

BLAKE

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY



"A Pair of Stays to mend the Shape / Of crooked Humpy Woman":
Angus Whitehead Uncovers the Residents of 17 South Molton Street

VOLUME 43

NUMBER 3

WINTER 2009-10

Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

www.blakequarterly.org

VOLUME 43

NUMBER 3

WINTER 2009-10

C O N T E N T S

Article

Mark and Eleanor Martin, the Blakes' French Fellow
Inhabitants at 17 South Molton Street, 1805-21

By Angus Whitehead

84

Reviews

William Blake's 1809 Exhibition, Tate Britain, 20 April-4
October 2009; Martin Myrone, ed., *Seen in My Visions: A
Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures*

Reviewed by Alexander Gourlay

96

Matthew J. A. Green, *Visionary Materialism in the Early
Works of William Blake: The Intersection of Enthusiasm and
Empiricism*

Reviewed by Nancy M. Goslee

100

Minute Particulars

"And the sun dial by Blake" (Butlin #374A)

By Morton D. Paley

105

Blake Copperplates in the Thomas Ross Archive

By G. E. Bentley, Jr.

107

The Early Marketing of *The Grave* in London and Boston

By Wayne C. Ripley

109

Waxed in Blake

By Nelson Hilton

110

A D V I S O R Y B O A R D

G. E. Bentley, Jr., University of Toronto, retired
Martin Butlin, London
Detlef W. Dörrbecker, University of Trier
Robert N. Essick, University of California, Riverside
Angela Esterhammer, University of Zürich

Nelson Hilton, University of Georgia
Anne K. Mellor, University of California, Los Angeles
Joseph Viscomi, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
David Worrall, The Nottingham Trent University

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

ANGUS WHITEHEAD (richard.whitehead@nie.edu.sg) is assistant professor of English literature at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is currently preparing a monograph exploring the later years (1803-31) of William and Catherine Blake. His essay on a recently discovered epigram by Robert Bloomfield is forthcoming in the *Robert Bloomfield Society Newsletter*.

ALEXANDER GOURLAY teaches at the Rhode Island School of Design.

NANCY MOORE GOSLEE has just become Distinguished Humanities Professor Emerita, Department of English, University of Tennessee. Her recent publications include essays on Blake, on Shelley, and on the figure of William Wallace in romantic literature.

MORTON D. PALEY is the author of *Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Fine Arts* (2008). He is currently looking into the subject of Blake and George Romney.

G. E. BENTLEY, JR., *Blake's* checklister, is pursuing information about Blake's apprentice Thomas Owen and *Remember Me!* and Blake's patrons.

WAYNE C. RIPLEY (wripley@winona.edu) is an assistant professor of English at Winona State University.

NELSON HILTON (nhilton@uga.edu) teaches English at the University of Georgia, where he also directs its Center for Teaching and Learning.

E D I T O R S

EDITORS: Morris Eaves and Morton D. Paley
BIBLIOGRAPHER: G. E. Bentley, Jr.
REVIEW EDITOR: Alexander S. Gourlay
ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR GREAT BRITAIN: David Worrall

PRODUCTION OFFICE: Department of English, Morey 410,
University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451
MANAGING EDITOR: Sarah Jones sarah.jones@rochester.edu
TELEPHONE: 585/275-3820 FAX: 585/442-5769

Morris Eaves, Department of English, University of
Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451
Email: meav@mail.rochester.edu

Morton D. Paley, Department of English, University of
California, Berkeley CA 94720-1030
Email: mpaley@berkeley.edu

G. E. Bentley, Jr., 246 MacPherson Avenue, Toronto,
Ontario M4V 1A2 Canada

Alexander S. Gourlay, Department of English, Rhode Island
School of Design, 2 College Street, Providence RI 02903-2717
Email: agourlay@risd.edu

David Worrall, Faculty of Humanities, The Nottingham
Trent University, Clifton Lane, Nottingham NG11 8NS UK
Email: david.worrall@ntu.ac.uk

I N F O R M A T I O N

BLAKE/AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY is published under the sponsorship of the Department of English, University of Rochester. Subscriptions are \$60 for institutions, \$30 for individuals. All subscriptions are by the volume (1 year, 4 issues) and begin with the summer issue. Subscription payments received after the summer issue will be applied to the current volume. Addresses outside the US, Canada, and Mexico require a \$20 per volume postal surcharge for airmail delivery. Credit card payment is available. Make checks payable to *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly*. Address all subscription orders and related communications to Sarah Jones, *Blake*, Department of English, University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451. Back issues are available; address Sarah Jones for information on issues and prices, or consult the web site.

MANUSCRIPTS are welcome in either hard copy or electronic form. Send two copies, typed and documented according to forms suggested in the *MLA Style Manual*, and with pages numbered, to either of the editors. No articles will be returned unless accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. For electronic submissions, you may send a disk, or send your article as an attachment to an email message; please number the pages of electronic submissions.

INTERNATIONAL STANDARD SERIAL NUMBER: 0160-628x.

© 2010 Copyright Morris Eaves and Morton D. Paley

Cover: Detail of "The Stay-Maker," Joseph Haynes after William Hogarth, 1782 (from Heath edition, 1822); image courtesy of Darvill's Rare Prints, Durango, CO.

Mark and Eleanor Martin,
the Blakes' French Fellow Inhabitants
at 17 South Molton Street, 1805–21

BY ANGUS WHITEHEAD

AS the first major Paris exhibition of the poet-artist's works in over sixty years has recently taken place,¹ it seems fitting to discuss William and Catherine Blake's sixteen-year association with a Parisian: their landlord at 17 South Molton Street, Mark Martin. In this paper, after a brief discussion of his predecessors, I present new information concerning Martin, his wife, his nationality, and his trade. I also discuss the relationship between the Martins and the Blakes and how the nature of that relationship throws light on the Blakes' seventeen-year residence in South Molton Street (illus. 1-2), a period of Blake's life of which we still know very little.

Mark Martin is at least in name not unfamiliar to Blake scholarship. In April 1830, almost three years after Blake's death, John Linnell recalled: "When I first became acquainted with M^r. Blake he lived in a first floor in South Molton Street and upon his Landlord leaving off business & retiring to France, he moved to Fountain Court Strand, where he died."² In 1958 Paul Miner, on the basis of data from early nineteenth-century rate books for the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, first identified "the rate-payer [at 17 South Molton Street] for the period 1803-1821, presumably Blake's landlord," as Mark Martin.³ Although most subsequent biographers have utilized Miner's discovery, none has expanded upon it. Martin has remained no more than a name, referred to as "Mark Martin," "one Mark Martin," or "a certain Mark Martin."⁴ Commenting upon Linnell's recollection, Miner observed that, although Martin appears to have retired to France in 1821, "he seems to have retained ownership of the property; at any rate a 'Mark Martin' continued to pay the rates as late as 1829."⁵ No subsequent biographer has discussed Mar-

For advice and assistance during my research for and writing of this paper, I wish to thank Robert Essick, Ian Chipperfield, Rory Lalwan, Michael Phillips, Mark Crosby, and especially Anne-Laure Robert.

1. William Blake, le génie visionnaire du romantisme anglais, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Apr.-June 2009.

2. Letter to Bernard Barton, quoted in Bentley, *Blake Records* [hereafter BR(2)] 526. Alexander Gilchrist states in his 1863 biography that the move to Fountain Court occurred in 1821 (Gilchrist 282).

3. Miner 544.

4. See respectively Bentley, *Stranger* 260fn, King 158, Ackroyd 249.

5. Miner 544. He thanks "G. F. Osborn, Archivist, Westminster Public Libraries, for this information" (549n32).

tin or identified the business he must have left off in order to retire. Ruthven Todd observed that "it is not known whether the ground floor [of no. 17] was then used commercially as it has been for at least a century."⁶ However, Peter Ackroyd first suggested that the Blakes' two rooms would have been situated "no doubt above some kind of commercial establishment."⁷ In this essay I demonstrate that both Miner and Ackroyd were correct.

The Blakes' Previous Landlord(s?) at South Molton Street: John Lytrott

However, Miner is mistaken in some details. Martin was not ratepayer (and consequently not landlord) at 17 South Molton Street between 1803 and 1804, when William and Catherine Blake first lodged there; he was their second or perhaps third landlord at this residence. The ratepayer in March 1803 is recorded as John Lytrott,⁸ and the residential section of *Holden's Triennial Directory* lists a Captain John Lytrott.⁹ It is therefore possible that the Blakes initially corresponded with, met, and even lodged briefly with Lytrott between his last appearance in the rate book in March 1803 and his absence therein the following year. Since the Blakes moved in about October 1803,¹⁰ Lytrott may have been their landlord (if not necessarily their fellow inhabitant) for a period of up to five and a half months.¹¹

On 17 May 1788, after partially retiring from the army, Lytrott married Ann MacDonald at St. George's, Hanover

6. Todd 63.

7. Ackroyd 248-49.

8. St. George's Parish, Hanover Square, Brook Street Ward, poor, watch, and paving rates, 1803 (City of Westminster Archives Centre [hereafter COWAC] C596).

9. *Holden's Triennial Directory* 1802-03-04 (1802) n. pag.

10. See Erdman [hereafter E] 737 (letter of 26 Oct. 1803). However, the South Molton Street address on this letter is in fact an insertion by Gilchrist (see Gilchrist 170). A letter of 7 Oct. 1803 suggests that the Blakes had only recently arrived in London (E 736-37).

11. Several facts concerning Lytrott's life can be traced. He was baptized in 1763 at St. George's Church, Hanover Square (*International Genealogical Index* <<http://www.familysearch.org>>), so was almost certainly born and bred in Mayfair. However, his name and choice of regiment suggest Scottish ancestry. On 19 Dec. 1777 he was commissioned as quartermaster for the first battalion of Major-General John Mackenzie, Lord Macleod's Highlanders, Seventy-Third Regiment, a Scottish regiment raised in response to the outbreak of the American war (see *A List of the General and Field Officers, As They Rank in the Army* [Dublin: Executors of David Hay, 1780] 148). The Seventy-Third served in southern India and sustained heavy losses at Cuddalore on 13 June 1783. In 1784 Lytrott appears in the army lists as second lieutenant (a commission almost certainly purchased) in the Royal North British Fusiliers, Twenty-First Foot. However, the entry indicates that he was collecting half pay, which suggests that he had retired or was unfit for active service (*A List of the Officers of the Army ... Complete to 1st June 1784* [Dublin: Abraham Bradley King, 1784] 294). Lytrott's listing in a new regiment and on half pay shortly after the battle of Cuddalore, coupled with his later appointment as captain of the Seventh Royal Veterans, a regiment for servicemen unfit for active duty (see below), implies that he was wounded or incapacitated during his service in India.



1-2. 17 South Molton Street c. 1912 (watercolor by Frederick Adcock; City of Westminster Archives Centre, C138) and in August 2002 (photograph by Angus Whitehead).

Square.¹² A “Mrs MacDonald” and a “Ms MacDonald,” probably Ann’s daughter (named Christian, a common Scottish female forename in the period), had been ratepayers at 17 South Molton Street since 1786,¹³ the year in which Alexander MacDonald, Ann’s first husband and the previous ratepayer, had died.¹⁴ In 1790 Lytrott replaced his wife and stepdaughter as ratepayer and, as we have seen, continued until sometime be-

12. St. George, Hanover Square, marriage register, vol. 254 (COWAC).

13. In 1786 “Mrs MacDonald,” 1787-89 “Mrs, Ms MacDonald” (for 1788 and 1789 these entries have been subsequently scored through), 1790 “John Lytrott.” See St. George’s rates, 1786-90 (COWAC C382, 383, 384, 387, 583).

14. “Will of Alexander MacDonald or McDonald, Gentleman of South Molton Street Grosvenor Square, Middlesex,” proved 11 May 1786 (PRO PROB 11/1142, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers, Norfolk Quire Numbers: 262-311). With Hugh Blair, Joseph Johnson, Anna Seward, Helen Maria Williams, and Richard Cosway, he was a subscriber to fellow Scots Maria and Harriet Falconar’s *Poems* (see Falconar xxv), although the book was published after his death.

tween March 1803 and March 1804.¹⁵ His ceasing to pay rates during this period is probably explained by the fact that on 25 December 1802 he became a captain in the Seventh Royal Veteran Battalion, raised under Major-General Thomas Murray and formed for those men discharged from cavalry and foot guards regiments as good for garrison duties only. It is likely that between December 1802 and March 1804 Lytrott moved from South Molton Street to the battalion’s quarters at Fulham garrison.

Whether Lytrott’s wealth derived from his wife or was his own, he appears to have been a man of some means, leaving

15. In 1793 Lytrott’s regiment, the Twenty-First Foot, formed part of an expedition to the West Indies. However, his remaining on half pay suggests that he did not travel with it (*A List of the Officers of the Army* [Dublin: Printed by James King and A. Bradley King, 1795] 357). On 27 Aug. 1794 he was promoted to captain in the Twenty-First (*The Monthly Army List ... 1 Jan. 1798-1 June 1809* [London, 1798-1809] 483), and in 1795 he is recorded as captain on half pay in the Late Loyal Sheffield Regiment of Foot.

generous sums to servants on his death in 1809.¹⁶ This suggests that these servants had been employed for several years and had therefore lived at South Molton Street five years earlier. Lytrott also bequeathed £100 to his stepdaughter, Mrs. Christian Hargreaves, née MacDonald. His evident wealth indicates that no. 17 was the well-kept home of a man of substance.

MacDonald and Lytrott describe themselves in their wills as gentlemen and as resident or formerly resident at South Molton Street. This may suggest that during the residence of both men, and probably since its construction (c. 1755), no. 17 served the purpose for which it was built: to accommodate one household. However, it is also possible that a shopkeeper or lodger may have rented a floor. Nevertheless, from the time that the house was built until the Blakes' arrival, persons of social rank paid the rates. From March 1804 until several decades after the Blakes left, the ratepayers were tradesmen, indicating a social shift in the history of the house.¹⁷

The Blakes' Previous Landlord(s?) at South Molton Street: William Enoch

A ratepayer at no. 17 who we can be certain preceded Martin as the Blakes' landlord and fellow inhabitant is William Enoch, who ran a tailor's shop from this address, presumably on the ground floor. Rate-book entries indicate that he assumed the rates as Lytrott ceased paying and in all probability left the premises, i.e., between March 1803 and March 1804. Enoch lived with his wife, Mary Naylor Enoch, and their infant son, William, above the shop.¹⁸ In a letter of January 1804, written after his trial for sedition at Chichester, Blake informed William Hayley, "My poor wife has been near the Gate of Death as was supposed by our kind & attentive fellow inhabitant. the young & very amiable M^{rs} Enoch. who gave my wife all the attention that a daughter could pay to a mother."¹⁹ This implies extremely amiable relations between the Blakes and the Enochs, perhaps suggesting that they remained friends after the family left no. 17.²⁰ However, the business appears to have been experiencing difficulties by the closing months of 1804, necessitating the Enochs' departure from the

shop and apartment, certainly by March 1805 and perhaps as early as the autumn of 1804. As Mary Enoch had provided aid and solace to Catherine Blake in early 1804, the Blakes may have tried to assist their co-inhabitants at the end of that year as the business went under.

