

Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOLUME 24

NUMBER 4

SPRING 1991



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Blake in the Marketplace, 1990

by Robert N. Essick

After two exceedingly active years, the Blake market deserved a rest, but 1990 offered no respite for the avid collector's purse. Two copies of *Songs of Innocence* came to the auction block—copy A (illus. 1-4) and the long-untraced copy H (no photos received, in spite of multiple requests). The \$550,000 fetched by the former reconfirmed the strength of the market for Blake's most important and popular productions. Reliable sources inform me that both copies of *Innocence* join copy N of *Innocence*, copy R of *America*, and several other Blake treasures in an American private collection. The only copy of the first edition of *Poetical Sketches* remaining in private hands was sold for the astonishing price of \$121,000 in Sotheby's New York rooms on the last day of April, thereby setting a new record for any letterpress edition of Blake's writings. No copy had changed ownership since 1978, when Sir Geoffrey Keynes acquired one, now in Cambridge University Library, lacking signatures I and K.

It was a banner year for Blake's pencil drawings. Three important works were offered in London auctions in November: the preliminary sketch for the color print of *Hecate* (illus. 5), the tracing (perhaps by Blake himself) of his *Last Judgment* drawing (illus. 6-7), and, to round out the apocalyptic theme, one of two pencil preliminaries for *The Resurrection of the Dead*, an alternative title page for the illustrations to Blair's *Grave*. The *Hecate* fetched a hammer bid of £38,000 (£41,800 with the buyer's premium), a record price for any pencil drawing by Blake. The offering at auction of *The Last Judgment* and *The Resurrection of the Dead* continues the slow dispersal of the Gregory Bateson collection, begun in 1983 with the sale of the magnificent

large color print, *Satan Exulting over Eve* (Butlin #292), now in the J. Paul Getty Art Museum, Malibu. *The Resurrection of the Dead* failed to find a buyer and has been returned to the Bateson estate, at least for the near future. It thus rejoins the remaining two Blakes in the collection which, as far as I can determine, have not yet been placed on the market: *Pestilence* (Butlin #190) and *Illustration to Robert Bage's "Hermesprung"* (Butlin #682).

Visionary Heads appeared in the marketplace in considerable abundance. At this time of writing (January 1991), the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook still languishes unsold at Christie's in London. Three very minor leaves from the smaller sketchbook failed to find buyers at a Sotheby's sale, but a group of twelve miscellaneous sheets of Visionary Heads did change hands privately (see listing below and illus. 8-10).

The British bookdealer Simon Finch issued a handsome catalogue of 187 Blake and Blake-related titles in the fall of 1990. The catalogue was unusual for containing neither the dealer's name nor prices. Upon inquiry, I learned that the books were for sale as a collection only (price available on request). Although dominated by facsimiles, typographic editions, and criticism, the catalogue listed eleven works with Blake's commercial book illustrations, including copies of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) and Hayley's 1805 *Bal-lads*, the latter uncut in original boards.

Two developments in the marketplace deserve brief comment. One of the time-tested commonplaces of art collecting is that aesthetic value (however subjective and loosely defined by the art-buying community) is the final determiner of price. When even the top end of the Blake market was domi-

nated by book collectors, prices demonstrated this truth less dramatically than at present, perhaps in part because several major purchasers are print and drawing collectors. Some dealers have been slow to react to the increasing disparity between the market values of the finest work and run-of-the-mill examples. A color-printed impression of "A Poison Tree" from *Songs of Experience* commanded £30,800 at auction in December 1988. Does this sale mean that posthumous impressions from the *Songs* are worth anything near that amount? Assuredly not. Impressions of "The Little Black Boy" (second pl.), "The Echoing Green" (second pl.), and "Holy Thursday" from *Experience*, all probably printed after Blake's death by Frederick Tatham and with incomplete coloring by an unidentified hand, have been kicking about the market since 1979, in spite of attempts to buttress their inflated prices with claims about their special status as "proofs." (For the most recent failure of one of these plates in the marketplace, see "The Little Black Boy" listed below.) Copy BB of the combined *Songs* is a fascinating bibliographical treasure, but the absence of color proved fatal at its public offering in a 1988 auction. One of the better drawings from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook fetched £11,000 at auction in 1989, but slight sketches from the same book cannot attract even a tenth as much. This phenomenon should give heart to collectors with modest budgets, for it means that they can still acquire engravings and even drawings while the heavy-hitters are scrambling over the masterpieces.

A more disturbing trend is the increasing secretiveness of some major purchasers. In his *Blake Books* of 1977, G. E. Bentley, Jr., was able to locate

almost every illuminated book known to be extant. Even when Bentley was required by a book's owner to record it in an "anonymous collection," the identity of the collector was known to Bentley and he could pass along legitimate scholarly inquiries to the owner. I have tried to maintain this same responsiveness to owners' requests, complemented by a willingness to pass along letters from scholars, during the nineteen years I have been writing "Blake in the Marketplace." We are now in danger of having this network of information slowly unravel as books securely located in 1977 disappear into the hands of unknown collectors. In spite of the best efforts of my carefully assembled gang of spies and auction-house moles, I have not been able to uncover the new owners of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* copy D and *The Book of Thel* copy A, both sold in 1989. Rumor has it, however, that both volumes were acquired by the American private collector, mentioned above, who recently acquired copies of *Songs of Innocence*. Purchasers of other important works have been unresponsive to my inquiries passed along by auction houses during the last two years.

I must conclude with a note of sadness. Beginning in November 1957, Frank Davis contributed a weekly essay, "Talking about Salerooms," to the magazine *Country Life*. He never missed a deadline. His great good sense, vast knowledge of the arts from paleolithic sculpture to Victorian saltcellars, and utter lack of pretension made him something of a hero for those who write reviews of the art market. Davis died in March 1990 at the age of 97, shortly after completing his final column.

The year of all sales and catalogues in the following lists is 1990 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. Late 1990 sales will be covered in the 1991 review. I

am grateful for help in compiling this review to G. E. Bentley, Jr., David Bindman, M. C. Brand of Marlborough Rare Books, Martin Butlin, Detlef Dörrbecker (particularly for the many 1989 sales I belatedly record here and for invaluable editorial assistance), Alexander Gourlay, Paul Grinke of Quaritch, Donald A. Heald, Thomas V. Lange, Stephen C. Massey of Christie's New York, Therese Olivieri, Justin Schiller, Robert Schlosser, David Weinglass, Henry Wemyss of Sotheby's London, and John Windle. Like all contributors to this journal, I am greatly indebted to Patricia Neill's editorial expertise.

ABBREVIATIONS

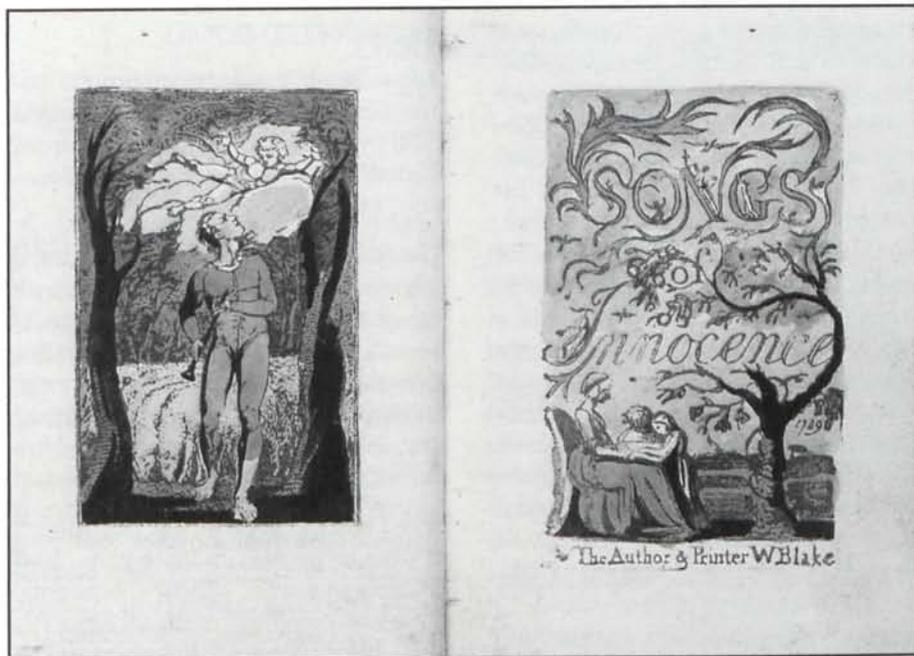
BBA	Bloomsbury Book Auctions, London
Bentley	G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). Plate numbers and copy designations for Blake's illuminated books follow Bentley.
Butlin	Martin Butlin, <i>The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake</i> , 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981)
cat.	catalogue or sales list issued by a dealer (usually followed by a number or letter designation) or auction house (followed by the day and month of sale)
CL	Christie's, London
CNY	Christie's, New York
illus.	the item or part thereof is reproduced in the catalogue
pl(s)	plate(s)
SL	Sotheby's, London
SNY	Sotheby's, New York
st.	state of an engraving, etching, or lithograph
Swann	Swann Galleries, auctioneers, New York
#	auction lot or catalogue item number

ILLUMINATED BOOKS

America, pl. 7 only, posthumous impression in pale brick red. Acquired 1988 by the Hamburg Kunsthalle from Garton & Cooke. For illus. and discussion, see *Blake* 22 (1988): 6.

The Book of Abania, copy Ba, frontispiece only. Allocated by Her Majesty's Treasury from the estate of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, in lieu of taxes, to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1988. This print was not part of the original Keynes bequest, accessioned by the Fitzwilliam in 1985.

"The Little Black Boy," 2nd pl., printed in orange on laid India, partly hand colored in scarlet (Christ's garment), pink, and olive green. CL, 28 June, #7, illus. color (not sold. Returned to the vendor, a New York print dealer, who also owns the two companion prints on laid India, "The Echoing Green," 2nd pl., and "Holy Thursday" from *Experience*). The cat. entry only tacitly indicates (by associating the impression with copy h of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*) that the print is probably posthumous (like its two companions—see comments above) and that the hand coloring is not by Blake. The provenance information given in the cat. seems chronologically confused, omits at least three dealers (Colin Franklin, Jake Zeitlin, and Raymond Wapner) who have owned the print in recent years, and repeats the speculation in Bentley (430n2), made before copy h was rediscovered in 1981, that this "Little Black Boy" may have been one of the three hand-colored plates in copy h when sold from the H. Buxton Forman collection in 1920. However, those three plates are integral to posthumous copy h, now in the Essick collection, and are still bound in it. The olive green tinting on this impression of "The Little Black Boy" is the same as, or at least very similar to, the olive green on "The Little Vagabond" in copy h. In Christie's defense, it should be noted that its cataloguer was relying on the opinions of Keynes, Bentley,



1. *Songs of Innocence*, copy A, frontispiece (relief etching) and title page (relief and white-line etching). 11 x 7 cm. (verso), 12 x 7.4 cm. (recto). Printed in the same brown ink, and hand tinted with the same palette (probably in the same coloring session), as copies B (familiar from the Blake Trust facsimile of 1954) and H. Photo courtesy of Christie's New York.



2. *Songs of Innocence*, copy A, "Infant Joy." Relief and white-line etching, 11.1 x 6.8 cm., hand colored. The flowers are colored blue, as in three other copies of *Innocence* and five of the combined *Songs*. Photo courtesy of Christie's New York.

Michael Phillips, and Essick recorded in Zeitlin & Ver Brugge's catalogue of spring 1979 and Justin G. Schiller's May 1983 catalogue 41. My own earlier opinion that this plate and its two companions were printed by Blake but colored by another hand (the latter point not cited in the dealers' catalogues) has changed to posthumous printing and coloring as a result of studying copy h and other posthumous impressions. After receiving information and opinions supplied by Thomas Lange, Christie's very responsibly announced at the auction that the print is probably posthumous and lowered the estimate from £8000-12,000 (published in the cat.) to £2000-3000, but the bidding stopped at £1500.

Songs of Innocence, copy A. 31 pls. on 17 leaves, printed in brown and hand colored. CNY, 8 June, #253, from the collection of Joseph Scott McKell, frontispiece, title page, "Infant Joy," and

"The Lamb" illus. color (\$550,000 to an American private collector on an estimate of \$300,000-400,000). See illus. 1-4 and comments on copy H, below.

Songs of Innocence, copy H. 31 pls. on 17 leaves, printed in brown and hand colored. CL, 28 Nov., #84, frontispiece, title page, pl. 1 of "The Little Girl Lost," and "Infant Joy" illus. color (£220,000 to the London dealer Libby Howie for an American private collector). An early copy, probably printed in the same press run as copies A, B, and others in the same ink. The reproductions in the cat. show that the flowers in "Infant Joy" are blue, as in copy A and several others. The rather odd purple tint in the sky on the copy H title page corresponds to the color used for the woman's dress in copy B, while the rather careless splashes of green in the tree are similar to copy A. The use of opaque dark-brown washes to create shadows throughout the reproduced pls. of copy H parallels their placement

and visual effect in copies A and B. These three copies (plus C-G, K-M, and others?) were very probably finished in the same coloring session.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, copy BB. 55 pls. on 55 leaves, printed in black and hand tinted in black and gray washes. Sold summer 1990 by Randolph Schlegel, Ltd., to a European private collector.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience. 4 pls. only, "The Divine Image," "Nurses Song," and "The School Boy" from *Innocence*, "Nurses Song" from *Experience*, on 4 leaves, the first two printed in gray, the second two printed in orange. Posthumous impressions, previously untraced. Offered privately by N. W. Lott, Feb., at a price he has asked me not to disclose. Jerry Bentley, who has inspected the 3 pls. from *Innocence*, tells me that they are very probably from posthumous copy o of the combined *Songs*.

MANUSCRIPTS

Blake's letter of 18 Jan. 1808 to Ozias Humphry, containing Blake's description of his *Last Judgment* water color. John Wilson, April cat. 67, no item no., with a long description arguing, on the basis of successive revisions, that this is the second of three versions of Blake's description of his design, final page illus. (£25,000). Previously sold from the collection of Roger W. Barrett, SNY, 14 Dec. 1988, #58 (\$24,600).

