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INFORMATION

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For the second year in a row, I begin with the saga of Blake's 19 water colors illustrating Robert Blair's *The Grave*. They were recorded in an 1836 Edinburgh auction catalogue and not rediscovered until 2001; they have already received considerable attention in this journal. Based on various reports in the British press, plus a few private sources, I can now fill in several gaps in the history of the designs. The artist John Stannard (1794-1882) acquired the illustrations at or shortly after the 1836 auction. At his death they passed to his son Henry John Stannard (1840-1920), then to his son, Henry John Sylvester Stannard (1870-1951), and grandson, and finally to a Stannard nephew living in Glasgow. In 2000, this last owner sold them to, or placed them on consignment with, a Glasgow shop, Caledonia Books. In the next year, they were purchased for about £1000 by the book dealer Paul Williams of Fine Books, Ilkley, Yorkshire. In partnership with, or at least with the assistance of, another dealer, Jeffrey Bates of Bates & Hindmarch in Leeds, Williams took the water colors to the auction house of Dominic Winter, located in Swindon, who contacted Martin Butlin and Robin Hamlyn. These two Blake scholars authenticated the designs. In February 2002, Tate Britain offered £4.2 million for the set. All parties agreed to the sale, the water colors were placed on deposit at the Tate, and the gallery was given 5 months to raise the necessary funds (£4.9 million when the value-added tax is included).

Only weeks after the agreement with the Tate had been signed, Caledonia Books learned, apparently through press reports, about the true value of the designs. A dispute over ownership and sales rights began, culminating in a court writ issued on behalf of Caledonia Books barring any sale. The matter was settled between Caledonia and the two Yorkshire dealers in November 2002 and the Tate arranged for a meeting on 18 December to continue with the sales agreement. Only 5 days before the meeting, the Tate was notified that, the 5 months' fund-raising period having expired, the designs had been sold to another party.

The story becomes murky at this point, but apparently the joint owners of the designs, now including at least the Glasgow and Yorkshire dealers, sold them to the London art dealer Libby Howie. She promptly offered the designs to the American wife and husband who have, over the last 20 years, assembled a remarkable collection of Blake's illuminated books. They expressed no interest at the asking price of $20 million. Press reports indicate that Howie sold the drawings to some other collector, probably an American; but John Windle, the San Francisco book dealer who specializes in Blake, tells me that a rumor in the London book trade has it that the designs are still with Howie, who plans to keep them for some time as an investment. The supposed private purchaser may be someone providing Howie with the requisite financial resources. Let us hope that the *Grave* water colors do not again disappear for another 165 years.

Blake's tempera painting of *The Virgin Hushing the Young Baptist, Who Approaches the Sleeping Infant Jesus* came to the market late in 2002 (illus. 2). One of just six temperas by Blake remaining in private hands, it is the only one in acceptable condition and free of obvious over-painting by a restorer. The work had a number of localized condition problems when acquired in 1975 by the San Francisco book dealer Warren Howell, but it was expertly repaired before its sale in 1977 to a man who in turn gave it to his wife, Elaine Klemen of Chicago, as a birthday present. Klemen placed *The Virgin Hushing* on joint consignment with John Windle and Artemis Fine Arts of New York in the summer of 2002. The first public announcement that the painting was for sale appeared in Windle's mid-December 2002 catalogue. A color reproduction of the painting also appears in the fifth in Windle's series of catalogues devoted to Blake and Blakeana, issued as cat. 36 in Sept. 2003. All materials from cat. 36 regularly covered by my sales reviews are included in the lists below. Although most of the 397 lots are modern works of scholarship and criticism, Windle's latest effort is one of the more impressive Blake catalogues published by a book dealer.

Late in 2002, Ursus Books of New York contacted Windle, asking questions about Blake's *Poetical Sketches* (1783). Ursus claimed that a copy in a late nineteenth-century binding was part of a collection they were evaluating for insurance or estate purposes. Only copy E (see Bentley) is still recorded as acceptable condition and free of obvious over-painting by a restorer. The story becomes murky at this point, but apparently the joint owners of the designs, now including at least the Glasgow and Yorkshire dealers, sold them to the London art dealer Libby Howie. She promptly offered the designs to the American wife and husband who have, over the last 20 years, assembled a remarkable collection of Blake's illuminated books. They expressed no interest at the asking price of $20 million. Press reports indicate that Howie sold the drawings to some other collector, probably an American; but John Windle, the San Francisco book dealer who specializes in Blake, tells me that a rumor in the London book trade has it that the designs are still with Howie, who plans to keep them for some time as an investment. The supposed private purchaser may be someone providing Howie with the requisite financial resources. Let us hope that the *Grave* water colors do not again disappear for another 165 years.


2. Much of the information given here, including the provenance of the designs from 1836 to 2001, is taken from Martin Bailey, "From £1,000 to £10 Million in Two Years," *The Art Newspaper* no. 136 (May 2003): 42. This article includes the first reproduction known to me of the water color apparently illustrating the following passage: "Methinks I see thee with thy head low laid; / Whilst, surfeited upon the damask cheek, / The high-fed worm, in lazy volumes roll'd, / Riots unscarr'd ...." (p. 11 in the 1808 ed. with Blake's illustrations).
Windle nor I have seen the book, and it is possible that Ursus was fooled by the very convincing William Griggs facsimile of 1890. I have not been able to learn anything further about the volume other than a rumor that a copy of the book—perhaps the Ursus copy—had been acquired by a collector in Washington, D.C.

In recent years, Swann Galleries, the New York auction firm, has offered some exceedingly dubious materials as works by Blake. There could be no question, however, about the authenticity of the drawing offered by Swann on 23 January 2003. This slight pencil sketch, dated by Butlin to the 1790s, had been untraced since 1968. It is always satisfying to rediscover any portion of Blake’s oeuvre, however minor. Further information is given in the caption to illus. 1.

A previously unrecorded “Visionary Head” appeared on the market in 2003. It shows a menacing fellow, probably a warrior, wearing a tall hat decorated with a griffin (illus. 3). The first announcement of this discovery known to me is the catalogue of the 130th annual exhibition of water colors and drawings issued in March 2003 by the venerable London art dealer Agnew’s. I have not seen the original, but the attribution to Blake in this catalogue seems convincing.

By far the finest work by one of Blake’s contemporaries or followers to come to market in 2003 was Samuel Palmer’s The Golden Valley (illus. 5), one of only a handful of Shoreham-period water colors remaining in private collections. In spite of extensive advertising and elaborate cataloguing, the drawing fetched only a little above the low estimate at Christie’s London on 11 June.

Readers will find a great many entries for eBay online auctions (now abbreviated as “EB”) and for dealers’ names followed by “online cat.” Most of the latter are not individual online catalogues maintained by a dealer; rather, they are listings under a dealer’s name on search sites for antiquarian books, such as BookFinder (http://www.bookfinder.com) or Biblion (http://www.biblion.com). I have not repeated online listings previously recorded in my 2002 sales review.

The year of all sales and catalogues in the following lists is 2003 unless indicated otherwise. The auction houses add their purchaser’s surcharge to the hammer price in their price lists. These net amounts are given here, following the official price lists. The value-added tax levied against the buyer’s surcharge in Britain is not included. Late 2003 sales will be covered in the 2004 review. I am grateful for help in compiling this review to Shelley Bennett, G. E. Bentley, Jr., David Bindman, Morris Eaves, Tim Linnell, Dennis Read, Steven Tabor, Joseph Viscomi, and John Windle. My special thanks go to Alexander Gourlay for his generosity in keeping me abreast of internet auctions. Once again, Sarah Jones’ editorial expertise and John Sullivan’s electronic imaging have been invaluable.

Abbreviations

BBA Bloomsbury Book Auctions, London
BH Bonhams auctions, London unless otherwise specified
Butlin Martin Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) catalogue or sales list issued by a dealer (usually followed by a number or letter designation)
CE Christie’s East, New York
CL Christie’s, London
CNY Christie’s, New York
CSK Christie’s, South Kensington
EB eBay online auctions
pl(s). plate(s)
SL Sotheby’s, London
SNY Sotheby’s, New York
st(s). state(s) of an engraving, etching, or lithograph
Swann Swann Galleries, auctioneers, New York
# auction lot or catalogue item number

Illuminated Books

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, copy P. Since 1978 in the collection of Sir Paul Getty, who died on 17 April 2003. According to The Art Newspaper online service (accessed 9 June), Sir Paul’s entire library will go to the Wormsley Foundation, a dormant trust founded in 1992 and, I suspect, soon to spring to life through a generous bequest. The name of the foundation suggests that the collection will stay in its present location in Wormsley, Buckinghamshire.

Drawings and Paintings

The Death of Ezekiel’s Wife. Pen and washes over pencil, approx. 33 x 47 cm. Butlin #165, dated to c. 1785. The owner for many years, George C. Homans of Boston, died in 2002. The drawing is currently in his estate, with its final disposition uncertain.

Fate. Pencil sketch, 12.4 x 19.6 cm. on a sheet of wove paper 14.9 x 22.4 cm. Butlin #210, dated to c. 1793. Inscribed “Fate” lower right, possibly by William Michael Rossetti. Swann, 23 Jan., #395, illus. ($16,100 on an estimate of $6000-9000 to J. Windle acting for R. Essick). See illus. 1.
1. *Fate*. Pencil, 12.4 x 19.6 cm. on a sheet of wove paper without watermark, 14.9 x 22.4 cm. Butlin #210, listed as untraced since 1968 and dated to c. 1793. Sold at Swann Galleries, New York, 23 Jan. 2003, #395. Essick collection. The title inscription, lower right, is not by Blake, but may have been added by William Michael Rossetti, who lists the work under that title in his catalogue of Blake's drawings and paintings in Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake* (London: Macmillan, 1863) 2:252, #147. The identification of the figure as "Fate" is supported by its similarity to Blake's personifications of Destiny and Fate noted below. The figure, backed with what appear to be clouds, sits with eyes closed (suggesting "blind" fate?), or at least lowered with heavy lids, in a posture oddly suggestive of the lotus position in yoga meditation. The ovoid forms below and to the outer sides of each hand may be the links of large chains that further emphasize a conception of the natural body, its senses, and fallen time as profoundly limited and limiting—central themes in Blake's writings by the mid-1790s. In Night the Fourth of *The Four Zoas*, Blake refers to "The Links of fate link after link an endless chain of sorrows" (David V. Erdman, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, Newly Revised Ed. [New York: Doubleday, 1988] 336). The loose sketching and deployment of multiple lines to define outlines distinguish the drawing from Blake's more controlled and rigid style of the 1780s and help support Butlin's dating. As Butlin points out, the design is related to Blake's emblem sketch on p. 85 of his Notebook, drawn above the following inscribed lines from John Donne's "The Progresse of the Soule," stanza 4: "Whose changeless brow / Neer smiles nor frowns." The figure so described is "Great Destiny," as indicated by the first line in Donne's stanza. W. M. Rossetti's brother, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, owned Blake's Notebook from 1847 to 1882. Perhaps W. M., having noticed the similarities between the Notebook sketch and the one reproduced here, was prompted by the quotation from Donne to add the "Fate" title inscription. The Notebook figure is also curly-haired, bearded, seated with legs folded, and may have his eyes closed or at least lowered sharply; but his wrists are together (and probably bound) in front of him and the belt around his chest may be binding him to the background mountain. This configuration hints at a Prometheus figure more forcefully than the present sketch. David V. Erdman suggests that the Notebook drawing recalls lines 43-45 from Blake's *French Revolution* describing the "strong man" who sits "in the den nam'd Destiny" in the Bastille, "His feet and hands cut off, and his eyes blinded; round his middle a chain and a band / Fasten'd into the wall ..." (*The Notebook of William Blake*, ed. Erdman, Revised Ed. [New York: Readex Books, 1977] N85). The personification of Fate on p. 55 of Night 9 in Blake's *Night Thoughts* water colors (Butlin #330.473) also resembles the rediscovered drawing. He is bearded and blind (or at least has his eyes closed), but his legs are drawn up toward his chest in Blake's typical Urizenic posture. He holds a chain in his left hand but does not seem to be bound by it.


