described as "the most exciting Blake discovery" in many decades, "and arguably the most important since Blake began to be appreciated in the second half of the nineteenth century."³ Evidently at this time in 1807, Cromek was planning to engrave Blake's designs himself. It is unclear whether the painting of "Chaucer's pilgrims" is the well-known one by Thomas Stothard, commissioned by Cromek and finished in

1. The review is reprinted in my note "Blake, *The Grave*, and Edinburgh Literary Society," *Blake* 24.1 (summer 1990): 35-36.

2. Anon., "Scottish Literary Intelligence," *Scots Magazine, and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* 69 (1807): 522.

3. Martin Butlin, "New Risen from the Grave: Nineteen Unknown Watercolors by William Blake," *Blake* 35.3 (winter 2002-03): 68-73 (68). The paintings apparently remained in Edinburgh after the exhibition, and were sold to a Scottish collector in 1836. See also G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Thomas Sivright and the Lost Designs for Blair's *Grave*," *Blake* 19.3 (winter 1985-86): 103-06.

1807, or the watercolor which Blake completed at about the same time, and which was also commissioned by Cromek.⁴

Meanwhile, Cromek's reputation in Edinburgh continued to grow as a result of his lucrative researches into Scottish poetry. The December *Scots Magazine* announced that "An interesting literary discovery of unpublished works of the late Robert Burns, has been made by Mr Cromer [sic], in a late tour through Scotland." Many Scots readers would have been stirred by this glowing account of newfound poems and letters by Burns being "rescued from oblivion" by Cromek.⁵ Coming so soon before the Blake-Blair volume, this advance publicity for Cromek's edition of *Reliques of Burns* probably contributed to the success of *The Grave*, with Blake's designs, in Edinburgh.

No mention of Blake appeared in the *Scots Magazine* between July 1807 and September 1808. But in that month, the magazine noted the actual publication of Blair's *Grave* and its engravings by Luigi Schiavonetti based on Blake's paintings. This briefer notice gives the size of the volume and its price of two pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence: "Illustrations of Blair's Grave, in 12 Etchings, executed by Louis Schiavonetti, from the Original Inventions of William Blake, 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d."⁶ The long review of *The Grave*, praising Blake for his "genius" and "beautiful" though "eccentric" designs, followed quickly in November.⁷

There appear to be no further citations of Blake in the *Scots Magazine*.⁸ But in December 1808, its readers were told that Cromek's long-awaited work on Burns was now in print: "Reliques of Robert Burns: consisting chiefly of original Letters, Poems, and Critical Observations on Scottish Songs. Collected and published by R.H. Cromek. 8vo. 10s. 6d."⁹ Long extracts from the *Reliques of Burns* followed in January 1809, and a laudatory review in March.¹⁰ Then, in August 1809, the

4. For Stothard's and Blake's rival illustrations to Chaucer, see Peter Ackroyd, *Blake* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995) 271-72, and G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969) 209, 216-17. Blake exhibited his own painting for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in London in May 1809.

5. Anon., "Scottish Literary Intelligence," *Scots Magazine* 69 (1807): 925.

6. Anon., *Scots Magazine* 70 (1808): 683. The notice is the second of three paragraphs in the "New Works Published in Edinburgh" section for September 1808.

7. *Scots Magazine* 70 (1808): 839-40.

8. The *Scots* continued publishing until the end of 1826. One article of some interest (as it mentions a few of Blake's fellow engravers) is the anonymous "Account of a Society Formed for the Encouragement of the Art of Engraving" (72 [August 1810]: 590-92).

9. Anon., "New Works Published in Edinburgh," *Scots Magazine* 70 (1808): 923. The identical notice (with a few changes in capitalization) appeared in the same column for January 1809 (71: 46).

10. Anon., "Cromek's Reliques of Burns," *Scots Magazine* 71 (1809): 30-33 and 198-203 (the title is taken from the table of contents for March). The appearance of these articles, coming so soon after the same journal's review of *The Grave*, would have given Cromek quite a high profile among Scottish readers.

same journal announced that "Mr Cromek is receiving subscriptions for an Historical Portrait of Mr Walter Scott, from the admired Picture by [Henry] Raeburn, which appeared at the last Exhibition [sic] of Scottish paintings."¹¹

Around 1810, Cromek's reputation in Scottish circles began to wane. Perhaps this was due in part to Walter Scott's influence, for Scott told one publisher that "Cromek is a perfect Brain-sucker living upon the labours of others."¹² Cromek's two-volume *Select Scottish Songs*, published in 1810, received neither review nor notice of any kind in the *Scots Magazine*. When his final book, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, came out in 1811, a polite but lukewarm review commended Cromek's "copious" notes and "good deal of valuable information" on the subjects of "witchcraft" and "fairies."¹³ Cromek's death in 1812 passed unnoticed in the *Scots Magazine*.