Entries from the *London Gazette* and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* during the first half of 1805 explain the brief duration of the Enochs' residence.²¹ The *Gazette* for 22 January 1805 indicates that by this date Enoch had already been declared bankrupt. The fact that he is referred to as "late of 17 South Molton" suggests that the family had left by the end of 1804. However, no new address is mentioned. The same article reveals that Enoch had been ordered to surrender himself to the commission at Guildhall for examination on 5 and 9 February and 9 March to "make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects."²² On Saturday 2 February *Jackson's Oxford Journal* included Enoch in a list of bankrupts: "William Enoch ..., late of South Molton Street, Oxford Street, Middlesex, Tailor, February 5, 9, March 9 at Guildhall."²³ The settling of Enoch's affairs before the issuing of a certificate of bankruptcy must have taken longer than anticipated, as proceedings were adjourned on 9 March 1805 and reconvened on the 23rd at a meeting in which final creditors proved their debts.²⁴ On 14 May the *Gazette* reported:

Whereas the acting Commissioners in the Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against William Enoch, late of South-Molton-Street, Oxford-Street, in the County of Middlesex, Tailor, Dealer and Chapman, have certified to the Right Honorable John Lord Eldon, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, that the said William Enoch hath in all Things conformed himself according to the Directions of the several Acts of Parliament made concerning Bankrupts; This is to give Notice, that, by virtue of an Act passed in the Fifth Year of His late Majesty's Reign, his Certificate will be allowed and confirmed as the said Act directs, unless Cause be shewn to the contrary on or before the 8th Day of June next.²⁵

Mark Martin

The rate-book entries for no. 17 reveal that Martin was first recorded as ratepayer in March 1805, approximately eighteen months after the Blakes moved into their lodgings.²⁶ However, it is possible that he had replaced the bankrupt Enoch as landlord and ratepayer as early as the autumn of 1804. Miner's statement that "a 'Mark Martin' continued to pay the rates as

16. He bequeathed Eleanor Ryan £500 and Thomas Branning "my servant and a private soldier in the Seventh Royal Veteran Battalion fifty pounds together with all my shirts and wearing apparel except my regimental cloak boots and accoutrements ..." (will of John Lytrott of Hanover Square, Middlesex, proved 17 July 1809 [PRO PROB 11/1501, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers, Loveday Quire Numbers: 560-617]). According to his will, Lytrott was living in Lower Swan Street, Chelsea, by 1809.

17. In the 1861 census William Arnold, breeches maker, is listed as residing and trading at no. 17 (PRO RG9/93/4-15); in 1868 a Mrs. Dodkin, private resident, is recorded as living there (*Kelly's London Directory* 1868 [n. pag.]).

18. For further details, see Whitehead, "New Information."

19. E 740.

20. This may strengthen Bentley's suggestion that there is a connection between the Enochs and Blake's lithograph *Enoch* (see BR(2) 750).

21. References to Enoch's bankruptcy in the press consistently use an alternative spelling of his surname: Enoch. In addition, his business is described as that of "Tailor, Dealer and Chapman."

22. *London Gazette* 22 Jan. 1805: 118.

23. My thanks to Keri Davies for bringing this reference to my attention.

24. See *London Gazette* 9 Mar. 1805: 324.

25. *London Gazette* 14 May 1805: 665.

26. St. George's rates, 1805 (COWAC C598).

46)

| | Rents | Par and Highways | Watch | Par. Clean: Lighting | Total |
|------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------------------------|------------|
| Rob ^t Fluttersley | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| Wm Spicer | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| Wm Small | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| W. A. Scripps | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| Edw ^s Parish | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| Maria Radcliffe | 28 | 3. . . 8 | . 7. | . 14. | 4. 1. 8 |
| Rich ^s May | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Edm ^s Treherne | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Wm Rowe | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Byron Wilkinson | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| John Wilson | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Rob ^t Morgan | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Arch ^s Newland | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Martin & Stockhurn | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| Fra ^s Tucker | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| Jos: Ward | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| Grace Weightman | 40 | 4. 6. 8 | . 10. | 1. . . . | 5. 16. 8 |
| Eliz: Parvin | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| James Lay | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| Benj: Bayfield | 44 | 4. 15. 4 | . 11. | 1. 2. . | 6. 8. 4 |
| | | 81. 9. 4 | 9. 8. | 18. 16. | 109. 13. 4 |

3. Entry for "Martin and Stockhurn" (sic); rate book for St. George's, Hanover Square, Brook Street Ward, March 1821 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, C617, p. 46).

late as 1829²⁷ is problematic. Martin is indeed recorded as ratepayer for 1829;²⁸ however, in 1821, the year the Blakes are reported by Gilchrist to have moved to Fountain Court, the entry reads Martin and Stockham (illus. 3).²⁹ The entry is actually "Martin and Stockhurn," but from directory evidence it is clear that the name of the business was Martin and Stockham. Martin and Stockham are recorded as ratepayers for the property between 1821 and 1825.³⁰ In 1826 the name in the rate book reverts to Mark Martin and remains so until 1831, when Martin is crossed out and replaced by Charlotte Lohay.³¹ After having retired to Paris c. 1821-26, Martin appears to have returned to live and work as a staymaker at no. 17 before March 1826. London commercial directories indicate that for the periods 1805-20/21 and 1826-30 "Mark Martin, Staymaker," and for the period 1821-25 "Martin & Stockham, staymakers," conducted business at no. 17.³² This evidence confirms Ackroyd's suggestion that the Blakes lived above a commercial establishment, or at least lodged at a house that was also used as a commercial establishment: first Enoch's tailoring business, and then Martin's staymaking shop.

The change in ratepayer and business proprietor's name from Martin to Martin and Stockham c. 1821 suggests that, as Linnell claimed, Martin retired to France. However, his retention in the new name of the firm implies either that he remained a (silent?) partner of Stockham's or that Stockham agreed to take on his name.³³ This information is significant, as it appears to be the sole contemporary evidence to support Gilchrist's undocumented claim, followed by subsequent biographers, that the Blakes moved to Fountain Court, Strand, in 1821. However, Mark Martin's trade, rather than his lodgers, would have been his principal source of income;³⁴ its significance should be explored.

A staymaker made, fitted, and sold stays, essentially a laced underbodice or corset stiffened by the insertion of strips of whalebone (see cover illus.). R. Campbell, writing about 1747, observed that

27. See also Lindsay 241n.

28. St. George's rates, 1829 (COWAC C626).

29. The relevant rate book is dated Mar. 1821 (COWAC C617). As stated above, Linnell suggests that the Blakes left South Molton Street on Martin's retirement, therefore probably in or perhaps sometime before Mar. 1821.

30. St. George's rates, 1825 (COWAC C622).

31. St. George's rates, 1831 (COWAC C629). Lohay was also a staymaker (see *Robson's Directory* 1833 [n. pag.]). Her father, Ambroise Lohay, is recorded as previously resident at no. 17 with Martin (*Robson's Directory* 1828-29 (1828) n. pag.).

32. See *Robson's Directory* 1822 (209) and 1823 (n. pag.) and *Pigot & Co.'s Directory* 1824 (153). In 1831, Charlotte Lohay's staymaking business is the sole trade recorded at no. 17.

33. Alternatively, Martin may have employed a relative to co-run the business in his absence.

34. "A tradesman in London ... expects to maintain his family by his trade, and not by his lodgers" (Adam Smith, quoted in Schwarz 325).

The Stay-Maker ... ought to be a very polite Tradesman, as he approaches the Ladies so nearly; and possessed of a tolerable Share of Assurance and Command of Temper to approach their delicate Persons in fitting on their Stays, without being moved or put out of Countenance. He is obliged to inviolable Secrecy in many Instances, where he is obliged by Art to mend a crooked Shape, to bolster up a fallen Hip, or distorted Shoulder. ... After the Stays are stitched, and the Bone cut into thin Slices of equal Breadths and the proper Lengths, it is thrust in between the Rows of Stitching: This requires a good deal of Strength, and is by much the nicest Part of Stay Work; there is not above one Man in a Shop who can execute this Work, and he is either Master or Foreman, and has the best Wages. When the Stays are boned, they are loosely [*sic*] sewed together, and carried Home to the Lady to be fitted

This is a Species of the Taylor's Business, and rather the most ingenious Art belonging to the Mechanism of the Needle. The Masters have large Profits when they are paid³⁵

Martin's shop, like all London shops of the period, probably kept long hours, possibly from 7.00 in the morning until 10.30 in the evening.³⁶ However, such a trade as staymaking in Mayfair was dependent upon the fashion seasons and seasonal work, with a discrepancy between a brisk time of full employment, pressure of too much work, and long hours during the London season from late November to July, and a slack time with little or no work from the end of the London season until late autumn.³⁷ Martin, like Blake, probably chose to trade in Mayfair for a reason, as explained by one of Blake's visitors at South Molton Street, Robert Southey.³⁸ About 1800 Southey wrote:

There is an imaginary line of demarcation which divides [Westminster and London] from each other. A nobleman would not be found by any accident to live in that part which is properly called the City ... whenever a person says that he lives at the West End of the Town, there is some degree of consequence connected with the situation: For instance, my tailor lives at the West End of the Town, and consequently he is supposed to make my coat in a better style of fashion: and this opinion is carried so far among the ladies, that if a cap was known to have come from the City, it would be given to

35. Campbell 224, 225-26. In 1737 Samuel Johnson had "take[n] humble lodgings with a staymaker named Richard Norris just off the Strand" (see Rogers). Blake's friend Tom Paine was a trained staymaker (Keane 30). Joseph Taylor, father of Blake's acquaintance Thomas Taylor the Platonist, was a staymaker at Round Court, St. Martin's-le-Grand (see Louth).

36. See George 206.

37. George 209, 263. One might draw a parallel between Martin's capricious schedule of work (ebbing and flowing according to the London season) and Blake's experiences as a commercial engraver during a period (post 1804) in which he appears to have been neglected in favor of the "softer" style of engravers such as Caroline Watson.

38. See *BR*(2) 310.

my lady's woman, who would give it to the cook, and she perhaps would think it prudent not to inquire into its pedigree.³⁹

As most women wore stays or corsets of some form or another during this period, staymaking was a well-established and popular trade. Martin's business probably thrived particularly during the second half of the Blakes' residence at no. 17, as a change in fashion prompted a renewed demand for stays. In the 1790s many liberals had expressed reservations about the fashion: Anna Laetitia Barbauld condemned stays in her letter "Fashion, A Vision," published in the *Monthly Magazine* in April 1797, describing them as "the most common, and one of the worst instruments of torture, ... a small machine, armed with fish-bone and ribs of steel, wide at top, but extremely small at bottom. ... this detestable invention"⁴⁰ Frances Burney, visiting Paris in 1802, incredulously remarked "STAYS? every body has left off even corsets!"⁴¹ Rousseau's tomb featured "a number of naked children burning women's whalebone stays."⁴² Valerie Steele has observed that "throughout its history, the corset was widely perceived as an 'instrument of torture' and a major cause of ill health and even death. ... But the corset also had many positive connotations—of social status, self-discipline, artistry, respectability, beauty, youth, and erotic allure."⁴³ Steele recounts the reemergence of stays as a fashionable women's undergarment during the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century:

After a brief interregnum around 1800, the boned corset not only reappeared but spread throughout society. We might have expected that having once loosened their stays, women would never again wear corsets. Yet they did, in greater numbers than ever before. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, in 1814 and 1815, the fashion for high-waisted "empire" gowns was waning. As the waistline on fashionable dresses began to drop to its normal position, skirts became fuller and boned corsets increasingly reappeared. Already by 1811, a writer for *The Mirror of the Graces* was predicting a return to tight-lacing, "Deformity once more drawing the steeled boddice [*sic*] upon the bruised ribs." The fashion for neoclassical dress and no stays was regarded, in retrospect, as having been part and parcel of the disorder and promiscuity of the Revolutionary era. For the next century, boned corsets were an essential component of women's fashion.⁴⁴

Further evidence of the increasing popularity of stays is revealed by the fact that Martin appears to have experienced

competition from another staymaker's shop in South Molton Street from c. 1816 onwards.⁴⁵

Some indication of the quality of Martin's Mayfair customers survives in the form of a bill (illus. 4) to the recently widowed Lady Augusta Leith, daughter of George, fifth earl of Granard, and widow of the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith.⁴⁶ Martin's bill suggests that he produced luxury corsets for the aristocracy and gentry. Numerous other fashionable female and possibly male Westminster residents must also have called at his shop. The three separate transactions may indicate that Lady Leith and her daughter were regular customers.

At the head of the bill is a copperplate intaglio engraving printed in black ink giving details of Martin's staymaking business.⁴⁷ The design is not stylistically distinctive, and there is no evidence that Blake ever produced such engraved tradesmen's bills.⁴⁸ However, it is also possible that Martin may have asked Blake to engrave and print this for him sometime before mid-February 1817. During this period the Blakes may have been glad of even such jobbing work. Details of Martin's trade and address are engraved in an egg- or oval-shaped border and surrounded by a simple brickwork design: "Martin, / STAYMAKER, / (From Paris) / N^o. 17 South Molton Street, / Oxford Street, / LONDON. / Fait toutes Sortes de Corps et de Corsets a la Francoise." ("makes all manner of French-style stays [or bodices] and corsets"). Martin's use of the word "corps," which translates roughly as "bodice" or "stays," is of

45. Although he lodged in Charles Street, William Bridges (or Brydges) rented a ground floor for his staymaking shop at "34 South Moulton Street" from Robert Gould. See *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*: trial of John Williams for "burglariously breaking and entering the dwelling-house of William Brydges," 3 Apr. 1816, ref. t18160403-9, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t18160403-9>>. The address of his business is given in *Pigot & Co.'s Directory 1823-24* (1823) 593. Brydges's shop, on the same side of the street as Martin's, would have been closer to the fashionable thoroughfare of Oxford Street at the heart of "the greatest Emporium in the known world" (national census [1801], quoted in Porter 123).

46. See Townend 1488 and Chichester. Sir James Leith of Leith Hall, Aberdeenshire, governor of Barbados and commander of the forces of the Windward and Leeward Islands, died of yellow fever in Barbados on 16 Oct. 1816. His will, written on the day he died and proved 27 Mar. 1817, left all his possessions to Lady Augusta and their children (PRO PROB 11/1590, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers, Effingham Quire Numbers: 106-66). His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey in Mar. 1817.

47. The rectangular platemark measures approximately 47 mm. x 65 mm.

48. The nearest surviving equivalents are Blake's engraving of an advertisement for Moore & Co. (1797) and the bookplate/calling card for George Cumberland (1827), far more ambitious projects with scope for Blake to exercise his own ideas (see *BR*(2) 819, 823). Therefore, it is likely that the stamp was engraved and printed for Martin by a professional writing engraver, such as William Staden Blake. However, the ink on the edge of the platemark on the top right and lower right corners might suggest that this was not the work of a general plate printer. No watermark is visible.