The Resurrection (recto), with studies of eyes, the head of an eagle, a human face, and a lion (verso). Some of the verso sketches are related to Blake's 1802 *Designs to a Series of Ballads* by William Hayley. Pen and gray ink, gray wash over pencil (recto), pencil (verso), recto image and sheet 20.5 x 21 cm., recto datable to the mid-1780s. Butlin #610 (listed as untraced since 1863). Agnew’s, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #17, recto illus. color (£260,000—a record asking price for a monochrome wash drawing by Blake). Previously sold SL, 5 July 2002, #183, recto and details of the verso illus. color (£144,150 on an estimate of £20,000-30,000 to Agnew’s). For illus. and discussion of the auction, see *Blake* 36.4 (spring 2003): 116, 121, illus. 5.


Visionary Head: A Man Wearing a Tall Hat (provisional title). Pencil strengthened in part with black chalk, 36 x 27.7 cm.
Datable to c. 1819-25. Not in Butlin. Agnew’s, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #18, illus. color (£15,000). See illus. 3.

Manuscripts


Separate Plates and Plates in Series

“Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims.” John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #12, 5th st., a Colnaghi printing on laid India, illus. ($18,750). Swann, 6 Nov., #310, 5th st., a Colnaghi printing on laid India, illus. (not sold; estimate $7000-10,000).


Dante engravings. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 10, #18-24, complete set sold individually, 1968 printing, all illus. (each priced at either £1500 or £1200). John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #15, 5 pls. only, sold individually, all on laid India, printing date uncertain but probably 1892: pl. 1, illus. ($16,500); pl. 2 ($10,000); pl. 4 ($12,500); pls. 5 and 6 ($7500 each). EB, Oct., pl. 2 only, probably the 1892 printing, from the stock of the New York print dealer Donald Heald, illus. color ($2400).

“The Fall of Rosamond,” Blake after Stothard. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 10, #17, st. not identifiable, printed in pink and brown, blue-green hand coloring, cut close (only signatures remaining from the inscriptions), with a similar (companion?) print, not by Blake and not further identified, both pls. illus. (£2500).

“George Cumberland’s Card.” John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #14, printed in black on wove paper, sheet 11 x 6 cm., illus. ($12,500; sold to Alan Parker, London).

Job engravings. Larkhall Fine Art, complete set, 1874 printing on laid India, light foxing, some pls. damp stained in upper margin, loose, illus. (£17,500). BH, 31 March, #23, pl. numbered 11 only, apparently the 1826 printing on wove paper, some staining, illus. (£480). R. E. Lewis & Daughter, May cat. of “recent acquisitions,” #13, pl. numbered 13 only, “Proof”

3. Visionary Head: A Man Wearing a Tall Hat (provisional title). Pencil strengthened in part with black chalk, 36 x 27.7 cm. Datable to c. 1819-25. Not in Butlin. First published and attributed to Blake in Agnew’s 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #18, illus. color. The sheet of paper appears to have been trimmed, given the way the image is cut into on the right and left. But even at its present dimensions, this may be the largest single Visionary Head, comparable in size to the double portrait of Pindar and Lais the Courtesan on a sheet 26.7 x 41.9 cm. (Butlin #711). The presence of black chalk is unusual, but there are a few other Visionary Heads in which Blake (or possibly John Linnell or John Varley) used it to strengthen pencil lines (e.g., the head of an Archbishop on leaf 30 verso, and the head of Charlemagne on leaf 45 verso, of the Larger Blake-Varley Sketchbook). I have not been able to find any clear precedents, classical or medieval, for the extraordinary headgear. The cheek guard looks Roman. Reproduced courtesy of Agnew’s, London.
impression of 1826 on laid India, illus. ($3500). Peter Nahum, May cat. "Medieval to Modern," #6, complete set, 1874 printing on laid India, "loose in original folder," all 22 pls. illus. color, much reduced (£17,000). Sims Reed, July cat., #22, complete set, 1874 printing on laid India, loose, pl. numbered 2 illus. color (£14,000); #23, 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, slight marginal foxing, tissue guards, original cloth-backed boards, cover label (£40,000); same copy of the printing on Whatman paper, Ursus Books, Nov. cat. 242, #11, illus. ($85,000). John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #2, complete set, 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, no information on condition, "original cloth-backed paper wrappers," pl. numbered 7 illus. ($68,750); #3, pl. numbered 7 only, 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription ($3500). Swann, 6 Nov., #311, pl. numbered 3 only, 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, original boards worn, cover label, illus. color ($40,800).

"The Man Sweeping the Interpreter’s Parlour,” 2nd st. John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #11, Essick impression 2L, illus. ("price on application"). Windle has had this impression since Feb. 1999, 1 of only 6 remaining in private hands.


"Venus dissuades Adonis from Hunting," Blake after Cosway. A 1st st. impression was acquired in fall 2003 by Louis Girling of San Francisco from the British print dealer Nicholas Lott. Although it seems probable that all uncolored impressions printed in black ink are 1st st., this is the only such impression known to me complete with the 1787 imprint.

Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, Including Prints Extracted from Such Books

Allen, Roman History, 1798. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 10, #16, pl. 2 only, illus. (£225).


Boydell, *Graphic Illustrations ... of Shakspeare*, 1803. The Lark, April online cat., margins foxed, some damp staining, early calf rebacked (£2200). EB, May, 54 pls. only, but including Blake’s, later quarter calf, illus. color (£510). BBA, 27 Nov., #34, marginal foxing, full morocco worn, illus. (not sold; estimate £750-1000). Eveleigh Books, Dec. online cat., foxing and damp staining, calf rebacked (£3157.89).


Catullus, *Poems*, 1795. Ximenes Rare Books, Sept. cat. M11, #33, 2 vols. in 1, lacking the half-titles, pl. 1 foxed, contemporary calf rebacked (£750).


Cumberland, *Attempt to Describe Hafod*, 1796. Ken Spelman, Oct. cat. 49, #188, “a very good copy in original[?] marbled wrappers,” but with the leaves trimmed to 17.3 x 11.2 cm. (£480). Uncut copies of the small-paper issue measure 19.5 x 12.1 cm.


Flaxman, *Hesiod designs*, 1817. Tamerlane Books, March online cat., half morocco, 2 pls. repaired with tape (£950). Sims Reed, July cat., #92, fold-marks down the centers of the pls., later cloth-backed boards with the cover label relaid (£450); #93, bound with Flaxman’s designs for the *Iliad* (1805), *Odyssey* (1805), and *Tragedies of Aeschylus* (1795), some foxing, later full morocco, illus. (£1200). EB, Oct., bound with Flaxman’s Aeschylus designs (1831), scattered foxing, later quarter roan, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £600). For one of Flaxman’s preliminary sketches for pl. 7 of the Hesiod designs, see *Study for Pandora Brought to Epimethus* under Flaxman in “Blake’s Circle and Followers,” below.

Gay, *Fables.* EB, March, pl. 3 and 11 only, sold individually, illus. color (no bids on a ridiculous required opening bid of $799.99 [pl. 3]; top bid of $91 failed to meet the hidden reserve price [pl. 11]); both offered again (no bids). EB, April, pl. 7 only in an elaborate frame, illus. color (reserve not met even though the bidding went to $700). Golden Legend, April online cat., pi. 7 only in an elaborate frame, illus. color (reserve not met; top bid of $204 on pi. 4 did not meet the reserve). EB, July, pi. 3, top bid of $204 on pl. 4 did not meet the reserve). EB, July, pl. 6 only, illus. color (reserve not met; top bid $108.50); same impression, Aug., illus. color ($199.99). Ursus Rare Books, Sept. cat. 241, #36, 1793 ed., 2 vols., calf rebacked ($1250). Phillip Pirages, Dec. online cat., pi. water stained, later leather-backed matted boards very worn, lacking spine ($150). Michael Treloar, April online cat., quarto issue, slight water stains to a few leaves, half calf (£350). Jane & Richard Adelson, April online cat., quarto issue, slight water stains to a few leaves, half calf (£350).
4. “A Lady in the full Dress, & another in the most fashionable Undress now worn.” The left image from a single copperplate bearing 2 designs, engraved by Blake after Stothard, for The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, published by J. Johnson in 1782 (for the year 1783). 2nd (only published?) st., trimmed to 11 x 6.2 cm., thereby eliminating a bit of the image at the top and about 2 mm. of the image (including the first letter of the signature “T. S. d”) on the left margin. Signed “W. B, sc” below the design on the right. A long, poorly-repaired tear extends upward from the left margin. Inscribed “1781” in pen and ink between the image and the title inscription. Essick collection. No copy of this issue of the annual has ever been located, in spite of a worldwide search by Dr. Elizabeth B. Bentley. A copy of the issue for 1780 (published 1779) is in the Huntington Library. Only the 4th recorded impression of this image. Pasted into an album of 186 fashion pls., c. 1755-1845, some probably from other issues of the same annual. One such unsigned pl., titled “Two Ladies in the most fashionable Dejeuner dresses,” is lightly inscribed in etched or drypoint letters, “Engraved for the Ladies New Memorandum Book for 1786.” Several other unsigned pls., particularly one inscribed “Fashionable Dresses for the Year 1787,” exhibit a graphic style remarkably similar to Blake’s own. We should, however, resist the temptation to make attributions on that basis alone since several other engravers who executed pls. after Stothard for publications such as The Novelist’s Magazine employed much the same engraving and etching style in the 1780s. For further information about this publication, see E. B. Bentley, “Blake’s Elusive Ladies,” Blake 26.1 (summer 1992): 30-33; and G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Books Supplement (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995) 232-34.


8 May, "1789-92" ed. (hence, a mixed set?), 3 vols. in 5, foxed, later calf rebacked, worn (£320). John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #22, 1789-92 (hence, a mixed set?), 3 vols. in 5, contemporary morocco ($6750); #23, 1789, 1792, 1810 (hence, a very mixed set?), "uncut," number of vols. not given, three-quarter morocco very worn, spines defective and covers detached (£1750); #24, pl. 1 only (£125); #25, pl. 3 only (£125); #26, pl. 4 only (£200). A. Asher & Co., Dec. online cat., 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, calf rebacked (£2444.20). Erasmushaus, Dec. online cat., 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, full morocco (£5145.40).


Olivier, *Fencing Familiarized*, 1780. Abracadabra Bookshop, April online cat., later half calf (£950).

Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, 1820. EB, Feb., pl. 7 only, stained, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $49.95); same impression and result, EB, March; same impression, EB, April (£24.95). FineArt, April online cat., number of vols. not indicated, 263 pls., full calf lacking spines, covers detached (£878). Henry Sotheran, April online cat., complete in 45 vols., recent quarter calf (£5592). Sims Reed, April online cat., complete in 45 vols., contemporary calf (£3500).


A. Parker's Books, Dec. online cat., 48 pls. only loose in a cloth portfolio, many foxed or stained (£3000).


Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, colored copies. Sims Reed, April online cat., 2 vols., contemporary Russia, spines "renewed" (£9500). John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #34, 2 vols., contemporary Russia rebacked, pl. 16 illus. color (£19,750).


Whitaker, *The Scrap*. John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #37, "c. 1824" but apparently Bentley's issue "A" dated by him to c. 1818-28, vol. 2 only (containing the pl. after Blake), calf-backed boards (£325); #38, pl. only from Bentley's issue "C" of c. 1825-28 (£125).
Interesting Blakeana


Dante, A Translation of the Inferno by H. Boyd, 2 vols., 1785. EB, July, vol. 1 only, water damaged, no description of the binding, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid £26). Blake’s annotated copy also consists of vol. 1 only; see Bentley #721.