No critic has noted that Cromek was probably of Scots descent (though born in England). Each of his five volumes was Scottish in some way, and his unusual surname is remarkably close to the Scottish Gaelic words "crom," "cromack," or "cromag," which mean "anything twisted or bent, particularly fingers" (Blake would have enjoyed that!). "Cromack" is also a variant spelling of the Gaelic word "crummock," meaning "a cow with twisted horns" (see the *Scottish National Dictionary*, 1952 edition, III: 251-52 and 267).

11. Anon., "Scottish Literary Intelligence," *Scots Magazine*, and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* 71 (1809): 605.

12. Letter to John Murray, 3 Dec. 1810, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, 12 vols. (London: Constable, 1932-37) II: 409-10 (409).

13. Anon., "Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song ... by R.W. [sic] Cromek, F.A.S. Ed., Editor of the Reliques of Robert Burns," *Scots Magazine* 73 (June 1811): 441-47 (444, 445). "F.A.S. Ed." identifies Cromek as a fellow of Edinburgh's Antiquarian Society. The *Nithsdale* volume has some relevance to Blake, because many of its supposed folk songs were in fact by Allan Cunningham, who later wrote the well-known chapter on Blake in his *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters*. The imposture was detected by James Hogg, but Hogg was unable to find a publisher for his review on the subject; Hogg's review, alas, has never been traced, although he says he kept the manuscript until at least 1832 (see his "Memoir of the Author's Life" and "Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott," ed. Douglas Mack [Edinburgh: Scottish Academic P, 1972] 73).

Blake's Proverbs of Hell:

St. Paul and the Nakedness of Woman

BY HOWARD JACOBSON

Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* contains a section entitled Proverbs of Hell. This section, like the work as a whole, contains sharp satiric, even parodic, elements directed against the Bible, Blake's devotion to Scripture notwithstanding.

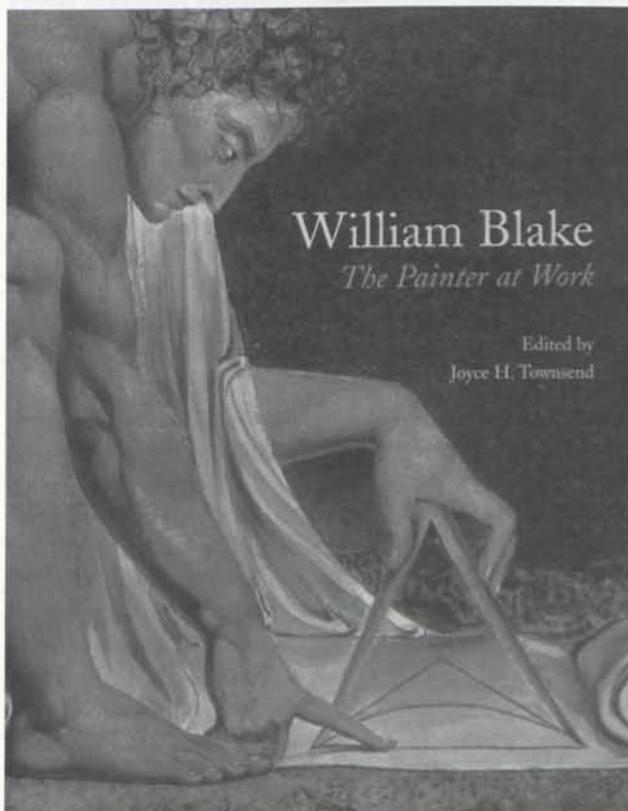
ing. One of the proverbs therein is "The nakedness of woman is the work of God."¹ Strangely, as far as I know, no one has noted the sharp—one might say polemical—relationship of this aphorism to a famous passage in Paul's first Letter to the Corinthians: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head; for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn; but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of god; but the woman is the glory of the man" (11:5-7).² "The woman is the glory of the man." Paul's aphoristic structure is kept by Blake: "The nakedness of woman is the work of God."³ Paul's injunction that women need to keep their hair covered is countered by Blake's overriding praise of the naked woman. While Paul condemns the baring of a woman's head, Blake lauds her presence with no coverings at all. This rejection of Paul is another example of what Bloom calls "Blake's Proverbs exist[ing] to break down orthodox categories of thought and morality."⁴

1. Proverbs 25.

2. King James Version.

3. Verbal and structural (and perhaps satiric) echoes of Paul's passage are already present in Blake three lines earlier, "The pride of the peacock is the glory of God" (22).