39. Quoted in Porter 118.

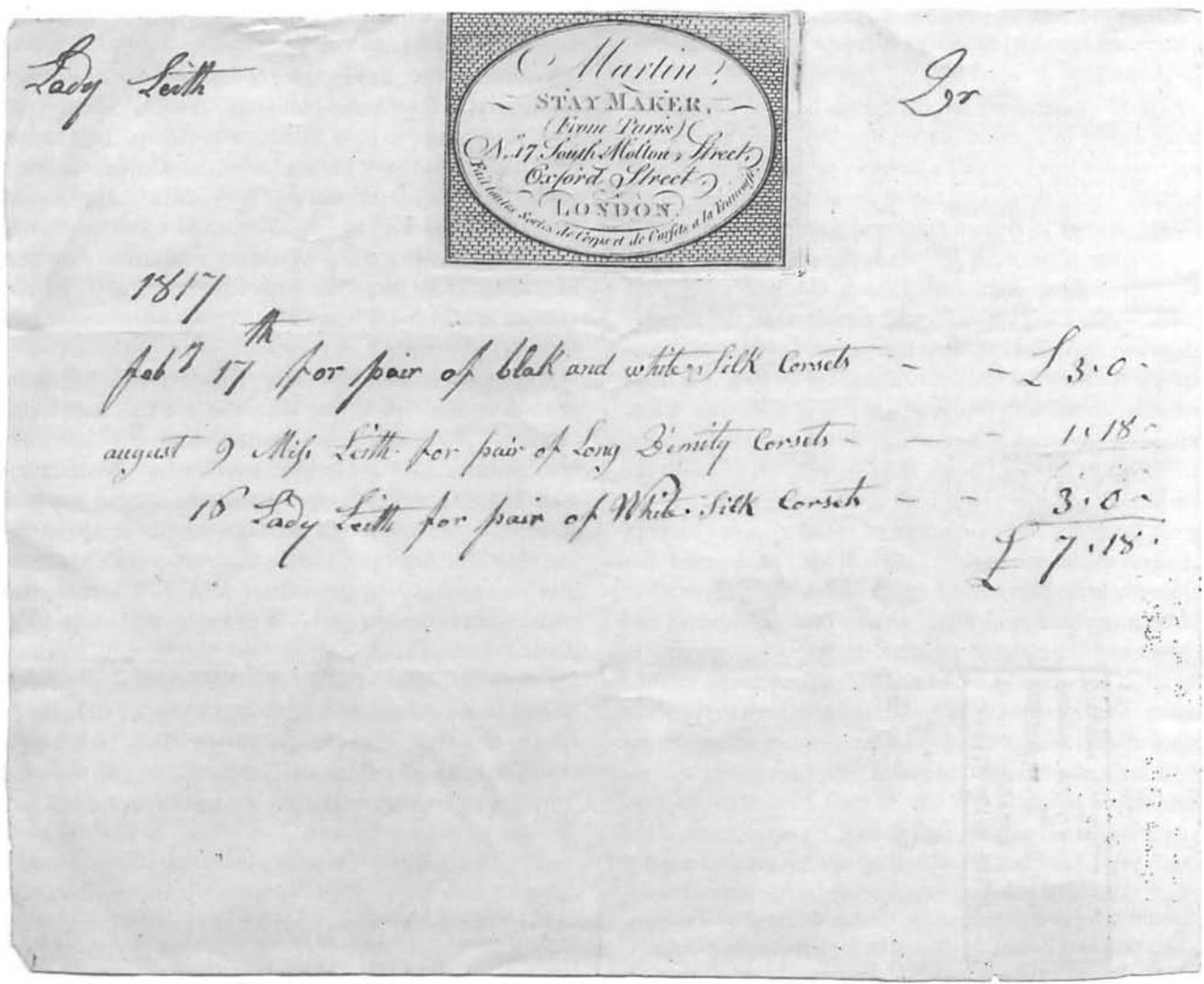
40. McCarthy and Kraft 287.

41. Quoted in Ribeiro 94.

42. Ribeiro 4.

43. Steele 1.

44. Steele 33.



4. Bill from Martin, staymaker, 17 South Molton Street, to Lady Leith (City of Westminster Archives Centre, Tilbury Papers, entry number Til/947).

| Lady Leith | Dr [?] |
|---|--------------|
| 1817 | |
| feb ^y 17 th for pair of blak and white Silk Corsets | — — £ 3.0 - |
| august 9 Miss Leith for pair of Long Dimity Corsets | — — — 1.18 - |
| 16 Lady Leith for pair of White Silk Corsets | — — 3.0 - |
| | £ 7.18. |

I wish to thank Rory Lalwan for his assistance in tracing this document. It is clear from the bill that Martin had originally made it out for the first two corsets and then erased the original total, added the third purchase, and revised the total. On the verso "Lady Leith" is written in the same hand. Dimity, of which Miss Leith's pair of long corsets was made, is a cotton fabric woven with stripes or checks. Ian Chipperfield, an authority on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century staymaking (see the *Staymaker* web site <<http://www.thestaymaker.co.uk>>), has not hitherto encountered references to black corsets in this period. He observes that the color is impractical as the undergarment would show through the outer garments (e-mail, 20 July 2005). However, the color may be connected with Lady Leith's mourning for her husband and the burial of his remains at Westminster Abbey, which took place a few weeks after this purchase. A pair of corsets (as referred to in the bill) means in fact one corset, which was manufactured in two parts, later worn laced together.

interest. In her definitive history of the corset, Norah Waugh states that

at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Grecian figure—the natural figure (high rounded breasts, long well-rounded limbs)—was the ideal every woman hoped to attain. Her soft, light muslin dress clung to her body and showed every contour, so all superfluous undergarments which might spoil the silhouette were discarded—among them the boned stay. In France, where the social order had been completely overturned, with consequent loosening of morals and deportment, this fashion was more followed than in England. ... It is significant that in France the old name *corps* had quite disappeared, and from now on any tight-fitting body garment is known as a “corset”, a fashion that was copied in England though the old form “stays” was also retained.⁴⁹

In April 1816 Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* noted:

We have been favoured with the sight of a new stay, the “corset des Grâces”, which we understand has received very distinguished patronage. This stay possesses the double advantage of improving the shape, and conducing towards the preservation of the health; no compression, no pushing the form out of its natural proportions; it allows the most perfect ease and freedom to every motion, while, at the same time, it gives that support to the frame, which delicate women find absolutely necessary.⁵⁰

Such evidence suggests that, as the bottom had fallen out of the market for staymakers in the French capital, Martin may have migrated to London, where stays remained fashionable. This may have occurred c. 1800 (perhaps between the Treaty of Amiens of 25 March 1802 and Britain's declaration of war on 18 May 1803), certainly by March 1805, the date of Martin's first appearance in the rate books for no. 17.⁵¹ In addition, the bill suggests that Martin's surname, and therefore the name of his business, was pronounced in the French rather than the English manner.⁵² Finally, the new discovery helpfully supplements Linnell's claim that the reason for the Blakes' leaving South Molton Street was “his Landlord leaving off business & retiring to France.” It appears that by the spring of 1821 Martin was returning as well as retiring to France and very probably to Paris, his former residence, if not the city of his birth.

49. Waugh 75.

50. Quoted in Waugh 100.

51. According to Chipperfield, before the mid-1790s and after 1815 some London staymakers claimed to be French to attract a high-quality clientele (e-mail, 13 July 2005). However, of the numerous staymakers listed in London directories, few have French surnames. Two exceptions are Mes Dames Harman, 350 Oxford Street, and H. De Cleve, 5 Holywell Street, Strand (*Pigot & Co.'s Directory 1823-24* [1823] 222). I have found no evidence of another staymaker with a recognizably French surname trading in Mayfair c. 1790-1830.

52. However, evidence from Martin's marriage record suggests that he anglicized his name (see below). If this was the case, his surname may have been pronounced in the English manner.

At his shop Martin probably employed several assistants to attend customers in the ground-floor front room or to bone and sew stays and corsets in the back room. The basement may also have served as another workshop as well as store-room. Martin may have spent some time away from no. 17, calling upon genteel customers such as Lady Leith for a last fitting before their stays were finished at the shop. His business was just one of the numerous “brilliant and fashionable” shops in South Molton Street and the surrounding Mayfair streets selling luxury items.⁵³ These included John Bruckner, ladies' shoemaker, at no. 52, Heron and Jones, tailors, at no. 58, I. and J. Hunt, hatters, at no. 22, William Keith's china and Staffordshire warehouse at no. 44, James Lay, hatter, hosier, and glover, at no. 22, and Francis Perico, surgeon, apothecary, and midwife, at no. 29.⁵⁴ Such businesses substantiated the contemporary claim that in London, “the first city of the world,” “shops are unrivalled for splendour, as well as for their immense stocks of rich and elegant articles.”⁵⁵

Martin's conducting a staymaker's business may also be pertinent in the light of two examples of Blake's minor verse from the period. Blake makes references to stays in annotations to his copy of volume one of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1798). On pages xiv-xv of his introductory “Some Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Joshua Reynolds,” Edmond Malone quotes Reynolds describing how, on a visit to the Vatican, he was “disappointed and mortified at not finding [him] self enraptured with the works of [Raphael]”⁵⁶ Blake responds:

I am happy I cannot say that Rafael Ever was from my Earliest Childhood hidden from Me. I saw & I Knew immediately the difference between Rafael & Rubens

Some look. to see the sweet Outlines
And beauteous Forms that Love does wear
Some look. to find out Patches. Paint.
Bracelets & Stays & Powderd Hair⁵⁷

Here Blake appears to be criticizing Reynolds's evident inability to distinguish between Raphael's and Rubens's paintings.⁵⁸ However, in the fourth discourse, Blake also refers to stays in an annotation signaling approval of Reynolds's criticism of the Venetian school—Titian, but more particularly Paolo

53. See *Pigot & Co.'s Directory 1823-24* (1823) 15.

54. See Whitehead, “New Discoveries” 2: 326-30.

55. *Pigot & Co.'s Directory 1823-24* (1823) 15. In 1818 the *Ladies' Monthly Museum* featured two fashionable dresses, a ball dress and a walking dress, designed by a Miss Macdonald of no. 50, which was opposite no. 17 (*Ladies' Monthly Museum* Mar. 1818: 169-70). Perhaps Miss Macdonald was a relative of Ann and Christian MacDonald, wife and stepdaughter of John Lytrott.

56. Reynolds is alluding to Raphael's frescoes in the Stanze, which he encountered in 1750.

57. E 637. For Blake's unfavorable comparison of Rubens to Raphael, see E 513-14.

58. Elsewhere Blake comments that Reynolds's “Praise of Rafael is like the Hysterical Smile of Revenge” (E 642).

Veronese and Tintoretto. On page 98 Reynolds states, "it appears, that the principal attention of the Venetian painters, in the opinion of Michael Angelo, seemed to be engrossed by the study of colours, to the neglect of the *ideal beauty of form* ..." ⁵⁹ On the opposite page, Blake writes:

If the Venetians Outline was Right his Shadows would destroy it & deform its appearance

A Pair of Stays to mend the Shape
Of crooked Humpy Woman:
Put on O Venus! now thou art,
Quite a Venetian Roman. ⁶⁰

Blake's annotations of Reynolds have been dated c. 1798-1809 by David Erdman. ⁶¹ This overlaps the period in which the Blakes lived above Martin's staymaker's shop. However, there are problems with Erdman's dating. According to Bentley, "Blake's annotations to Reynolds were probably written at two distinct periods, perhaps first about 1801-2 and second in 1808-9." ⁶² The annotations referring to stays, written in ink at first glance, appear to date from the second period. ⁶³ However, those on pages xiv and xv were first written in pencil and then overwritten in ink. ⁶⁴ The underlying pencil may suggest that these annotations were part of the first round that Bentley dates to 1801-02, several years before Blake met Martin in late 1804-early 1805. But the dating of Blake's annotations to Reynolds remains imprecise and inconclusive. It is therefore possible that both references to stays date from 1805 on. Whether these references date from Blake's period of resi-

59. See Wark 66.

60. E 651. This annotation appears to have been influenced by two earlier passages in the fourth discourse. On page 90 Reynolds asserts that "Carlo Maratti [thought] that the disposition of drapery was a more difficult art than even that of drawing the human figure ...," to which Blake responds, "I do not believe that Carlo Maratti thought so or that any body can think so. the Drapery is formed alone by the Shape of the Naked [next word cut away in binding]" (E 650). On page 95 Reynolds writes, "Such as suppose that the great style might happily be blended with the ornamental, that the simple, grave and majestic dignity of Raffaella could unite with the glow and bustle of a Paolo, or Tintoret, are totally mistaken," to which Blake responds, "What can be better Said, on this Subject? but Reynolds contradicts what he says Continually He makes little Concessions, that he may take Great Advantages" (E 651).

Blake appears to agree with Reynolds's view that trying to ally the Roman ideal form with the Venetian school's emphasis on costume is unsatisfactory. He plainly saw stays as an apposite image for the manipulation of the outline of the human form. It seems clear that he dislikes both stays and Venetian art for their immersion in and preoccupation with transient fashions rather than for any role they might have in idealization of form. Blake's verse satirizes what he considers the artificial, ephemeral, and therefore inferior nature of Venetian painting, and the impossibility of uniting this style with the grand Roman style.

61. See E 886.

62. Bentley, *Blake Books* [hereafter *BB*] 692.

63. See *BB* 693.

64. Bentley indicates that pencil is overwritten in ink on p. xv (*BB* 693), but Erdman claims that the ditty on that page is in ink only (E 637).

dence with Martin or not, the perpetual presence of stays, instruments which for Blake hid and distorted the naked female form, may have served as a regular reminder of the "seducing qualities" and "Vulgar Stupidity" of the Venetian school. ⁶⁵

"A Frenchwoman"

Writing in 1927 of the Blakes' residence in South Molton Street, Margaret Irwin wondered, "what did the landlady at Number 17 think of 'them first floors'?" ⁶⁶ Commenting upon Linnell's account of the "Landlord leaving off business & retiring to France," Bentley observes that

it is tempting to speculate whether Martin retired to France because his wife was French, and, if she was, whether Blake was referring to her when he said of his fresco of "The Last Judgment": "I spoiled that—made it darker; it was much finer, but a Frenchwoman here (a fellow lodger) didn't like it." ⁶⁷

Blake's statement derives from Gilchrist, who commented, "ill-advised, indeed, to alter *colour* at a fellow lodger and Frenchwoman's suggestion!"

The "Frenchwoman" may very well have been Martin's wife. A Mark Anthony Martin, widower, married Eleanor Larché, spinster, on Tuesday 20 May 1806 at St. Mary's Church, St. Marylebone Road (illus. 5). ⁶⁸ The church, just two blocks north of Oxford Street, would have been, along with the parish church of St. George, Hanover Square, the nearest place of worship in which the inhabitants of South Molton Street could marry. The name Mark Martin appears rarely in contemporary directories or in the marriage registers of the two local churches. This point, coupled with the fact that this Mark Martin married a woman with a French surname, suggests that he and the Blakes' landlord are one and the same.