FIRST EDITIONS OF BLAKE'S WRITINGS FIRST PUBLISHED IN LETTERPRESS IN BLAKE'S LIFETIME

Poetical Sketches, copy E. SNY, 30 April, #2628, presentation inscription from John Flaxman to William Long, from the collection of F. Bradley Martin, title page illus. (\$121,000 to Pickering & Chatto on an estimate of \$35,000-50,000). Offered Pickering & Chatto, Oct. cat. 685, #21, title page (and gilt dentelle of the back cover) illus. color ("price on request").

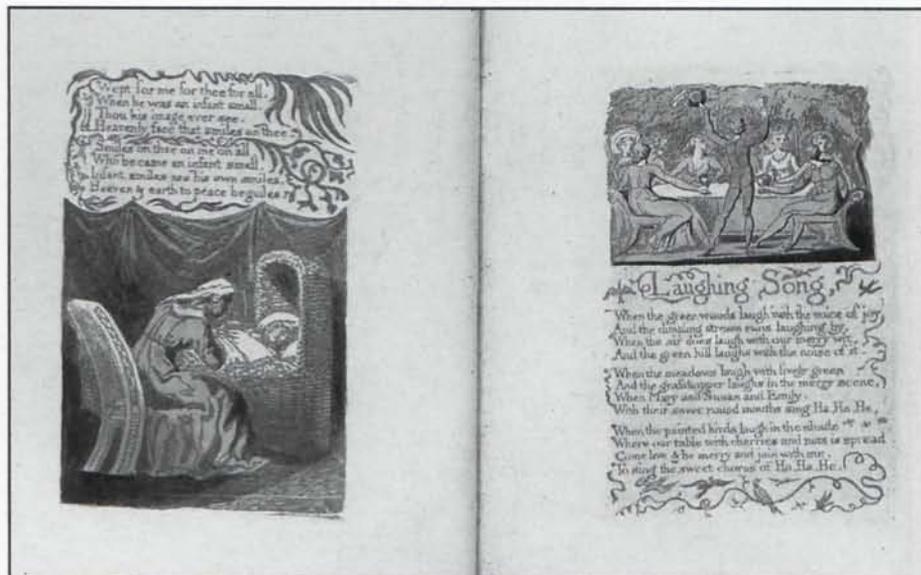
DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS

Adam and Eve. Pen over pencil, 22.8 x 26 cm., c. 1780. Butlin #107. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, Oct.-Nov. cat. of *English Drawings*, #46, illus. color (£22,000). An extraordinary asking price for a minor (although not unattractive) drawing.

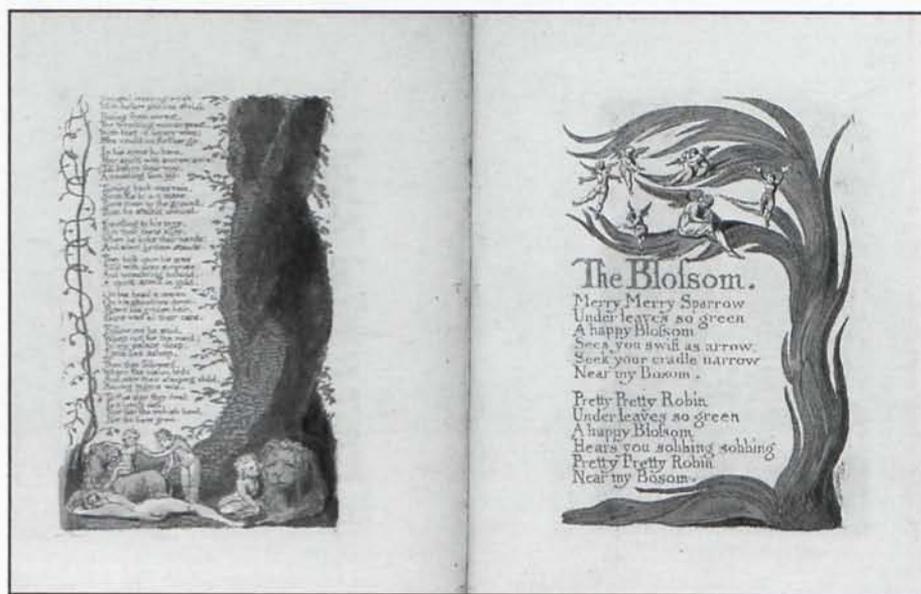
The Head and Shoulders of a Middle-Aged Man in Armour. Pencil, 6 1/8 x 7 3/4 in., p. 78 from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Butlin #692.78. CL, 20 March, #151, illus. (not sold; estimate £1500-2500).

Head of a Girl in Profile, perhaps Corinna. Pencil, 6 x 8 in., p. 80 from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Butlin #692.80. CL, 20 March, #152, illus. (not sold; estimate £1500-2000).

Hecate. CL, 13 Nov., #92, illus. (£41,800 to a London dealer on an estimate of £10,000-15,000). See illus. 5.



3. *Songs of Innocence*, copy A, "A Cradle Song" (second pl.) and "Laughing Song." Relief and white-line etchings, 11.1 x 7 cm. (verso), 11.1 x 6.7 cm. (recto), hand colored. Photo courtesy of Christie's New York.



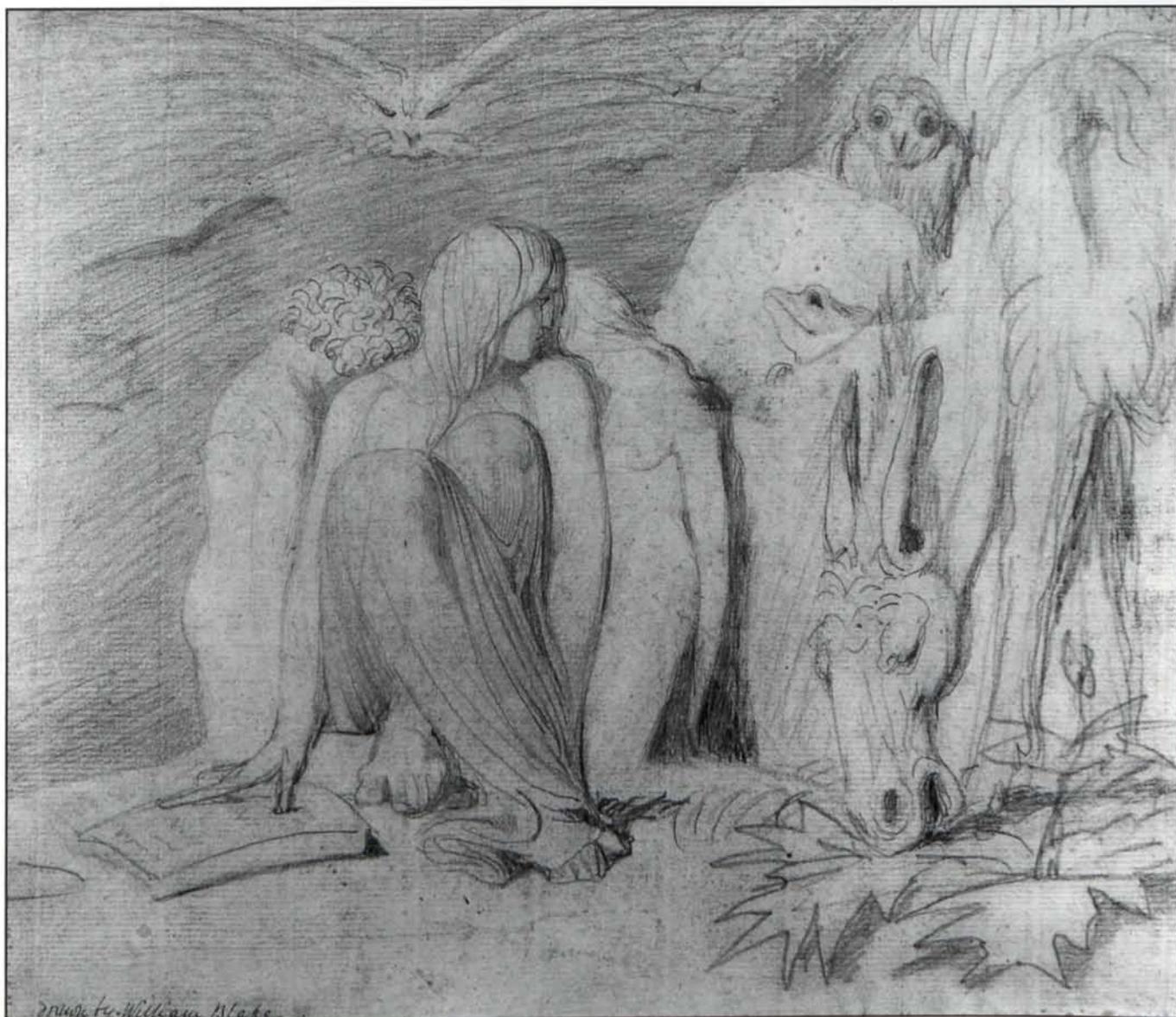
4. *Songs of Innocence*, copy A, "The Little Girl Found" (second pl.) and "The Blossom." Relief and white-line etchings, 11.1 x 6.9 cm. (verso), 11 x 7.1 cm. (recto), hand colored. Photo courtesy of Christie's New York.

A King Standing and Holding a Sceptre. Pencil, 8 1/16 x 6 1/8 in., p. 74 from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Butlin #692.74. CL, 20 March, #150, illus. (not sold; estimate £1500-2000).

The Last Judgment. SL, 15 Nov., #26,

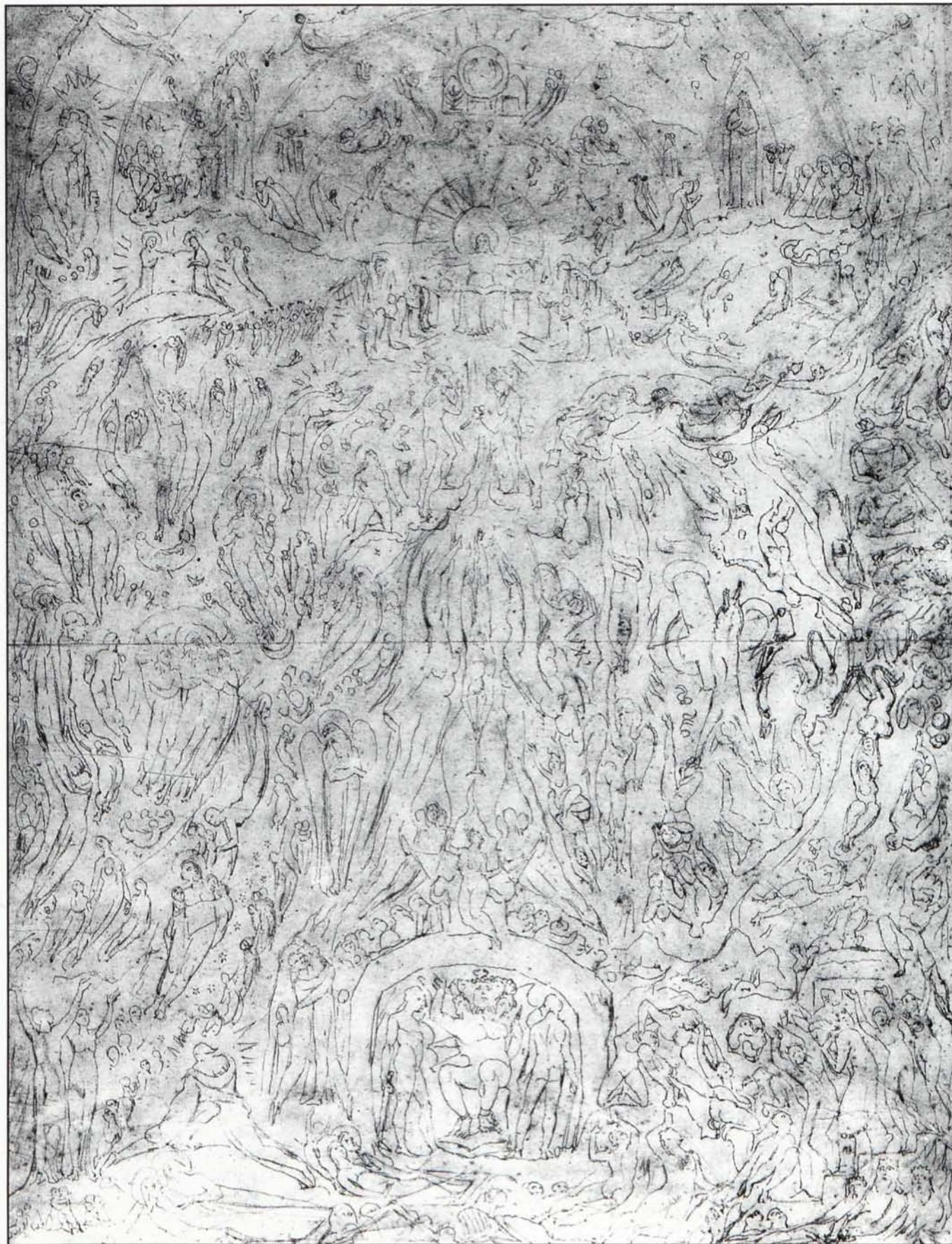
offered as "attributed to William Blake," illus. (£4180 to a London dealer for R. Essick on an estimate of £4000-6000). See illus. 6-7.

The Resurrection of the Dead. Pencil, 38 x 29.2 cm., unidentified pencil sketch on verso. Butlin #615. One of two



5. *Hecate*. Pencil, small patch of gray wash left of the owl (a later repair?), 24.2 x 27.8 cm. Inscribed lower left by Frederick Tatham, "drawn by William Blake." Butlin #319. A preliminary sketch for the color print of c. 1795, but with five bat-winged creatures in flight, whereas all three examples of the color print show only the two largest. Arguably the most important Blake pencil drawing still in private hands. Gert Schiff, in his catalogue for the Blake exhibition at the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, fall 1990, has re-titled the color print *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy*. Photo courtesy of Christie's London.