4. Harold Bloom, *Blake's Apocalypse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1963) 85.



R E V I E W

Joyce H. Townsend, ed., and Robin Hamlyn, consultant ed. *William Blake: The Painter at Work*. London: Tate Publishing, 2003; £19.99, paperback. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004; \$45.00, hardcover. 192 pp. 118 color, 28 b&w illus.

Reviewed by Alexander Gourlay

Joyce H. Townsend's handsome collection of colorfully illustrated studies and reports focuses on Blake's paintings and large color prints¹ as physical objects, with emphasis on identifying his methods and materials, establishing what the pictures originally looked like, and determining how they can now be preserved, restored and displayed. The technical information that dominates the book will be most directly useful to museum professionals, but the writers try to make the discussions accessible to Blakeans at large, whether art historians, literary scholars, artists, or interested amateurs. As one might expect, some of the essays exhibit the perturbations of voice and technical level that occur when multiple authors write collectively for a wide audience, but readers will have little trouble sorting out what is useful to them. All of the authors are affiliated in one way or another with the Tate, so the discussions concentrate on works in the incomparable Blake collection there, works recently exhibited there, and on pictures in or near London. As a result there are few definitive pronouncements here about what Blake always or never did—the contributors didn't examine everything, and it's clear from what they did study that his practices varied. All in all, the technical analyses are much more sophisticated than those that have previously been brought to bear on these questions, the results are more conclusive, the perspectives are refreshing and often startling, the discoveries are numerous, and the consequences are substantial for everyone who studies Blake's art.

Much of *The Painter at Work* is concerned with determining what the latest analytical, microscopic and imaging technologies can tell us about the procedures Blake used to create his watercolors, large color prints, and temperas, but among them the authors also bring to the discussion wide-ranging expertise in material culture, art history, and Blake studies, and in some cases they also have extensive personal experience with Blake works as physical objects: moving them, hanging

1. The large color prints are distinguished here from the color-printed pages in Blake's illuminated books and books of designs, for most of which Blake probably used similar materials but some different procedures. Robert N. Essick and the painter/printmaker Caroline Adams corrected many errors in drafts of this review.

them, storing them, lighting them, protecting them, cleaning and repairing them. Though many are specialists, the authors are not narrow-minded, and they consistently indicate how their information relates to some of the other ways of thinking about Blake's work. Nevertheless, the new analytical and critical veins they have uncovered are hardly exhausted, and scholars still have plenty of room to apply the information recorded here to the longstanding puzzles on which they bear.

One contributor who is especially adept at thinking simultaneously about Blake's pictures as intellectual constructs and as material objects is consultant editor Robin Hamlyn, a senior curator at the Tate. His introductory essay, "William Blake at Work: 'Every thing which is in Harmony,'" reflects not only deep knowledge of Blake's work and its various cultural contexts, but also longstanding familiarity with the pictures as something other than intangible presences on a wall. Although most of the information he assembles comes from earlier scholarship rather than the technical analyses presented here, Hamlyn's demystified perspective illuminates the practical and intellectual consequences of all kinds of pertinent physical realities, not just those of the objects themselves. When, for instance, he takes up the subject of "fresco," a medium that Blake particularly respected but understood rather differently from the rest of the world, Hamlyn deftly connects the fresco-related technical features of Blake's color prints and temperas, Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Loggia, the frescoes of Rigaud in the Guildhall, the "Venetian Secret" scandal of the mid-nineties, and Blake's idea of "Portable Fresco." And this brings up (here and in a later chapter he cowrote with Townsend and John Anderson) a particularly intangible work, the lost painting of *The Ancient Britons*; Hamlyn not only considers how the huge picture would have hung in Blake's 1809 Exhibition but also how the short, stocky artist must have climbed on the furniture to paint it in the studio in South Molton Street, how little space he would have had for framing it (suggesting that he didn't), and how he carried it to his brother's house on Broad Street where the exhibition was held. This particular "Portable Fresco" must have been not only light enough to move but, as G. E. Bentley and others have noted, capable of being rolled up to carry across town, through narrow doors and passages, and up and down several flights of stairs. *The Painter at Work* also features two other general essays: the first is a mildly confusing multi-author review of "The State of Knowledge on William Blake the Painter," summarizing a largely undifferentiated assortment of first-hand accounts, second-hand accounts, speculations of diverse vintage, and modern research reports. Joyce Townsend concludes the introduction by briskly describing the various analytical techniques used in the reports.