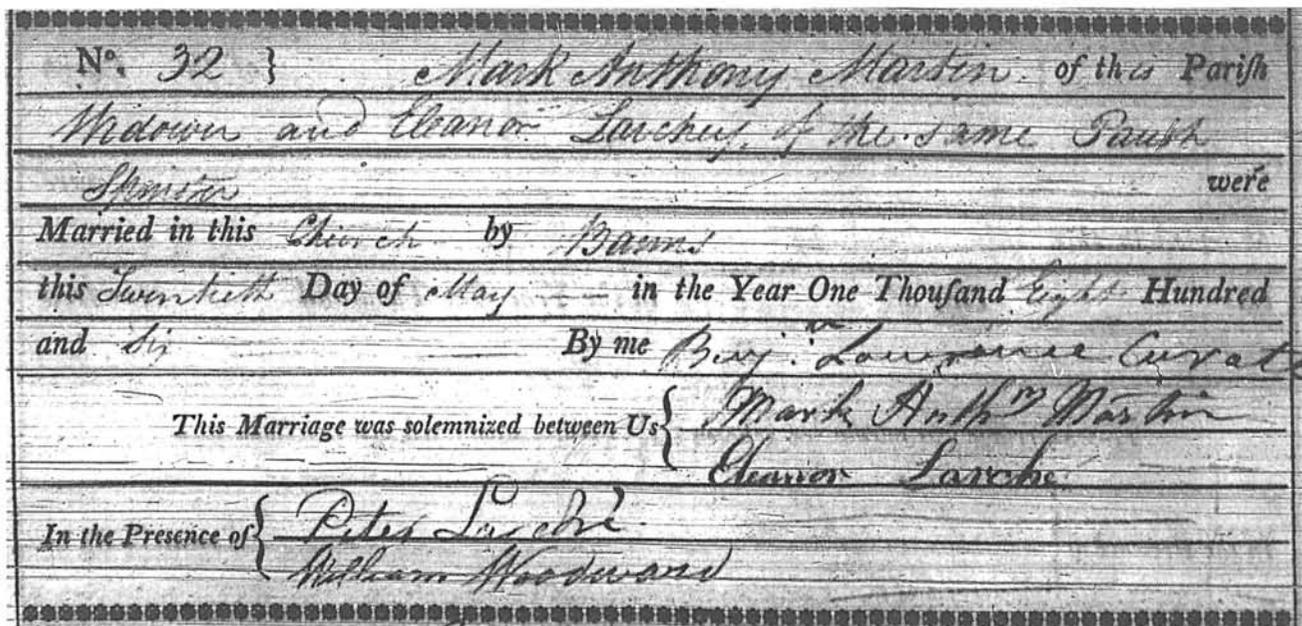
Although Martin was an extremely common name in France during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Larché was not. The name appears in genealogical records almost exclusively in the small town of Gignac, in the Hérault Valley in Languedoc. However, despite a search of the *International Genealogical Index* and church records held at the mairie in Gignac, the early life and subsequent history of

65. Wark 67; E 651. Women in stays or corsets feature in Blake's early engravings of designs by Thomas Stothard and others in the 1780s and early 1790s (see Essick, pls. 30, 32-34, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 54, 56, 103). However, in Blake's illuminated works, female figures appear naked (see *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* pl. 3), in transparent and form-revealing clothes (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 2), or in fashionable free-flowing empire gowns (*The Book of Thel* pls. 2 and 4). As Blake wrote in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "The nakedness of woman is the work of God" (E 36).

66. Irwin 15.

67. *BR*(2) 750, quoting Gilchrist 350. In a footnote Bentley argues that the Frenchwoman's advice was given before Apr. 1815, when George Cumberland, Jr., described *The Last Judgment* as "nearly as black as your Hat."

68. St. Mary's Church, parish of St. Marylebone, marriage register, vol. 131 (City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, and COWAC).



5. Entry for the marriage of Mark Martin and Eleanor Larché, St. Mary's Church, parish of St. Marylebone, marriage register, vol. 131 (courtesy of the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, and the parish of St. Marylebone; image courtesy of the City of Westminster Archives Centre).

Eleanor Martin, née Larché, have yet to be recovered. William and Catherine Blake may have attended the wedding of their landlord of over a year and participated in the celebrations. To have given her opinion of *The Last Judgment*, Eleanor Martin must have entered the Blakes' front-room studio, viewed the work, presumably on the wall opposite the fireplace and adjoining no. 16, the only wall large enough to display it,⁶⁹ and discussed it with her lodger. Eleanor's visit and the fact that her comments prompted the revision of the painting suggest a cordial relationship between the Blakes and the Martins as well as Blake's apparent respect for her opinions.⁷⁰

Although they were married according to the rites of the Church of England, still a statutory requirement in 1806, Eleanor and her husband appear to have been born in France and may have been of Huguenot descent. While the officiating curate, Benjamin Lawrence, anglicized her surname to Larchey on the marriage certificate, Eleanor retained the French spelling, Larché. In contrast her husband, probably baptized Marc Antoine Martin, seems to have anglicized his name. Among the Blakes' neighbors there appear to have been a number of other French people or individuals of French descent. These

included Louis Claude Augarde, a hairdresser and ratepayer at no. 3, E. Blondeel, embroiderer, at no. 52, James Mivart, haircutter and perfumer, at no. 5, Claude Olivier, merchant, at no. 10, L. S. O. Petit, also at no. 10, who about July 1806 composed, published, and sold from this residence *Observations sur les moyens de perfectionner la tournure des jeunes demoiselles* [*Observations on the Means of Improving the Shape and Carriage of Young Women*],⁷¹ George Parvin, coal merchant, at no. 21, Frederick Fladong, wine merchant, at no. 28, John Perriot, gentleman and hotelier, at no. 1, Robert Sabine, haircutter and perfumer, at no. 41, and George Saffery, music teacher, at no. 63.⁷² As noted above, some years after the Blakes' departure the staymaker Charlotte Lohay, daughter of the artisan painter Ambroise Lohay, succeeded Martin as ratepayer.⁷³

71. The work was advertised in the *Morning Chronicle* of 2 July 1806. A copy survives in the British Library.

72. See Whitehead, "New Discoveries" 2: 323-27.

73. Catherine Blake, née Boucher, is likely to have been of French Huguenot descent (*BR*(2) 1-2), and Blake's brother James had been apprenticed to a Huguenot weaver, Gideon Boitout (*BR*(2) 11-12). As early as 1780, Blake, along with two fellow artists, was arrested as a suspected French spy near Chatham docks (Bentley, *Stranger* 58-60). Gilchrist wrote that to Blake in the early 1790s, "the French Revolution was the herald of the millennium, of a new age of light and reason. He courageously donned the famous symbol of liberty and equality—the *bonnet rouge*—in open day, and philosophically walked the streets with the same on his head" (Gilchrist 81). On 19 Oct. 1801, five months before the signing of the short-lived Peace of Amiens, and while residing in Felpham, Blake had written to John Flaxman observing that Felpham was as near to Paris as to London, and adding "I hope that France & England will henceforth be as One Country and their Arts One ..." (E 718). In 1803-04, during his trial for sedition and as fears of French invasion were growing in England, Blake and his wife were accused of voicing support for

69. See Whitehead, "New Discoveries" 1: 54.

70. Indeed, Eleanor may have had some artistic knowledge: it is likely that Peter Larché, a witness at their wedding, was a nearby gilder at 22 Rathbone Place (see *Holden's Triennial Directory* 1799 [415]). Interestingly, a William Martin, historical painter, lived at no. 17 in 1831, during the last months of Mark Martin's residence, or soon after his departure (see *London Gazette* 27 Dec. 1831: 2787, and 23 Aug. 1833: 1585); perhaps he was Martin's son. However, he may have been Norwich-born William Martin (1753-c. 1836), recorded as living in Marylebone in this period (see Fiske).

Blake's facility with languages was noted on more than one occasion. According to Gilchrist, "Blake, who had a natural aptitude for acquiring knowledge, little cultivated in youth, was always willing to apply himself to the vocabulary of a language, for the purpose of reading a great original author. He would declare that he learnt French, sufficient to read it, in a few weeks."⁷⁴ Bentley observes that "we know nothing else of his French except one use of it about 1808 in his Reynolds marginalia."⁷⁵ On the contents pages of Reynolds's *Works*, Blake transcribes several lines of Voltaire in French and comments upon them. The subject is Giovanni de Medici, Pope Leo X, the principal patron of Raphael. Hitherto this unique instance of Blake's written use of French has received little attention.

The Foundation of Empire is Art & Science Remove them or
Degrade them & the Empire is No More—Empire follows Art
& Not Vice Versa as Englishmen suppose
On peut dire que la⁷⁶ Pape Léon X^{me} en encourageant les
Études donna les armes contre lui-même. J'ai ouï dire à un
Seigneur Anglais qu'il avait vu une Lettre du Seigneur Polus,
ou de La Pole, depuis Cardinal, à ce Pape; dans laquelle, en le
félicitant sur ce qu'il étendait le progrès de Science en Europe,
il l'avertissait qu'il était dangereux de rendre les hommes trop
Savans—

VOLTAIRE *Moeurs de[s] Nation[s]*, Tome 4

O Englishmen! why are you still of this foolish Cardinals
opinion?⁷⁷

Napoleon. Private John Scofield claimed that Catherine said "altho she was but a Woman she wo^d. fight as long as she had a Drop of Blood in her—to which the said Blake said, my Dear you wo^d. not fight against France—she replied, no, I wo^d. fight for Buonaparte as long as I am able" (*BR*(2) 160). Catherine is also recorded as having expressed pro-French sentiments to George Cumberland, Jr., at South Molton Street: in Apr. 1815, during the Hundred Days and six weeks before the battle of Waterloo, Catherine exclaimed, "if this Country does go to War our K—g ought to loose his head" (*BR*(2) 320). This remark has been interpreted as indicative of either Catherine's madness or of Blake's influence over her. Perhaps her impassioned utterance should be viewed in the context of the Blakes' having lodged for the past decade in the house of a couple of French descent in a neighborhood with a significant French presence. As such, her remarks might be interpreted as a desire for peaceful coexistence between England and France. Blake advocates peaceful coexistence with France in his annotations to Malone's preface to Reynolds's *Works* (E 641). A sympathetic reference to France can be found in *Jerusalem*, a work composed and created during Blake's residence at no. 17 (see *Jerusalem* 66:15, E 218).

74. Gilchrist 151.

75. *BR*(2) 400fn.

76. The grammatically correct "le" is transcribed in Bentley, *William Blake's Writings* 2: 1451.

77. E 636. The passage may be translated as:

You can say that Pope Leo X, by encouraging studying, gave weapons against himself. I have heard an English gentleman say that he had seen a letter from Seigneur Polus, or Seigneur de La Pole [Reginald Pole (1500-58), cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury], who has since been made a Cardinal, to that Pope; in which, even as he congratulated him because he was extending the progress of

Blake is referring to *Essay sur l'histoire générale, et sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours*.⁷⁸ There is no evidence of Blake's owning this work.⁷⁹ Is it possible that he borrowed it from the library of his Parisian landlord? *Essay sur l'histoire générale* is not written in the most straightforward French. Blake therefore may have been grateful for the assistance of native French speakers, as Mark and Eleanor Martin presumably were, in understanding this passage.⁸⁰ The Martins may have also assisted Blake's "learn[ing] French, sufficient to read it, in a few weeks."⁸¹

The findings discussed in this paper suggest a far more differentiated picture of life at South Molton Street over the almost two decades of William and Catherine Blake's residence than has been previously realized. In earlier discussions of the inhabitants of South Molton Street, Mark Martin, "M^s Enoch" and "a Frenchwoman," though said to have been fellow lodgers of the Blakes, were little more than unrelated names. We can now begin to identify these fellow inhabitants, their relationship to one another, and the years they shared no. 17 with the Blakes. We can better imagine the relationships between William and Catherine and a number of their neighbors and fellow inhabitants—those who peopled their domestic universe. I hope that I have suggested how these discoveries enhance our knowledge of the Blakes during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, a period for which records relating to them are virtually nonexistent.

science in Europe, he warned him that *it was dangerous to make men too knowledgeable*.

Blake also refers to this incident in an annotation to the first discourse (E 642). During 1800-03 Blake had included a portrait of Voltaire in his "heads of poets" series to decorate Hayley's library at Felpham (see *BR*(2) 92).

78. The work was translated as *An Essay on Universal History, the Manners, and Spirit of Nations, from the Reign of Charlemaign to the Age of Lewis XIV* (London: J. Nourse, 1759).

79. Bentley includes no reference to the work in *BB* or *Blake Books Supplement*.

80. There are parallels here with Blake's apparent problems with Italian in Alessandro Vellutello's sixteenth-century edition of Dante during the creation of his illustrations to *The Divine Comedy*, as discussed in Paley 111-12.

81. Living with two native speakers would certainly have facilitated his progress. Blake's knowledge of French may lie behind Henry Crabb Robinson's conversation with him on 18 Feb. 1826 (approximately five years after he had parted company with the Martins) concerning his frequent "intercourse with Voltaire": "I asked in what langu^e. Voltaire spoke[;] [Blake] gave an ingenious answer—["To my Sensations it was English—It was like the touch of a musical key—He touched it probably French, but to my ear it became English["] (*BR*(2) 434). Blake may also have learned some French while a neighbor of Hayley's at Felpham, 1800-03.

Works Cited

- Ackroyd, Peter. *Blake*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995.
- Bentley, G. E., Jr. *Blake Books*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- . *Blake Books Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- . *Blake Records*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- , ed. *William Blake's Writings*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Campbell, R. *The London Tradesman, Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster*. London: T. Gardner, 1747.
- Chichester, H. M. "Leith, Sir James (1763-1816)." Rev. Roger T. Stearn. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16409>>.
- Erdman, David V., ed., with commentary by Harold Bloom. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*. Newly rev. ed. New York: Anchor-Random House, 1988.
- Essick, Robert N. *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations: A Catalogue and Study of the Plates Engraved by Blake after Designs by Other Artists*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Falconar, Maria, and Harriet Falconar. *Poems*. London: J. Johnson, 1788.
- Fiske, Tina. "Martin, William (b. 1753, d. in or after 1836)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18217>>.
- George, M. Dorothy. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.
- Gilchrist, Alexander. *Life of William Blake*. Ed. Ruthven Todd. Everyman's Library, no. 971. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1945.
- Irwin, Margaret. *South Molton Street Then As Now, the Favoured Resort of Modish Mayfair*. London: G. A. Male & Son, 1927.
- Keane, John. *Tom Paine: A Political Life*. London: Bloomsbury, 1995.
- King, James. *William Blake: His Life*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991.
- Lindsay, Jack. *William Blake: His Life and Work*. London: Constable, 1978.
- Louth, Andrew. "Taylor, Thomas (1758-1835)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27086>>.
- McCarthy, William, and Elizabeth Kraft, eds. *Anna Laetitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose*. Ormskirk: Broadview Press, 2002.
- Miner, Paul. "William Blake's London Residences." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 62.11 (Nov. 1958): 535-50.
- Paley, Morton D. *The Traveller in the Evening: The Last Works of William Blake*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Porter, Roy. *London: A Social History*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Rogers, Pat. "Johnson, Samuel (1709-1784)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14918>>.
- Schwarz, L. D. "Social Class and Social Geography: The Middle Classes in London at the End of the Eighteenth Century." *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820*. Ed. Peter Borsay. London: Longman, 1990. 315-37.
- Steele, Valerie. *The Corset: A Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Todd, Ruthven. *William Blake: The Artist*. London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1971.
- Townend, Peter, ed. *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*. 104th ed. London: Burke's Peerage, 1967.
- Wark, Robert R., ed. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses on Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Waugh, Norah. *Corsets and Crinolines*. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1954.
- Whitehead, Angus. "New Discoveries Concerning William and Catherine Blake in Nineteenth Century London: Residences, Fellow Inhabitants, Neighbours, Friends and Milieux, 1803-1878." PhD diss. 2 vols. University of York, 2006.
- . "New Information Concerning Mrs Enoch, William and Catherine Blake's 'fellow inhabitant' at 17 South Molton Street." *Notes and Queries* 250 (ns 52).4 (Dec. 2005): 460-63.

R E V I E W S

William Blake's 1809 Exhibition. Room 8, Tate Britain. 20 April–4 October 2009.

Martin Myrone, ed. *Seen in My Visions: A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures*. London: Tate Publishing, 2009. 128 pp., illus. £12.99, hardcover.

Reviewed by Alexander Gourlay

FOR the bicentennial of Blake's utterly disastrous 1809 "Exhibition of Paintings in Fresco, Poetical and Historical Inventions," Tate Britain has recreated the show in its room 8, including ten of the original sixteen pictures. Even though considerable energy and intelligence went into the exhibit and the augmented edition of Blake's original *Descriptive Catalogue*

published in conjunction with it, the result is no more successful than the original seems to have been in communicating Blake's ideas or persuading an audience that he had discovered the lost secret of painting. Whereas Blake's show took place in mundane rooms above the haberdashery shop operated by his brother, the recreated exhibition has the benefit of the exalted cultural domain of the Tate, and the curators may have hoped that this, together with Blake's greatly improved reputation, might be enough to save the show this time around. But in 1809 all Blake's pictures were present, including the gigantic painting on canvas of *The Ancient Britons* (the square footage of which probably equaled the rest of the pictures combined), most of the pictures looked the way Blake wanted them to look, and the relevant cultural and political contexts were at hand. The audience decidedly didn't get it then. Now we don't have enough left to figure out what there once was to get.