C. H. Tatham, Etchings, Representing the Best Examples of Ancient Ornamental Architecture, 1799. Ursus Rare Books, June cat. 240, #95, contemporary Russia, illus. ($5500). “Mr. William Blake” appears in the list of subscribers; see Bentley #744.


T. Butts, Jr., “Man on a Drinking Horse,” etching/engraving signed “T Butts: sc” and dated “22 Jany 1806.” EB, March, mounted in original folder with printed caption, illus. color ($25, acquired by G. E. Bentley, Jr.). For illus. and comments on this recent discovery, see Alexander S. Gourlay, “‘Man on a Drinking Horse’: A Print by Thomas Butts, Jr,” Blake 37.1 (summer 2003): 35-36.

W. P. Carey, Critical Description of the Procession of Chaucer’s Pilgrims to Canterbury, Painted by Thomas Stothard, 1808. Quaritch, Feb./March cat., #5, contemporary calf rebacked (£850). Contains a passing reference to Cromek’s commission for Blake’s Grave designs.


L. Schiavonetti, letter of 30 January 1810 to Messrs. Cadell and Davies discussing an engraving commission and with a passing reference to “Blake’s Portrait for Mr. Cromek” (i.e., the portrait of Blake published as the frontispiece in Cromek’s 1808 ed. of Blair’s The Grave). Nick Lott, May private offer (£300).


[J. B. Nichols, ed.], *Anecdotes of William Hogarth ... to Which is Added A Catalogue of His Prints; Account of Their Variations, and Principal Copies*. 1833. Choosebooks, Dec. online cat., later half calf ($150). The entry on “Beggar’s Opera” (p. 323) is I believe the first published description of the sts. of the engraving by Blake. There is also a reference to the pl., “Engraved by Blake,” on p. 174.


B. D’Israeli, autograph letter signed to Mrs. Gilchrist, 4 pp., 5 Nov. 1862. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat. (£400). According to Davids’ website, the letter informs Mrs. Gilchrist “that there are some drawings, possible [sic] a considerable number, by Blake in the collection at Hughenden, though he [D’Israeli] has not seen them for years, and his impression is that they are ‘rather his own startings, colored by himself, than strictly speaking, drawings,’ offering to allow Mr. [William Michael] Rossetti the opportunity of seeing the drawings, and stating that his father [Isaac D’Israeli] was not acquainted with Blake nor is there is [sic] a single book in the library at Hughenden ‘enriched by his drawings.’” Isaac D’Israeli owned a number of Blake’s illuminated books, but is not known to have owned any drawings (see Isaac D’Israeli’s letter of 24 July 1835 to T. H. Dibdin in G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* [Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969] 243-44). Benjamin D’Israeli may simply have been confused about the matter. For more on Isaac D’Israeli’s Blake collection, see Joseph Viscomi, “The Myth of Commissioned Illuminated Books: George Romney, Isaac D’Israeli, and ‘One Hundred and Sixty designs ... of Blake’s,” *Blake* 23.2 (fall 1989): 48-74.


S. Palmer and G. Richmond, letters concerning Blake’s *The Spiritual Form of Pitt Guiding Behemoth* (Butlin #651). Palmer’s letter of 7 July 1870, 1 p., to Sir William Boxall, Director of the National Gallery (London), offering the painting for £300, accompanied by 4 letters by Richmond, also of the 1870s, total of 9 pp., proposing and supporting the acquisition by the National Gallery. Nick Lott, May private offer (£1600). The Palmer letter is not in *The Letters of Samuel Palmer*, ed. Raymond Lister, 2 vols. (1974). The tempra was acquired by the National Gallery in 1882 after it failed to sell at auction at CL, 20 March 1882, #108.


J. Giles (Samuel Palmer’s cousin) and G. Richmond, Christie’s auction cats. of their collections. John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #344, 4 cats., as follows: Giles, 2 Feb. 1881 (including the original copperplate of Blake’s “Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims,” sold to Colnaghi for £35); Richmond, 29 April 1897, including a “Head of William Blake” by Richmond and 2 water colors by Blake; Richmond, 1 May 1897, including 2 oil paintings by Palmer; Richmond, 6 July 1897, including sets of Blake’s Job and Dante engravings ($375 the lot).


W. Muir facsimiles of Blake’s illuminated books. John Windle, Dec. 2002 cat., #57, *America*, 1887, 1 of c. 12 colored copies, no copy number by Muir, modern boards, original wrappers retained ($7500—probably a record asking price for a Muir facsimile); #59, *Europe*, 1887, Muir’s copy #50, hand colored, original wrappers, modern cloth folder ($4500); #61, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1885, Muir’s copy #45, hand colored, original wrappers, bookplate of T. E. Lawrence ($2950); #62, *Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience*, 2 vols. in 1, 1884-85, Muir’s copy #47 of *Innocence*, no inscribed copy # for *Experience*, contemporary vellum ($5500). Simon Finch, May cat. 36, #30, *Songs of Innocence*, 1884, Muir’s copy #49, original wrappers, “The Little Boy lost” illus. color (£2000). John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #48, 54, 86, 145, same titles, copies, and prices as in his Dec. 2002 cat. listed above, with the title page to *Europe* illus. color; #87, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1885, Muir’s copy #40, original wrappers ($2000); #91, *Milton*, 1886, Muir’s copy #25, contemporary vellum ($2500); #92, *Milton*, 1886, no copy number by Muir, modern cloth, original wrappers bound in ($2250); #134, *Songs of Experi-
ence, 1927, Muir's copy #25, original wrappers ($1500); #150, The Book of Thel, 1885, Muir's copy #38, full morocco, original wrappers bound in ($2500); #151, The Book of Thel, 1920, 2 copies, Muir's copies #16 and 21, original wrappers ($2250 each); #157, There is No Natural Religion, 1886, "numbered and signed by Muir" but the number not recorded in Windle's cat., original wrappers bound in ($1675); #164, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, 1885, 1 of 7 copies on "Antique notepaper" (according to an inserted note by Muir), no copy number but inscribed "Academy" (probably meaning a review copy for the journal of that name) on the front cover, original wrappers ($2500).

W. Blake, Works, ed. Ellis and Yeats, 1893. John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #168, 3 vols., large-paper issue, some foxing, original half morocco worn ($2750); #169, 3 vols., small-paper issue, original cloth ($3750). Apparently the handsome gilt-stamped cloth and better condition of the small-paper copy justify a higher valuation than the large-paper copy.

W. Blake, Poems, ed. Yeats, 1893. Locus Solus Rare Books, July cat., #991, large-paper issue, original parchment over cloth, spine rubbed ($2500). Certainly a record price for this "Mus-es' Library" ed.

J. Grego, Mrs. Q — and "Windsor Castle," 1906. Jarndyce, Oct. cat. 155, #16, endpapers heavily foxed, slight foxing elsewhere, original vellum spine and blue boards stained (a bargain at £60). Contains a lithographic facsimile of Blake's 1820 separate plate, "Mq Q" after Villiers, which is often mistaken for an original impression (see Bentley #462 and Essick 191-200). Although printed in an ed. of 500 copies, this is the only copy I have seen on the market in over 35 years of Blake collecting.

Postage stamp bearing a portrait of Blake, issued by the Soviet Union in 1958. EB, June, block of four, cancelled, illus. color (£2.20). For illus., see Blake 35.4 (spring 2002) cover.


W. Blake, Poems from William Blake's Songs of Innocence, illus. Maurice Sendak, 1967. John Windle, Sept. cat. 36, #141, original wrappers ($6500). This small pamphlet is now well established as the 4th most valuable (or at least most expensive) letterpress ed. of Blake's poetry. Positions 1 through 3 are held by the following: Blake, Poetical Sketches, 1783 (reportedly sold in recent years for over $100,000); Blake, Songs of Experience, an "Artist Book" by Joel-Peter Witkin weighing "over 14 pounds," Platinum Series vol. 2, 2002 (listed on the internet at $19,550); Blake, Songs of Innocence, also Witkin, Platinum Series vol. 3, 2003 ($15,000).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, Manchester Etching Workshop facsimile of copy B, 1983. 3 complete sets of the 16 plates only, hand colored on order by Jacqueline Marshall, one of the original facsimilists (£2500 each set). Flyer from Marshall, Cheshire, England, included in a late Feb. mailing by the Blake Society at St. James's, London. Also on offer are individual impressions of 15 plates, hand colored on order and ranging in price between £75 and £300.

W. Blake, "The Ancient of Days" (the frontispiece to Europe), feline version. EB, Sept., a color print (photo-lithograph?) of "The Ancient of Days" with a white domestic cat, left paw extended and holding the dividers, substituted for the human figure, size not given, illus. color (no bids).

Blake's Circle and Followers

Works are listed under artists' names in the following order: paintings and drawings sold in groups, single paintings and drawings, letters and manuscripts, separate plates, books by (or with plates by or after) the artist.

BARRY, JAMES


W. Blake, Series of Etchings, 1808. BBA, 10 April, #234, some margins stained and with tears into the images, line engraving of Barry's "Pandora" by Schiavonetti inserted, upper cover detached and lower cover missing, "Lear and Cordelia" illus. (£600).
CALVERT, EDWARD

*Landscape with Man Driving Cattle.* Tempera on vellum, 10 x 16.5 cm. SL, 2 July, #296, illus. color (not sold; estimate £300-400).


“The Lady with the Rooks,” wood engraving. BH, 31 March, #31, probably from the Memoir, slight staining, illus. (£300).

“The Sheep of His Pasture,” engraving. BH, 31 March, #32, probably from the Memoir, illus. (£250).

FLAXMAN, JOHN

*Head and Shoulders of a Boy, Arms Raised.* Pencil, 15.2 x 20.3 cm. Abbott and Holder, Nov. online cat. 357, #37 (£850).

*Study for Pandora Brought to Epimetheus,* pl. 7 in Flaxman’s Hesiod designs, engraved by Blake. Pencil, 29.5 x 40 cm. CL, 5 June, #10, illus. color (£1553); Abbott and Holder, Aug. online cat., #39, titled *Pandora Presented by Mercury to Prometheus* (£3000).

*Study of a Lady Wearing an Elaborate Hat.* Pencil, gray ink, gray wash, 14.7 x 13.9 cm., signed and dated 1798. CL, 5 June, #2, illus. color (not sold; estimate £3000-5000).


Autograph letter signed, 2 pp., addressee not indicated, 11 May 1803. Erasmushaus, May cat. 916, #58, in part about the monument to Mr. and Mrs. Marsh, illus. (1400 euros—about $1700).

Autograph letter signed, 2 pp., to Dawson Turner, 1819. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat., “praising, with a proper degree of self-denegation, an etching of Ozias Humphry’s portrait of himself executed by Turner’s wife” (£400).

Aeschylus designs, 1831. Barter Books, Oct. online cat., foxed, original(?) boards worn, cloth spine detached (£229).


Flaxman, *Anatomical Studies,* 1833. EB, May, many pls. stained, original cloth, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $120). Sims Reed, July cat., #94, original cloth boards rebacked (£400). The Bookcellar, Dec. online cat., original cloth (£249.95).


*Odyssey* designs, 1805. www.zubal.com, April online cat., some damp staining, modern cloth (£900).

FUSELI, HENRY

*The Empress Agrippina,* a fragment from *Caractacus at the Tribunal of Claudius at Rome.* Oil, 40.6 x 33 cm., datable to c. 1786. CL, 25 Nov., #39, illus. color (not sold; estimate £2500-3500).

*Portrait of Marta Hess, for an Idealised Portrait in Lavater's Physiognomy.* Pencil, 11.7 x 8.5 cm. CL, 20 Nov., #2, illus. color (not sold on an estimate of £4000-6000).

*Sin and Death Bridging Chaos Meet Satan on His Return from Earth.* Gray washes, 30.8 x 38.2 cm., c. 1821. SL, 12 June, #120, illus. color (£18,000).