The main body of the book is divided into sections on watercolors (works in relatively thin colors painted on paper without a ground—what Blake usually called drawings), large color prints (works printed in thick colors from a stiff surface onto paper and finished variously), and temperas (works painted in thick and thin colors on a white ground), each of

which is further divided into chapters that address relevant subtopics. Blake himself did not explicitly classify his works this way: he experimented freely with materials and methods, and in practice and in rhetoric he often tried to shift or blur the traditional boundaries between art-making media. As a result, the sections of the book devoted to these topics often overlap, and because the chapters are the work of different authors, some information comes up twice. On the other hand, all the authors deliberately avoid the entire issue of "illuminated book" printing, especially printing pages in color. This decision is understandable, given the paucity of illuminated works at the Tate and the fierce debate about these processes in this journal and elsewhere, but also somewhat arbitrary, since most of Blake's painting media are involved one way or another in the printing and finishing of illuminated books, and many of the elaborate arguments in that controversy bear directly on works covered in this book.

The section on "Watercolours" is divided into Peter Bower's essay, "The Vivid Surface," on papers and stiffer paper-related materials (pasteboards, cardboards, millboards, etc.), and a discussion by Townsend and Noa Cahner McManus of Blake's "Watercolour Methods, and Materials Use in Context." Bower distinguishes lucidly between the various kinds of paper and board that Blake used or is said to have used as support for the finished works or in the process of color printing, and provides information about watermarks and papermakers that will also be very useful for those studying Blake's prints, illuminated books, and other works on paper from the period. McManus and Townsend show how Blake's watercolor technique was related to those of contemporary masters of the emergent medium such as Girtin and Turner, and then how different from theirs his actual practice usually was, even though he used many of the same materials. Most watercolorists drew a subject in graphite, added layers of "neutral tint" (gray or light brown) to establish forms, and then washed over the result in weak colors, often after erasing the graphite completely. By contrast, Blake usually avoided neutral tints, preferring to define form through clearly drawn lines that emerged from clouds of erased pentimenti; over the outlines he added strong colors, and then reinforced the lines with ink.

One generality is especially interesting: the authors note that Blake consistently favored additive procedures in his watercolors, eschewing such widely used techniques as color subtraction with sponge or cloth, scratching out or erasing (and though they don't mention it, I haven't seen evidence that he used the related technique of masking with impervious stencils to create patterns). McManus and Townsend suggest that subtractive techniques "might have seemed to him to be evidence of indecision or second thoughts" (66), and thus inconsistent with Blake's aesthetic doctrines, which usually favor as much directness as possible between inspiration and execution. That principle may be relevant, but my limited experience as a watercolorist tells me that subtractive techniques are more likely to be part of the artist's plan of execution than

afterthoughts. And Blake was not at all averse to subtractive procedures in his other media: some of the temperas use them (see 124-25 in the book under review) and his various printing processes play freely with reversal, subtraction and addition, white-line and black-line, shadow and light, even while they preserve the directness of execution that Blake so prized. What we may be seeing here is not inconsistency but allegiance to what Blake saw as the inherent properties of a given kind of art-making—for him, watercolor as a medium appears to have been “colouring,” an essentially additive (and subordinate) adjunct to drawing, which alone defined form; by contrast, his printmaking was a medium of reversals, reiterations, second and third thoughts, inversions and ironies, additive subtractions and subtractive additions. Conversely, Blake’s watercolors rarely feature even additive forms of serendipitous trickery for achieving naturalistic effects, such as brush slapping or sputtering, in which “natural” random patterns are created mechanically. The watercolor manuals of the day were filled with recipes for such indirection, but Blake’s approach maximized linearity, direct intentionality, and transparency, both literal and figurative. Although a few of his early works employ something like conventional watercolor procedure (neutral tones added to faint preliminary drawing, followed by weak color tinting), almost all his hundreds of later watercolors emphasize expressive line, especially outline, and strong pure color rather than tone.

Of all his techniques, Blake’s watercolor method seems calculated to contrast as much as possible with oil painting, which dominated all other media in the respectable art world, and which Blake detested on several different grounds. Many oil painters, then as now, used transparency and translucency to some degree in their work, but Blake always represented oil paint as essentially opaque, its colors murky, and its techniques disingenuous and indirect. Furthermore, both the vehicle and the pigment of oil colors seemed to him inherently unreliable in the long term. Blake was sure that oils would inevitably turn brown, and he knew that mixing oil colors on the palette, the usual practice when colors are nearly opaque, can bring together incompatible chemical compounds that eventually react with pernicious effect.