Only eleven of the original pictures survive. The show includes all ten that are still in Britain, but some of those that are lost, such as *The Ancient Britons*, may have been essential to understanding Blake's purposes in mounting the exhibition in the first place. The watercolors in the Tate show are fairly bright and most are bonny, but none of the surviving temperas is in good shape—*The Spiritual Form of Nelson*, *The Spiritual*

Nelson, *Pitt*, *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the Nine and Twenty Pilgrims*, *The Bard*, a space for *A Spirit Vaulting from a Cloud*, and *As If an Angel Dropped Down from the Clouds*. In the foreground is a case containing a copy of the *Descriptive Catalogue*.
Courtesy Sam Drake/Tate Photography.





Satan Calling Up His Legions in the middle, with spaces to the left for *The Goats* and *The Spiritual Preceptor* and to the right for *The Bramins* and the watercolor *Cain Fleeing* (the tempera is above). The case contains catalogues from other 1809 exhibitions. Courtesy Sam Drake/Tate Photography.

Form of Pitt, *The Bard*, and *Satan Calling Up His Legions* are so browned and/or otherwise damaged that it is hard to see what is going on in them (though in the case of *Satan Calling* and at least one lost picture the obscurity may have been a deliberate effect). *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the Nine and Twenty Pilgrims on Their Journey to Canterbury* is the most presentable of the original temperas, though it too is in sadly deteriorated condition, so Blake's plan of demonstrating the superiority of the "Ancient Method of Fresco Painting Restored" (E 529) with a group of exemplary and durable pictures is definitely not realized in room 8. The curators have gestured toward the cultural context in 1809 by displaying some other 1809 catalogues and dedicating one wall to a selection of exhibition pictures in oil and watercolor by other artists, but most of them seem to have been chosen because they were available at the Tate, not because they are especially relevant to Blake's show. With the exception of Thomas Stothard's Chaucer painting, the importance of which is discussed below, the pictures that are provided for context merely indicate that Blake's works were far out of the mainstream without giving any clues to why they might have been that way, and the contemporary exhibition catalogues displayed under glass do not reveal very much either.

The surviving pictures from the 1809 exhibition are arrayed on the remaining three walls, mostly following the order in

Blake's *Descriptive Catalogue*, which may have been the sequence in which they were originally displayed. Blank spaces of appropriate dimensions represent lost or absent works, and in some cases related pictures by Blake are nearby: for instance, the Tate's well-preserved tempera of *The Body of Abel* (c. 1826) stands in for the somewhat less impressive watercolor of the subject that was actually in the 1809 show (and is now at the Fogg), and the British Museum's handsome watercolor called *As If an Angel Dropped Down from the Clouds* takes the place of the lost tempera of *A Spirit Vaulting from a Cloud*. In one case even the original picture stands in need of supplementation. The conditions for viewing the fragile and profoundly obscure tempera *Satan Calling Up His Legions* in room 8 are very good, and a great improvement over those at its home in the Victoria and Albert (where as I recall one must view it flat, under glass, directly beneath a skylight). But even in these circumstances little more than darkness is visible. It might have been edifying if this "experiment Picture" had been accompanied by the "more perfect" (E 547) later version of the same subject at Petworth House, which even today is comparatively successful at making the forms subtly apparent.

One major issue in Blake's original exhibition was the relationship between vision, light, and darkness; these are of course central to Blake's work in general, but many of the pic-



The space for *The Ancient Britons*. Courtesy Sam Drake/Tate Photography.

tures he exhibited in 1809 prominently thematize light or its absence, as well as explicitly contrasting spiritual and natural vision (at that time a very sore point for Blake, lately stung by the reviews of his *Grave* illustrations). And though it probably was not quite so impossibly murky in Blake's day, *Satan Calling* was always expected to challenge the viewer to appreciate Blake's visions, even when severely deprived of Newtonian light. Darkness was also important in another "experiment Picture" in the 1809 show, *The Goats*, now lost. Blake explained in his catalogue that it was inspired by an episode in Wilson's *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean* (1799) in which native women dressed in leaves were stripped naked by hungry shipboard goats. The representation "varied from the literal fact, for the sake of picturesque scenery," Blake wrote, and though it was "laboured to a superabundant blackness," he called it to the special attention of the "Artist and Connoisseur" (E 546). The Tate's gallery label suggests that "Blake may have intended the picture as a joke at the expense of the straight-laced [*sic*] missionaries," but while it probably was a joke it probably wasn't aimed at the missionaries, if only because Blake never mentioned them or their laces.¹ My

1. In a similar misconception, the gallery label for the lost picture *The Bramins* suggests that Blake's acknowledgement that the "Costume is incorrect" (E 548) refers to the clothing worn by Wilkins, the Englishman

guess is that not all the goats of the title are four legged, and that Blake mischievously imagined lecherous artists and connoisseurs jostling each other to peer into the superabundant blackness to glimpse the naked dark-skinned women.²

But recognizing this gag, if that's what it was, in the middle of the exhibition hardly helps us to understand Blake's purposes in general. Certainly *The Ancient Britons* and *Sir Jeffery Chaucer* were not jokes, even if the latter had satiric dimensions, and neither were *Pitt* and *Nelson*, though they may have been deeply ironic as heroic portraits. The curators (perhaps inadvertently) provide a potentially helpful clue to understanding Blake's *Nelson*: in a display case there's a copy of the catalogue of the 1809 British Institution exhibition lying open to the page listing a painting by Arthur Devis, *The Death of Nelson* (1807), in which the pillow behind the martyr's head generates the impression of a saintly—or Christ-like—aura. The painting itself is in the collection of the National Mari-

who consulted Brahmins in translating the *Gita*. It is much more likely that Blake erred in representing the garb of the Brahmins.

2. For a discussion of a comparable racially charged work by Stothard, see "Art Delivered": Stothard's *The Sable Venus* and Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.4 (2008): 529-50, in which I suggest that *Visions* began as an outraged revisionary reconstruction of Stothard's picture and the poem it illustrates.

time Museum and not in the Tate show: it would have been good if it or another such image of Nelson had been available to contextualize Blake's apotheosis of the national hero, which borrows more from Hindu than Christian art.

Fortunately, Blake's Chaucer picture is supplemented not only by the painting that Blake treats in the *Descriptive Catalogue* as its direct rival, Stothard's *Pilgrimage to Canterbury*, but also the large-scale engraving Blake first published in 1810 as well as the long-delayed engraving by Schiavonetti and Heath after Stothard. All three are clustered in one corner of the context wall, a few steps from Blake's tempera, and for me the close proximity of Blake's picture with these constitutes the most important element of the 2009 exhibition, in part because it suggests a possible motivation for Blake's whole show. I am still pretty much alone in believing that Blake's Chaucer tempera—which is usually thought to have preceded Stothard's 1806-07 picture even though it is dated 1808—was conceived from the start as a riposte to Stothard's *Pilgrimage*,³ but it may be less controversial to assert that the primary im-

petus for the 1809 show was to showcase Blake's "fresco" of the pilgrims as the competitor to Stothard's oil painting and also to promote Blake's engraving (just as Cromek's touring exhibitions of Stothard's picture were calculated to promote lucrative sales of the projected engraving after it). Blake's exhibition, an extraordinarily uncharacteristic foray into self-promotion, can be seen as having an unsettled mixture of motivations, at once earnest—he really did want to sell more pictures and engravings to the public at large—and a game, as Chaucer would say, an anxious parody of the sordid promotional hoopla used by Cromek and others to drum up public interest. In order to respond to Cromek's provocations⁴ it was not enough for Blake to paint and engrave a Chaucer picture of his own, in the same odd format as theirs (though proceeding in the opposite direction)—he also had to mount his own promotional campaign. This scenario might suggest why the promotion was ultimately so incoherent: it seems likely that Blake didn't have his heart in commercial puffery, and that in

3. For some of my reasons see "Idolatry or Politics: Blake's Chaucer, the Gods of Priam, and the Powers of 1809," in my collection *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 2002) 100-03.

4. In a letter (May 1807) Cromek asks Blake why he detests Stothard's Chaucer painting and invites him to produce "a better" if he doesn't like it; see G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 241-44.

The context paintings to the left, with the Chaucer engravings and Stothard's *Pilgrimage to Canterbury* at the end of that wall. Courtesy Sam Drake/Tate Photography.



his marketing efforts he therefore adopted raillery, prophecy, and parody by turns as well.

The rivalry between the Chaucer pictures may have spurred Blake's exhibition, but rather than presenting only one picture, carrying it from town to town with expensive ballyhoo as Cromek had done, Blake instead brought together an assortment of sixteen works, many of them falling into subject categories popular at the time but rare in Blake's oeuvre. It's hard to tell how many besides the Chaucer picture were really for sale, since several had been borrowed from Thomas Butts, the "experiment Pictures" were probably not saleable, and *The Ancient Britons* was commissioned by William Owen Pughe. Some might have been throwaway parodies (especially *The Goats*), and others (*Pitt, Nelson*) may have been created for the occasion as Blake's ironic alternatives to such dead-celebrity art as Devis's *Nelson* or West's *Death of Wolfe*. *The Bramins* could have been a response to the popular genre depicting interactions between Britons and colonial subjects.

I am not sure that a fully coherent conception of the exhibition could have been communicated in room 8 by lining up an ideally suggestive array of contextual works or expanding the wall labels to include more of Blake's descriptions, but the new edition of Blake's *Descriptive Catalogue* that accompanies the show does not go as far as it might have to help us either. This handsome quasi-catalogue by Martin Myrone, curator of the show, is for the most part intelligently executed but not very ambitious. Although the introductory chapter efficiently and even-handedly summarizes scholarly opinion about the 1809 exhibition and much more clearly explains its contexts than the 2009 exhibit itself does, there is little attempt to put it all together or go beyond what has been said about the pictures in Butlin's *Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*. The presentation of the complete text of Blake's catalogue is perfunctory, with informative but uneven notes, and the biographical and glossarial "indexes" at the back are mostly unhelpful and often mysterious. There are good images of the surviving pictures (including the Fogg's *Cain Fleeing*, which is not in the Tate show); several, especially *The Bard* and *Satan Calling*, appear to have been enhanced so that they reveal much more than can now be seen in the actual pictures.

Matthew J. A. Green. *Visionary Materialism in the Early Works of William Blake: The Intersection of Enthusiasm and Empiricism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. x + 218 pp. £52.00/\$95.00, hardcover.

Reviewed by Nancy M. Goslee

A NUMBER of critics—Steve Clark, Tristanne Connolly, Wayne Glausser, Mary Lynn Johnson, Mark Lussier, Peter Otto, Stuart Peterfreund, and David Worrall among them—have begun to examine more carefully the received wisdom, wisdom abetted by some of Blake's own proclamations, that he absolutely rejects empiricism for imaginative vision. Others, notably Marsha Schuchard and Keri Davies, E. P. Thompson, and Jon Mee, have explored the historical contexts for his debt to enthusiasm and its religious sects. Green's study intrepidly takes on the task of showing how these two apparently inimical discourses intersect in Blake's early illuminated books and marginalia, arguing that he redefines "experience" by revising each discourse in terms of the other. As he explores these relationships between Enlightenment reasoning and religious intimations of the divine, Green works painstakingly through close readings of texts drawn from both sides of his primary opposition. His tracing of Blake's continued appropriation and transformation of these sources is illuminating, particularly as he repeatedly shows that the sources themselves often reveal the same contradictions between the material and the visionary, the empirical and the spiritual. Thus the project is both complex and important.

Yet even as a sympathetic reader I find myself irritated—or, better, intermittently frustrated—by two problems that appear tied to the strengths of Green's study. The first is that his choice to organize by pulling together passages from many works in order to examine a node or train of thought necessitates a number of transitions, and that these transitions are not always clearly tied to his main lines of argument. In fact, they seem at times visionary or poetic, as if they catch the contagion of Blake's sources, particularly the contagious metaphors of the enthusiasts, or of what Mee has termed Blake's own bricolage. Section headings and even chapter titles share this impulse, a very understandable one, but they cause some difficulty in following what is in fact a well-organized structure handling complex strands of sub-argument at every stage of its development. Perhaps that hackneyed technique of academic writing, the title or subtitle that moves from the poetic to the pedestrian, would have solved at least part of this problem. The second problem that challenges the reader even more than its intellectual difficulty warrants is that Green uses several of Derrida's later works as models for his argument—in itself a fine thing to do—but is confusingly oblique as he

brings in this post-structuralist mode of thinking. Of course, this too may be a sort of creative stylistic contagion from his source.

Instead of centering each stage of his argument upon a particular work by Blake—for example, moving from the early tractates to *Songs of Innocence to Thel* and so on through the Urizen books, the latest of the illuminated works he considers—Green chooses a more challenging topical organization, one ultimately better suited to his larger argument but perhaps less well suited for readers trying to locate themselves within the more familiar terrain of a known work of art. He moves from one thematic or philosophical point of “intersection” (9) between Blake’s works and those of his “friendly enemies,” whether empiricists or visionaries, to another such intersection. Thus there are relatively few sustained readings of a given illuminated work, and critical points about a work may be scattered through different sections or different chapters. The phrase friendly enemies, Green explains, comes directly from a 2000 conference at Essex, *Friendly Enemies: Blake and the Enlightenment*, and indirectly from Derrida’s study *The Politics of Friendship* (1994, translated 1997)—both conference and study partly inspired by Blake’s relationship with William Hayley. The ambiguity of the phrase points to the difficult relationship between self and other that is central to Green’s book: the other may be Hayley or Locke or Boehme, or some aspect of their writings, or it may also be the divine. Although Green

doesn’t mention Levinas, that thinker’s influence, as mediated through Derrida, seems apparent throughout. His use of Derrida, central to the formation of his argument, is particularly crucial in framing his analyses of the divine. Yet a more explicit reflection upon how this theoretical framework relates to his carefully historicized project would have been helpful, particularly a consideration of the relationship between deconstructive critique and the late Derrida’s search for ethical and religious values.

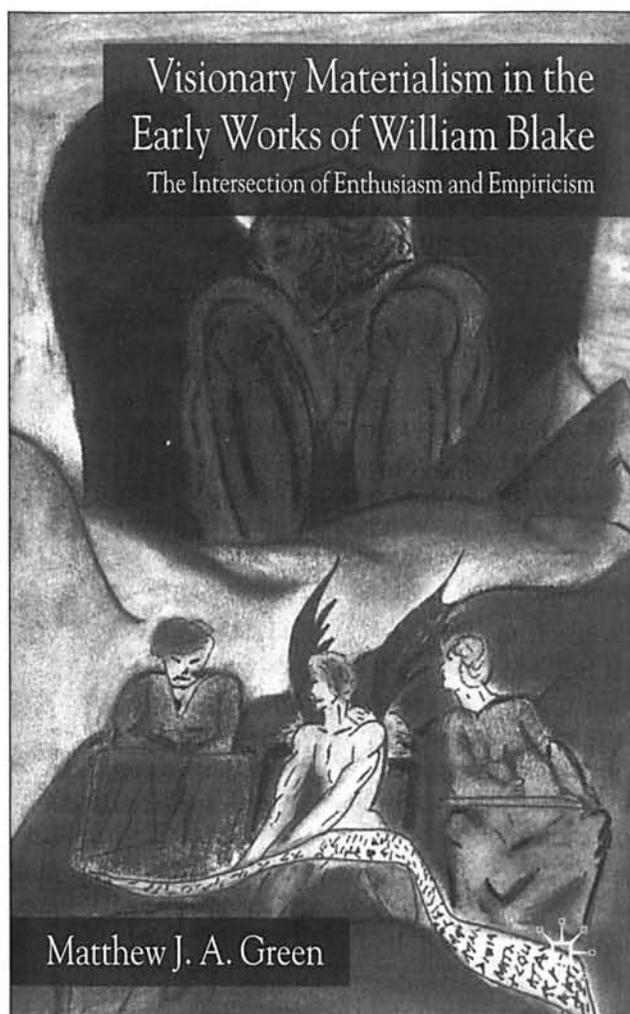
As Green’s introduction explains, chapters 1-4 explore a “shared experiential impulse” between Blake and both the visionary and the materialist strands of his “multifarious in-

heritance” (6). Beginning with the materialists, he then turns in chapter 3 to a fuller discussion of how the visionaries share this interest in experience. Chapters 5 and 6 examine how Blake borrows from scientific writing and yet transforms the terms into spiritual “doctrines and meanings” (6). Thus chapter 1 is primarily concerned with Locke, Priestley, and the problems of the cavered self (as described in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*) as it attempts to relate to an outer world. Following Harry White, Green argues that Blake does not reject empirical thought but redeems it through a recognition of its capacity—if often neglected—for spiritual thought.