*The Vision of the Deluge.* Oil, 254 x 210 cm., datable to 1799. CL, 20 Feb., #216, illus. color (£100,150).
"Evening Thou Bringest All," lithograph. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 10, #2, 1st st., on the original backing sheet with aquatint border, illus. (£5000).


Bible, published by Macklin, 1800. BBA, 13 Feb., #44, 6 vols. in 7, some water staining, contemporary Russia worn, pl. after Fuseli illus. color (£800). CSK, 25 March, #17, 7 vols., contemporary morocco, binding illus. color (£4700).

Boothby, Sorrows Sacred to the Memory of Penelope, 1796. J & S Wilbraham, Aug. online cat. 41, #14, some foxing, original boards backed with cloth, cover label (£150).

Boydell, Collection of Prints... Illustrating... Shakspeare, 1803. CSK, 25 March, #19, vol. 2 only, some tears and folds, contemporary morocco worn (£750). SL, 10 July, #90, 2 vols. complete, "some plates proofs before letters," some foxing, contemporary morocco worn, binding and 1 pl. illus. color (£5760). SL, 11 Dec., #98, 2 vols. complete, "including proof duplicates," later morocco, binding illus. color (£9600); #99, 2 vols. complete, contemporary Russia rebacked and repaired, 1 pl. after Fuseli illus. color (£2880).

Cowper, Poems, 1811. EB, Feb., 2 vols., contemporary calf, illus. color (£129.50).

Darwin, Botanic Garden, 1791. EB, June, frontispiece to vol. 1 only, "Flora Attired by the Elements," Smith after Fuseli, framed, illus. color (£58).

Homer, Iliad and Odyssey, trans. Pope, 1805-06. EB, July, large-paper issue, 12 vols. in 6, pls. foxed, later quarter calf, illus. color (£412.99).


Park, ed., Works of the British Poets, 1805-09. EB, Dec. 2002, an incomplete set of 39 vols. but including both Milton vols. with the 2 pls. after Fuseli and other vols. with at least 3 of the pls. after Stothard, contemporary calf very worn, several spines missing, illus. color (£183.30).


Young, Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Pictures of ... Angerstein, 1823. Sotheran's, Nov. cat. 47, #88, large-paper issue, half morocco (£225).

LINNELL, JOHN

An Apple Tree. Water color, 14.6 x 10.2 cm., signed with initials and dated 1811. Acquired 2002 by The British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, either at, or shortly after, the sale of this early work at CL, 6 June 2002, #54, illus. color (£21,510).

The Children of Gen. John Smith with a Pony. Oil, 39 x 48.5 cm., signed and dated 1829. Derek Johns Limited, June cat., not numbered, illus. color (price on request).

At Cullercoats, Northumberland. Oil sketch, 19.1 x 24.8 cm., datable to 1817. CL, 5 June, #72, illus. color (not sold; estimate £4000-6000).

Dolwyddelan Valley, North Wales. Water color, 19.1 x 24.8 cm., signed and dated 1813. CL, 5 June, #76, illus. color (£2868).

Extensive Landscape in North Wales. Water color, 24.7 x 37.4 cm., signed and dated 1813. CL, 5 June, #75, illus. color (£6572).

Forest. Oil, 29 x 48 cm. SL, 29 Jan., #28, illus. color (not sold; estimate £4000-6000).

A Hillside. Black chalk and wash, 38 x 51 cm. SL, 2 July, #225, illus. color (£744).
Portraits of Robert and Jane Ogle, Aged Five and Three. Oils, each 21.5 x 16 cm., both signed, one dated 1822. SL, 12 June, #81, both illus. color (£9600).


The Return of Ulysses. Oil, 124.5 x 185.5 cm., signed and dated 1848. CL, 19 Feb., #4, illus. color (£171,650). Possibly an auction record for a work by Linnell.

Rooks Hill, Kent. Water color, 29.2 x 34.9 cm., signed and dated 1828. CL, 5 June, #92, illus. color (£13,145 on an estimate of £4000-6000).

Shepherd's Amusement. Oil, 67.9 x 90.2 cm., signed and dated 1816, retouched by Linnell in 1836. CL, 25 Nov., #144, illus. color (not sold; estimate £8000-12,000).

Sunset. Oil, 71.2 x 102.8 cm., signed and dated 1860. CL, 25 Nov., #124, illus. color (not sold; estimate £15,000-20,000).

Twilight. Oil, 36.8 x 29.2 cm., datable to c. 1819. Capes Dunn auction, Manchester, 29 July, #20, illus. color (a bargain at £2800).

Woodcutters, Bray Wood, Windsor. Pencil heightened with white on blue paper, 14.6 x 18.4 cm., signed with initials. CL, 5 June, #79, illus. color (£1195).

3 autograph letters signed, each 1 p., 1 to Richard Redgrave and 2 to unnamed correspondents, 1834, 1858, 1865. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat. (£150, £85, £150).


MORTIMER, JOHN HAMILTON

Falstaff. Pen and ink, oval, 34.5 x 28.4 cm. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 10, #3, apparently the direct preliminary (and not a copy by another hand) for the etching, illus. (£5400).


"Banditti Regaling," etching, Ireland after Mortimer. EB, March, printed in brown ink, illus. color (£49.95).


"A Captain of Banditti and His Family," etching, Ireland after Mortimer. BBA, 25 Sept., #89, with 3 pls. by Blyth after Mortimer (Michael Finney, £48).


"King John Ratifying the Magna Carta," etching, Ryland after Mortimer, 1799. Michael Finney, May online cat., color printed, marginal foxing (£500).


Bell's British Theatre, 1777. EB, March, 2 pls. only, "Tragedies" and "Operas," offered individually, both Hall after Mortimer, margins stained, illus. color (no bids on either).

PALMER, SAMUEL

The Broken Bridge. Water color, 39.7 x 49.8 cm., datable to the second half of the 1840s. CL, 20 Nov., #59, illus. color (£31,070).

Evening: A Cottage Returning Home Greeted by His Children. Water color, 19 x 41 cm., c. 1848. SL, 12 June, #147, illus. color (£24,000).

The Golden Valley. Water color with body color, pen and black ink, gold, and scratching out, 13 x 16.2 cm., datable to c. 1833-34. CL, 11 June, #5, illus. color, accompanied by essays by Andrew Wilton and Colin Harrison and a list of the 17 "Shoreham Period Works on Paper in Private Collections" (£587,650 on an estimate of £500,000-800,000 to the New York collector Leon Black). See illus. 5.

Head of Christ, traditionally attributed to Palmer as in part a self-portrait. Oil, 34.8 x 23.5 cm. CL, 20 Feb., #219, illus. color (not sold; estimate £20,000-30,000). Perhaps the painting failed to sell because of uncertainties about its attribution to Palmer.


28 autograph letters signed, none published, Feb. 1857 to Aug. 1880, to members of the Redgrave family. Roy Davids, Nov. online cat. (£24,000). Apparently there are no references to Blake in these or any of the other Palmer letters listed below.

4 autograph letters signed, 2-4 pp. each, to Mrs. George, an unnamed correspondent, Leonard Valpy, and Ernest Gambart, 1872, undated (possibly c. 1865), 1866, and undated (possibly c. 1854). Roy Davids, Sept. online cat. (£1650, £750, £2000, £450).

Autograph letter signed, 4 pp., to George Richmond, 8 Jan. 1881. Quaritch, June cat. 1308, #66, on the death of Richmond's wife (£600).


"Lonely Tower," etching. SL, 25 March, #55, 6th st., some damage in margins, illus. color (not sold; estimate £1000-1200); #58, 6th st., pencil signature, upper corners replaced, illus. color (£3840). EB, July, st. not indicated, pencil signature, evenly stained brown, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $5000).


"Opening the Fold," etching. BH, Chester, 15 April, #816, 10th st., 1926 printing (£240).


Hamerton, Etching & Etchers. Swann, 6 Nov., #401, 1868 ed. with Palmer's "Early Ploughman" etching, quarter morocco, illus. ($1500); #402, 1880 ed. with Palmer's "Herdsmans Cottage" etching, half calf (£1100).

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S. Palmer, English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil, 1883. SL, 25 March, #56, pls. only, minor stains in margins, "Opening the Fold" illus. color (not sold; estimate £1800-2200). Sims Reed, July cat., #193, large-paper copy, original vellum slightly worn, illus. color (£1250); #194, small-paper copy, original cloth slightly worn (£950).


RICHMOND, GEORGE

Figures in a Landscape, perhaps Susanna and the Elders. Pen and brown ink over pencil, 22.7 x 17.5 cm. Agnew's, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #62, illus. color (£12,000).


A Shepherd Waking. Medium not described, but apparently pencil, 14.3 x 20.5 cm. Agnew's, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #63, illus. color (£3500).

Study of a Figure in Contemplation. Brown ink, 23.5 x 15.2 cm. CL, 5 June, #24, illus. color (not sold; estimate £1500-2000).

Study of Figures in Classical Robes. Brown ink, 18.5 x 23.5 cm. CL, 20 Nov., #32, illus. color (not sold on an estimate of £800-1200).

Study of Trees. Black and white chalk on brown paper, 55.3 x 32.4 cm. CL, 5 June, #77, illus. color (not sold; estimate £2000-3000).
16 autograph letters, all but 1 signed, c. 37 pp. in all, c. 1859-88. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat. (£450).

Autograph letter signed, 1 p., to Samuel Palmer, not dated. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat., an invitation to visit (£150).

Autograph letter signed, 3 pp., to William Boxall, not dated. Roy Davids, Sept. online cat. (£145).


ROMNEY, GEORGE

The Fall of the Rebel Angels. Pencil, 13.5 x 16.5 cm. SL, 19 March, #127, illus. color (not sold; estimate £2500-3500).

A Mother Holding Her Child. Pencil, pen, brown wash, 24.7 x 16.5 cm. CL, 22 Jan., #11, illus. color (£26,290).

Serena Reading (based on Hayley’s The Triumphs of Temper). Pencil, 33.7 x 26 cm., slight figure studies on verso. Agnew’s, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #16, illus. color (£15,000).

Studies of a Woman Dancing. Pen and brown ink, 19 x 15.5 cm. SL, 12 June, #118, illus. color (£2160).

Study for Howard Visiting the Prisons. Pencil, 16 x 19.5 cm. Swann, 23 Jan., #393, illus. (£920).

Study of Lady Macbeth. Pencil, 15.3 x 11.1 cm. Agnew’s, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #15, illus. color (£2250).

Study of a Lady Sewing. Pencil, 17.2 x 11.5 cm. Agnew’s, 130th Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings, 5-28 March, #14, illus. color (£2250).

Study of a Standing Woman. Pen, brown washes, pencil, 30.5 x 26 cm. SL, 27 Nov., #233, illus. color (not sold; estimate £4000-6000).


STOTHARD, THOMAS

Designs for the Outer Compartments of the Wellington Shield: Ten Drawings. 3 in pen and brown ink and oils on paper, varnished; 7 in brush and brown ink and brown wash over pencil. Each approx. 16.5 x 25.5 cm. EB/Sotheby’s live auction, 21 Oct., illus. color (£95,000 on an estimate of £30,000-40,000). I suspect that the high price had more to do with Wellington than Stothard.

Mother with Her Sleeping Baby. Water color, 12.7 x 12.7 cm. Abbott and Holder, Aug. online cat., #95 (£450).

Sylvia and the Outlaws: A Scene from Shakespeare’s Two Gentlemen of Verona. Oil, 69.9 x 52.4 cm., with indistinct signature. CL, 20 Feb., #68, illus. color (£10,755).


“Pilgrimage to Canterbury,” engraved by Schiavonetti and Heath after Stothard, 1817. EB, March, framed, perhaps stained, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid £387).


Aesop, Fables, 1793. Tavistock Books, 31 May-1 June Pasadena Book Fair, 2 vols., original boards uncut, new spine labels ($850). The finest copy I have ever seen.