The Tate researchers show that Blake’s watercolor techniques seem to have been aimed at promoting both transparency and durability, even if he was not always successful at achieving either of them. The finished work usually reveals the underlying drawing, in general it uses the light reflected off the underlying paper and through pigmented layers rather than off the surface of opaque colors, and he usually finished the work by confirming the initial graphite outlines in ink. Both the graphite drawing and the final confirmation of it were of paramount importance to Blake, and yet his technique was not restricted to the addition of transparent layers: both late and early in his career, Blake’s colors were often strong enough to be virtually opaque, and he sometimes added substances like chalk and (disastrously) white lead that rendered them even more so. To minimize adverse reactions he almost always kept

his watercolor pigments themselves pure, and wisely used diluted ink for his grays rather than the popular compounded “neutral tints” of the day, many of which have faded. Unlike oil painters, Blake usually created mixed colors by applying a second color over the first after it had dried thoroughly, or added colors side by side in small touches with a dry brush (though he sometimes created greens by mixing blue and yellow on the palette or by washing one wet color over another while the first was still wet). One other significant pattern in the analysis of Blake’s watercolor pigments is that in general he seems to have chosen inexpensive pigments and avoided expensive ones. This could be an unsurprising consequence of Blake’s usual poverty, but given his experimental spirit and his willingness to use expensive papers and other deluxe materials, it may be better understood as an attempt to avoid unproven pigments or ones with prices that might encourage adulteration or misrepresentation.

McManus and Townsend also address questions about the current state of Blake’s watercolors, many of which are not in good shape, especially those that have been exposed to light for any period of time. They explain which pigments have probably vanished and which have shifted in color, and show examples of various forms of deterioration and restoration. Thus a picture like *The River of Life* may once have featured a considerably bluer river and green lawns that have subsequently turned mottled gray and yellow, respectively, as fugitive blues vanished from too much exposure.² It is somewhat heartening that most of the widespread deterioration (and damage in “restoration”) occurred in the nineteenth century and has been slowed considerably for those works that are now in good hands. The Tate authors don’t address this issue directly, but if lost or altered colors can be mapped on Blake’s pictures reliably, digital recreations of their original appearance may be possible.

The chapter on the large color prints, also by McManus and Townsend, greatly clarifies Blake’s practice in this medium, in which he executed some of his most striking works. It shares characteristics with watercolor, tempera, and the color printing that Blake did in the illuminated books: like the watercolors and color-printed illuminated pages, Blake’s large color prints were executed on paper without a ground, and like the temperas and most color-printed books, they employ colors made by combining pigments (some of them outside his watercolor palette) with a thick water-based binder, usually a mixture of plant gums and sugar or honey, the Tate authors report.³

2. The authors propose a complex sequence of deterioration, restoration, and more deterioration to account for the current state of the blues in this picture.

3. Those interested in the large color prints should also consult Joseph Viscomi’s reports of his experiments with color printing from flat surfaces in Robert N. Essick and Viscomi, “Blake’s Method of Color Printing: Some Responses and Further Observations,” *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 36.2 (fall 2002): 61-63 and Bo Ossian Lindberg’s observations in his review of Essick’s *Printmaker* in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 15.3 (winter 1981-82): 140-48.

Their tests show that the gums included gum arabic (from the acacia tree), gum tragacanth (from the shrub *Astragalus gum-mifer* or its close relative *Astragalus verus*), and possibly gum karaya (also called Indian tragacanth, from *Sterculia urens*). Gum arabic, the gum most widely used to bind ordinary watercolors, promotes even dispersion of pigments and is readily soluble and resoluble in water, but gum tragacanth (usually called gum dragon in Blake's day but not to be confused with the reddish tree resin called dragon's blood) is a thickener that dissolves best in warm water and is not easily resoluble once it has dried. The Tate authors list gum karaya as a possible component because gas chromatography cannot distinguish it from gum arabic when gum tragacanth is present, but they note that it wasn't regularly imported in Blake's day. It is a very potent thickener that might conceivably have been sold to Blake as gum tragacanth, but the gum karaya I have used is fairly resoluble in cool water, and would not have been a satisfactory substitute for tragacanth if Blake sought waterfastness as well as thickening.