We should, then, read the praise of empirical thought in the tractates, especially in *No Natural Religion*, not as a set of assertions to be reduced to logical absurdity that would then prove the visionary alternative, but as a straightforward yet more inclusive definition of experience than that held by most empiricists. To reject empiricism totally, Green argues, “simply replaces one ratio for another” (14). Citing Otto’s Derridean or Levinasian assertion that Blake advocates an “openness to alterity ... the call of the other” (18, Green’s words), Green proposes that Blake grounds the relationship between self and other on greater openness than Locke’s definitions of selfhood allow, yet at the same time builds on Locke as just such an other to be encountered, challenged, and in part transformed. Rejecting neither body nor mind, Blake’s version of the cavered man acknowledges that “the quality of impenetrability” in the walls of the cavern “is im-

posed upon the body by his circumscribed perceptions, rather than inhering in the body itself” (33-34)—a statement that risks confusion as it poises perception between mental interpretation and bodily sense data. A very thoughtful analysis of Priestley’s similar attack upon dualism follows. Priestley’s own position Green describes as a sort of material pantheism, a pervasive and “localised presence” (37) of the divine.

Beginning with a fine reading of “The Human Abstract,” chapter 2 explores Blake’s critique of obscurity and mystery, particularly in representations of the divine. The empiricists he analyzes range from Locke through Burke, Priestley, and Hartley. In contrast to what he sees in chapter 1 as Blake’s



agreement with Priestley, Green argues that Priestley's appeal to the authority of an "Almighty Creator" leads Blake to diverge from him. As he works through discussions of the Poetic Genius of the tractates, Blake's annotations to Swedenborg's *Divine Love*, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and a sustained reading—one of the few in the study—of *The Book of Urizen* and *The Book of Ahania* with its fatal tree, he argues for a materialism free from a transcendent mystery that would confirm its significance. Urizen as Enlightenment philosopher cannot integrate the fallen parts of himself and ends by imposing tyranny:

The empiricists, no less than their opponents, felt the need to contain science and in so doing they ensured that human knowledge could never actualise its redemptive potential: at the end of history, God would still be necessary to restore eternal harmony and to grant immortality to human beings. Blake believed the opposite: redemption could only be attained by human endeavour. ... It is the Poetic Genius which allows human inquiry to proceed from the known to the unknown and the fact that science has resulted in an acquisition of knowledge proves, for Blake, that this Genius exists. (68-69)

Green then follows with an extremely lucid discussion of whether this Genius as deity is contained within all men or is transcendent or is somehow both. He suggests that this ambiguity

may ... reflect Blake's unwillingness to fall into another dichotomous trap. Arguing that every man is God removes the need for otherness and seems to not only justify, but also promote the retreat into the self which Blake found so repugnant in Locke. On the other hand, emphasising otherness too much would result in the abstraction of divinity which Blake regarded as such a dangerous element in orthodox religion. (69)

Instead, Blake may have "envisioned divine power as constituted by the interaction of self and other" (69). Hence his use of giant forms, mythical human figures to embody this interaction and to make it visible, removing mystery and creating "Eternal Delight" (*Marriage* 4, E 34).

Chapter 3, "Right Reason and 'Sense Supernaturall,'" broaches Blake's intersections with the visionary enthusiasts as they debate Hobbes over the nature of the body. Pointing to the experiential, materialist elements in Boehme, Muggleton, and the Moravians, and to striking affinities across the empirical/visionary divide, especially between Hobbes and the Muggletonians, Green analyzes relationships between seeing and being seen by God and by more earthly others. "The post-enlightenment stance that Blake shares with Derrida," Green writes, especially

his sense of the self's relation to an absolute other who is every other ... develops out of a pre-enlightenment inheritance that promotes the opening of mystery and the accessibility

of the divine gaze. ... In the alternative genealogy of an open mystery, the other is within reach: the seeing, hearing and holding are reciprocated by the human self, even as it is overwhelmed by brilliance and magnanimity and even though the other always remains changeable, capable of surprise (81)

Not only does he argue for the "onto-theological grounding of Lockean empiricism," but he also finds an "empirical impulse in anti-rational sects which stretches beyond the Muggletonians, through the ... Ranters, and finds its way into the eighteenth-century theosophy of ... the Moravians, ... Swedenborg and Richard Brothers" (88). For example, Muggleton bases salvation in the vision of "the body of God," a "corporeal ... human body" (89-90, Green's words). At the end of the chapter, Green analyzes the contraries in *Marriage* as revisions of both Boehme and Priestley, both the former's alchemical union of light and heat, good and evil, and the latter's particle theories of attraction and repulsion. Cautiously pointing out that Blake may not have deliberately intended to mesh these disparate approaches, Green nevertheless argues that Blake is "able to situate" (99) himself within such binaries.

In chapter 4, "The Opening Eye," Green pursues the political implications of his topic by placing the revolutionary sexuality of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in the context of Swedenborgian debates about and Moravian practices of a divine sexuality that is embodied in Christ's relationship to his human worshipers and also in his worshipers' own sexual relationships. Here he builds on the research of Schuchard and Davies that traces Blake's parents' connections to the Moravians and to their "obsessively graphic depictions of Jesus' battered body, with glorification of his circumcised penis and vaginal side-wound" (Green 102, quoting Schuchard and Davies). Fascinating as this connection is, most of the chapter explores Blake's complex relationships with Swedenborg, as Green carefully traces through Blake's annotations a mix of approval and disapproval, the latter—he suggests—linked to the political events of the French Revolution. His discussion of Swedenborg's breaking away from the radical politics of continental masonic lodges seems, however, a bit truncated, perhaps as a result of cutting without reinserting some transitional material. His concluding discussion of Richard Brothers, building on work by Morton Paley and Mee, defines itself by emphasizing the "primacy of experience, ... the importance of expanding or altering perception and ... the conjunction between the divine and the human ... the visibilizing of the invisible other, the becoming public of the sacred secret" (129).

Chapter 5, "The Ark of God," takes off from an annotation to Lavater's *Aphorisms* in which Blake proclaims that "man is either the ark of God or a phantom of the earth & of the water" (533, E 596). Green then explores

questions of human nature, sexuality, bodily existence and, without perhaps taking things too far, the interiorisation of divine light ... questions not only about the relationship be-

tween law and desire, but also about the limitations of sexuality, the dangers of perception, and the extent to which the self can or should open itself to the interpenetration of the other. (133-34)

A discussion of *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* tests the alternatives for defining "man" that Blake's annotation to Lavater suggests: Green conducts a close examination of these emblematic plates, finding in them both the affirmative aphorism from *Marriage* that "every thing that lives is Holy" and the bleaker view of "life's capacity for living on death" (137). Nevertheless, he argues, that capacity proves liberating, an escape from or at least a passive resistance to Urizen's "iron laws" (E 81).

A reading of plate 11 of *Marriage*, however, suggests "an anxiety over the actual potential of the Poetic Genius to liberate" us from "cultural and political subjection" (139). Turning to *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, Green then argues that Oothoon's self-sacrifice to Theotormon's eagles leads toward "a particular understanding of the relationship between suffering and prophecy, between distress and the human experience of the divine" (145). He does admit a few pages later that "somewhat distressingly, the unfolding of *Visions* would seem to suggest that it is through the horror of suffering ... that insight into the heart of the deity can be achieved"—a link between "sexual exploitation and a Promethean politics" (147). If Oothoon is the Promethean figure who resists suffering for human liberty, then how does her willing self-sacrifice work here? Is she a Christ-like scapegoat? Is she compromised by that acceptance of suffering? Does she change her mind in the course of the poem, resisting Urizen far more openly in her final monologue? While Green's reading does have some intriguing affinities with recent discussions of Shelley's Prometheus and the question of his submission to suffering, the discussion is simply too condensed to satisfy the questions of a critic immersed in feminist readings of the work. Instead of discussing Oothoon's attack upon Urizen, which would seem relevant to his discussions of the divine, Green turns back to the "Marygold" (E 45) that she plucks before beginning her dangerous journey toward Theotormon. Following Worrall's suggestion that scientific reports of emitted light from the flower can be linked to spiritual vision, Green argues that Oothoon's conversation with the marigold perceived as nymph moves beyond the limits of science (for Darwin acknowledges that he cannot fully explain that strange light emitted from the flower) into a redemptive vision that images an eroticized divine love. I am still puzzled, though, about how that potential of divine love is realized—or, rather, tested—in the narrative that follows. When Green turns to "the illumination of the final plate" (152), he describes Oothoon wrapped in flames and hovering above the daughters of Albion. While I agree that this may be a visual image of her hope to enlist us in her prophetic vision, Green doesn't note that in some copies the flames are blue-green waves. Nor does he note the interpretative problem posed by the occasional migration of the dark,

static frontispiece to the final plate, a migration that points toward a more pessimistic reading.

A section on the bounding line moves from the graphic toward an exploration of the boundaries between self and other. Following Joseph Viscomi's and other critics' observations that Blake relates artistic and sexual energies, Green adapts Edward Larrissy's claim that a "concern over sexual possessiveness" reflects "an anxiety about form and structure in general" (154, Green's words) to argue that "the relation between artist and medium is intimately connected with the relation between self and other" (155)—and thus to Blake's overarching theme of the divine found in the relationship between self and other. "Sexual possessiveness, the drive to bring the other into oneself," Green writes, "is the very impulse that opens the self to alterity, that renders it hospitable toward the other" (154). This wording is still disturbing, given the rape in *Visions*, and seems to distort Larrissy's point about Blake's "concern." He goes on, however, to use less aggressive phrasing and to demonstrate the significance of his argument. Citing Blake's December 1795 letter to George Cumberland discussing the relationship among invention, execution, and inspiration, Green explains that the "embrace of alterity in the process of artistic embodiment is meaningfully connected to the idea of the bounding line as well as to Blake's understanding of the self open to redemption, particularly as this relates to the closeted self described by Locke" (156). He then tests this point against Locke's theories of invention, judgment, and genius in *Thoughts Concerning Education* as well as *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* to explore issues raised by Locke and later materialists about the invasive, contagious effect of ideas from outside the self, ideas that transform the self's perception and subject it to imprisoning, external moral systems. *The Book of Urizen*, he concludes, dramatizes this problem. A final section of this complex chapter explores further the paradox that in Blake's visionary materialism "absolute interiority ... corresponds with a sense of the self's thoroughgoing permeation by the other, a loving and erotically charged intercourse with the divine that occurs even when the self remains unaware" (163). Thus he returns to the Moravians' theology—and also to Derrida's *Politics of Friendship* and to a complex discussion of law, love, and judgment of others—and hence, by way of Lavater's aphorisms and theories of physiognomy, back to the visual perception of others. He then goes back to Cumberland's praise of Blake in *Thoughts on Outline* and develops further the idea of outline as a penetrable barrier between self and an other that may be either human or divine. This sequence, even more dizzying than my summary suggests, leads to a reading of

the bounding line as an expression of energetic identity rather than as an impediment to interaction and conversation. Therefore, in drawing, both executed and perceived, the barrier is allowed to become the bearer and the expression of identity is united with the differentiation of one self from another. (170)

In his concluding chapter, "The Sublime Act," Green shifts focus slightly to extend the relationship between essential self and the "external form" (171) of that self by developing Viscomi's point that Lavater's *Aphorisms* and Blake's notes to them generate the early tractate *All Religions are One*. Green's glosses of Blake's glosses show that Blake reverses Spinoza's priority of divine substance over particular essences; Blake "implies a redefinition of substance as the manifestation of essence—as the ascription of a visible quality, a 'tincture,' to the essence," leading to "a public expression of identity" (172). "Tincture" is an artistic term for color yet also a mystical term drawn from Boehme. In making this link, Blake

is infusing his discussion of artistic and human forms with the idea of a divine fire or energy. Thus, in giving tincture to the accident, the substance effectively redeems the self's relationship with the other, transforming arbitrary imposition into a conflict or convergence of distinct and eternal identities. (173)

In the tractates, Green argues, the "Poetic Genius ... operates as the nexus linking the universal essence that drives creation with the individual identities that it creates." In the process by which God "becomes as we are" (E 3), "the universal genius becomes possessed by each individual manifestation. ... Thus, the traits of the individual are transferred onto the universal impetus of creation, effecting a mediation between the universal and the personal" (176-77). This is a fine supplement to his earlier discussions of the Poetic Genius.

In a rich glossing of the Proverb of Hell, "The most sublime act is to set another before you," Green moves from the most obvious meaning, "giving deference to the other," to a reading based on a response to the visual. He turns the visually dangerous process of "becoming what [the observer] beholds," seeing the other placed in front of the subject, into a process of subjecting the self to "infiltration to the potential of interpenetration, of love" (177), and thus to an "influx of the divine" (178). Again, recalling Oothoon, I'm a little nervous about Green's syntax equating interpenetration with love as he shifts from human relationships to human/divine relationships. Still a third shade of meaning, however, points toward a political and religious substitution of the other for the self, leaving the other to bear the brunt of public criticism, to become a scapegoat or sacrifice. Here Green's reading might be further developed in terms of Kenneth Burke's theories of scapegoating—as Laura Rutland has argued in an unpublished dissertation.¹ As Green links the crucifixion to more recent scapegoating in the Terror, he returns to Derrida's Levinas-influenced argument that friendship is non-reciprocal, asymmetrical. Thus, he writes, "Christ as the example *par excellence* of the divine other shatters the foundations of cavered man, of the Lock-

ean self from which we ourselves today continue to inherit" (179).

When Green turns back to *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* to set up his conclusion, I think he misreads Isaiah and Ezekiel by suggesting that they support the "cultural subjugation" of submitting to the "jews code" (E 39) (182-83), but his larger point, as he criticizes Nicholas Williams's reading, is one to weigh seriously: *Marriage*, and Blake's early work more broadly, possess an "underlying spiritual basis" that is not totalizing, because Blake makes room for "variety in the generation of identity" (184). Finally,

it is the interplay between substance and accident, variety and unity, that allows for the expression of personal genius. ... It is the lusts and appetites of the human body, which from an angelic or Urizenic perspective are marks of frailty and imperfection, that give shape to human identity and facilitates [sic] both the interiorisation and the public expression of that light which is love, by inducing us to seek something beyond the "shadows of [our] curtains" (*Visions*, 7.7; E50). (189-90)

Although some of the difficulties presented by Green's book might have been avoided by clearer transitions and signals, many others are intrinsic to the very difficult intersections he traces, and thus the struggle to understand his study is well worth the time. Moreover, if his analyses of the relationships between self and other run into problems when one tries to read them in terms of gender differences, these problems may be a result of his highly abstract Derridean/Levinasian argument that relationships with the other, whether human or divine, may all be spoken of in the same way and may all share the same lack of symmetry. In other words, this may be the reader's problem with Green's theoretical model, and not entirely with his use of it. Still, a book so focused on sexuality in early Blake might acknowledge the difficulties that model generates once it is applied to works that have been read so productively from feminist viewpoints.