Bijou, 1829. J & S Wilbraham, Aug. online cat. 41, #249, contemporary cloth (£20).

Book of Common Prayer, n.d. (c. 1811?). EB, June, with the 1794 pls. after Stothard (inserted?), some pls. foxed, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (£16).

Bray, Life of Stothard, 1851, extra-illus. copies only. EB, June, 88 pls. added, not further identified, 19th-century morocco, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $275).

Bunyan, Pilgrim’s Progress portfolio of large pls., English/French ed. EB, June, “The Affright” only, Zancon after Stothard, stain lower right margin, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $225).

Burns, Poetical Works, 1817. EB, May, contemporary calf, illus. color ($72.50). With a title-page vignette after Stothard, not previously recorded.

Catullus, Tibullus et Propertius, Pickering ed., 1824. Grant & Shaw, Feb. cat. 58, #34, contemporary half calf rebacked (£50).


Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield*. EB, April, 1801 ed., bound with 2 unrelated works, quarter calf, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £95). EB, Oct., 1819 ed. published by Bumpus, "engraved title and frontispiece by Stothard," foxed, contemporary boards very worn, part of spine missing, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £4.99). The title-page vignette in this 1819 ed., Heath after Stothard, was first published by Suttaby, in his "Miniature Library," in 1808. The frontispiece, however, is a completely different design. I could not tell from the EB illus. if the signature on the frontispiece is indeed Stothard's.


Homer, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, trans. Pope, 1805-06. See under Fuseli, above.


Metastasio, *Dramas and Other Poems*, 1800. EB, Feb., 3 vols., contemporary quarter calf very worn, 2 spines missing, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £100).


Robertson, *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, 1798 (pls. dated 1799). David Mason Books, July online cat., 4 vols., contemporary calf ($250). Apparently A. C. Coxhead saw only the pls., and thus dates the work to 1799 (Thomas Stothard, R. A. [London: Bullen, 1906] 195; same dating in Shelley M. Bennett, *Thomas Stothard* [Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1988] 75). Coxhead titles each of the 12 pls. according to the inscriptions beneath the designs—with one exception: "A group of armed men." He may have seen only an impression with the inscriptions trimmed off. This pl. is very probably "The Elector of Saxony a Prisoner before Charles V at the Battle of Mulhausen" (vol. 3, facing p. 365), not otherwise listed by Coxhead.

Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*. EB, Jan., 1793 ed., with 2 pls. after Stothard, quarter calf, illus. color ($13.50). EB, April,


Shakespeare, The Plays, published by Stockdale, 1807. EB, Dec. 2002, the following pls., Heath after Stothard, full margins, illus. color, offered individually: Comedy of Errors, title pl. (£19.95); Comedy of Errors, full-page pl.; King John, full-page pl. (no bids on these last 2 on a required minimum bid of £19.95 each).


Thomson, Works, 1802. EB, Feb.-March, with at least 1 pl. after Stothard, 3 vols., some foxing, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of $89.50). This ed. not previously recorded as having pls. after Stothard.

Young, Night Thoughts, 1824. EB, Feb., badly stained and spotted, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color ($9.99).

Appendix: New Information on Blake’s Engravings

Listed below are substantive additions or corrections to Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, William Blake: Book Illustrator, vol. 1, Plates Designed and Engraved by Blake (1972); Essick, The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue (1983); and Essick, William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations (1991). Abbreviations and citation styles follow the respective volumes, with the addition of “Butlin” according to the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of this sales review. Newly discovered impressions of previously recorded published states of Blake’s engravings are listed for only the rarer separate plates.

The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue

“Venus dissuades Adonis from Hunting,” Blake after Cosway, p. 145. For the only 1st st. impression known to me complete with the 1787 imprint, see under “Separate Plates and Plates in Series,” above.

“James Upton,” Blake and John Linnell after Linnell, pp. 186-88. An impression in the 3rd state is reproduced in Seymour J. Price, Upton: The Story of One Hundred and Fifty Years (London: Carey P, 1935) facing p. 28. The inscriptions are not reproduced and no mention is made of Linnell, Blake, or the owner of this rare print.

Blake, Bacon and “The Devils Arse”

BY ROBERT W. RIX

Blake owned a copy of Francis Bacon's Essays Moral, Economical, and Political (London: J. Edwards and T. Payne, 1798), which he annotated extensively. The book was first described by Alexander Gilchrist, who writes that "the artist's copy of the Essays ... is roughly annotated in pencil, in a very characteristic, if very unreasonable, fashion." The annotations were made in various pencils. The thickness of the line and the pressure applied to the paper vary considerably, which may indicate that the comments were not all made at one time. This copy, which is bound in green cloth with a few of the first pages loose, is now held at Cambridge University Library.²

On the title page Blake writes: "Good Advice for Satan's Kingdom" (E 620) (illus. 1).³ G. E. Bentley, Jr., notes that the frequent comparison of Bacon's advice to that of Christ suggests a date for the annotations not long after this edition was published (BB 682). This was not the first time Blake attacked Bacon in a series of annotations. We know that Blake also owned and annotated a copy of Bacon's The Two Books of Francis Bacon (London, 1605), for he writes in his annotations to The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1798): "when very Young ... I read ... Bacon's Advance of Learning on Every one of these Books I wrote my Opinions" (E 660), and, in a letter of 23 August 1799, he quotes Bacon's "Advancem' of Learning, Part 2, P 47 of the first Edition" (E 702-03). Blake's copy of this book has never been traced.

In 1833 Samuel Palmer acquired Blake's annotated copy of Bacon's Essays and inscribed this year and his name on the first endpaper. (Several of Blake's books came into Palmer's possession after Catherine Blake's death.) Blake's editor, Sir Geoffrey Keynes, who later acquired the book, surmised that it was passed on to Samuel Palmer's son, A. H. Palmer, who probably kept it until his death.⁴ Keynes was told by A. G. B. Russell that it was then held by "Mr. Lionel Isaacs of the Haymarket about 1900." In his autobiography, The Gates of Memory, Keynes describes how in 1947 he approached the Boston bookseller George T. Goodspeed and asked if he had sold any books relating to Blake. Goodspeed could recall that eighteen years previously, in 1929, he had sold a book containing some annotations of Blake's to the pharmaceutical millionaire of Indianapolis, Joshua K. Lilly, Jr., the founder of the Lilly Library.⁵ Lilly wrote a letter dated 30 October 1947 (now enclosed with the volume) which shows Keynes had requested that the annotations be photographed for the purpose of editing and publication. In the letter Lilly rejects this request on the grounds that the photographing of Blake's many scattered annotations would be too costly. Furthermore, he adds that some of Blake's annotations in pencil are "very difficult to read except with a magnifying glass, and I am just sure that several of the entries would thus not reproduce well at all." The letter, however, also contains Lilly's agreement to sell the annotated Essays at the generous price of $1000, which was $500 less than he had originally paid, because, as he writes, he

1. Francis Bacon, Essays Moral, Economical, and Political (1798). Title page of copy owned by Blake, with his annotation. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

2. Gilchrist 1:315.
4. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations from Blake are from Complete Poetry and Prose, ed. Erdman, and will be marked as E in the text.
is “not particularly a Blake collector.” Another letter of 3 August 1948 (also enclosed with the volume) shows that Keynes subsequently acquired the volume through the agent John Lacy McLean. After Keynes’ death in 1982, his huge collection of books, including his Blakeana, went to Cambridge University Library and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

On page 55, among the written marginalia, Blake drew a sketch—or rather a diagram for a sketch. This sketch has never been reproduced and has so far been available to the Blake reader only through the eyewitness accounts of Blake’s editors, who have rendered the contents of the illustration in words.7 In his edition of Blake: The Complete Writings, Keynes describes it in the following way: “A representation of hinder parts, labelled: The devil’s arse, and depending from it a chain of excrement ending in: A King.”8 In The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake, David Erdman writes: “[A drawing of] The devil’s arse [with chain of excrement ending in] A King” (E 624). The drawing in question relates to the section of Bacon that follows on pages 56–60, which is entitled “Of a King.” Bacon opens his discussion with kingship with the statement “A king is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour” (56). Though he goes on to qualify this statement considerably in the following paragraph, this must have seemed like an affirmation of the Divine Right of Kings to Blake, who responded with the charge: “O Contemptible & Abject Slave” (E 626).

When I recently consulted Blake’s original copy in Cambridge University Library, I was surprised to learn that the sketch on page 55 no longer fits the description Blake’s editors have given of it. The upper part of the page has been erased, leaving only a part of the lumps of excrement and the inscription “A King.” Unfortunately, page 55 was annotated in a soft pencil, which has left no significant impression in the paper. With the help of the staff in the Rare Books Reading Room, I have thoroughly examined the page: even with the help of UV light, the erased impression cannot be lifted.9 In the top margin of the page, only a faint “T” and some of a “D” can with the utmost difficulty be made out when the page is viewed in the right light and at the right angle: this does not show on a microfilm copy (illus. 2). What is striking is that Erdman, whose mark of distinction is an otherwise rigorous particularity in recording practically every deletion or insertion in Blake’s annotations or manuscripts, apparently finds no reason to make any note of the fact that a considerable part of the drawing is not visible. Only G. E. Bentley, Jr., in his 1978 edition of William Blake’s Writings rates this import-

7. In this letter, Lilly gives the year of his acquisition of the volume as 1939.
8. Unfortunately, no holograph facsimile is available of these annotations as there is of Blake’s marginalia to Bishop Richard Watson; see Annotations, ed. James.
10. I owe thanks to library officer (Dept. of Rare Books) Annemarie Robinson for her help and assistance with examining the volume.

in season, and are ever on the loading part; not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' fores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them; if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he
parison of Keynes' transcript copy and Blake's original shows that what has been erased is an outline of a pair of buttocks with the inscription "the devil's arse" and the top part of the excremental chain (illus. 3).

Despite the mystery of the erasure, there is no reason to believe that Keynes "invented" this reading. Though he at times made mistakes in deciphering Blake's hand (as later editors have pointed out), there are no records of Keynes ever making things up, and his integrity as a scholar speaks against any such suggestion.

Keynes' conjecture that the erasure was the work of Samuel Palmer is plausible. It may be significant that it is only the part that refers to the satanic that he sought to remove. A similar attempt can be found in Blake's annotations to Bishop Watson's *An Apology for the Bible* (1797). This book was also acquired by Palmer, who inscribed his name on the title page. On the verso of the title page, Blake prefaced the annotations with the statement: "The Beast & the Whore rule without control" (E 611). Erdman comments that the sentence is cancelled by "a ruled double line, in pencil" and judges this to be "uncharacteristic of Blake" (E 884-85).

It is possible that Palmer misconstrued the statement as literal and affirmative, where we may assume Blake wrote allegorically and critically. Varying with the time, place and persuasion of the interpreter, the figures of the "Beast" and the "Whore" from the Book of Revelation have been called in to identify the Jews, the Ottomans, France, Charles I, Cromwell, the aristocracy, capitalism, the American slaveholders or whatever forces in society the interpreter wanted to oppose. There is a long tradition in Protestant propaganda of allegorizing the Pope and Catholicism by these New Testament figures for the Antichrist, but in Blake they clearly signify a more immediate and contemporary religious and political state of affairs. Offering a translation of the allegory in very general terms, Jacob Bronowski explains that "The Beast is the State, and the Whore is its Church." Though he does not rely on any contextualizing evidence, Bronowski's interpretation may however still be historically correct. In a footnote to "Religious Musings," Coleridge, for instance, can be found commenting: "I am convinced that the Babylon of the Apocalypse does not apply to Rome exclusively; but to the union of Religion with Power and Wealth, wherever it is found." However, it is possible that Blake's reference may more specifically refer to Prime Minister Pitt and Queen Charlotte. In *Prophet Against Empire*, Erdman draws attention to the fact that the Queen's influence increased as a consequence of George III's madness in 1788. She was believed to rule the Empire through Pitt. The Prime Minister's peace in 1790 had popularly been attributed to the Queen's influence. On this theme Gillray drew a caricature allegorizing Milton's Sin and Death as the Queen and Pitt. Whatever reference Blake may have meant to give this allegory, it seems unavoidably political; the phrase serves as a prefatory maxim summing up Blake's defense of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. If the deletion was made by Palmer out of his inability to decode Blake's political allegory (misreading it as a religious heresy that he saw fit to remove), it is likely that the same could have been the case with "The Devils Arse."