The presence of substantial amounts of gum tragacanth suggests that despite similarities to Blake's watercolor palette, many of the colors used in color printing had a very different consistency from those used in the watercolors. The working characteristics of a paint bound with a mixture of arabic and tragacanth might have been roughly comparable to those of modern acrylics, which can be thick or thin and, though water-based, are waterproof when dry. Gum tragacanth was sometimes called "watercolor megilp" (or "McGuelp"),⁴ reflecting its similarity to the mastic-based megilp used as a thickener in oil painting. (My experiments with various combinations of the thickening gums, however, suggest that unlike acrylics or oil megilp, which tend to retain their shape in impasto, thickened gum gels collapse almost completely to thin layers as the very high water content in them evaporates.) The reticulated patterns that appear in the colored prints indicate that for this purpose Blake's colors were rendered gelatinously thick, largely by the gum tragacanth, with much more substance than his ordinary watercolors, though they could be diluted to the consistency of water.⁵ Unlike Blake's watercolor drawings, which are scrupulously deliberate, the large color prints often rely heavily on (and carefully preserve) the largely serendipitous patterning effects created by the thick colors as they pulled off the printing surface in blobs, sierras, and peaks that subsequently shrank down as they dried but did not lose relief entirely. The Tate authors cite D. G. Rossetti's baffled awe when he examined these patterns in the color print *Newton*:

4. The *OED* lists the following variants: "Magelp, magelph, magilp, magylp, magylph, megilp, megelp, megylp, megylph, macgelp, macgelph, macgilp, macgilph, macgylyp, macgulyp, magulp, megulph, mygelp, mygelph, mygilp, mygilph, mygulyp, mygulyph." Marjorie B. Cohn, in *Wash and Gouache* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg, 1977) 57, spells it "meglip."

5. Some of Blake's watercolors include gum tragacanth as a constituent in the binder, and it is possible that he used very dilute glue in this way as well.

"I can conceive no mechanical process short of photography which is really capable of explaining it" (43). Although most of these impressive reticulations were probably generated by the printing process, we should be alert to the possibility that when finishing the large color prints he created additional patterning effects by means of the kind of paint manipulations (blotting, dabbing) that he rarely used in watercolor. Another significant difference from Blake's watercolors is that although there may have been a preliminary drawing on the flat printing surface, it would not have transferred to the color print: the only visible drawing on a large color print is the final outlining in ink.

Once the printed colors of a large color print had dried thoroughly they would not easily "wash up" as colors bound by gum arabic do, because the tragacanth and/or related gums would inhibit it. The printing colors were often rendered nearly opaque by their thickness, pigment density and/or by the addition of lead white, chalk or other materials. If Blake wished to print a composite color he could not superimpose or delicately juxtapose its constituents as he could with watercolor, but had to mix them before (or after) applying them to the printing surface, though for some color combinations he could print an opaque constituent and wash a second transparent one over it after the first had dried.

The large color prints were painted once onto a stiff flat surface, probably millboard,⁶ and then two or at most three impressions of varying strength were taken from the wet painting onto dampened paper.⁷ Once these impressions dried, the printed colors on them were supplemented with more water-based colors, thick and thin, opaque and transparent, as well as such materials as shell gold, gold leaf, India ink, printer's ink, graphite and charcoal; as in Blake's watercolors and temperas, finishing usually involved fixing outlines in ink with a pen or brush. Each print would be a little different from the others as colors were depleted (and weakened) or dampened (and rendered more transferable) by successive printings, and the finishing/outlining process would further differentiate the resulting prints from each other. Nevertheless, the printed areas themselves are so similar in distribution of color from impression to impression that there could have been no re-painting of the millboard between taking them, which also explains why there are so few impressions of each. By contrast, for the color printing involved in illuminated books, most impressions involved reinking the text and relief elements of the design with printer's ink and probably some replenishment of the surface areas that printed colors. To supplement their

6. *God Judging Adam* was probably printed from copper etched in relief rather than a flat surface. Millboard was a smooth glueless unlaminated paperboard that was finished by milling between heavy rollers, according to Bower (56-57).

7. Viscomi and Essick suggest that Blake may have sealed the surface of the millboard with a layer of glue-based gesso to keep the paint from soaking in. See "Blake's Method" 61. They also suggest that Blake's process may have involved printing from a semidried image, which would be rehydrated by the dampness of the printing paper.

general account of color printing, McManus and Townsend consider two specific large color prints, compare two versions of *Satan Exulting over Eve*, and finally Piers Townshend and Joyce Townsend offer a detailed account of the conservation of the Tate's recently acquired copy of that print.

The three chapters on tempera are cowritten by Bronwyn Ormsby, Brian Singer, and John Dean; Townsend joins them in the chapter placing these paintings in context. Blake designated many of his works in various media (even the large color prints) as "fresco," a term that in its strictest sense refers to water-based colors applied to fresh damp plaster. Blake didn't work on plaster, wet or dry, but the temperas discussed here were all executed in water-based colors on a gesso-like white ground—a foundational layer that, like plaster, reflects light through the colors above it and provides white areas of the picture—and of his works they are the most similar to what the rest of the world calls fresco.