6. *The Last Judgment*. (See facing page.) Pencil tracing, 46.3 x 34.5 cm., with an old fold running horizontally through the center. Es-sick collection. Butlin #646. Based on the pen and wash over pencil drawing (Butlin #645) now in the Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Perhaps this tracing is the same as Butlin #647, last described by W. M. Rossetti as having the following inscription by Frederick Tatham: "A tracing of an elaborate drawing of his [Blake's] Last Judgment. The original picture [Butlin #648, untraced] was six feet long and about five wide, and was very much spoiled and darkened by over-work; and is one of those alluded to in his Catalogue [of the 1809 exhibition] as being spoiled by the spirits of departed artists, or 'blotting and blurring demons.' This tracing is from some elaborate drawing [very probably Butlin #645] which has never been engraved" (Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake* [London: Macmillan, 1863] 2: 242, no. 23). As Butlin suggests, this inscription may have been on a mount destroyed during re-matting. Blake may have made a tracing of his more finished drawing as part of his work on the large tempera painting or, at a later time, as part of some unrealized intention to engrave the design. See also illus. 7.



known preliminary drawings for the water color in the British Museum (dated 1806; Butlin #613) of a title-page design associated with Blake's illustrations of Robert Blair's *The Grave*. SL, 15 Nov., #27, illus. color, showing the paper to be evenly brown (not sold

on a discouragingly high estimate of £30,000-40,000).

A Richly Attired Prince, Perhaps Edward VI. Pencil, 8 x 6 1/8 in., from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Butlin #692.108. Frederick Cummings, April private offer (price on application).

Previously sold CL, 14 Nov. 1989, #151, illus. (£11,000).

Visionary Heads, pencil, a group on 12 sheets, c. 1819-20, from the collection of F. Bailey Vanderhoef, Jr., Ojai, California. Acquired March by R. Essick. The drawings are as follows:



7. Detail of illus. 6, showing the dragon with seven heads and ten horns and Satan's book of accusations beneath his feet (center), Gog and Magog guarding the dragon, an embracing couple (left) and a fighting couple (right) representing states of the church, a youthful couple awakened from the grave by one of their children (lower left), two personifications of the Inquisition (lower right), and a reanimating skeleton at the bottom. This detail, with contrast artificially heightened, shows the quality of the tracing lines—a bit shaky, but lively and not without a Blakean touch of vigor combined with delicacy. We can find a similar type of nervous hand, perhaps a consequence of Blake's fatal illness, in some of his late drawings, such as the Genesis Manuscript of c. 1826-27 (Butlin #828) and some of the sketches for the *Pilgrim's Progress* illustrations of 1824-27 (see particularly Butlin #829.28 and 831). Thus, if Blake indeed drew this tracing, it may have been some years after the Last Judgment compositions of c. 1809 (see Butlin #648 for conjectures about a late Last Judgment painting). The tracing may be the work sold from the Frederick Tatham collection at auction in 1862. In the early nineteenth-century, John Linnell, his family and students, were active copyists of Blake's designs, but there is no evidence that either this tracing or the more finished design on which it is based was ever in the Linnell collection.

Richard Coeur de Lion (Butlin #692a-b), 14.9 x 19.2 cm., title inscribed by Varley. From the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook.

Cancer (Butlin #692c), 13.9 x 18.8 cm., title inscribed by Varley. From the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Probably a caricature self-portrait—see Geoffrey Keynes, *The Complete Portraiture of William & Catherine Blake* (London: Blake Trust, 1977) pl. 20a.

David (Butlin #698), 25.4 x 18 cm., title inscribed by Linnell. Probably a counterproof of the drawing in the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook inscribed "Alexander the Great." (A counterproof of a pencil drawing is made by placing it face down against a dampened sheet of paper and rubbing or applying pressure to the back of the drawing. Graphite is transferred to the dampened sheet to create a reversed copy of the original.)

Cassibelane (Butlin #716), 23.3 x 17.6 cm., title inscribed (by Linnell?). Probably leaf 82 verso from the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook, which contains two other versions of this image, a counterproof on leaf 83 recto and what may be a strengthened counterproof of 83 recto on leaf 81 verso (made after the removal of leaf 82).

An Anglo-Norman King. See illus. 8.

The Empress Maud (Butlin #725), 25 x 18.2 cm., title inscribed by Linnell. Leaf 70 recto from the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook, a counterproof of the drawing with the same title inscription on leaf 69 verso.

Faulconberg the Bastard (Butlin #730), 24.9 x 18.3 cm., title inscribed (by Linnell?). Leaf 62 recto from the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook, a counterproof of the drawing on leaf 61 verso, inscribed "The Bastard Faulconberg."

King John (Butlin #731), 24.8 x 17 cm., title inscribed (by Linnell?). Probably from the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook since this sheet bears the same watermark (C BRECHLEY 1804), and

the list of contents at the end of the sketchbook includes "King John." Butlin indicates that this drawing is the original from which two counterproofs were made (#732 and 733, the latter untraced since 1920), but the flatness and fuzziness of the image suggest that this drawing is itself a counterproof, perhaps made from #732.

Edward I and William Wallace (Butlin #734), two heads on one sheet, 19.8 x 26.9 cm., titles inscribed by Linnell. The list of contents in the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook includes separate entries for these two characters, but the sheet of this double portrait is too large to have been part of the sketchbook. The story of Blake's vision of



8. Blake. *An Anglo-Norman King* (W. M. Rossetti's title). Pencil, 27.5 x 20.5 cm. on sheet 29 x 22 cm., c. 1819-20. Essick Collection. One of Blake's Visionary Heads on a separate sheet not part of either Blake-Varley sketchbook. As Butlin #724 points out, the brooch on the figure's right shoulder suggests a Celtic, rather than an Anglo-Norman, monarch.

King Edward and his Scottish adversary was first told by Allan Cunningham in *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (London: John Murray, 1830) 2: 168.

Hotspur (Butlin #745), 22.2 x 17.8 cm., title inscribed (by Linnell?). Probably a counterproof of the drawing with the same title inscription in the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook, leaf 60 verso.

Merlin. See illus. 9.

Nine Grotesque or Demonic Heads. See illus. 10.

SEPARATE PLATES AND PLATES IN SERIES, INCLUDING PLATES EXTRACTED FROM LETTERPRESS BOOKS

"Beggar's Opera, Act III," after Hogarth. SL, 26 Oct. 1989, #151, state not recorded, with 5 unrelated prints (not sold; estimate £450-650). See also Hogarth in next section.

Blair, *Grave*. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #14, unspecified number of loose impressions from the 1808 quarto ed. (£35 each); pl. 7, "The Descent of Man into the Vale of Death," 1813 printing on laid India, illus. (£25).

"Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." Swann, 4 Oct., #249, framed, state not given (\$6875 on an estimate of \$500-750). Probably the same impression offered by the New York bookdealer David Waxman at the Nov. Boston Book Fair (\$14,000). Although this is a record asking price for any state or printing, descriptions provided by the owner and by John Windle suggest it is nothing more than a Sessler restrike.

Dante engravings. Jeffrey Stern, Jan. cat. 8, #340, complete suite, India laid on unwatermarked backing sheets of wove, 0.34 mm. thick, fine condition, described as being from a printing intermediate between the 1838 and 1892 recorded printings, but probably 1892 (given the lack of burr in pl. 3), from the collection of Edwin Wolf 2nd

(£34,000). CL, 19 April, #22, pl. 4, "The Circle of Thieves," only, laid India (£1320). SNY, 16 May, #8, pl. 4, "The Circle of Thieves," only, laid India, light foxing, slight damage in margins (\$2420). CL, 28 June, #8, complete set

on laid India, some foxing within the images on two pls. and with minor tears in margins, 1 pl. illus. (£16,500—the first set to sell at auction for less than £20,000 in several years, perhaps because of its condition).



9. Blake. *Merlin*. Pencil, 23.2 x 18.1 cm., on leaf 79 verso extracted (by Varley or Linnell?) from the larger Blake-Varley sketchbook. Essick collection. Butlin #757 entitles this Visionary Head "A Welsh Bard [Rossetti's title], Job or Moses(?)," but the "Merlin" inscription on the counterproof still in the recently rediscovered larger sketchbook, leaf 80 recto, identifies the visage as the magician of Arthurian legend. The patriarchal visage and upturned eyes (compare Mortimer's etching of Shakespeare's "Poet" and Blake's separate plate of "Ezekiel") embody Blake's sense that Merlin was one of the bards of ancient Britain, a group linked, through Blake's syncretic historicism, to the Old Testament prophets. In *Jerusalem*, Merlin figures "among the Giants of Albion" (93:13), but becomes entangled with Gwendolen and is transformed into "a Worm of the Valley" (56:28). See also "Merlins prophecy" of four lines in Blake's *Notebook*.



10. Blake. *Nine Grotesque or Demonic Heads*. Pencil, sheet 18.6 x 18.4 cm. Essick collection. Although long associated with the Visionary Heads in John Linnell's collection, neither the conception of these heads, nor the drawing style, nor the paper—a thick wove with a slight pebble grain, a type generally used for water colors rather than pencil drawings—matches anything we find in the Visionary Heads. The only pictorial parallel is suggested by the head top center, which bears a slight resemblance in the tongue (or tongues?) and nose to *The Head of the Ghost of a Flea* (Butlin #692.98) from the smaller Blake-Varley sketchbook. Butlin #767 notes that "this sheet of drawings is not particularly characteristic of Blake and, if by him, may be considerably earlier than the Visionary Heads." The heads are even less characteristic of anything we find in the work of Linnell or Varley. The theory that these are earlier, even pre-1800, sketches, first hinted at by W. M. Rossetti, bears consideration. The rough lines used to delineate hair on the largest (and most Blake-like?) head, lower right, and the mouth of the central head (wearing a German World War II helmet?) find precedents in *The Dead Ardours* (Butlin #232, titled "The Dead Bad-Doers"), a pencil drawing of c. 1794-96. But there are also some interesting (even if slight) parallels with "the physiognomies or lineaments of universal human life" (Blake's *Descriptive Catalogue*) in the engraving of "Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims" (1810)—compare, for example, the heads top and center left with the Sompnour, the head lower left with the Miller, and the heads top and center right with the Reeve and Merchant. David Bindman has suggested in conversation that the drawings might be copies after gothic sculptures and contemporary with the composition of the tempera painting of Chaucer's pilgrims and Blake's essay on it in the *Descriptive Catalogue* of 1809. The aphorism below the heads ("All Genius varies Thus / Devils are various Angels are all alike") has been accepted as Blake's own by all major editors (Keynes, Erdman, Bentley—see also Bentley #54). The handwriting certainly looks like Blake's, but it is closer to his loose and open later hand than his smaller, tighter hand of the 1790s. Butlin compares the aphorism to those in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (c. 1790-93), but it is possible that Blake showed this drawing to Varley and/or Linnell because of their physiognomical projects and at that point added the inscription by way of cryptic explanation. A slight drawing of a head on the verso, of a very different character from those on the recto, is probably not by Blake.

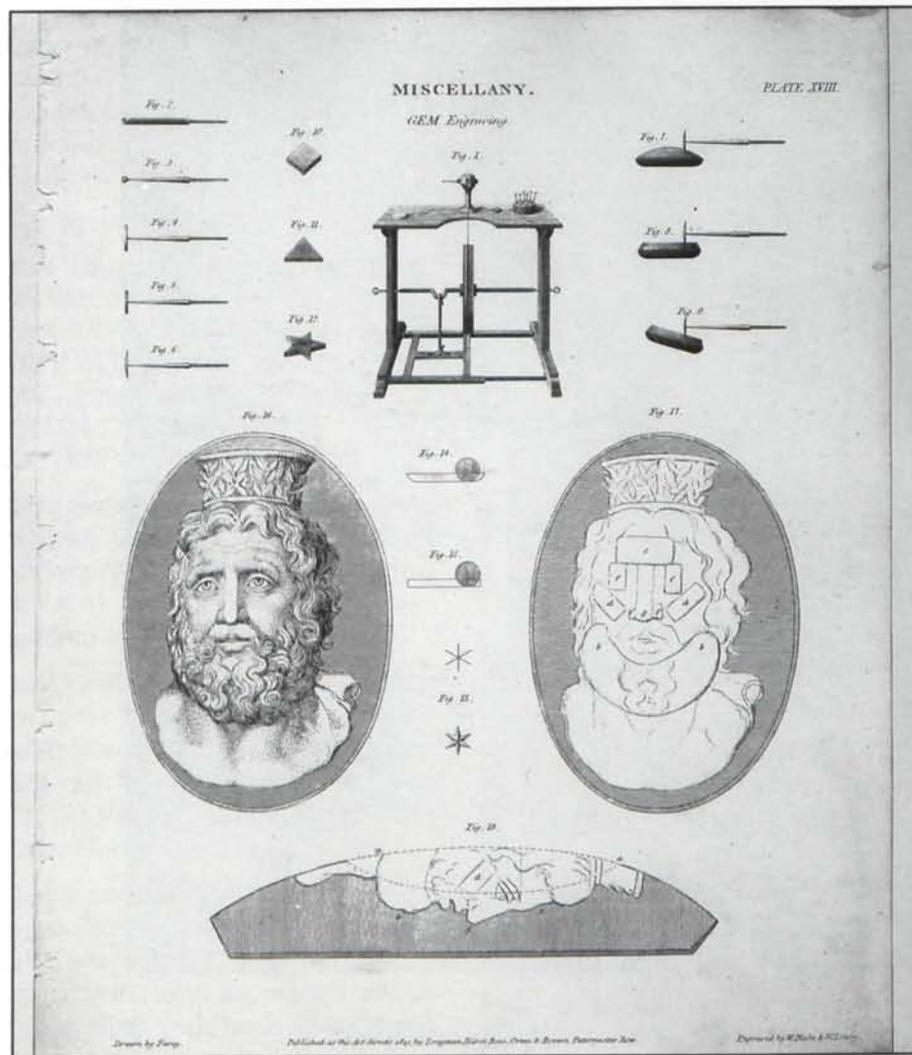
Hayley, *Essay on Sculpture*, 1800. Pl. 3, a medallion of Thomas Hayley, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #10, illus. (£120).

Hayley, *Life of Romney*, 1809. Blake's pl. from, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #9, illus. (£85).