When Gilchrist compared Blake's annotations to Bacon with those to Reynolds, he finds them lacking the "leave of real sense and acumen which tempers the violence of those on Reynolds" and only quotes out of the "interests of faithful biography." The annotations are admittedly written in the mode of literary satire rather than as a considered philosophical argument. Many of Blake's annotations are really clearly spontaneous. He employs shock tactics and satire as an immediate response rather than attempting to establish a coherent counter-argument. The form of hostile dialogue we find in the annotations to Bacon and other of Blake's "Spiritual Enemies" whose books Blake owned can also be seen in published satire. In *Pig's Meat*, Thomas Spence prints Sir John Sinclair's *An Antidote Against Revolutions*, a piece of loyalist propaganda showing the anarchy that will erupt if monarchy is overturned. Spence prints this with "remarks by a Spenconian on the same," providing the reader with a series of interjectory comments, so it is now turned into a dialogue. The hostile annotation is supplied with a citation from St. Mark: "Out of thy own mouth wilt I judge thee thou wicked servant."

In Blake's annotations to Bacon, he makes numerous references to his opponent as someone speaking for the "Devil" or "Satan." In positing Bacon as someone who provides "Good Advice for the Devil" (E 625), it has gone unnoticed how Blake shares a vocabulary with the biblical critic and man of letters, Alexander Geddes, whose satire *L'Avocat du diable: the Devil's Advocate; or, Satan versus Pictor* was published in 1792. This work is a political satire on the privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy in legal matters; it is written in the voice of a lawyer, who represents the Devil in a court of law. For all the abuse he has been made to suffer he is seen as a "libelled Peer." In the annotations, Blake uses a similar satirical strategy, casting

15. There are other examples of erasures in Blake's work. For example, in the ms. to *The Four Zoas*, several erotic portions are partly obliterated. Whether this was done by Blake himself or by others later is unclear. For a detailed discussion of these drawings, see Grant 192-94 and Lincoln 58.

16. Erdman's findings have been corroborated by G. Ingl James on grounds that the strokes of the deletion "lack Blake's characteristic strength and decisiveness: they are faint, undulating and broken"; see "Notes to Transcript," in *Annotations*, ed. James, n.2.

17. Bronowski 82.

Blake's satirical drawing is clearly motivated by Bacon's claim that a king is divinely ordained. The king has therefore traditionally been given the title "heaven-born." According to the OED, this term had in analogy also been used to describe governors of the state, who were seen as endowed with divine skill and abilities of governance. But, as the OED also records, from the time of the French Revolution the epithet is generally used ironically. The irony is clear in the satirist Charles Pigott's Political Dictionary. In the entry on "heaven-born" we are laconically informed that it means "the most infamous of mankind" (55). It is similarly wholly ironic when Pigott refers to "Mr. Pitt, and his heaven-born family, Mr Rose, Henry Dundas, and others" (104). The term is also played upon in the cartoonist Richard Newton's political drawing The General Sentiment (1797).22 Here Pitt is depicted in the gallows, hanging by the neck, beneath which two characters of obvious plebeian origin make the ironic wish: "May our heaven born minister be SUPPORTED from ABOVE."23

The disruption of the semantic content of the phrase could also manifest itself as a satirical inversion. In a placard dated "Norwich, 16 October 1795, a call to form popular Societies and demand redress of grievances," Pitt is also satirized. The text here concludes, "You may as well look for chastity and mercy in the Empress of Russia, honour and consistency from the King of Prussia, wisdom and plain dealing from the Emperor of Germany, as a single speck of virtue from our Hell-born Minister."24 This inflammatory piece of satire, inverting "heaven-born" to its infernal opposite, was widely circulated and attained great popularity. It inspired Richard Newton to a couple of satirical prints, in which he renders the inversion of the phrase in pictorial puns. In The Devil's Darling (1797), the Devil is dandling Prime Minster Pitt (one of Newton's favorite victims) on his knee. Underneath the design is written, "Never a man beloved worse / For sure the Devil was his nurse."25 In The Birth of Billy Bugaboo (1797), Pitt's policies of taxation are criticized. The Devil is shown standing on the edge of a cliff "giving birth" to Pitt by excreting him out of his backside into the arms of Henry Dundas, who pokes his head out of a building inscribed "The Treasury." Beneath the cliff are also Fox and Sheridan holding their noses to the smell. Fox remarks to Sheridan, "What a stinking breath he has got Sherry" (see illus. 4).26 Some years ago Marcus Wood brought this cartoon to our attention in a "Minute Particular," suggesting that it supplied the major compositional elements for Blake's engraving The Dog, which was engraved for William Hayley's Ballads (1805).27 According to Wood, Blake apparently liked the visual composition enough to borrow the material of a satirical sketch and use it in a non-satirical context. If Blake annotated his copy of Bacon's Essays shortly after the volume was published in 1797, Newton's cartoon of the same year would still have been fresh in his mind.

There is a long tradition of scatological reference in caricature. Heaping abuse and libel on authorities by such un-
couth imagery dates back to the Reformation polemic and the Lutheran supporters' use of the so-called Schandbilder. The association of defecation and demons is, for example, used to great effect in a flyleaf showing The Origins of Monks (Von der Münchner Ursprungen, 1523), where we see the Devil relieving himself by excreting a pile of monks (illus. 5). In the 1790s scatological reference became a stock weapon in the rhetoric of the Revolution. In his discussion of James Gillray's and Jacques-Louis David's anti-aristocratic illustrations, the art historian Albert Boime shows how the excremental was habitually associated with the ancien régime. This was a way of breaking "a privileged code of politesse and decorum," establishing a "discourse for the crowd . . . encoding a new environment with an inclusive, nonprivileged space." Example of this in French caricature is the anonymous print The Two Infuriated Devils (Les deux Diables en fureur, 1790), which shows the two notorious clergymen Abbé Maury and Jean-Jacques d'Eprémesnil excreted from the bottoms of two red-winged devils. The lines underneath the illustration translate: "On 13 April 1790 two flying devils / Made a bet / Who would shit most foul / On human nature / One shot the Abbé M...y / The other paled / And dropped D'E...y / And his entire clique" (illus. 6). Newton would have been familiar with such revolutionary propaganda through his employer, the radical print publisher William Holland, who made French prints available to the English public, a trade that also went the other way.

It is worth noting that the connection between political libel and the demonic was current in the 1790s. We find, for instance, the people's prophet Richard Brothers addressing

5. Von der Münchner Ursprungen (1523).

28. See Scribner, esp. 84-87; also Hyman.
29. Boime 75.
his reader as an oppressed subject of George III: "thou didst ... submit thyself to the laws that were imposed on thee by a monster spewed out of HELL." In the political debates of the 1790s, the exposition of the origin of tyranny and oppressive institutions was a key line of attack used by the opposition, perhaps most notably in the writings of Thomas Paine. This was also worked into satire, as for instance in Eaton's "Politics for the People" and its investigation into "The Origins of Nobility." The same publication later featured "The Genealogy of a modern Aristocrate," which is a list of how one evil has begot another, starting at the time when "The Devil begat Sin" and ending with how "Time-Serving Sycophants begat Modern Aristocracy on the Body of the Whore of Babylon." The image of "hell-born" would have come naturally to Blake, as Bacon, on page 56, after his statement that "God hath lent his own name as a great honour" to kings on earth, qualifies this by stating that a king should not be so "proud" as to think himself immortal as a god and "flatter himself that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also." This apparently spurred Blake on to show that a king's office is not imparted from Heaven but from Hell: the king being born out of the "Devils Arse." It is Blake's visual rendering of this satirical attack that has now sadly been partially lost.

Works Cited

For a full list of works cited, please refer to the original source.

Reviewed by NANCY MOORE GOSLEE

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake describes how the corrosives of his relief etching “melt ... apparent surfaces away, and display ... the infinite which was hid” (pl. 14). In this phrase Dee Drake finds an apt metaphor for a revolutionary female desire, a corrosive agency that seeks its fulfillment by descent beneath heavenly or domestic constraint to “infernal” sources of energy and authenticity. Beginning with three visual images of flaming women from *The Marriage*, she turns to the color print *Hecate* in its several versions and to the visual and verbal representations of women in *The Book of Thel* and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*. Drake models her argument upon James Hillman’s post-Jungian readings of archetypes as images for an active “soul-making” that creates multiple, transforming potentialities for a liberated, non-unified self. In the phrasing of Gerda Norvig, also a reader of Hillman’s post-Jungian approach, she investigates a “visionary hermeneutics” of both image-making and self-making. The degree to which Blake’s representations of “female desire” achieve such a non-unitary self-making, Drake proposes, is the measure of their—and Blake’s—liberation. While she disarmingly says that she herself sees the chapter on the *Hecate* print as her most original contribution, containing “totally new insights,” and her interpretations of *Thel* and the *Visions* as more “complementary” to ongoing feminist debates over these poems, she does not give herself enough credit. We might see her study as itself a “salutary corrosive”—one that might examine its own premises, both Blakean and feminist, more thoroughly, but one that makes her readers reexamine their own Blakean and feminist premises as well.

For her post-Jungian model raises two apparently contradictory problems for her feminist readers—and one of these problems also raises questions for Blake critics who may be less concerned about feminist issues. First, even in its post-structuralist modifications, Drake’s Jungian hermeneutic slides toward the very essentialism that she and Hillman wish to avoid: woman as dark, bodily, anti-rational, infernal. This problem is also one for Blakean non-feminists, because its effect is to halt the play of dialectical contraries in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Second, this quasi-biological essentialism, while claiming desire for women, excludes reason and thus endangers women’s capacity for feminist political action to...
advance equality. Her advocacy of an ecstatic female sexuality both in *The Marriage* and in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* is anti-volitional and, in a striking and brilliant reading of an illumination from *The Marriage*, even acephalic. Thus the post-structuralist, non-unified self of the "infernal female" seems to have no subjectivity and no agency. While this difficulty stands at the center of an ongoing debate among feminists, Drake should acknowledge the debate and especially its relevance for interpreting Thel and Oothoon.

One source for confusion in Drake's analyses of subjectivity or agency is that "soul," a term under revision by post-Jungians, was also undergoing revision in Blake's own era and in his own writing. As Drake explains, Hillman seeks to retain the term "soul" from Jung but to free it from its role as unifying *telos*. For Hillman, "the 'soul-making' operations [he consciously borrows from Keats] ... honor 'fragmentation, self-division, and animism'" (Drake 13-14). In post-Jungian analysis, the "soul's native polycentricity, the multiple archetypal powers" should emerge (Hillman, quoted by Drake 13).

Such language might point to a reevaluation of the fragmenting self as "soul" in Blake's characters from *The Book of Urizen* on—largely beyond the scope of Drake's study. Problems emerge in Drake's discussion, however, when she is less attuned to Blake's own "polycentric" or at least polyvalent uses of the word "soul" in his pre-1794 verbal texts.

All the way through his career, Blake exploits his era's multiple redefinitions of this powerfully evocative term. He frequently uses "soul" to refer to a center of consciousness, what we would call the "psyche" or self. At times his uses come close to materialist explanations for the psyche such as Priestley's. Though he frequently evokes the traditional Christian definition of the soul, influenced by Platonism, as an immortal self separate from the body, in the early 1790s his evocations are most often critical or or ironic. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, for example, the "Voice of the Devil" challenges that orthodox definition: "Man has no Body distinct from his Soul ... Energy is the only Life and is from the Body" [pi. 4]. The voice of the devil, then, speaking from Blake's fiery underworld, does not simply steal an immaterial soul from heaven to reign in hell, but proposes a monistic unity of body and eternal soul.