1. "Hindrance, Act, and the Scapegoat: William Blake, Kenneth Burke, and the Rhetoric of Order," diss., University of Tennessee, 2003.

“And the sun dial by Blake”
(Butlin #374A)

BY MORTON D. PALEY

WILLIAM Hayley's art collection was sold at Christie's in a single day, 15 February 1821.¹ Hayley owned, as one would expect, a number of drawings and sketches by his friends George Romney and John Flaxman, as well as paintings attributed to, among others, Both, Breughel, and Quentin Matsys. Among the 140 numbered lots is one of particular interest to readers of this journal:

Pamela 106 A pastoral drawing in body colours: and the sun dial by Blake

The existence of Blake's *Sun Dial* has been known since the publication of Butlin's great catalogue,² but the identity of "Pamela" has not been established, nor the means by which Hayley acquired Pamela's "pastoral drawing." These subjects can now be clarified, although Blake's *Sun Dial* remains untraced.

Hayley first met Pamela, then aged fourteen, when visiting Paris with Romney (both sympathizers with the young revolution) in 1790. There they were entertained by the celebrated writer on education, Madame de Genlis, who was also governess and tutor to the children of the duc d'Orléans. It was given out that Pamela, so called after Samuel Richardson's heroine, had been born in Newfoundland, that her name had been Nancy Sims, that she had been taken by her mother back to Hampshire after her father's death, and then had been brought to Paris by a British diplomat and introduced into the family of Louis-Philippe, where she was brought up with his children under the governance of Mme. de Genlis. However, many believed that the girl, now called Anne Caroline Stéphanie, was the daughter of Mme. de Genlis and the duke.³

1. *A Catalogue of an Interesting Assemblage of Pictures, Drawings, Prints ... the Property of W. Hayley, Esq. Deceased ...* (London, 1821). Lugt 9959. Photocopy (incomplete) in the Frick Art Reference Library. I thank Ms. Erin Elzi, Reference Associate, for making this catalogue available to me. Martin Butlin has kindly informed me that in the complete copy at Christie's there is only one other work by Blake: his engraving after Hogarth's *Beggar's Opera*, lot 46.

2. *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) #374A, conjecturally dated 1800-03.

3. This and other facts about Pamela not related to Hayley and his circle are derived from Liam Chambers, "Fitzgerald, Pamela (1776?-1831)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9580>>, accessed 4 May 2009. See also Morchard Bishop, *Blake's Hayley: The Life, Works, and Friendships of William Hayley* (London: Gollancz, 1951) 138, 143, 199.

She was evidently a girl of beauty and charm, for Hayley singled her out in the "impromptu" he wrote before he and Romney left Paris:

TO MADAME DE GENLIS, AND HER COMPANIONS,
SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1790.

*So great the favors shewn us here,
Which time can ne'er efface,
Our gratitude can scarce appear
Proportioned to their grace.*

*In this distress sure aid I seek,
Dear Pamela, from you,
If those sweet lips will deign to speak
Our thanks, and our adieu!*⁴

In 1791-92 Pamela and her tutor were in England, and Romney accompanied them to the theater many times. In January 1792 the artist began painting two portraits of Pamela. These were never finished, nor was a portrait of Mme. de Genlis begun at the same time.⁵ Although it appears that Mme. de Genlis did not see Hayley during this visit, they were in correspondence, and she sent him a copy of her *Leçons d'une gouvernante à ses élèves, ou Fragmens d'un journal, qui a été fait pour l'éducation des enfans de Monsieur d'Orléans* (Paris, 1791), as Hayley tells his wife, Elizabeth, in a letter dated 19 October 1791.⁶ This book, Hayley says, "is a detail of all her minute attention to the children," and Pamela plays a role in it, as do the other Orléans children. "She," writes Hayley, "has just had the kindness to send me, with her new publication, a very pretty drawing from the pencil of Pamela, the lovely girl whom she educates with her princely disciples." Although we cannot be sure that this was the "pastoral drawing," it is Hayley's only published mention of receiving a drawing by Pamela, who would shortly have little time for pastoral scenes.

After returning to Paris in 1792, Pamela attended a performance of Cherubini's opera, *Lodoiska*, and was seen in a loge by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was struck by her beauty. The resulting *coup de foudre* led to their marrying at Tournai on 27 December 1792, less than a month later. Lady Fitzgerald then went to live with her husband in County Kildare, and became deeply involved in his revolutionary activities. Just prior to the rising of the United Irishmen in 1798, Lord Edward, a leader of the movement, was wounded in a gunfight with the

4. William Hayley, *The Life of George Romney, Esq.* (London: T. Payne, 1809) 153.

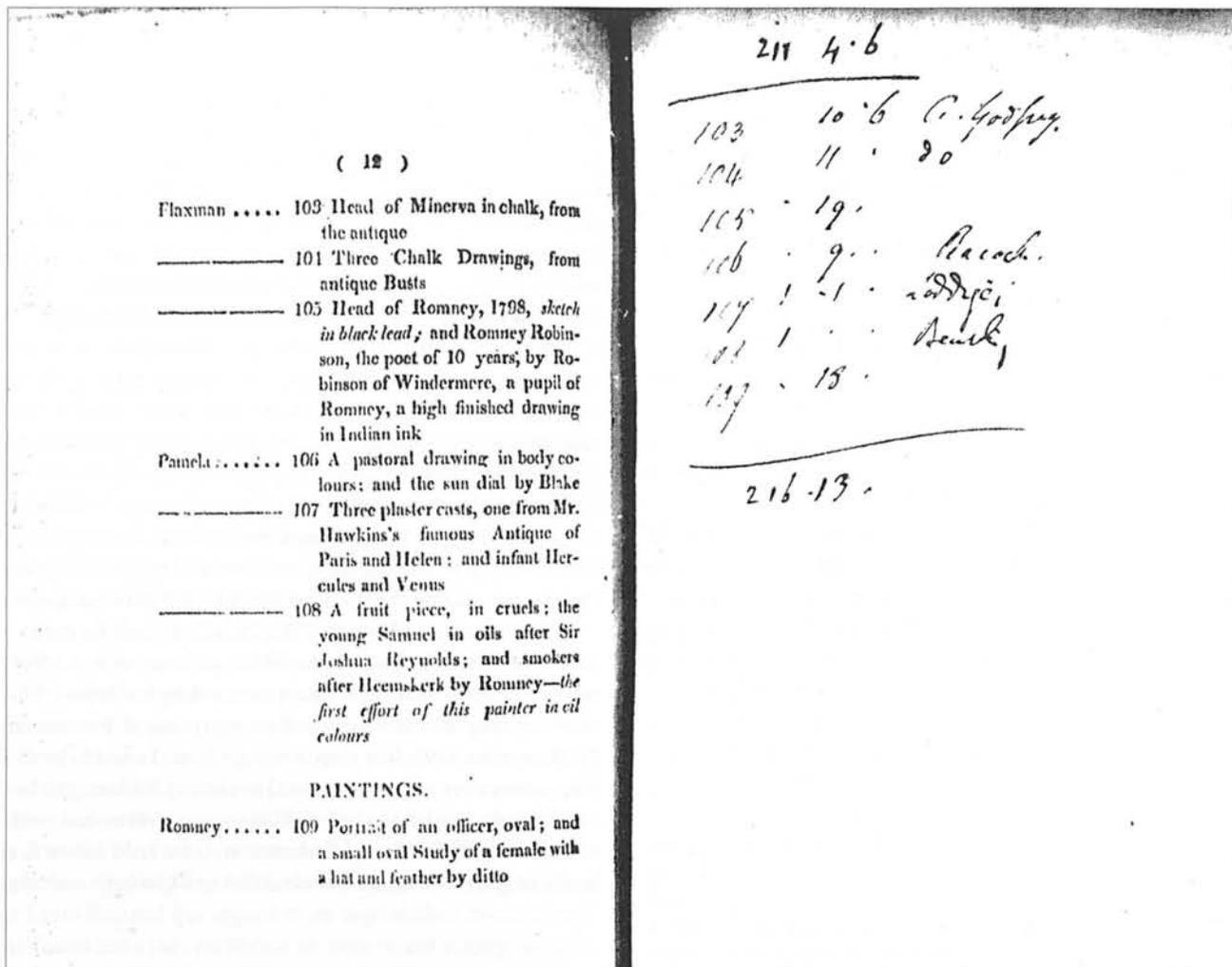
5. Hayley, *Life of Romney* 169.

6. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley, Esq. the Friend and Biographer of Cowper ...*, ed. John Johnson, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1823) 1: 419. *Leçons* was published in English as *Lessons of a Governess to Her Pupils. Or, Journal of the Method Adopted by Madame de Sillery-Brulart, (Formerly Countess de Genlis) in the Education of the Children of M. d'Orleans ... Published by Herself. Translated from the French*, 3 vols. (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792).

authorities and was left to die in prison without medical attention. The crown seized the Fitzgerald estates, and Pamela eventually returned to France, where she lived on a pension from the Orléans family. It must have been a small one, for she died destitute in 1831.

What the association between Pamela's "pastoral drawing" and "the sun dial by Blake" may be, or even whether there is one, is a matter for speculation. Auction catalogues are not models of scholarship. Presumably there are two separate drawings here, arbitrarily lumped together, although it is pos-

sible that Hayley thought that Pamela's landscape needed a sun dial and had Blake draw one into it. The wording of the entry for lot 106 is ambiguous at best. One additional fact is of interest, although for the moment it will lead only to further questions. The Frick Collection library's copy of this catalogue is marked with buyers' names and the prices paid. Lot 106 was bought for nine shillings by "Peacock." Peacock was the buyer of at least two other lots in this sale, numbers 110 and 116. Was he a dealer or a collector? Further investigation may yet lead to the rediscovery of "the sun dial by Blake."



From *A Catalogue of an Interesting Assemblage of Pictures* (1821); photocopy from the Frick Art Reference Library.

Blake Copperplates in the Thomas Ross Archive

BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

WILLIAM Blake engraved and etched hundreds of copperplates, but only forty-nine of them are known to have survived.¹ The information embedded in the metal of engravings can extend very considerably what we can deduce from prints made from them. However, most of the plates engraved by Blake and his contemporaries have long since been reduced to their constituent copper and converted to shoe buckles and cannon, sheathing for ships and wire. Consequently, the discovery of more is very exciting.

The print-making and -selling firm of Thomas Ross Limited in Binfield, Berkshire, has in its archive almost 10,000 copperplates dating from 1720 to the 1990s. These include designs by Flaxman, Hogarth, Linnell, and Stothard, but "the plates by William Blake ... are the most valuable in the Collection."²

The firm is descended from John Dixon, who printed proofs of Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job* on 3-4 March 1825,³ and from Dixon & Ross, who printed twenty-five sets of Blake's seven Dante engravings on 26 September 1838.⁴ Over the next 170 years it acquired the stock of printers and publishers, generally without plate inventories, including the major firms of McQueen (founded c. 1700, acquired in the 1960s) and Mauroo (founded 1900, acquired in 2000 with a stock of 2,600 plates). The business was acquired about thirty years ago by the Nutbrown family. They keep over half of their stock in print (listed at <<http://www.thomasross.co.uk>>), chiefly sailing, hunting, sporting, genre, and architectural scenes sold directly to galleries, framers, and interior designers rather than at retail. Though the Blake copperplates, twenty-six in all, are said to be the most valuable in the collection, only the Canterbury Pilgrims plate is kept in print, and Mr. Lindsay Nutbrown tells me that they sell only three or four of them a year. The others have not been printed in living memory.

As only the Canterbury Pilgrims plate is identified on the Ross web site, Nutbrown generously described the Blakes for me. They consist of the Canterbury Pilgrims plate, the twenty-two plates for Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job*,

1. See "Blake's Heavy Metal: The History, Weight, Uses, Cost, and Makers of His Copper Plates," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 76.2 (2007): 744; Blake also made seven temperas on copper. His woodblocks for Virgil survive in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, but his only lithographic stone (of Enoch) does not survive.

2. "First Impressions: Blake and Turner are just two of the artists in the Thomas Ross Collection. RM Healey pays a visit," *Rare Book Review* (April-May 2007): 50-53. Healey does not identify the Blake plates in the archive.

3. *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 410, 783, 804.

4. *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) [hereafter *BB*] 545.

the portrait of Blake engraved after Thomas Phillips by Louis Schiavonetti as the frontispiece to Blair's *Grave* (1808), a double plate of Blake and Catherine drawn by Frederick J. Shields after outlines by Blake, and a portrait of Catherine. The dimensions of the plates (given as height x width in cm.) are very significant:

Illustrations of the Book of Job

| | Ross | British Museum |
|------------|-------------|----------------|
| title page | 15.0 x 11.5 | 21.3 x 16.5 |
| 1 | 14.0 x 12.0 | 20.0 x 16.6 |
| 2 | 14.5 x 11.5 | 21.8 x 17.1 |
| 3 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.1 |
| 4 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.1 |
| 5 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.1 |
| 6 | 15.0 x 11.5 | 21.9 x 17.2 |
| 7 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.2 |
| 8 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.0 |
| 9 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.1 |
| 10 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.2 |
| 11 | 15.0 x 11.5 | 21.8 x 17.1 |
| 12 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.0 |
| 13 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.0 |
| 14 | 15.5 x 12.5 | 20.8 x 16.6 |
| 15 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.1 |
| 16 | 14.5 x 12.0 | 20.2 x 16.6 |
| 17 | 16.0 x 12.0 | 22.1 x 17.1 |
| 18 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.2 |
| 19 | 15.0 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.1 |
| 20 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 22.0 x 17.1 |
| 21 | 15.5 x 12.0 | 21.9 x 17.1 |

"Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims"

| Ross | Yale University Art Gallery |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 20.3 x 48.3 | 35.7 x 97.05 |

Phillips-Schiavonetti portrait of Blake from Blair, *The Grave* (1808)

| Ross | National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) |
|-------------|---|
| 15.2 x 11.4 | c. 25 x 29 |

Blake-Shields portrait of William and Catherine

| Ross |
|-------------|
| 11.4 x 15.2 |

Catherine Blake

| Ross |
|------------|
| 10.8 x 9.5 |

The dimensions indicate that the plates of Job, the Canterbury Pilgrims, and the Phillips-Schiavonetti portrait are reduced-size facsimiles of the originals which happen to survive elsewhere. Blake's Job copperplates were commissioned (1823) and published (1826) by John Linnell, whose grandson Herbert Linnell gave them to the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings in 1919 (BB #421). The Canterbury Pilgrims plate (1810) is now in the Yale University Art Gallery. Blake's twelve plates for Blair's *Grave* and the frontispiece portrait of him by Phillips were commissioned by Robert Hartley Cromek, engraved by Schiavonetti, and published in 1808, 1813, [1870], and 1926; the Blair designs were reprinted in Mora's *Meditaciones Poeticas* (1826) (BB #484). The copperplates were acquired by Lessing J. Rosenwald in 1938 and given to the National Gallery of Art (BB #435).