Job engravings. SL, 29 Nov. 1989, #96, complete set, published "Proof" impressions on laid India, mounting sheets spotted, pl. 15 illus. (Finch, £17,600). SL, 30 Nov. 1989, #192, pl. 20 only, published "Proof" on laid India, margins foxed, illus. (£1320); #193, pl. 21 only, published "Proof" on laid India, margins foxed, illus. (£1320). Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #5, pl. 5 only, India laid on heavy wove, 1874 printing, small margins just outside plate-mark, illus. (£850). SNY, 30 April, #2630, "Proof" issue on laid India in "original terra-cotta boards," printed label inscribed "[John] L[innell] Subscriber's Copy [£]5.5.-," worn, rebaked, from the collections of Anne Gilchrist and H. Bradley Martin, pl. 15 illus. (\$55,000, an auction record, on an estimate of \$8000-12,000); same copy, The 19th Century Shop, New York Armory Antique Show, 23-27 May, cover label and pl. 3 illus. in *Maine Antique Digest* (Aug. 1990): 28-B (\$100,000—a record asking price); same copy, The 19th Century Shop, cat. 17, #14, pl. 17 illus. color, giving the ink a brownish hue (\$95,000). Ben Abraham, June cat. 11, #84, title page only, on J Whatman Turkey Mill 1825 paper (\$800). SL, 26 June, #171, pl. 2 only, wove paper impression with "Proof" inscription (not sold; estimate £1500-2000); #172, pl. 4 only, wove paper impression with "Proof" inscription (not sold; estimate £1500-2000). William Arader, July cat. 92, #141, pl. 9 only, published "Proof" on "soft white wove French paper," illus. (\$3000); #142, pl. 10 only, same state and paper, "a bit darkened" (\$2250). CL, 23 Oct., #16, pl. 6 only, published "Proof" on laid India, slight foxing in the full margins, illus. (£935).

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*. Pl. 2, "Democritus," only. Ben Abraham, June cat. 11, #85, soiled and worn at edges (\$200).

Rees, *Cyclopaedia*. Pl. 3 only ("Miscellany. Gem Engraving. Plate XVIII"). Campbell Fine Art, March private offer (£75). See illus. 11.



11. Miscellany . . . Gem Engraving" from Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia*, 1820. Intaglio etching/engraving by Blake and Wilson Lowry, 21 x 17.1 cm. Essick collection. As Tom Lange discovered over ten years ago, a proof of this plate at the Pierpont Morgan Library, showing only the three views of the gem, was printed from a different copperplate than the one represented by impressions commonly found in *The Cyclopaedia*. I subsequently located published-state pulls from the same copperplate used for the Morgan proof in two copies of the book. The example reproduced here is not bound, but stab holes along the left margin indicate that it once was. The two copperplates are very similar, but they can be distinguished on the basis of two small features. In the more common (and slightly less skillful) plate, the horizontal hatching lines in the background of the gem lower left extend into the thin border defining its outer rim, whereas in the plate reproduced here this border is free of all hatching (although it contains a few dots of stipple). The tube-like fold of cloth on the left shoulder of the bust lower right has its opening defined by two parallel circular lines in this plate. In the other, a single line delineates this circle. Blake probably executed the three views of the gem, and Lowry the machinery above, on both copperplates. Perhaps the plate shown here was damaged during printing and a replacement hastily prepared.

Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs*. Blake's 9 pls. from. Ben Abraham, June cat. 11, #86, pl. 9 illus. (\$600).

Stedman, *Narrative*. 2 pls. from, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #7, "Skinning of the Aboma Snake" (£120), #8, "A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs" (£150), edition not recorded, both illus.

Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 3, 1794. Blake's pls. 1-3, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #11-13, pl. 2 illus. (a bargain at £35 each).

LETTERPRESS BOOKS WITH ENGRAVINGS BY AND AFTER BLAKE

Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*. Argosy Book Store, Dec. 1989 cat. 774, #23, 1785 ed., 5 vols. (\$350). Deighton Bell, April cat. 253, 1783 ed., 5 vols., contemporary tree calf, two joints cracked (£175). John Price, July cat., #12, 1791 ed., 2 vols., worn (£100); same copy, Sept. cat., #11 (£90). The Bookpress, Nov. cat. 53, #10, 1783 ed., 5 vols., contemporary tree calf, hinges cracking (\$425).

Bible, Royal Universal Family, 1781. SL, 1 May, #768, worn, with 6 other vols. (Russell, £440).

Blair, *Grave*. SL, 30 Oct. 1989, #335, 1808 quarto, original boards with cover label, leaves browned and some with dampstaining (£370). Pickering & Chatto, "Winter [1989-90] Newsletter" no. 111, #6, 1808 quarto, black morocco rebounded (\$2500); same copy and price, Aug. cat. 121, #14. David Mayou Books, Feb. Los Angeles Book Fair, 1808 quarto, lacking advert. for Stothard's "Canterbury Pilgrims," ownership signature of the sculptor Francis Chantrey (1781-1841), previously offered by Rota, May 1989 cat. 250, #25, for £400 (\$1500). Campbell Fine Art, March private offer, apparently the 1808 quarto, binding defective, some dampstaining not affecting pls. (£375). SNY, 30 April, #2629, 1808 quarto, later half morocco, from the collection of H. Bradley Martin (\$1540). Hartung & Hartung, Munich,

16 May auction, 1808 "folio" (but actually the quarto?), engraved title page illus. (estimate DM2000). Charles Traylen, April cat. 106, #428, 1808 quarto, rebounded (£475). Ben Abraham, June cat. 11, #25, 1808 quarto, paper watermarked 1807 and 1808, some foxing, green morocco (\$1500). William Arader, July cat. 92, #143, 1808 "folio" (actually the quarto), full brown morocco, from the Doheny Library (\$4500, a record asking price. Previously sold CNY, 21 Feb. 1989, #1709, \$1320).

Boydell's *Graphic Illustrations of . . . Shakspeare*. BBA, 5 July, #232, c. 1803, "98 plates, . . . all but 11 . . . with an additional unfinished proof" (but not for Blake's single pl.), some pls. cut and mounted, some foxing and waterstaining, worn (Kitazawa, £770 on an estimate of £300-400). Swann, 8 Nov., #30, with printed front wrapper dated 1813 bound in, 100 pls. including Blake's, apparently remainder impressions from the printing of c. 1803, all pls. hand colored in a restrained, perhaps near-contemporary, style, modern half black morocco (\$2420); same copy, Golden Legend, Nov. cat., #12 (\$5000).

Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, 1782, in *Bell's Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*. G. & D. I. Marrin & Sons, June Book Fair, London, *Bell's Edition* complete in 109 vols., handsomely boxed (£6000). No information on whether this set contained Blake's pl.

Cumberland, *Outlines from the Antients*, 1829. Marlborough Rare Books, April cat. 137, #18, folio issue, pls. on India laid on wove with an 1825 watermark, portrait of Cumberland bound as frontispiece (not found in other issues), with Cumberland's admission ticket as a student in the Royal Academy, dated 30 Nov. 1772, pasted to verso of "Appendix" leaf, contemporary calf rebounded (£600).

Darwin, *Botanic Garden*. Blackwell's, March 1989 cat. A95, #120, 1st eds. of both Parts, fine copy (£5000—an extraordinary price). Shapero, Sept. 1989 private offer, 4th ed. (£145). Charles

Traylen, April cat. 106, #641, 1st ed. of Pt. 1, 3rd of Pt. 2, 2 vols. in 1 (£420); #642, 2nd ed. of Pt. 1, 3rd of Pt. 2, 2 vols. (£375). SNY, 14 June, 1st ed. of both parts, some spotting and minor tears (\$770); same copy, Ximenes, Oct. cat. 88, #82 (\$1500). Larkhill Books, Nov. cat. 5, #31, 2nd ed. of both parts, modern quarter calf (£260). CL, 28 Nov., #90, 3rd ed. of Pt. 1, 4th of Pt. 2, the latter lacking one (non-Blake) pl., fine contemporary binding for Trinity College Dublin (Gasgony, £220).

Earle, *Practical Observations on the Operation for the Stone*, 1793. SL, 6 Nov., #1076, one pl. shaved, bound with two other medical texts, modern calf (Quaritch for Essick, £396). The first copy I have seen on the market in over a dozen years.

Flaxman, *Hesiod* illustrations. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #76, 1817 ed. (\$216). Heritage Bookshop, Feb. private offer, a late (1870?) issue, spotted (\$300). For a related drawing, see illus. 16.

Flaxman, *Iliad* illustrations, 1805. Kuballe, Aug. 1989 cat. 173, #2274, restrikes, dated c. 1870 by the dealer, lacking 3 pls. (DM120). BBA, 5 July, #237, with Flaxman's *Odyssey* designs, 1805, light spotting, worn (Sillerman, £93).

Gay, *Fables*. Kenneth Karmiole, June 1989 cat., #20, 1st ed., 1793 (\$600). Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #174, lacking 3 pls., including 1 by Blake (\$176). In Our Time, Feb. cat. 244, #41, 1st ed., 1793, "large paper copy" (\$750); April cat. 247, #16, June cat. 248, #26, Sept. cat. 251, #14, and Jan. 1991 cat. 255, #51, same copy and price. Charles Traylen, April cat. 106, #142, "large paper copy," but ed. not given, rebounded (£190). Phillip Pirages, May cat. 17, #205, 1st ed., 1793, modern half morocco, some foxing, pl. 1 illus. (\$650). Hartfield Books, Oct. cat. 39, #L-42, ed. not indicated, three-quarter morocco and marbled boards, slight wear (\$1295). Ursus Books, Oct. cat. 143, #111, 1st ed., 1793, fancy binding, pl. 1

illus. (\$2000—a record asking price). Thomas Goldwasser Books, Los Angeles Book Fair, Oct., private offer, 2nd ed. (1811), uncut in original boards, original spine labels on both vols. giving the price as “£2.12s.6d.” (\$1000). (To compensate for the larger leaf size in “large paper” copies of a book, the distance between the gutter and text margins is greater than in small paper copies. This distance can be used to discriminate between large and small paper copies even when both have been trimmed to the same leaf size. In the 1803 edition of Hayley’s *Triumphs of Temper*, for example, the distance between the gutter and the left margin of text on rectos is 3.4 cm. in large paper copies, but only 1.5 cm. in small paper copies. I have yet to find any differences in this measurement among copies of Gay’s *Fables*, 1793, and thus have no evidence that the book was printed on sheets of different sizes.)

Hartley, *Observations on Man*, 1791. Waterfield’s, March cat. 107, #126, contemporary calf, worn (£215).

Hayley, *Ballads*, 1805. SL, 30 Oct. 1989, #334, some dampstaining, rubbed, spine repaired, pl. 1 (1st st.) illus. (£550). E. M. Lawson, March cat. 244, #28, with a presentation inscription from Geoffrey Keynes to his wife’s cousin and the granddaughter of Charles Darwin, Nora Darwin (Lady Barlow), modern calf (£550); same copy and price, Sept. cat. 246. Larkhill Books, Nov. cat. 5, #34, modern leather, original endpaper inscribed “Ruthven Todd from Geoffrey Keynes 13 April 1942,” pl. 1 (2nd st.) illus. (£750).

Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, 1803-04. Jarndyce, April cat. 69, #532, 1st ed., a little spotting in text, contemporary half calf (£480). Heritage Book Shop, June cat. 177, #136, 1st ed., contemporary calf rubbed, some foxing (\$450). Howes, July cat. 247, #172, 1st ed., with the supplementary vol. of 1806, 4 vols. in 3, new binding (£250). Grant & Shaw, Sept. cat. 3, #49, 1st ed., 4 vols. (including the supplementary vol. of 1806),

contemporary half russia (£225). Larkhill Books, Nov. cat. 5, #32, apparently 1st ed., full calf (£300). Robert Clark, Dec. cat. 22, #245, 1st ed., some spotting, worn (£200).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*. Shapero, 1989 cat. 3, #77, 1803 ed., large paper (£600). Blackwell’s, Oct. 1989 proof list “Troll,” #21, 1803 ed. (£300). Phillip Pirages, May cat. 17, #362, 1803 ed., contemporary calf rebacked, pl. 4 illus. (\$750). Howes, July cat. 247, #439, 1807 ed. (much rarer than the 1803), original boards, uncut, spine cracked, inscribed in an unidentified hand, “given me by Mr. Hayley 1813” (£275). Larkhill Books, Nov. cat. 5, #37, 1803 ed., apparently small paper, full calf (£220).

Hogarth, *Works*. Walford, March 1989 cat. A/331, #161, “plates dated 1795-1803” (£1200); Nov. 1989 cat. A/334, #140, dated to c. “182-” by the dealer (£1500). Swann, 22 Feb., #107, “Baldwin and Craddock [sic], circa 1835,” worn, light foxing (\$1430); 22 March, #81, “Baldwin and Craddock [sic], circa 1835,” pls. “very good” (\$1980). Walford, April “Trade List,” #67, dated to “c. 182-” by the dealer, but I suspect considerably later (£2500); #68, 1822 ed. (but possibly the c. 1880 Quaritch ed. dated 1822 on the title page), “good dark impressions” (£2200); May cat. H/161, #82, and Oct. cat. H/162, #57, repeats of #67 above (same price). Frew Mackenzie, April cat. 19, #18, “Baldwin and Craddock . . . c. 1838-40” (£2100). BBA, 6 April, #64, “Original and Genuine Works” of “c. 1795,” lacking “The Rake’s Progress and others” (but with Blake’s pl.?), dampstained, disbound (Print Room, £1265 on an estimate of £250-350). Peter Naser (Germany), May cat. 167, #1332, undated issue, 60 pls. only, thus perhaps lacking Blake’s pl. (DM1200). Beeleigh Abbey Books, Sept. cat. BA/45, #101, 1st Baldwin and Craddock issue, c. 1835-37, with G. Woodfall named as the printer on p. 42 of the letterpress text (and hence with the 5th st. of Blake’s pl., if present), half morocco worn (“Sold”). Swann, 4 Oct., #315,

“Baldwin and Craddock, circa 1835,” marginal dampstaining, binding very worn (\$1320). BBA, 22 Nov., #85, “Baldwin and Craddock . . . c. 1828,” covers detached (B. Bailey, £660).

Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 1793. James Cummins, June cat. 26, #195, quarto issue, contemporary calf rebacked (\$4000). James Fenning, July cat. 104, #209, octavo issue, recent quarter calf (£850). E. M. Lawson, Sept. cat. 246, #24, quarto issue, contemporary calf rebacked, imprint on title shaved (£2200). CL, 24 Oct., #58, quarto issue, some spotting and some pls. torn, later half morocco rubbed (not sold).

Lavater, *Aphorisms on Man*. David Bickersteth, Dec. 1989 cat. 107, 1788 ed., tree calf (£380); same copy and price, Oct. cat. 112, #14. C. R. Johnson, Feb. cat. 29, #95, 1794 ed., 3rd st. of the frontispiece, illus. (£220). Jarndyce, April cat. 69, #356, 1794 ed., upper corner of margin of pl. torn, contemporary calf, worn (£85). W. & V. Dailey, July private offer, 1789 ed., 1st st. of frontispiece (\$850). In the copy sold by Dailey, “subtleness” in aphorism 303 (p. 106) has been altered to “sullenness,” apparently in an early hand. Blake made the same annotation in his copy of the book.