Unfortunately, Drake occasionally—and I think unintentionally—slips into the more orthodox usage of "soul" even at points where she needs to calibrate her own and Hillman's definitions most clearly with Blake's ironic shifts. For example, on page 37, just after speaking of a Keatsian, post-Jungian "soul-making" as analogous to Blake's "printing in the infernal method," she writes, "Both Blake's infernal method and Hillman's soul-making enact the intra-relatedness of being, whether of body and soul, of sexuality and spirituality, or of life and death." Her usages of "soul" on pages 49 and 60 are more complex but still need clarification in relation to Blake's uses. On page 49, speaking of Blake's relief etching as metaphor, she writes that "searing holes in things is seeing through their literal, i.e. merely physical, nature to the souls they embody," though she carefully argues for a need to "expunge the distinctions between" body and soul (51). On page 60 she speaks of "the soul's in-betweening condition, between the corporeal and the spiritual." This unacknowledged slippage of a central term in her discussion is particularly important because it interferes with her analysis of Blake's liberatory, anti-dualist dialectic in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, an analysis which grounds her further arguments for Blake's feminist representations of female desire.

Drake's careful attention to the illuminations of "infernal females" in *The Marriage* is both innovative and rewarding. It counters Blake's own phallic rhetoric that in spite of his scheme of equal contraries tends to emphasize the prolific over the devouring, and it begins by universalizing the redemptive energies of sexual desire for women as well as for men. Yet each of her analyses presents problems. She argues that the fiery female at the bottom left of the title page allows her desire to be limited because she reaches toward "heaven" both in embracing the male figure emerging from the clouds on the right and in moving toward the upper "heavenly" section of the page. To me, the upper part of the page looks like a desolate wintry earth, and either hell—or heaven and hell in their contentious embrace—is needed to make that desolation bloom. In her argument, female desire seems to be unlimited only if it remains self-contained in "hell" and perhaps only if its object is itself or another like itself—that is, female.

At the top of plate 3, the female figure "is the quintessence of unrestrained desire with her open gaze, arms flung wide, ... and legs spread in welcome of the flames licking her thighs and vulva." This is an important observation, balancing what Bruder terms the omission of female sexuality in the verbal text (see Drake 56-57 and Bruder 117-19). Drake links this figure to the woman giving birth at the bottom of plate 3. Yet when she goes on to describe how the figure at the top "celebrates a relentless movement towards the primordial; towards an originary being or presence that partakes in the endless variety of soul" (54), she blocks the destabilizing play of contraries in the "marriage" by claiming a stabilized ground of being—the "primordial ... originary being."

When she analyzes the figures at the bottom of the page, again her appeal to a post-structuralist proliferation of images, energies, and identities is drawn into an archetypal pattern that may indeed be inherent in Blake's representations but that again glides toward the very essentialism she protests. At page bottom are three figures: a woman giving birth to a baby, and an adult male. Drake interprets the male as the child grown into a son-lover, as in the lunar myth associated with Aphrodite and her young male lovers. The repetitive lunar cycles deny an "ultimate apocalypse but always [suggest] the potential for the unfolding of an infinite number of soul-events, that is to say images" (56). Lunar cycles certainly affirm sexuality, but they imply a biological determinism of fertility more than an "infinite number of ... images" for the creative imagining of self.
The design on plate 14, both text and illumination, represents Drake's third example of "desire's liberational force," but it is the illumination of "the enflamed female and her corrosive activity as flying vulva that [is] most captivating" (57). This figure, seen head-on, has no face: "where her face should be there is only a very dark smudge, like a gaping black hole. ... [Her] flight is suggestive of both bestial and supernatural capacities." Drake revises the already revisionary comments of Eaves, Essick and Viscomi that this design follows and yet challenges "conventional iconography of soul and body." In William Blake: The Early Illuminated Books these editors point out that Blake revises the traditional design of a soul hovering over and parallel to the dead body by making the hovering female "soul" perpendicular to the earthbound male "body." Drake goes further, continuing her association of soul with biological female body: "As the bizarre manifestation of excessive sensual enjoyment, the flying creature's dark gap/black hole/gaping void images the vulva—threshold to the womb—tomb of the (Dark Moon) Goddess of Death and Regeneration" (58). Replacing head, symbolic of the limiting empirical senses, with vulva, this figure

is the infernal female who materializes soul's most corrosive power. Here the prevailing mood is of deepening; for this creature's dreadful presence reveals a coincidence of the sacred, the bestial, and the human that, because it is as infinite as it is primordial, opens up to the bottomless depths of being. (60)

Just before this passage, Drake proposes that the figure "displays something of the soul's in-betweening condition, between the corporeal and the spiritual"—but those "bottomless depths of being," along with the slippage of meaning in "soul" already noted, overwhelm this potentially important insight with a D. H. Lawrence-like late romanticism. Such a complaint about Drake's interpretation, however, should perhaps be directed to Blake's art itself—for her description of the image is compelling and disturbing.

Until its final section, Drake's chapter on the Hecate print is enlightening, if such a term is not too ironic for her pro-darkness argument. Even Gert Schiff's new alternate title, "The Night of Enitharmon's Joy," she protests, "serve[s] to reinforce the prevailing view of the color print; i.e., that it depicts the fallen world as a specifically female phenomenon" (77). Adopting the tone and method of serio ludere from the Florentine neo-Platonists, she argues that the central witch-like figure is redemptive of female desire and not a fallen figure of "female will." Reading from "the infernal perspective[s]... as advocate of a 'Devils party' approach to the print's imaginal world," she "look[s] at the color print Hecate through the visionary windows of a Puckish Blake full of the devil." This approach "opens up an array of radical alternatives to or variations on the nature of Hecate's Mysteries and the ways in which we may be initiated into them" (79). Placing the ass represented in the print in the literary context of Apuleius's The Golden Ass and Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, she gives Hillman's "animal sensing" greater flexibility and playfulness. Because Hecate, associated by Drake with Apuleius' witch Fotis, is a classical deity and thus already connected with quasi-essentializing myths drawn from fertility rituals, Drake's claims for the value of the "infernal female" seem less distorting here than in her reading of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.

She bases her interpretation on the Tate version of the print, which critics argue is the first pull, originating in 1794-95, and contrasts it with the second and third pulls, dating at least ten years later. In the Tate print, the central female figure turns her "transfixing gaze" at the strange reptile to her right. In the later pulls, the figure's eyes are downcast, in "Blake's simple but effective way of neutralizing her power" (91). For in this early version, Drake proposes, the "cave world [of the print] ... has a double function"; it is a "liminal space," the "site of entry into and return from the Underworld" (95). "In Blake's Hecate we see the pictorialization of the experience of soul-making's multiplicities" (96). The witch-figure's sibyline book, Drake argues, should be read positively, not negatively as a Urizenic manual of restraint. The final section of her chapter, both because it is less well worked out and because it reverses her ludic and positive evaluation of the ass in the two earlier parallels, is less successful. It equates Aeneas with "any ass" because he refuses Dido and restrains his desire, thus in Blake's terms becoming angelic. Even if Hecate as sibyl may refer to the similar figure in The Aeneid, Drake's witty pun on the pious hero cannot sustain this turn in her interpretation.

Drake's reading of The Book of Thel is richly suggestive but, again, her vocabulary slides toward essentialism even when she intends to advocate the opposite. Agreeing with a "heoretical" group of feminist critics (Norris, Hutchings, den Otter, and Rajan), Drake reads Thel as a "liminal" figure who "straddles the gap between life and death by remaining in flux" (109). Thel's return to Har at the end of the poem is an "act of courage" (112), a mission to proclaim the message of "sensual enjoyment" spoken by the final "sibylline questions" voiced from the grave: "Why a tender curb upon the youthful burning boy? Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire?" "With these words," Drake writes,

acknowledging the wisdom of her own realization ringing in her ears, the young virgin ... mounts the serpent of sexuality [referring to the female child directing the serpent in the poem's tailpiece] and (together with her son and lover) returns to the vales of Har. (136)

This apparently contradictory reading of Thel as virgin yet also as lover and mother marks Blake's "exploring of a complexity of virginities, that reveal various ways in which anima works to make herself manifest" (114). Turning to Hillman's argument that alchemical processes marked by different stages of whiteness correspond to stages of psychological development, Drake posits
She argues that Thel performs her own autonomous alchemical process of developing a “virginity” which might include all phases of the lunar cycle, from maiden through Aphroditean lover and mother to old woman. The links between alchemical stages of whiteness, the lunar cycle, and the triple-stage moon-goddess all come from Hillman. As Drake points out, several critics have suggested a link between the “river of Adona” in Har (pl. 1), and the dying-and-reviving partner of Aphrodite, Adonis (125). A more specific historicizing of this alchemical vocabulary, like Paley’s use of similar material in Energy and the Imagination, and of Blake’s sources for interpretations of the Adonis myth, would have strengthened this discussion and lessened my resistance to her reading.

I resist not so much the idea that Blake may be using a complex amalgam of alchemy and fertility myth to characterize Thel’s in-between state, but Drake’s conclusions that this amalgam leads to a feminist interpretation of the poem. Her first feminist conclusion is both subtle and important, as it challenges the “anatomy is destiny” premise that seems to create problems in her reading of The Marriage. Thel protests not the biological impediment of the hymen, “the little curtain of flesh” that certifies physical virginity in women, but society’s hypocritical over-valuation of that marker, to consolidate control over women’s sexual desires and sexual freedoms (113-14). This argument finds support earlier in the poem through Drake’s reading of the Lilly sacrificing herself to the “cunnilinguating Lamb” and her interpretation of the Clod of Clay who puritanically sees her worm only as a swaddled baby and not as a phalus and thus as a son-lover like Adonis (131, 124-25). Yet one problem with making the son-lover myth of Aphrodite a model for feminist readings is, again, its consolidation of a liberated female sexuality with a liberated female fertility. Further, does the “liberated” exercise of either of these involve the development of an autonomous self, as in liberal feminism or in Jungian psychology of the fully-developed individual—a goal that seems to Drake and Hillman as repressive as Urizen’s “One Law”—or the dissolution of such a self into a post-structuralist, post-Jungian multiplicity that in the form presented here seems to lead back to cliches of the mindless Earth-mother? As the Clod of Clay says, “I ponder, and I cannot ponder; yet I live and love” (5:6).

Drake’s reading of Visions of the Daughters of Albion presents this difficulty even more starkly. She begins from Vogler’s and Hilton’s observations that Bromion’s name resembles Bromios, roar or thunderer, “one of Dionysos’s many titles,” and from Hilton’s further suggestions for Dionysian connections in the name “Leutha.” She chides Vogler and Hilton, as well as other critics, however, for failing to identify the Daughters of Albion as potential Dionysian maenads. Her suggestion that the dancing figures in the rainbow on the title page are successful maenads, and that they should be linked to the chorus of the Daughters of Albion, is a fine one. Both Vogler and Hilton, she laments, take “a typically patriarchal view of the Dionysian maenads that serves to legitimate the domestication of so-called wild female desire so that the prevailing order can be maintained.” This is odd, because her reading of the poem comes all too close to the far more patriarchal reading of critics preceding Vogler and Hilton, critics who argue that Oothoon should recognize her encounter with “Bromion’s thunders” as a profoundly positive initiation into the mysteries of sexuality (see Bruder 56 for a summary).