Probably some of the Ross plates were made for the second edition of Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake* (1880)—no longer "pictor ignotus" as in 1863. The dimensions are similar or identical to those in the 1880 edition:

| Subject | Artist | Gilchrist (1880) | Ross |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Catherine Blake | F. J. Shields | 1: 361 10.6 x 9.9 | 10.8 x 9.5 |
| Catherine and William Blake | F. J. Shields | 1: 374 11.4 x 15.2 | 11.4 x 15.2 |
| William Blake | Thomas Phillips | 2, frontispiece 15.1 x 11.4 | 15.2 x 11.4 |

The Job prints are more problematical. When they were first printed in Gilchrist (1863, vol. 2), they show no indented platemark (in the Victoria University copy), and the only measurements feasible are of the framing lines, which do not include the imprint. When the prints appeared in 1880 (vol. 2), they are on India paper showing clear platemarks with four rounded corners (in the Victoria University copy). The dimensions of the framing lines are significantly larger in 1863 than in 1880:

| | Gilchrist (1863) | Gilchrist (1880) |
|------------|------------------|------------------|
| title page | 14.0 x 10.9 | 13.0 x 10.3 |
| 1 | 12.2 x 10.0 | 12.0 x 9.9 |
| 2 | 14.0 x 11.0 | 13.0 x 10.0 |

In the list of illustrations, the 1863 Job prints are called photo-lithographs, and lithographs would leave no platemarks. The superior 1880 prints are said to be "Photo-Intaglios" produced by the Typographic Etching Company.⁵ They are made from different plates.

5. They are apparently the same plates used in *Illustrations of the Book of Job ... Reduced in Facsimile by Alfred Dawson* (1880).

The 1880 India paper Job platemarks are also significantly smaller than the Ross copperplates:

| | Gilchrist (1880) | Ross |
|------------|------------------|-------------|
| title page | 14.5 x 10.9 | 15.0 x 11.5 |
| 1 | 13.9 x 11.3 | 14.0 x 12.0 |
| 2 | 14.6 x 11.1 | 14.5 x 11.5 |

I conclude that the three Ross portraits of the Blakes almost certainly were those made for the second edition of Gilchrist (1880) and that the Ross plates for Job may well have been made for the first edition of Gilchrist (1863).

It is curious that the Gilchrist copperplates should have been separated after 1880, for the other prints appearing in 1863 and 1880 do not appear to be in the Ross collection. The list of illustrations in the second edition gives the source of six plates as "Block lent by Messrs. Scribner & Co.":

| Page | Title | Engraver |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 29 | Glad Day | Anon. |
| 68 | Infant Joy | J. F. Jungling |
| 128 | Elijah in the Chariot of Fire | Anon. |
| 134 | Young Burying Narcissa | J. Hellawell |
| 269 | Death's Door | Anon. |
| 270 | Counsellor, King ... | Anon. |

Presumably these six copperplates were returned to Scribner.

The sixteen electrotypes of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* printed in volume 2 in 1863 and 1880 stayed with Macmillan's printer, Richard Clay & Co., until they were destroyed on Macmillan's orders about 1961.⁶ Presumably the other plates for Gilchrist were scattered as well.

The copperplate in the Ross Archive of Stothard's Canterbury Pilgrims design rivaling Blake's seems to be approximately the same dimensions as the original and may well be the plate actually engraved by Louis Schiavonetti, Niccolo Schiavonetti, James Heath, and Worthington and finally published in 1817. In its time this was a far better known plate than any of Blake's, and its discovery in the archive is of great interest.

6. BB 429-30.

The Early Marketing of *The Grave* in London and Boston

BY WAYNE C. RIPLEY

AS is well documented, Robert Cromek had a great talent for marketing that emerged in his promotion of *The Grave*.¹ He ran a two-year advertising campaign in more than ten newspapers and magazines across England and Scotland. These included the *Birmingham Gazette* and *Birmingham Commercial Herald* (July 1806), *Scots Magazine* (July 1807), *Artist* (August 1807), *Monthly Literary Recreations* (September 1807), *Literary Panorama* and *Manchester Gazette* (November 1807), *Wakefield Star and West-Riding Advertiser* (May 1808), *Monthly Magazine*, *Athenaeum Magazine*, and *Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser* (June 1808), and *Monthly Literary Advertiser* (July 1808).² As the list of subscribers in the published volume signifies, Cromek did not limit himself to the literary and artistic markets of London and was ready to find new subscribers across Britain.

If there was anything strange about his marketing strategy, however, it was his initial neglect of London for Birmingham during the summer of 1806. But a previously undiscovered announcement, which was reprinted two times, suggests that Cromek was very mindful of the London marketplace that summer:

Mr. Cromek intends to publish in the course of the ensuing winter a series of 12 [twelve] Engravings, etched in a very superior style of excellence by Louis Schiavonetti, from the original inventions of William Blake, illustrative of Blair's popular Poem "The Grave." In consequence of the originality of the designs and their vigorous expression, the work has been honoured with the patronage of the principal members of the Royal Academy, and the first professors of art in the metropolis, and by the subscriptions of upwards of 300 [250] of the most distinguished amateurs.³

1. In their facsimile of *The Grave*, Robert N. Essick and Morton D. Paley call Cromek "an energetic promoter" (*Robert Blair's The Grave, Illustrated by William Blake: A Study with Facsimile* [London: Scolar Press, 1982] 19). See also G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) [hereafter *BR(2)*] 208.

2. Except for the *Scots Magazine*, these references are found in *BR(2)*. See David Groves, "'Great and Singular Genius': Further References to Blake (and Cromek) in the *Scots Magazine*," *Blake* 39.1 (summer 2005): 47.

3. "Modern Discoveries, and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, and Literature," *Universal Magazine* 6 (July 1806): 47-48; "Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts," *Monthly Magazine* (Aug. 1806): 61; "Intelligence," *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review* 3 (Oct. 1806): 559.

The *Universal Magazine* version is quoted above, with the numbers in brackets appearing in the *Monthly Magazine* and *Monthly Anthology*. In accidentals, these versions differ from the *Universal Magazine* notice in capitals, lineation, punctuation, and the use of the phrase "the [as op-

In London, the notice ran in the July issue of the *Universal Magazine* and the August issue of the *Monthly Magazine*. It is the only reference to Blake in the *Universal Magazine*,⁴ and was published in a section entitled "Modern Discoveries, and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, and Literature," alongside other forthcoming books. In the *Monthly Magazine*, it appeared in its "Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts," which included prints and books with prints. Since the text is nearly identical in both magazines, the announcement was presumably written by Cromek and not the editors. It is also found in the October 1806 *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, which reprinted the *Monthly Magazine* version in its "Intelligence" section that provided notices regarding British books. This notice may be the earliest reference to Blake in America, and it might explain the presence of J. Brown from Boston in the list of the subscribers to *The Grave*. While it is possible that Cromek had his eye on the potential market across the Atlantic, it is more likely, given Blair's popularity in America, that the *Grave* project simply appealed to the Boston editor, who reprinted it without either Blake's or Cromek's knowledge.

The biggest question raised by the announcements is why the number of subscribers was reduced from 300 in the *Universal Magazine* to 250 in the *Monthly Magazine* version. Perhaps the *Monthly Magazine* version was written first but published later. This idea would accord with the fact that the number of subscribers seems to have risen steadily. In November 1807 Cromek reported getting seventy-two "at Manchester in less than 3 Weeks" (*BR(2)* 249), and the change in number in the announcements implies that he was working at a similar clip in the summer of 1806. By the time the book was published there would be "578 subscribers for 688 copies."⁵ Despite Cromek's success in garnering subscriptions, the idea that the volume would be published in the "ensuing winter" suggests that he envisioned a very truncated production schedule, meaning that the famous portrait of Blake was likely not part of the original plan, since Blake did not sit for Thomas Phillips until April 1807 (*BR(2)* 232). Finally, the newly discovered notices offer some evidence that Blake was aware of how *The Grave* was being marketed. They were the only advertisements for *The Grave* to reference "the most distinguished amateurs," and Blake's first recorded reference to the English amateur came in his letter to the *Monthly Magazine* (1 July 1806) defending Fuseli's painting of Dante's Ugolino. As Paley has recently stressed, "amateur" was still considered a novel, if not foreign, import in English discussion of the arts, and Blake's parody of it in his notebook quip

posed to "their"] vigorous expression." More significantly, the *Monthly Magazine* and *Monthly Anthology* leave out the reference to the patronage of Royal Academy members, deleting "the principal members of the Royal Academy, and."

4. The *Universal Magazine* 11 (Feb. 1809): 132-39, would give a very favorable review of Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns*.

5. G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) 529.

"The Cunning sures & the Aim at yours" may have been spurred by its association with Cromek's fashionable marketing language.⁶

6. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, newly rev. ed. (New York: Anchor-Random House, 1988) 510. As Paley observes, the first recorded use of "amateur" was in 1784, and it was still new enough in 1803 that Rees's *Cyclopædia* had to gloss it ("Blake's Poems on Art and Artists," *Blake and Conflict*, ed. Sarah Haggarty and Jon Mee [Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009] 214).

Waxed in Blake

BY NELSON HILTON

THOSE who write on Bob Dylan appear to take for granted the influence of Blake on his "Gates of Eden" (in performance by 31 October 1964, then issued on *Bringing It All Back Home*, March 1965, and as the flip side to the single version of "Like a Rolling Stone," July 1965). Michael Gray speaks for many, if at greater length, in stating that "the purposive force of what is palpably Blakeian impinges in every verse. It is the major Dylan song prior to 'Every Grain Of Sand' that is most like Blake, and like the most characteristic Blake at that." Without giving specifics, Gray argues that "the general themes of 'Gates of Eden' could not be more Blakeian and nor could their treatment. Dylan is treating of balances of opposites—of material wealth and spiritual; of earthly reality and the imaginatively real; of the body and soul; of false gods and true vision; of self-gratification and salvation; of mortal ambitions and the celestial city; of sins and forgiveness; of evil and good."¹ Lawrence Wilde suggests, more concretely but equally without evidence, that "William Blake's poem 'Gates of Paradise' may well have inspired Dylan's composition," and Mike Marqusee finds "an apt reference to Blake" in the song's seventh-stanza reference to "kingdoms of Experience."²

The recent publication in facsimile of a manuscript version of "Gates of Eden" enables further speculation about Blake's presence in the song's first stanza, at least, and how it came to pass.³ As published and recorded, the first stanza reads:

1. *Song and Dance Man III: The Art of Bob Dylan* (London: Continuum, 2000) 61, 62. See also John Hinchey, *Like a Complete Unknown: The Poetry of Bob Dylan's Songs, 1961-1969* (Ann Arbor: Stealing Home Press, 2002) 88.

2. Lawrence Wilde, "The Cry of Humanity: Dylan's Expressionist Period," *The Political Art of Bob Dylan*, ed. David Boucher and Gary Browning (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 92; Mike Marqusee, *Chimes of Freedom: The Politics of Bob Dylan's Art* (New York: New Press, 2003) 166.

3. Robert Santelli, *The Bob Dylan Scrapbook, 1956-1966* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005) 41 (insert).

Of war and peace the truth just twists
Its curfew gull just glides
Upon four-legged forest clouds
The cowboy angel rides
With his candle lit into the sun
Though its glow is waxed in black
All except when 'neath the trees of Eden.

The facsimile has in the third line not "four-legged" but "fungus forest cloud." This, together with the twisting of the truth, the black glow, and the setting "'neath the trees," seems strongly to recall "A Memorable Fancy" in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, plates 17-18. There the speaker, in the company of "An Angel," finds himself "sitting in the twisted root of an oak. he was suspended in a fungus" and beholding "the sun, black but shining" (E 41).⁴ In the facsimile the cowboy angel "lights his candle in the sun" (itself replacing the original "his candle burns the day"), which flips us a few plates forward in *Marriage* to the argument that a "man of mechanical talents" producing volumes—or vinyl recordings "waxed in black"—from the writings of inspired authors should "not say that he knows better than his master, for he only holds a candle in sunshine" (pl. 22, E 43).

It seems likely that Dylan may have come upon or have been reminded of Blake's work through a rapidly developing friendship with Allen Ginsberg that began in early 1964.⁵ Ginsberg's long-standing and idiosyncratic, deep involvement with Blake is well known, and he "had studied, in particular, the visionary masterpiece, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*."⁶ Dylan may have come to his title image not only through Blake's *Gates of Paradise*, but also through Ginsberg's very early collection *The Gates of Wrath*. Though not published until 1972, the unique manuscript of these "rhymed poems, 1948-1952," was, surprisingly, in Dylan's possession.⁷ There, beginning his twenty-fourth year in May 1964, Dylan could have read "Ode: My 24th Year" and its concluding line, "Here is no Eden: this

4. The power of this image is evident again several years later in John Gardner's *Grendel* (New York: Knopf, 1971), where the protagonist "recall[s] something. A void boundless as a nether sky. I hang by the twisted roots of an oak, looking down into immensity. Vastly far away I see the sun, black but shining ..." (137).

5. Michael Schumacher, *Dharma Lion: A Critical Biography of Allen Ginsberg* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) 405; Bill Morgan, *I Celebrate Myself: The Somewhat Private Life of Allen Ginsberg* (New York: Viking, 2006) 383; Richard E. Hishmeh, "Marketing Genius: The Friendship of Allen Ginsberg and Bob Dylan," *Journal of American Culture* 29.4 (2006): 395-405.

6. Paul Portugés, *The Visionary Poetics of Allen Ginsberg* (Santa Barbara: Ross-Erikson, 1978) 101.

7. Ginsberg relates in a "Hindsight" to the 1972 edition published by Grey Fox Press (Bolinas) that "*Gates of Wrath* ms. was carried to London by lady friend early fifties, it disappeared, and I had no complete copy till 1968 when old typescript was returned thru poet Bob Dylan—it passed into his hands years earlier." The volume has Blake's "Right thro' the Gates of Wrath" as one of its epigraphs and two directly Blake-inspired poems, "On Reading William Blake's 'The Sick Rose'" and "The Eye Altering Alters All."

is my store." By the release of "Gates of Eden," Dylan was close enough to Ginsberg that they are depicted each wearing the same top hat in photographs on the back cover of *Bringing It All Back Home* (pictures evidently taken early in 1964).⁸ For his part, Ginsberg felt strongly enough about the song that in "Who Be Kind To," first read at the International Poetry Incarnation, 11 June 1965, Royal Albert Hall (shortly after he

accompanied Dylan's UK concert tour recorded in *Don't Look Back*), he celebrates the raising up of "joyful voices and guitars / in electric Afric hurrah / for Jerusalem— / The saints come marching in, Twist & / Shout, and Gates of Eden are named / in Albion again."⁹

8. Barry Miles, *Ginsberg: A Biography*, rev. ed. (London: Virgin Publishing, 2000) 330.

9. Allen Ginsberg, *Collected Poems: 1947-1997* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2006) 368 (text is dated 8 June 1965); see also Schumacher 447.

WILLIAM BLAKE

Songs of Innocence and of Experience



Meticulously researched by Blake scholar Michael Phillips, this facsimile edition includes 18 monochrome impressions from plates that have been relief etched following Blake's method, inked using a leather dauber, and wiped and printed exactly as he printed the first combined issue of the *Songs* in 1794.

The edition is limited to 33 copies including those now in the collections of:

The Morgan Library and Museum, Reference Collection
Berg Collection at New York Public Library
Victoria University Library (Toronto)
Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress
Glasgow University Library
and other institutional and private collections

Orders and information:

FLYING HORSE EDITIONS

University of Central Florida • www.flyinghorse.cah.ucf.edu/blake • 407-823-4995

Karl Kroeber

1926-2009