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*. George Minkoff, Jan. cat. 90-A, #18, 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, some foxing and dampstaining, with an additional pl. after Stubbs inserted (\$1850); same copy and price, June cat. 90-C, #28. Heritage Book Shop, June cat. 177, #168, 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, rebound, some foxing (\$1850). Simon Finch, Nov. cat. 5, #58, 1792 issue, 3 vols. in 5, fancy contemporary binding (£1200).

Malkin, *Father’s Memoirs of His Child*, 1806. Howes Bookshop, Feb. Los Angeles Book Fair (\$650); July cat. 247, #438, apparently same copy (£375). Quaritch, Oct. cat. 1132, #8, presentation inscription from the author to Dr. Pett, autograph note by W. M. Rossetti

on front endpaper, blue morocco rebacked (\$1250—a record asking price?).

Novelist's Magazine. Sanders, Oct. 1989 private offer, vols. 8-9, all title pages dated 1782, pls. in 1st sts. (£270). Blackwell's, July cat. "Angel," #42, vols. 10-11, lacking engraved title pages, worn (£100).

Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison*, 1818. Stuart Bennett, Jan. cat. 16, #129, 2 vols. in 1, contemporary half calf repaired (\$150). This work contains revised states of Blake's 3 *Grandison* pls. after Stothard first published in *The Novelist's Magazine*, 1783—see Christopher Heppner, "Notes on Some Items in the Blake Collection at McGill with a Few Speculations around William Roscoe," *Blake Newsletter* 10 (1977): 100-08, and G. E. Bentley, Jr., "A Supplement to *Blake Books*," *Blake* 11 (1977-8): 149-50. Both Heppner and Bentley state that one of the plates is not by Blake, but close comparisons of hatching patterns and accidental features in the border designs indicate that all 3 of Blake's pls. were extensively reworked (very probably by some journeyman rather than Blake himself).

Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs*, 1783. SL, 31 Oct. 1989, #763, 3 vols., with an unrelated work (£240). Phillip Pirages, Oct. cat. 18, #300, contemporary tree calf rebacked, internally clean, 2 pls. illus. (\$900).

Salzmann, *Elements of Morality*, 1791. Justin Schiller, April private offer, 3 vols., contemporary calf rebacked, pls. all in the 1st st. (\$6000).

Scott, *Poetical Works*, 1782. Sevin Seydi, Oct. cat. "Zebra," #54, contemporary calf rebacked (£275).

Shakespeare, *Dramatic Works*, Boydell's ed., 1802. Argosy Book Store, Dec. 1989 cat. 774, #515, 9 vols., contemporary calf, some covers loose (\$1500). Demetzy Books, June Book Fair, London, (£1400). BBA, 5 July, #141, 9 vols., contemporary calf worn, some covers detached (not sold).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805. SL, 20 Feb., #861, 9 vol. issue, fancy binding, rubbed (Seibu, £660).

Stedman, *Narrative*. SL, 7 Dec. 1989, #284, 1796 ed., 2 vols., spotted, rubbed (Segal, £660). Sebastian Hesselink, April New York Book Fair, 1796 ed., 2 vols., pls. with "contemporary" hand coloring (\$12,500). Sotheran's, June cat. 25, #181, 1806 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf and marbled boards, pl. 12 illus. (£950). CL, 24 Oct., #124, 1796 ed., all pls. "finely coloured by hand, some heightened with gold," contemporary diced russia rebacked, "Europe supported by Africa & America" illus. color (Okudaira, £2200—rather cheap for a colored copy). Hamill & Barker, Nov. cat. 18, #131, 1796 ed., 2 vols., some foxing and offsetting, contemporary calf rebacked (\$2000).

Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*. SL, 27 Sept., #412, 4 vols., 1762-1826, some foxing and waterstaining, half calf worn (Bouas, £5280). CL, 3 Oct., #437, 5 vols. bound in 6, 1762-1830, half vellum, some spotting (Frew Mackenzie, £3850); #438, 4 vols., 1762-1816, fancy binding (Frew Mackenzie, £2750).

Varley, *Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, 1828. SL, 20 Feb., #986, lacking pl. of the Ghost of a Flea, rubbed, torn (Kunkler, £121).

Virgil, *Pastorals*. SL, 7 June, #226, the 1977 restrikes from the original blocks, published by British Museum Publications (Davidson, £440).

Wit's Magazine, 1784. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #6, 2 vols. in 1, Jan. 1784—May 1785, "May-Day in London" illus. (£250—a bargain).

Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life*. SL, 29 Nov. 1989, #178, 1791 ed., pls. "all in the first state" (but actually 1st st. of pls. 1-2, 2nd of pls. 3-6), contemporary sheep, top edges of some leaves dampstained, pl. 2 illus. (Ricagni, £1100); #179, 1791 ed., pls. 1 and 2 "second state, . . . others . . . all in the

first state" (but actually 2nd st. of all pls.), contemporary sheep, outer margins of some leaves dampstained (Pirages, £880); same copy as #179, Phillip Pirages, May cat. 17, #320, pl. 4 illus. (\$2200). Jarndyce, Feb. cat. 68, #626, contemporary tree calf (£1500). SL, 2 May, #819, 1796 ed., soiled, worn (Simon Finch, £880). See illus. 12-15.

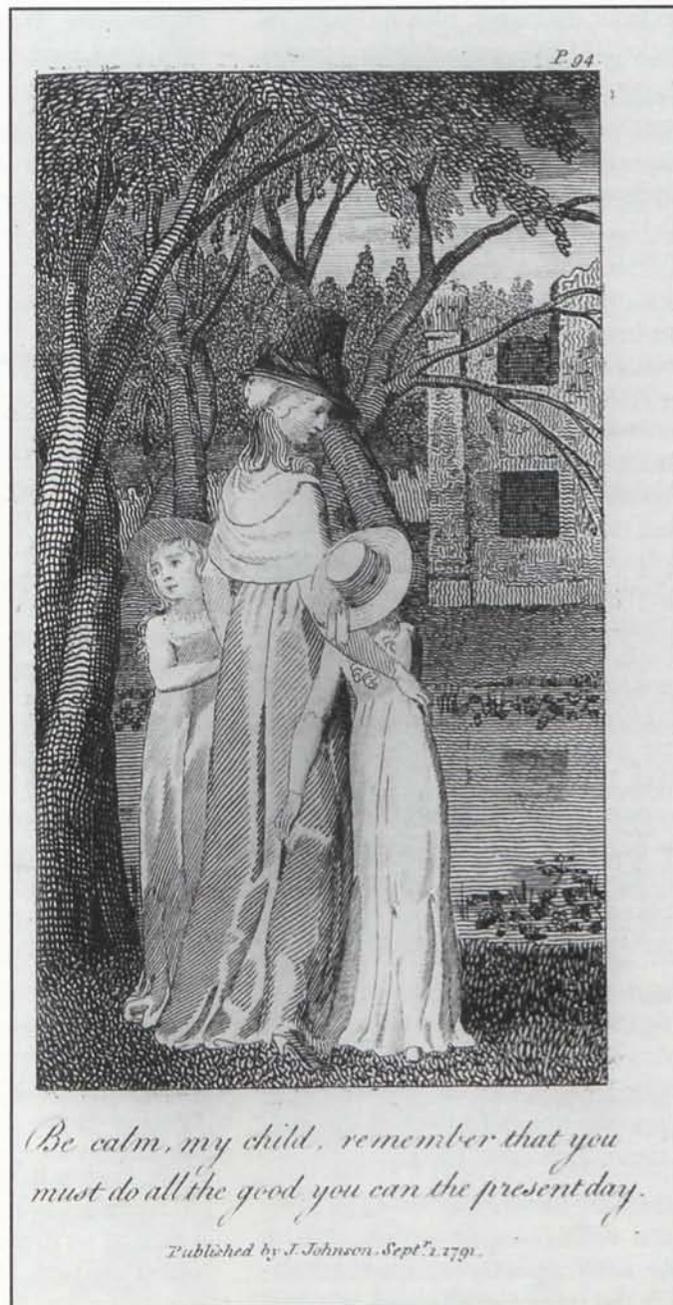
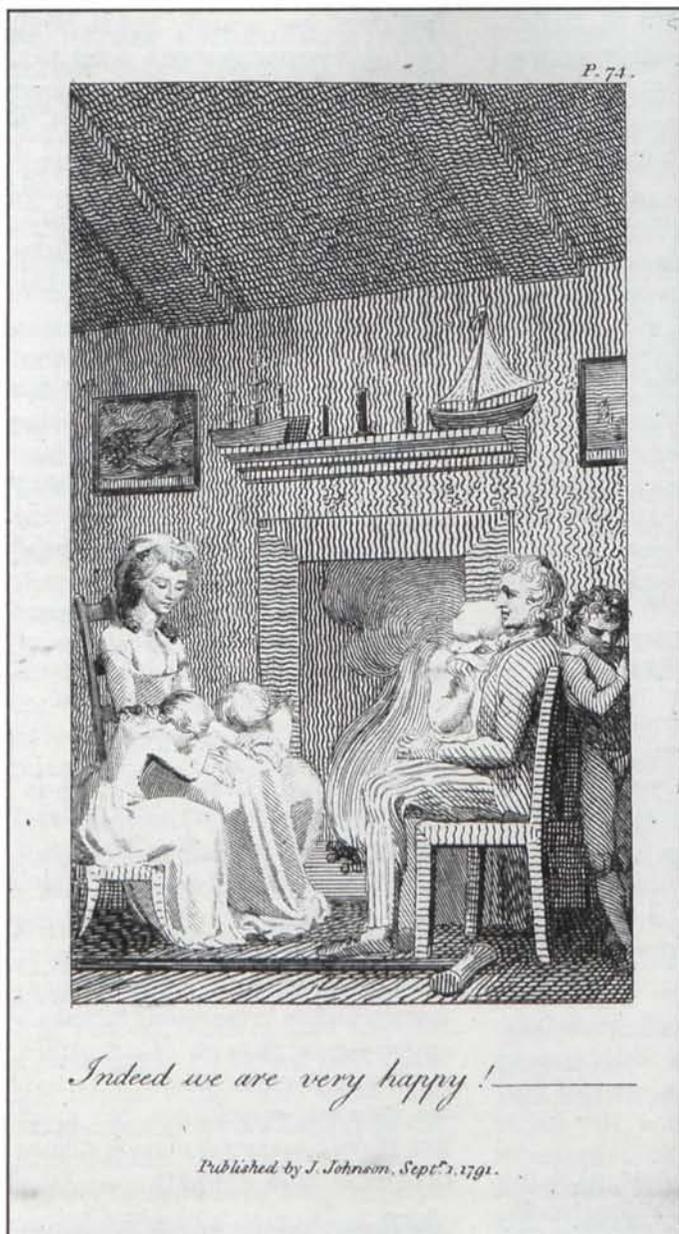
Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797, uncolored. Bromer Booksellers, Jan. cat. 55, #8, with the Explanation leaf, fly-title to *Night the Second* in the 2nd st., uncut, top edge gilt, a "good, clean copy," p. 80 illus. (\$8500—a record asking price). CL, 28 Nov., #85, "20 border illustrations shaved," no mention in the cat. of the Explanation leaf, modern half calf, title page to *Night the Third* illus. (not sold on an estimate of £2500-3000).

INTERESTING BLAKEANA

Robinson Crusoe. Gray wash over pencil, 20.5 x 11.5 cm. SL, 15 Nov., #74, "attributed to William Blake," illus. (£880). In my opinion, this is not a work by Blake. The drawing of the figure, and in particular his face, is uncharacteristic. I suspect that the general similarities in the setting to Blake's engraving of "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion," reversed, are merely a coincidence. Not at all like Blake's known *Robinson Crusoe* drawings (Butlin #140-41).

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve. Pen with gray ink and gray washes over pencil, 25.2 x 19.2 cm., inscribed lower left "W. Blake 1803." SL, 15 Nov., #28, attributed only to "English School, circa 1800," illus. (not sold on an estimate of £2000-3000). Not by Blake, but possibly by William Young Ottley or a follower of Ottley's.

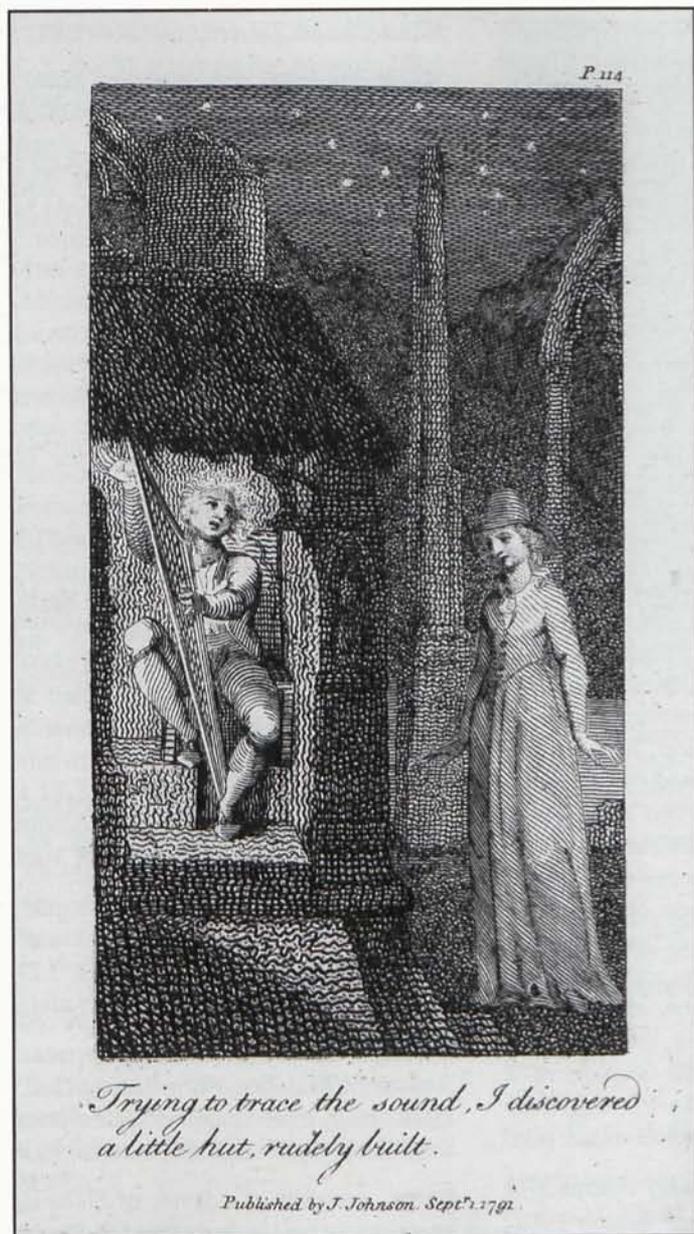
Water color drawing in blues and browns, approx. 17 x 22 cm., perhaps representing an Alpine storm at dusk, very loose and messy in execution (a parody of a late Turner?), signed in black ink lower left, "W Blake," perhaps