The Tate researchers establish that Blake's ground consisted mostly of whiting, basically powdered chalk and other white substances such as lead white, bound with transparent animal glue (which was probably made by gently simmering glove clippings, parchment, or rabbit skin), along with a small amount of sugar or honey. This animal glue was water-based like Blake's gum binders (these are also present sometimes in the ground), but it was much more fluid when warm than when cool, at least when undiluted (gum tragacanth requires heat to dissolve, but unless it is very thick it remains workable when cool). When animal glue cools, it quickly sets into a rubbery clear gelatin, and unlike the thickening gums it retains much of its substance when it hardens—it is also resoluble for some time after setting/drying, though less so than gum arabic.

To create a tempera, Blake applied the glue/whiting mixture in layers to a support—paper, canvas, wood, copper, tinned steel or iron,⁸ etc.—let that cool and harden, then executed the preliminary underdrawing in ink or paint on the resulting white surface as if it were paper, protected that layer with a layer of unpigmented glue, then painted on it using everything from gelatinously thick colors to thin washes, adding other materials similar to those used in finishing the color prints. The authors note that Blake probably laid the work flat for most stages in the process, thereby preventing runs and promoting the even dispersion of the pigments.

Those studying Blake's temperas have often noted that the paint has multiple layers, and almost all reports assert that he used animal glue to paint his pictures, usually with the assumption that it served as a binder, as in distemper painting. One very important revelation in the Tate studies of Blake's temperas is that he alternated layers of pigment (bound mostly with mixed gums arabic/karaya and tragacanth) with layers of the clear unpigmented animal glue, and usually ended with ink outlining and a final layer of glue, followed by a coat or two of clear varnish that would seal the glue from humidity.

8. Used only in the Tate's *Agony in the Garden*.

The Tate authors do not try to sort out which properties Blake sought from the individual constituents of his paints, but I suspect that he used the gums and glue for different purposes. Although there is a long tradition of using glue as a binding medium, especially in medieval icon painting, glue-bound colors may have been less satisfactory or less familiar to Blake than the gum-bound colors he used in his watercolors. My informal experiments with gums suggest that for his temperas Blake might have relied on the gum arabic to provide good brushing characteristics and pigment dispersion, and on the tragacanth to inhibit washing up, to reduce runniness, and to segregate different pigments, thus inhibiting adverse reactions. As noted above, even very thick tragacanth/arabic mixtures collapse to a fraction of their hydrated size when the water in them evaporates,⁹ whereas glue layers remain relatively deep and clear as they set and dry, so the latter would have been the main source of depth in Blake's finished pictures.¹⁰ I have not experimented with cherry gum, which is found in a few pictures, but the Tate authors suggest that it also may have contributed to the enamel-like effects that Blake apparently sought.

The researchers report that in addition to the gum mixtures, animal glue is also found in the layers of pigment, so Blake may have mixed warm (or diluted) glue and wet gums with the pigments as he worked or added color while the glue layers were still wet. It is also possible that dilute glue washes seeped into cracked layers of gum. Future experiments with the properties of glues and gums may answer questions about the temperas and large color prints that were not susceptible to the analyses reported here, especially questions about which properties of each of these materials Blake sought in their various applications.¹¹

A chapter on the present appearance of the temperas notes that many of them have darkened, some in his lifetime, and others since then. Blake apparently sought transparency and depth in both his temperas and large color prints, but these qualities have not consistently survived. Careless "restora-

9. The thickening effect of the tragacanth may have been most important to the color printing process, since the physical properties of the wet colors would matter a great deal there. When whiting or similar substances were included, as in many of Blake's temperas and prints, these would limit collapse.

10. Blake's final coats of varnish may also have contributed to the depth of his temperas and color prints, and may have had another beneficial effect. The Tate analyses indicate that many of the large color prints and temperas contain lead white, but the pictures do not consistently show the characteristic blackening that occurs when lead carbonate is exposed to sulfur dioxide and hydrogen sulfide in the air. On deteriorating lead white in the illuminated books, see Michael Phillips, *William Blake: The Creation of the Songs* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000) 106-07. I don't think Blake varnished illuminated book pages, so it might have been varnishes (and/or substantial amounts of tragacanth) that protected the lead white in the large color prints and temperas.