She begins this argument by pointing to the metaphorical nature both of Bromion’s “thunders” and of Oothoon’s “virgin mantle”:

If we view Oothoon’s “virgin mantle” as the ego’s naive belief in its power to control the perceived world, the thunders are a manifestation from another world, wholly alien to the ego, that shatters the illusion of her ego-control and leads to “her breakthrough into the kind of sophisticated virginity that Thel enacts” (140). Even if we read the “virgin mantle” more literally, a rape would indeed shatter the illusion of ego-control, so her point has a broad sort of validity, but she seems not to read the experience as rape. In the prefatory argument, she points out, the “terrible thunders” “are neither personified nor gendered”—and “are perhaps Leutha’s” (141). Thus in Drake’s argument they signal a more female celebration of desire, even if that desire seems frightening—and Bromion is the god whose worship fulfills that desire. Here Drake follows Nor Hall’s suggestion that the Cadmaean myth narrates a willed initiation ceremony:

Oothoon as Semele-Ariadne would then be cast in the role of the Goddess who has been divided against herself in the classic madonna/whore antagonism used to disempower her. By rending her with his thunders Bromion-Dionysos is both reuniting as Son-Lover with the Goddess and taunting his adoptive Father, Theotormon-Zeus, with his rebellion.

The initiation, however, and the reunion with the Dionysian son-lover, fails: “Oothoon ... is both solar-bound and one-dimensional”; she “not only rejects the infernal movement towards the Underworld, but also the constellation opportunities for new (Dionysian) selves to be born.” This “self-betrayal ... isolates [her] from the community of the Daughters of Albion and condemns her ... to stasis” (137).

Though the identification of Bromion with Bromios/Dionysos seems promising, as does Drake’s idea that the dancing figures on the title page are an ecstatic maenadic version of the Daughters of Albion, I find several problems with her condemnation of Oothoon. First, if we were to accept Drake’s argument that Bromion comes as the god of a positive, because ego-annihilating, sexuality, we might urge her to look more
closely at Oothoon's long final speech celebrating "the moment of desire"—a speech Drake ignores. For in that speech Oothoon seems to recover at least partially from the masochistic flagellation of her now sexually-experienced body, and to defend the very jouissance that Drake has been arguing for. Thus Drake might argue that Oothoon's initiation is not a total failure. One might say that the Dionysian elements in Bromion have generated a complex, multivalent self in Oothoon.

Yet—and this is my more serious objection—that speech, as well as some important lines on plate 1 and an interlinear design on plate 2, evoke two historical contexts that make it extremely difficult to read Bromion's encounter with Oothoon as initially consensual, if ego-annihilating—to see it as anything other than rape. These two contexts are the debates over the liberation of enslaved Africans and over the rights of eighteenth-century women—especially the middle-class British women Wollstonecraft addresses. Both sets of debates create enormous pressure for positing a subject autonomous enough to say "no" to oppression. On plates 1 and 2, Bromion's addresses to Oothoon and to Theotormon are spoken, as critics have long recognized, from the position of the slave-trader or slave-owner sexually exploiting his property. Oothoon's final speech on plates 7-8 voices even more directly a critique of desire that is bought and sold, and thus made fraudulent, on the marriage market. These two markets for the alienation of desire from an autonomous subject, and thus for the denial of choice, mark out partially-overlapping and partially-conflicting socio-political places for Oothoon as chattel slave and as middle-class feminist. I have even argued, elsewhere, that this conflict points toward a post-modern splitting of subjectivity by competing discourses. Why, then, am I so ready to deny Drake her version of a post-modern challenge to the enlightenment liberal subject? I do so partly on historical grounds—for both of those competing late eighteenth-century discourses aimed at freedom of choice, and such freedom, such an establishment of a liberal subject, is surely one of Blake's aims during the early nineties. Is this historical moment over? Is to argue for a moment of unenslaved choice before acting upon or entering upon a self-annihilating "moment of desire" merely a nostalgia for an earlier moment in history, for Wollstonecraft-engendered first-wave feminism? In "Woman's Time," Julia Kristeva confronts this issue by contrasting first-wave appeals for rational and political equality with her portrayal of second-wave feminists' "demanding recognition of an irreducible identity, without equal in the opposite sex ... plural, fluid ..." (194). She then proposes a complex negotiation between these two extremes, claiming that such negotiation goes on as each of us develops as subjects able to act in society. In favor of Drake's "second-wave" reading are Blake's own insistent and troubling suggestions for an ecstatic, Dionysian model—but he also proposes consciously-chosen, liberal goals. Thus we may need to pursue Drake's readings, if only in part, to incorporate precisely this difficult crux between the liberal self and a liberated, liberating desire.

Because it forces readers to ask this and similar questions, Drake's book is a significant one. Yet because she does not raise these questions clearly enough herself, her book is far weaker than it might have been.

Works Cited


Reviewed by DANIEL GUSTAV ANDERSON

In his monograph *Burning Bright*, Subir Dhar touches on virtually every text in the Blake canon, explicating many at length, and often leaning heavily on the now-classic scholarship of Northrop Frye, David Erdman, and S. Foster Damon. Dhar argues with vigor that reason and imagination were facultative concepts that remained in Blake’s attention throughout his long and active life as a literateur, that the engagement (counteraction and confluence) between reason and imagination resulted in the creation of Blake’s texts, and finally that there are three different and distinct stages in Blake’s intellectual apprehension and literary reflection of the meanings of reason and imagination—an initial stage of unbridled enthusiasm for the imagination (seen as a transcendental faculty) ...; a darker, pessimistic interregnum during which the imagination was regarded as fallen; and a final stage of a realization of both reason and imagination as redemptive potencies. (15)

He returns to the reason/imagination dichotomy with vehemence, often in every paragraph. Methodologically, Dhar divides his time between narrating the history of Blake’s intellectual development largely by explicating his writings, and identifying Blake’s place in intellectual history. While he puts forward a critical argument, then, he also tries at the same time to provide a kind of introduction to the mechanics of Blake’s poems and preoccupations.

Explicating and contextualizing Blake’s corpus in 203 pages plus notes, as Dhar attempts to do, necessitates foregrounding some material while backgrounding the rest. He emphasizes Blake’s early texts such as *An Island in the Moon*, *Tiriel*, and *The Book of Thel*, since (according to Dhar) Morton Paley had not devoted enough attention to them in his 1970 study *Energy and the Imagination* (14), a text which, incidentally, argues a point very similar to Dhar’s. Dhar asserts that in *An Island in the Moon*, “Blake was not so much interested in mocking individual members of a certain social circle as in satirizing the ratiocinative intellectual orientation of an entire society and age” (43). He then identifies by name the specific individuals in a certain social circle he thinks Blake had targeted allegorically (43). Dhar reads wordplay in this text with much care, including the instance of Blake’s punning on John Locke’s name: “The word ‘Lock’ with its range of eighteenth century meanings, including shutting up ... of fixing in position or regimentation, is the perfect exponential indicator of the limitations of the intellectual model” Blake most detested, “Urizen’s ‘Philosophy of the Five Senses’” (50). He points out Blake’s frustration with the limits of empiricism in *Tiriel* as well, “to which cause he attributed the increase in political repression, and the decay in religion and the arts that he saw round him” (74). Dhar also foregrounds texts seemingly most likely to be anthologized or familiar to an audience of non-specialists, particularly Blake’s lyrics. He handles some, such as “The Tyger,” at length, with a closer eye for useful detail than might be expected of such a brief study. Unfortunately, he gives only a limited treatment of *The Four Zoas*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem*, and almost no accounting of scholarship since the 1970’s.

To contextualize his discussion of imagination in “the tradition of thought that was available” to Blake, Dhar includes a summary of imagination as a concept in the West beginning with Plato, “since no comprehensive philosophic or psychological analysis of the concept of imagination seems to have been attempted before Plato’s time” (17). He assumes semantic continuity across historical time, assuring his reader that “As modern scholars have shown, the ideas of the Middle Ages were carried forth into the Renaissance” (25). Unfortunately, the breakneck pace in this chapter prevents him from treating contested positions—that in “the era of modern philosophy,” beginning with Descartes, “the ghosts of alchemy, scholasticism, and metaphysical speculation were finally laid to rest” (32), for example—with any more rigor than the accepted ones: “Bacon and Shakespeare were men who straddled the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries” (31). The reader is forced to consider Dhar’s unargued conviction that ideas arising from an etheric “temper” of a given age condition the shape and movement of material history (rather than the more typical deterministic assumption of the opposite), instead of Blake’s place in a narrative of history.

Dhar is at his most interesting and most relevant when he gives himself a breather from programmatically reasserting his thesis on reason and imagination. He contributes to the ongoing discussion of Blake’s use of Indian sources (unfortunately citing twentieth-century translations rather than materials Blake may have himself read), and of useful comparisons between Blake’s mythic vision and that of classical Sanskrit literature by comparing the fourfold vision of the later epics to the four states of being elaborated in terms of yogic consciousness in the *Mandunkya Upanishad* (186, 229n41). Dhar’s attempts at thinking radically at times lead to moments of real insight:

Blake ... was a man whose vision was always societal in the sense of being concerned, not with society viewed as an organism, but with the fates of the discrete individuals who constitute society in their congeneric identity. Blake believed that the condition of a state could be changed as the condition of an individual could be ameliorated—by way of imagination. (189)

It follows from this that the potential to change one’s mind is a threat to the social structure brought about (according to
Dhar's Blake) by empiricism and rationalism. Dhar implies that Blake identifies rationalism as a means of oppression, but does not develop this idea. He misses some opportunities to elaborate his idea of Blake as a social critic; he cites Blake's criticism of those who abandon pity for the poor and hungry not as a critique of inhuman social conditions and their causes (including Urizenic thinking) as such, but only as a furthering of his project of proving rationalism to be a limited, self-interested abstraction Blake detested (95). Following Dhar, a scholar could take the logical step of connecting Blake's frustration with eighteenth-century social practice and his contempt for English discourse of abstraction as a Urizenic means of manipulating relationships of power.

Finally, Dhar's explications are remarkably subtle and precise; he is genuinely interested in showing how aspects of these poems work, particularly diction, and the tense and aspect of verbs, showing how in "Night" Blake's "shifts of tense merge into one another so that the total effect of the lyric is that of a vibrating present" (91). That he does not take the opportunity to discuss subordinate and ancillary aspects of his argument and its implications in closer detail or in a more rigorous sociomaterial context is disappointing.
CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Blake Records, Second Edition

BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

A number of corrigenda and addenda to the second edition of Blake Records (Yale UP, 2004) were noticed too late to be incorporated in the book—indeed, though I did not know it, the text had already been printed (5 December 2003), though the index was only then being set in type and the dust jacket had not even been seen in proof. It may be useful, therefore, to record the corrigenda and addenda here:

P. ix: Before "Between pages ...

End-papers: The end-papers are Blake's engraving of The Canterbury Pilgrims (1810), Second State (35.6 x 97.05 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum) tinted, probably by Blake, to conform to his tempera.

P. 263: Add footnote to "and 'Blake'


P. 295: Add to first footnote (*):

As "The Ancient Britons" was exhibited in a room only 8' 5" high, its dimensions may have been c. 8' x 12'.

P. 295: Add:

Louis Schiavonetti wrote to the publishers Messrs Cadell & Davies on 30 January 1810 discussing an engraving commission and referred in passing to "Blake's Portrait for Mr. Cromek" which he had engraved for Blair's Grave (1808).

P. 736, l. 5: To the date of "The Post-Office Annual Directory (1812)" add:

"1809;"

P. 739, l. 12: Delete "opening on Broad Street."

P. 739fn (*): Instead of "One of the rooms was large enough for Blake's 'Ancient Britons', fourteen by ten feet, to be exhibited in—see 1809-10" read:

The dimensions of the rooms, with ceilings 8' 5" high, and the arrangement of the pictures in Blake's exhibition (1809) are deduced persuasively if not conclusively by Troy RC Patenaude, "The glory of a Nation: Recovering William Blake's 1809 exhibition", British Art Journal, IV (2003), 52-63.

Brian Wilkie
1929-2003