12. Pl. 3, first state, designed and executed by Blake, in Mary Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life* (1791). Etching/engraving, 11.3 x 6.8 cm. Essick collection. In the second state (1791), crossing strokes have been added to the floor (lower left and center), the wall (left, center, and within the fireplace), the molding surrounding the fireplace, and the legs of the boy far right. In the third state (1796), Blake's signature has been added lower right and more hatching has been added to the floor, both chairs, the man's coat and pants, and the right upper arm of the weeping figure behind the man. Except for this last figure, the hair on all other heads has been augmented with more lines. In my 1986 sales review (*Blake* 21 [1987]: 7), I noted in passing the discovery of previously unrecorded first states of pls. 3-6 for the *Original Stories*. Dealers and auction houses, when they bother to record the states in copies of the book, cite Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick,

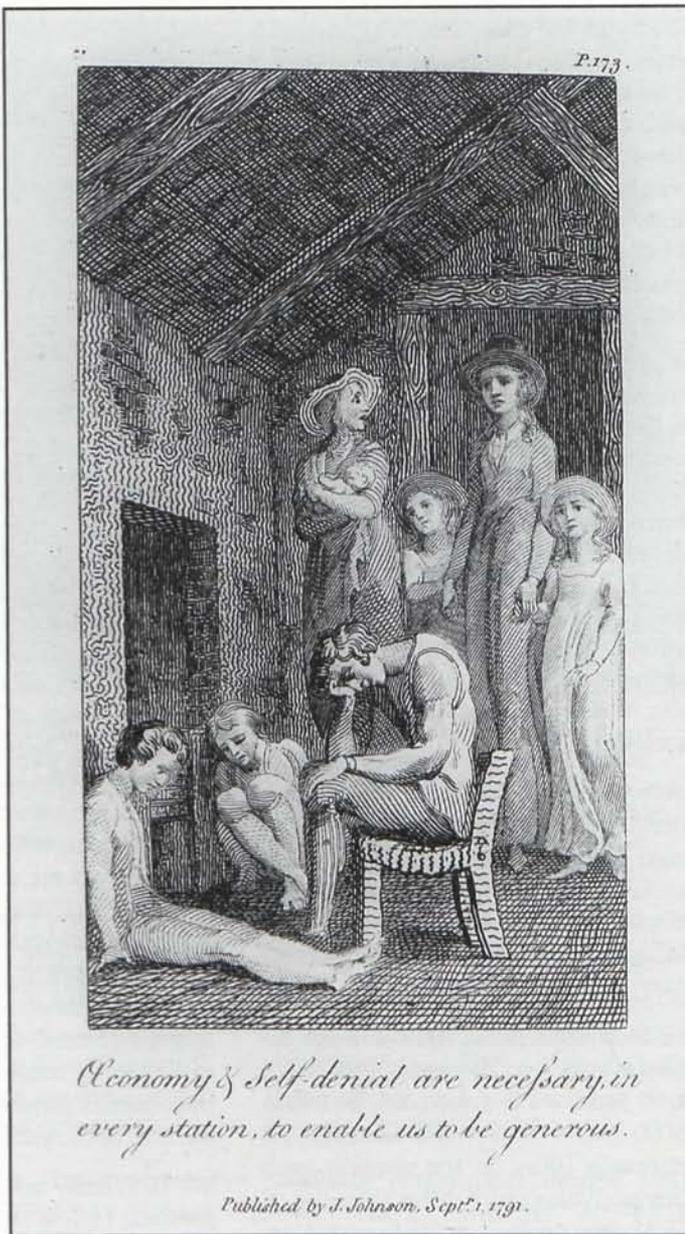
William Blake: Book Illustrator, vol. 1 (Normal: American Blake Foundation, 1972) 11-12, where the second states of pls. 3-6 are listed as though they were the first, and hence the third as though they were the second. To clear up the confusion, I reproduce here (illus. 12-15) all four plates in question in what I now believe to be their true first states. None is a pre-publication proof, for all have imprints and the examples shown here are all bound in copies of the book. The new signatures on all four plates in the third state are scratched into the copper, not cut with the graver, and were probably added by Blake himself. Pls. 1-2 are properly described in Easson and Essick.

13. Pl. 4, first state, Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (see illus. 12). 11.8 x 6.6 cm. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress. In the second state (1791), crossing strokes have been added to the areas



on the intertwined trees (left margin) shaded only with hatching in the first state. In the third state (1796), more hatching has been added to these two trees and the woman's skirt. Blake's signature has been added lower right and the face and hair of the girl on the left have been darkened.

14. Pl. 5, first state, Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (see illus. 12). 12 x 6.4 cm. Essick collection. In the second state (1791), crossing strokes have been added to the harper's left thigh, his coat below his left arm, the shaded area left and right of his left ankle, and the back and right leg of the chair. In the third state (1796), Blake's signature has been added lower right. The hatching strokes on the woman's dress and hat and the man's clothing have been recut in slightly different patterns. The harper's left knee is now shaded with curved strokes. More dots have been added to the background, particularly the ruined arch upper right and the area surrounding the woman's left hand. Stipple has been added to this hand and the



woman's face. The darkening of her eyes makes them look half-closed.

15. Pl. 6, first state, Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (see illus. 12). 11.6 x 6.5 cm. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress. In the second state (1791), the floor lower left has been darkened with thick hatching lines. Crossing strokes have been added to the upper half of the wall within the fireplace, the seated man's left lapel, the area seen through the door, the lintel above it, and the ceiling beams upper right. Blake's signature has been added lower right in the third state (1796), which also shows new hatching and crosshatching patterns on the clothing of all but the two girls. All ceiling beams are now crosshatched and the entire floor has been darkened. More lines have been added to the man's hair and the facial features of the two boys have been darkened. Dots have been added to the chair.

followed by the date "1823." Colin Franklin, Feb. Los Angeles Book Fair, from the collection of Leonard Baskin who (according to Franklin) believes the drawing is by Blake (\$6500). It would be difficult to conceive of a drawing that looks less like Blake's work. The signature is similar to those on several non-Blakes in the Huntington Art Gallery.

A Specimen of Printing Types, by Joseph Fry and Sons, Letter-Founders to the Prince of Wales, London, 1786. Marlborough Rare Books, Oct. cat. 139, #230, "dedication carrying the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales engraved by William Blake" (£2800). A copy of the pl. kindly supplied by Marlborough shows that the engraved signature is "Blake Sc Change Alley." The address indicates that the engraver was William Staden Blake, not the poet and artist.

John Marsh (1752-1828), composer, friend of William Hayley, father of Edward Garrard Marsh. His manuscript autobiography in 37 vols., with several references to Blake. CL, 28 Nov., #285 (Maggs, acting for the Huntington Library, £28,600).

Friedrich Justin Bertuch, *Bilderbuch für Kinder*, vols. 1-12, Weimar, 1798-1830. SL, 7 June, #273 (not sold; estimate £5000-7500). This work contains an engraving (illus. in the auction cat.) copying Blake's pl. 5, "The Skinning of the Aboma Snake," in Stedman's *Narrative*. In the copy of the book at UCLA, the handsomely hand-colored impression is bound in vol. 6 (1807), where it illustrates Miscellaneous Subject LXXIV, No. 12, "The Manner, in which the Negros in America Strip the Buffalo Snake (Boa Constrictor)." The brief essay makes passing reference to "the Englishman Stedman."

An unused copy of the printed label originally issued with Blake's Job engravings, 1826. Questor Rare Books, Feb. cat. 6, #31 (£65).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, London, W. Pickering, 1839. Argosy Book Store, Dec. 1989 cat. 774, #73, "first issue" (i.e., issue with "The Little Vagabond?"), presentation inscription (an absolute steal at \$150). Same copy?, with "The Little Vagabond," presentation inscription from the editor, J. J. Garth Wilkinson, to T. Hyde, Ximenes, March cat. 86, #14, original cloth (still not bad at \$800). Same copy, Black Sun Books, Addendum to April cat. 86, #5 (getting pricey at \$1250). Perhaps the copy now in the stock of Pickering & Chatto, London. Will this copy of the first typographic edition of Blake's *Songs* ever find a permanent home?

Songs of Innocence and Experience with Other Poems, London, B. M. Pickering, 1866. Extra-illustrated with "17 expert water-colour copies" of Blake's pls. for *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Claude Cox, July cat. 79, #185, original cloth and paper label, rubbed (£85). Sold to the York dealer Jeffrey Stern, who tells me that these water colors are probably by a skilled amateur, that the copy of "London" shows a watermark of "Joy & Sons / Superfine / [18]79" (date uncertain), and that the outlines are rather crude but brightly colored. Copies, kindly sent to me by Stern, confirm his assessment of the outlines. Most of the drawings bear the title of the poem but no other text.

W. B. Yeats, autograph manuscript journal, 11 July 1898-31 March 1902, including a brief entry describing a dream about a book that "contained lost poems by Blake" (from the journal, as quoted in the auction catalogue). SL, 19 July, #214 (Lyon, £59,400). Previously offered CNY, 10 Nov. 1989, #201 (not sold).

George Moore. Carbon typescript, 11 1/2 pages, of "The Nineness in the Oneness," an essay on art and music dealing with Blake and several other artists. Signed by Moore and with several handwritten corrections in ink. David Holmes, July cat. 29, #144 (\$500).

BLAKE'S CIRCLE AND FOLLOWERS

Works are listed under artists' names in the following order: untitled 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

Holy Family and Shepherds. Pencil, pen and brown ink, gray and brown washes, 20 5/8 x 15 7/8 in. CL, 10 July, #16, illus. (£1760 on an estimate of £300-400).

Venus Anadyomene. Oil, 60.5 x 37.5 cm., inscribed along lower edge, "J. BARRY 1773 MODEL FOR THE LARGE PICTURE VENUS ANADYOMENE." SL, 11 July, #108, illus. color (£11,000). The large painting, first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1772, is now in the National Gallery, Dublin.

Four engravings, 1808 printing, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, all illus.: #1, "Elysium and Tartarus" (£250); #2, "Crowning the Victors at Olympia" (£200); #3, "A Grecian Harvest-Home" (£120); #4, "The Thames" (£120).

"*King Lear*, Act V, Scene III," engraved by Legat for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, 1792. The Print Room, Dec. 1989 cat. 4, #168 (£150). Philadelphia Print Shop, April cat. 2-90, #418 (\$175).

Barry, *Account of a Series of Pictures in . . . the Society of Arts*, 1783. Ann Creed Books, March 1989 cat. 1, #402, bound with More, *Description of the Series of Pictures Painted by James Barry*, 1792, and another work (£225).

BASIRE, JAMES

"The Distribution of His Majesty's Maundy," engraved by Basire after S. H. Grimm, 1777. The Print Room, Oct. cat. 6, #11, illus. (£250).

CALVERT, EDWARD

Two wood engravings from the *Memoir*, 1893, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #21-2, "The Brook" and "The Return Home," both illus. (£775 each).

"The Bride," engraving. Garton & Co., Oct. cat. 51, #1, from the *Memoir*, 1893, illus. (£1100).

FLAXMAN, JOHN

See also Flaxman under Letterpress Books, above.

And when Recalled to Rejoin the Blest Above. Pencil and pen, touches of brown wash, 9 x 7 1/4 in. CL, 13 Nov., #19, with two drawings by "T. Stothard" of "a lady from behind" (£385).

Design for the Monument to the Memory of Captain James Montagu. Pencil, pen, gray wash, 9 3/4 x 7 1/8 in., signed and dated 5 Oct. 1798. CL, 13 Nov., #17, illus. (£275).

A Dying Hero. Pen and gray ink, 13 x 18 cm. SL, 26 April, #288 (not sold; estimate £400-600).

Father Embracing his Sons. Pencil, pen and ink and touches of water color, 19 x 14.7 cm. Agnew's, 117th annual exhibition cat. of water colors and drawings, March-April, #30, illus. (£1400).

John Flaxman, a portrait of, by Henry Howard. Oil, 60 x 49.5 cm. SL, 14 Nov., #52, illus. color (not sold on an estimate of £6000-8000).

Lake of Nemi, attributed to Flaxman (the figures) and Georgiana Hare Naylor (the landscape). Water color, 20 1/2 x 29 1/4 in., 1793. CL, 10 July, #81, illus. (£990).

Mercury Uniting the Hands of Britain and France. Pencil, pen, and gray wash, 10 1/8 x 12 3/4 in. CL, 13 Nov., #91, illus. (£3300 on an estimate of £500-800).

Prometheus Attacked by Jupiter, a preliminary drawing from one of the Aeschylus engravings, and a sketch for *Thetis Bringing the Armour to Achilles*, one of the *Iliad* engravings. Pencil, pen and gray ink, 9 1/4 x 9 3/8 in. (no details given for the second drawing). CL, 13 Nov., #18, illus. (£1870 on an estimate of £300-500).



16. John Flaxman. *Rhea Consulting Her Parents Uranus and Terra.* Pencil and gray wash, 12.8 x 16.3 cm. Essick collection. This illustration to Hesiod is one of four extant drawings probably not prepared for the series engraved by Blake in stippled line and published in 1817 but executed in contemplation of reproduction in a tonal graphic medium. For another example and further explanation, see *Blake* 24 (1990): 236.

Rhea Consulting Her Parents Uranus and Terra. Acquired May by R. Essick from Christopher Powney. See illus. 16.

Mrs. Siddons as Queen Constance. Pencil and gray ink, 8 3/4 x 7 1/4 in. CL, 20 March, #44, with a drawing of Siddons by G. H. Harlow (£792).