11. It is puzzling that he used some materials that had the very properties he condemned in oil paint, for his gum binders collapse, and he used lead white, which he knew could turn black (E 530-31).

tion" may be partly to blame, but the mixing of carbohydrates (gums, sugars) and proteins (glue) in the temperas may have led to a phenomenon called the "Maillard reaction"¹² that turned many of the tempera colors brownish and rendered formerly transparent layers translucent or opaque. Other darkening may have other causes: the picture of *Satan Calling Up His Legions* at the Victoria and Albert contains only plant gums but is now so dark that it is virtually impossible to see anything in it; the egregious obscurity of this picture and some others in the 1809 Exhibition may have been part of a deliberate deadpan joke about darkness visible, dark masters, and chiaroscuro.¹³ The Tate authors suggest Blake's habit of returning to his work again and again may also have led to darkening in the temperas, as layer upon layer of color, gums, glue, and urban dirt obscured and finally buried the underlying white of the ground and reflections from the gold and silver that he embedded in the glue.

The book ends with an illuminating chapter by Townsend, Hamlyn, and John Anderson on the history of presenting Blake's paintings and prints, including practices and economic considerations circa 1800 relevant to mounting, framing, collecting, storing, and hanging pictures like Blake's in various contexts (in exhibitions, galleries, private homes), as well as their more recent presentation in museums. One might expect this chapter to be of most interest to those who will hang future exhibitions, but the discussion casts light upon all sorts of questions, especially about Blake's audiences and patrons and what he made of them and they of him. In one case, the authors show that the framing history of several works suggests that influential inscriptions long associated with Blake are more likely from the mid-nineteenth century.

I am only beginning to digest the information presented in this book, and to reread earlier studies in its light, but it has already done more to clarify Blake's painting and color-printing practices for me than anything I have read in the last twenty years. I believe that even Blake enthusiasts who usually avoid technical questions will find many of the discussions here to be "sweet science," and recommend it to them as wholeheartedly as I do to those who are already interested in this kind of material fact. Blake's discussions of art veer unpredictably between the technical, the theoretical, and the spiritual, and we should all prepare ourselves to rethink all aspects of Blake's aesthetics in light of the technical discoveries in this book. I look forward to the many uses that students of Blake will find for the information here, particularly reports from artists who have used it as the basis for a new round of experiments with Blake's color-printing and tempera techniques.

12. This is the same complex reaction that browns food when it is cooked.

13. Similarly, *The Goats, an Experiment Picture*, in which "picturesque scenery" has been "laboured to a superabundant blackness," may have been calculated to frustrate goatish connoisseurs hoping to get a glimpse of the dark "savage girls" as hungry goats stripped them of their vine-leaf garments.

Cold Colloquy

So we red-eyed it from Vancouver to TO
 where it was cold as February, you know—
 and lined up for BLAKE—in letters six-feet high—
 that morning some twenty years gone by
 outside and inside the AGO.
 This 'optic heart' remembers
 the burnished and intricately lined copperplate glow
 of his *Canterbury Pilgrims*—what happened
 if the burin slipped?

That evening as Frye held forth
 on Blake's Bible Illustrations (sans slides, of course)
 one found them gently arising
 in one's still sleepless mind to his discourse.
 Afterwards chatting with him and a few others
 over coffee and cookies (it being the U of T)—
 our wives discussing the Group of Seven—he
 confiding that 'Urizen is necessary,' me
 mentioning that I knew a poet whose zip-
 code began with LOS: he
 registering that with an *augenblick*.

Next morning outside the hotel at dawn I catch
 a cab and am joined by a sudden highjacking stranger—
 for the short ride to the Gallery (no danger):
 guy sitting beside me says, 'I'm Bill Mitchell.'
 I almost reply I'm Haile Selassie
 but manage, 'I've read your book,'
 whereupon we both lapse into jet-lagged silence.
 Then he reels off,

'If Blake wrote this when he sat down to shite
 What could he not do if he sat down to write?'
 'Yeah,' I mutter, feeling a bit warmer as we arrive.

Warren Stevenson

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PARADISE POST

JOHN MULLON

JOHN MULLON, a well-known figure in the community, is the subject of this article. He has spent his life dedicated to his work and his family.

He is a man of many talents and has achieved great success in his field. His dedication and hard work have made him a respected member of the community.

His family is a source of pride and joy for him. He has raised several children who have followed in his footsteps and achieved their own success.

He is a man of integrity and honesty. He has always been fair and just in his dealings with others. His reputation is well-earned and he is loved and respected by all who know him.

He is a true leader and has inspired many others to follow in his path. His life is a testament to the power of hard work and dedication.



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