Aeschylus illustrations. The Bookpress, Nov. cat. 53, #110, 1795 ed., original wrappers slightly soiled (\$300). Robert Clark, Dec. cat. 22, #245, 1831 ed., original boards, worn (£65).

Dante illustrations, Paris: Audot & Susse, c. 1833-35. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #145 (\$126). Zisska, 17-19 Oct. 1989 auction, #1626 (estimate DM180).

Iliad and Odyssey illustrations. Weissert, Jan. 1989 cat. 41, #91, Berlin: Enslin, c. 1855 (DM360). Krown & Spellman, Feb. Los Angeles Book Fair, 1805 London ed. of both, probably late impressions (\$350). Walford, May cat.

H/161, #260, *Iliad and Odyssey of Homer*, trans. W. Sotheby, 1834 (£75).

L'Oeuvre de Flaxman, engraved by Réveil, 1847. Ars Libri, March cat. 78, #924, combined ed. of 5 works, plus *Sujets divers* and a letterpress commentary (\$200).

Flaxman, *Anatomical Studies*, 1833. Robert Clark, June cat. 20, #258, original cloth rebacked (£175).

Flaxman, *Lectures*. Quaritch, Dec. 1989 cat. 1115, #44, 1838 ed., original cloth (\$200). Robert Clark, March cat. 19, #209, 1838 ed., original cloth, frontispiece loose, some foxing (£60). Chaucer Head, April cat. 11, #539, 1829 ed. (£120). Dawson Book Service, Oct. cat. 31, #27, 1838 ed., contemporary calf (£140).

Milton, *Latin and Italian Poems*, trans. Cowper, 1808. Robert Clark, Nov. 1989 cat. 18, #194, lacking 1 pl., spotted (£32). BBA, 5 July, #132, worn (Kohler, £104). Grant & Shaw, Sept. cat. 3, #129,

uncut in original drab boards, rebacked and recorned, the text and pls. exceptionally clean and bright (£150).

FUSELI, HENRY

Lysander with Helena and Hermia from "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Oil, 90.5 x 69.5 cm., c. 1780-85. SL, 14 March, #106, illus. color (£41,800 on an estimate of £20,000-30,000).

Spirit of Knowledge, possibly a design for a frontispiece to William Roscoe's *The Nurse*. Pencil and gray wash, 7 1/8 x 8 3/4 in. CL, 13 Nov., #93, illus. (£4400).

Autograph card signed, 1 June 1799, authorizing admission to the exhibition at the Milton Gallery. BBA, 27 July, #249 (Silverman, £99).

"I have done the deed" from *Macbeth*, engraved by Heath, 1804. Ian Hodgkins, Nov. cat. 53, #108 (£95).

"*King Henry the Fifth*, Act II, Scene II," engraved by Thew for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, 1798. The Print Room, Dec. 1989 cat. 4, #157, illus. (£150).

"*Macbeth*, Act I, Scene III." Philadelphia Print Shop, April cat. 2-90, #429, engraved by Caldwell for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (\$450). Ian Hodgkins, Nov. cat. 53, #106, engraved by Bromley, 1817 (£95); #107, engraved by Heath, 1804 (£75).

"*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act 3, Scene 1," engraved by Rhodes, 1794. Ian Hodgkins, Nov. cat. 53, #106 (£125).

"Prince Arthur's Dream," engraved by Peltro William Tomkins, 1787. The Print Room, Oct. cat. 6, #181, proof before title printed in brown, illus. (£350).

"*Tempest*, Act I, Scene II," engraved by Simon for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery. Philadelphia Print Shop, April cat. 2-90, #436 (\$425).

Bell's British Theatre, 1791-92. Charles Traylen, April cat. 106, #351, 22 vols., fine bindings (£600).

Bible, published by Macklin, 6 vols., 1800. Jeffrey Stern, Jan. cat. 8, #218, contemporary diced russia gilt, rubbed (£600). Blackwell's, March cat. A97, #510, "a magnificent copy," fancy binding (£1400).

Bonnycastle, *Introduction to Astronomy*, 1796. David Bickersteth, Oct. cat. 112, #170 (£120).

Boydell, *Collection of Prints . . . Illustrating the Dramatic Works of Shakspeare*. Shapero, 1989 cat. 3, #308, 1803 ed., 98 pls. (£2800). Swann, 9 Nov. 1989, #158, 1803 ed., 65 pls. only, no information given on the presence of pls. after Fuseli (\$1045); #159, 1803 ed., 92 pls., foxed, dampstained, no information given on which pls. after Fuseli are present (\$1650). SL, 20 Feb., #1013, 1803 ed., 98 pls., some cut down and mounted, slight spotting, bound in 2 vols. (Essevi, £2750 on an estimate of £400-500). SL, 1 May, #764, New York 1852 ed., some spotting and tears (Russell, £1430 on an estimate of £400-500).

Boydell Gallery, 1874. Ann Creed Books, March 1989 cat. 1, #410 (£45).

Cowper, *Poems*. Blackwell's, Jan. 1989 proof list "Snake," 1811 ed., large paper, lacking 1 pl., fancy binding, with the supplementary vol. of 1815 (£500); March 1989 cat. A95, #103, same copy (£450). Howes, July cat. 247, #170, 1808 ed., "royal paper issue" (£120). David Morrison Books, Oct., Los Angeles Book Fair, 1808 ed., the pls. with very fine, perhaps contemporary, hand coloring (the buy of the year at \$75).

Darwin, *Temple of Nature*, 1803. John Price, July cat., #52, rebacked, worn, one page repaired with cello tape (£300).

Gray, *Poems*. Simon Finch, Feb. cat. 3, #63, 1801 ed., uncut in original boards, soiled (£45). Ian Hodgkins, Feb. cat. 49, #143, 1800 ed., large paper, some pls. foxed, full crimson morocco (£125). SL, 11 Dec., #164, 1800 ed., printed on vellum, fancy binding (Huntington Library, \$2200).

Homer, *Iliad* (1805) and *Odyssey* (1806) —see Pope, *Poetical Works*, below.

Lavater, *Essai sur la Physiognomie*, 1781-86. BBA, 4 Oct., #32, 3 of 4 vols. only, with an unrelated work (not sold).

Pope, *Poetical Works*, 1804. Messrs. Berkelouw, Feb. Los Angeles Book Fair, small paper, 6 vols. in 3, uniformly bound in full modern calf with Homer, *Iliad* (1805), 6 vols. in 3, and Homer, *Odyssey* (1806), 6 vols. in 3, all pls. in 2nd st. (\$700).

Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 1798. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, with 2 other eds. of the same work (\$76). Marlborough, Oct. 1989 cat. 135, #95 (£300).

Seward, *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, 1798. James Burmester, May cat. 8, #213, 4 vols., with Seward, *Biographiana*, 2 vols., 1799, fancy binding (£275).

Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, trans. Fuseli, 1765. SL, 10 Nov. 1989, #1500, "wide margins" (£260).

Young, *Catalogue of Pictures by British Artists in the Possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester*, 1825. BBA, 5 July, #273 (not sold).

JEFFERYS, JAMES

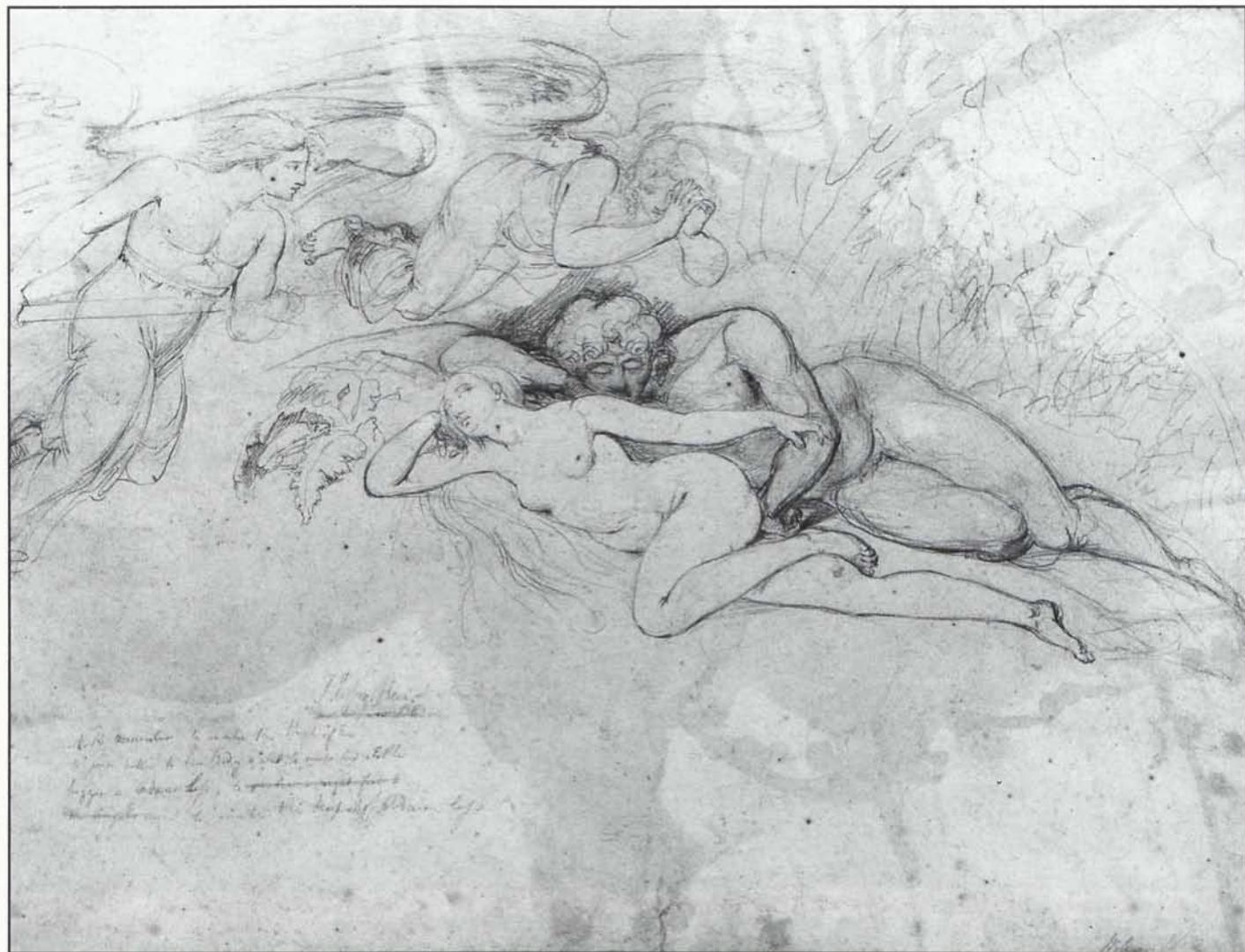
Adam and Eve Asleep. SL, 15 Nov., #25, illus. (not sold on an estimate of £1200-1800). See illus. 17.

LINNELL, JOHN

The Approaching Storm. Oil, 48.3 x 65.1 cm., signed and dated 1819 on the verso. Agnew's, May cat., #53 (£15,000).

A Country Road. Oil, 69.5 x 99 cm., signed and dated 1864. SL, 11 July, #90, illus. color (withdrawn; estimate £10,000-15,000).

Evening: the Vicinity of a Farm. Oil, 37 x 47 cm., signed and dated 1827. SL, 11 July, #91, illus. color (£42,900 on an estimate of £5000-7000). The auction catalogue identifies the locale as Collins' Farm, Hampstead, where Linnell lived and was visited by Blake (a fact



17. James Jefferys. *Adam and Eve Asleep*. Pencil, 37 x 49.5 cm., signed and inscribed lower left, "J Jeffreys Roma at a time . . . / N.B. remember to make the thigh of Eve/ to join better to the Body & also to make her a little/ bigger or Adam less, to make a right foot to/ the Angels to make the hips of Adam less." Inscribed in a later hand, lower right, "William Blake." Illustrated, and (mis)attributed to Blake, in Geoffrey Keynes, *Pencil Drawings by William Blake* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1927), pl. 35. For the rediscovery of Jefferys (1751-84) and his work in the styles of Mortimer, Barry, and Fuseli, see *The Rediscovery of an Artist: James Jefferys*, Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition catalogue, 1976, and Martin Butlin in *Blake 10* (1977): 123-24. Photo courtesy of Sotheby's London.

that does not account for the extraordinary price).

Figures on Hampstead Heath. Pencil and gray wash, signed and dated 1824, 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. CL, 10 July, #109 (not sold).

A Fine Evening after Rain—A Scene in Wales. Oil, 42 x 66 cm., signed. Perhaps the painting of this subject that was exhibited in 1815. SL, 15 Nov. 1989, #99, illus. color (£15,400).

Kensington Gravel Pits. Oil, 61.5 x 95 cm., signed and dated 1857. A later, slightly altered, version of the painting of c. 1809-11 now in the Tate Gallery. SL, 14 Nov., #124, illus. color (£11,000).

Landscape with Children and Sheep on a Path. Oil, 49.8 x 71.3 cm., signed and dated 1863. CL, 18 May, #275, illus. color (not sold; estimate £3000-4000).

Portrait of a Lady. Oil, 26.5 x 20 cm. Phillips auction, London, 13 Nov., #110, illus. color (no price information).

Portrait of Nina as a Child. Colored chalks, signed and dated 1842, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. CL, 10 July, #119, illus. (£495).

Portrait of Professor Mylne. Oil, 41.3 x 34.6 cm., signed, datable to 1835. Agnew's, May cat., #13, illus. (£4500).

Portrait of Thomas Hill. Pencil and chalk preliminary for the oil portrait, signed, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., c. 1831. CL, 10 July, #29, illus. (£264).



18. Samuel Palmer. *Harlech Castle—Twilight*. Water color, 50.5 x 69.5 cm., datable to Palmer's visit to Wales in 1843. There is an inscription on the back of the mount by Palmer's son, Alfred Herbert: "This drawing, in a certain very low light & no other, completely changes its character / It becomes so beautiful that it looks like the actual scene, though at a somewhat later time A. H. P / The illusion is very curious." Photo courtesy of Sotheby's London.

The Sand Cart—A View on the Surrey Hills. Oil, 66 x 94 cm., signed and dated 1851/66. SL, 15 Nov. 1989, #89, illus. color (£16,500).

Storm in Harvest. Oil, 37 x 53 1/4 in., signed and dated 1856. Christie's Edinburgh, 22 Nov., # unknown, illus. color (no price recorded; estimate £15,000-20,000).

Surrey Woodlands. Oil, 99 x 137 cm., signed and dated 1868. SL, 15 Nov. 1989, #98, illus. color (not sold; estimate £40,000-60,000).

The White Cow. Oil, 44.5 x 59.5 cm., signed and dated 1856. SL, 15 Nov. 1989, #100, illus. color (£8800).

The Wood Cutters. Oil, 49 x 71 cm., signed and dated 1853. SL, 11 July, #94, illus. color (£22,000).

Two autograph letters signed, to Dr. Holman and Mr. Cook, 2 Aug. 1875 and 21 Aug. 1877, "mounted with a portrait[?]." BBA, 27 July, #250 (not sold).

"William Evans Esq," engraved by Weldon Taylor after Linnell, 1840. The Print Room, Oct. cat. 6, #180 (£85).

LOCK, WILLIAM (1767?-1847, friend and student of Fuseli)
Sales exhibition of his drawings and water colors, Daniel Shackleton Gallery, Edinburgh, advertised in *Apollo* 132 (Aug. 1990): 17, two works illus. color.

MORTIMER, JOHN HAMILTON

Design for Part of the Decoration of a Ceiling. Pencil, pen and wash on light gray paper, 15 5/8 x 16 3/4 in. CL, 13 Nov., #13, with a small drawing formerly attributed to Mortimer (not sold).

Group of plates by and after, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2: #65, etchings dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds, complete set of 11, 3 illus. (£500); #66, "Ger'd. Lairesse," illus. (£120); #67, "Silenus," etched by Blyth, illus. (£85); #68-73, 6 etchings by Blyth of banditti (£35 each); #74, "Banditti Conversing," proof before title of Blyth's etching, illus. (£50).

"Edgar" and "Beatrice," 2 etchings of Shakespeare's characters. BBA, 21 June, #149, with a large collection of engraved portraits, c. 180 prints in all (Rainer, £93).

"Meleager and Atalante," engraved by William Woollett and Benjamin Pouncy after Robert Wilson and Mortimer, 1794. The Print Room, Oct. cat. 6, #200 (£85).

PALMER, SAMUEL

The Approaching Storm. Water color, 50.5 x 70 cm., first exhibited 1849. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, Oct.-Nov. cat. of *English Drawings*, #64, illus. color (price on application).

The Bay of Naples. Water color, 41 x 56 cm. SL, 16 Nov. 1989, #98, illus. color (£49,500).

The Brothers in Comus Linger under the Vine. Water color, signed, 53 x 75 cm. Reportedly available from Richard L. Feigen & Company, London and New York, summer 1990 (price on request). Previously sold SL, 20 Nov. 1986, #98, illus. color (£63,800).

Dolbadern Castle, Llanberis, North Wales. Water color, 35 x 47.5 cm., c. 1835-36. SL, 15 Nov., #117, illus. color (£28,600).

Harlech Castle—Twilight. SL, 15 March, #139, illus. color (£44,000). See illus. 18.

Near Underriver, Sevenoaks, Kent. Water color, 26.5 x 36.5 cm., c. 1843. SL, 16 Nov. 1989, #95, illus. color (£70,400 on an estimate of £18,000-24,000).

The Rising of the Skylark. Oil, 30.9 x 24.5 cm., signed. Acquired 1990 by the National Gallery of Wales. For illus., see *Burlington Magazine* 123 (Oct. 1990): 752.

The Street of Tombs, Pompeii. Water color, 13 x 16 1/4 in., c. 1837-39. CL, 20 March, #140, illus. color (not sold; estimate £20,000-30,000).

Autograph receipt signed, 26 April 1850. BBA, 27 July, #251 (Silverman, £88).

Two autograph letters signed to Henry Mogford (secretary to the dealer, E. Gambart) "about his inability to produce a new work," 23 Oct. 1854. SL, 19 July, #424 (Finch, £935). Neither letter appears in Raymond Lister, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Palmer* (1974).

"Bellman," etching. CL, 19 April, #244, 5th st., with pencil signature, foxed (£7150 on an estimate of £1800-2500).

"Christmas" ("Folding the Last Sheep"), etching. Garton & Co., Oct. cat. 51, #3, 3rd st., fine impression, illus. (£4750).

"Early Ploughman," etching. Swann, 30 Nov. 1989, #226, 8th st., illus. (\$523). Childs Gallery, Jan. cat. 12, p. 5, 8th st., pencil signature, illus. (\$2100). CL, 19 April, #243, 5th st., abrasions in image, surface dirt (£308).

Glass engraving, approx. 3 x 2 in., on a windowpane, showing a lounging figure with a sun or moon above. Attributed to Palmer by Roderick Gradidge in *Country Life* (12 April 1990): 125. Knight Frank & Rutley Estate Agents (£375,000, including the fifteenth-century house, at one time the property of George Richmond, to which the windowpane is attached).

"Herdsman's Cottage," etching. Lott & Gerrish, March cat., #51, 2nd st. on laid India, "a fine silvery impression, typical of those of the 1850s," illus. (£1500). CL, 23 Oct., #345, 2nd st., trimmed inside the platemark (not sold).

"Homeward Star," etching. SL, 26 Oct., #280, 2nd st., with "Moeris and Galatea," etching, 2nd st. (£300).

"Lonely Tower," etching. SL, 30 Nov. 1989, #205, 5th st., signed in pencil and inscribed "Trial Proof," slight foxing, illus. (£4400).

"Morning of Life," etching. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #78, 7th st., illus. (£395). CL, 23 Oct., #346, 4th or 5th st., inscribed "trial proof," illus. (£1210). BBA, 22 Nov., #167A, st. not given, laid india, spots in margins (Colman, £264).

"Opening the Fold," etching. SL, 26 Oct. 1989, #279, 3rd st., pencil signature (£900).

"Rising Moon," etching. SL, 30 Nov. 1989, #204, 7th st., minor foxing (£330). SL, 20 April, #95, 7th st., minor foxing and ink staining (not sold).

"Vine" or "Plumpy Bacchus," etching. Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #75, early trial proof, 1st or 2nd st., "extensively re-worked by the artist in pencil," illus. (£5500).

"Weary Ploughman," etching. Childs Gallery, Jan. cat. 12, p. 5, 8th st., illus. (\$1400). Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #77, 7th st., "brilliant, rich black impression," illus. (£1500).

"Willow," etching. SL, 26 Oct. 1989, #278, 2nd st. (£160). Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #76, 3rd st., 1926 printing (£350). Garton & Co., Oct. cat. 51, #2, 2nd st., fine impression (£550).

Dickens, *Pictures from Italy*, 1846. Blackwell's, Nov. 1989 proof list "Ode," #21 (£135). BBA, 10 May, #279, contemporary half calf (Fellner, £55).

Hamerton, *Etching and Etchers*. Swann, 6 Sept., #120, 1868 ed. with "Early Ploughman," hinges cracked (\$1045). Larkhill Books, Nov. cat. 5, #122, 1880 ed. with "Herdsman's Cottage," quarter calf (£880).

Household Song, 1861 (1 wood engraving after Palmer). Ian Hodgkins, May cat. 51, #135, apparently original cloth (£45).

Milton, *Shorter Poems*, 1889. Zisska, 19-20 April 1989 auction, #3639, large paper (not sold; estimate DM1200). Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #79, small paper, original blue cloth, "minor waterstaining" (£95). Robert Clark, March cat. 19, #230, small paper, original blue cloth (£175). Deighton Bell, April cat. 253, #72, small paper, original blue cloth (£175). Frew Mackenzie, Aug. cat. 20, #43, small paper, original blue cloth, slight wear (£160).

A. H. Palmer, *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892. Ann Creed Books, Feb. cat. 4, #378, original cloth (£250).

S. Palmer, *English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil*, 1883. Simon Finch, Nov. cat. 5, #75, paper size not given, rebound in contemporary half calf (£750).

RICHMOND, GEORGE
(excluding later portraits)

Portrait of George Richmond. Plaster cast, 32.4 x 42.5 cm., made from the bronze plaque of Richmond by his son, Sir William Blake Richmond, in St. Paul's Cathedral (but excluding the dedication and scrolling foliate border). Agnew's, May cat., #88 (£1350).

Study for the Funeral of the Blessed Virgin. Oil over pencil on paper, 37 x 79 cm. A study for the painting finished in 1867. SL, 15 Nov., #67, illus. color (not sold on an estimate of £6000-9000).

ROMNEY, GEORGE
(excluding portrait paintings)

Psyche in a Wood. Oil, 73.5 x 109 cm. SL, 14 Nov., #61, illus. color (£9350).

Studies for "Tancred and Erminia". 5 pen and brown ink drawings, 7 3/4 x 6 1/2 in. CL, 10 July, #11 (£385).

Studies of Standing Figures (recto); *Study of a Standing Classical Figure* (verso). Pen and brown ink (recto), pencil (verso), 11 x 16 3/8 in. CL, 10 July, #12 (not sold).

Study of a Female Figure Dancing, and *Study of a Female Figure with Her Hands Clasped*. Pen and brown ink, 5 1/8 x 3 1/4 in. and 5 1/8 x 3 3/8 in. CL, 20 March, #43 (£495).

Study of Women and Children. Pen and ink, brown wash, over pencil, 13.5 x 7 cm. SL, 11 July, #43, illus. (£1430).

Two Lovers Embracing. Pen and ink, recto, with the same subject sketched in pencil on the verso; recto 20.5 x 27.5 cm. SL, 11 July, #42, recto illus. (£1980)

RUNCIMAN, ALEXANDER

Ten etchings by, collected ed. of 1826, Campbell Fine Art, March cat. 2, #82, 2 illus. ("Sold").

STOTHARD, THOMAS

The Angel Appearing to Christiana, an illustration to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Monochrome wash, 4 1/2 x 3 in. James Cummins, June cat. 26, no. 346 (£2250).

Country Dance. Oil, 43.5 x 56.5 cm. SL, 16 May, #70, illus. (£1650).

Ethelinda Restored to her Father, an illustration to Lee's *Hermit's Tale*; and an illustration to *Gil Blas*. Pencil and brown ink and water colors, 5 x 6 in. and 6 x 4 1/2 in. CL, 22 May, #84 (not sold; estimate £400-600).

Fête Champêtre. Oil, 38 x 25.5 cm. CL, 26 Oct. #249, illus. (£2200).

Lamp Bearers. A pair, pencil and brown wash, 6 7/8 x 2 5/8 in. CL, 13 Nov., #15, with a water color by another hand (not sold).

Venus and Cupid. Oil, 66 x 58.5 cm. SL, 11 July, #110, illus. color (not sold; estimate £3000-5000).

A large collection of engravings and a few drawings illustrating *Don Quixote*, including 3 in pen and ink and 1 in water colors by Stothard (but none engraved by Blake). Ann Creed Books, March cat. 4, #719 (£1950).

"Seven Ages of Man," suite of 8 pls., 1799. SL, 20 Feb., #1028, pls. hand colored, bound (Ims, £418); #1029, pls. uncolored, original boards, worn (Walford, £55); same copy as #1029, Walford, May cat. H/161, #273 (£295). SL, 30 July, #961, pls. hand colored, bound (Russell, £374).

Shakespeare, *A New Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*, 1802-04. Ian Hodgkins, Nov. cat. 53, three pls. only: #264, *Midsummer Night's Dream* (£65); #265, *Taming of the Shrew* (£50); #266, *Tempest* (£65).

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1872 reissue of the 1825 ed. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #113, with another ed. (\$49).

Bonnycastle, *Introduction to Mensuration*, 1807. Young's Antiquarian Books, Oct. cat. 31, #254, contemporary sheep rubbed (£8).

British Poets, ed. T. Park, 42 vols. BBA, 27 July, #278 (Axe, £396).

Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1856. Ann Creed Books, March 1989 cat. 1, #318 (£65).

Burns, *Works*, 1813. Howes, July cat. 247, #156, 4 vols., with *Reliques of Burns*, ed. Cromek, 1813, uniformly bound (£250).

Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 1810. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #119 (\$149).

Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, Bell's ed., 14 vols., 1782. Simonson, 23 Sept. 1989 auction, #129 (\$70).

Cowper, *Poems*, 1800. Deighton Bell, April cat. 253, #130, 2 vols., large paper (£160).

Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 1810. James Burmester, Sept. cat. 9, #353, uncut in original boards, rebaked (£45).

Dante, *Divine Comedy*, trans. Boyd, 3 vols., 1802. Thomas Thorp, April cat. 470, #94, "portrait frontispiece after Stothard," worn (£20).

Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*. Swann, 5 May, #50, 1790 ed., 2 vols., modern calf (\$358). Howes, July cat. 247, #178, 1804 ed., 2 vols., rebaked (£358). Krown & Spellman, Oct., Los Angeles Book Fair, 1804 ed., 2 vols., with all 14 pls. of 1790-91 (as issued?), extra-illustrated with the 20 pls. of 1820, and with a note signed "R. W." that this was Stothard's own copy (\$1250).

Fénelon, *Telemachus*, 2 vols., 1792-94. Ken Karmiole, Feb. private offer (\$350).

Gessner, *Works*, 1802. Quaritch, Jan. cat. of "Nineteenth-Century English Literature," #92, 3 vols. (\$300).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*, 1788. John Price, July cat., #98, pls. browned, presentation binding (£150); same copy and price, Sept. cat., #93.

Historical Account of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Bethlem Hospital, 1783. C. R. Johnson, Feb. cat. 29, #126, frontispiece by Sharp after Stothard illus. (£1250).

Homer, *Iliad*, 1805. See Pope, *Poetical Works*, under Fuseli, above.

Johnson, *Rasselas*, 1796. BBA, 12 Oct. 1989, #296, worn (not sold).

Juvenile Keepsake, 1829. James Fenning, July cat. 104, #412 (£38.50).

Keepsake, 1828, 1830-33. BBA, 24 May, #387, 5 vols., original pink silk, worn (Wells, £66).

Literary Souvenir, 1835. Any Amount of Books, July 1989 private offer, lacking 2 pls. but with both after Stothard (£14).

Park, *Sonnets and other Small Poems*, 1797. Sevin Seydi, Nov. cat. "Zebra," #50, disbound (£50).

Pinkerton, *Rimes*, 1782. Waterfield's, "March Miscellany," #69 (£125).

Pope, *Poetical Works*. Du Roveray ed., 1804—see under Fuseli, above. Ken Nesheim, fall 1989 cat., #175, 1811 ed., 2 vols., fancy binding (\$275).

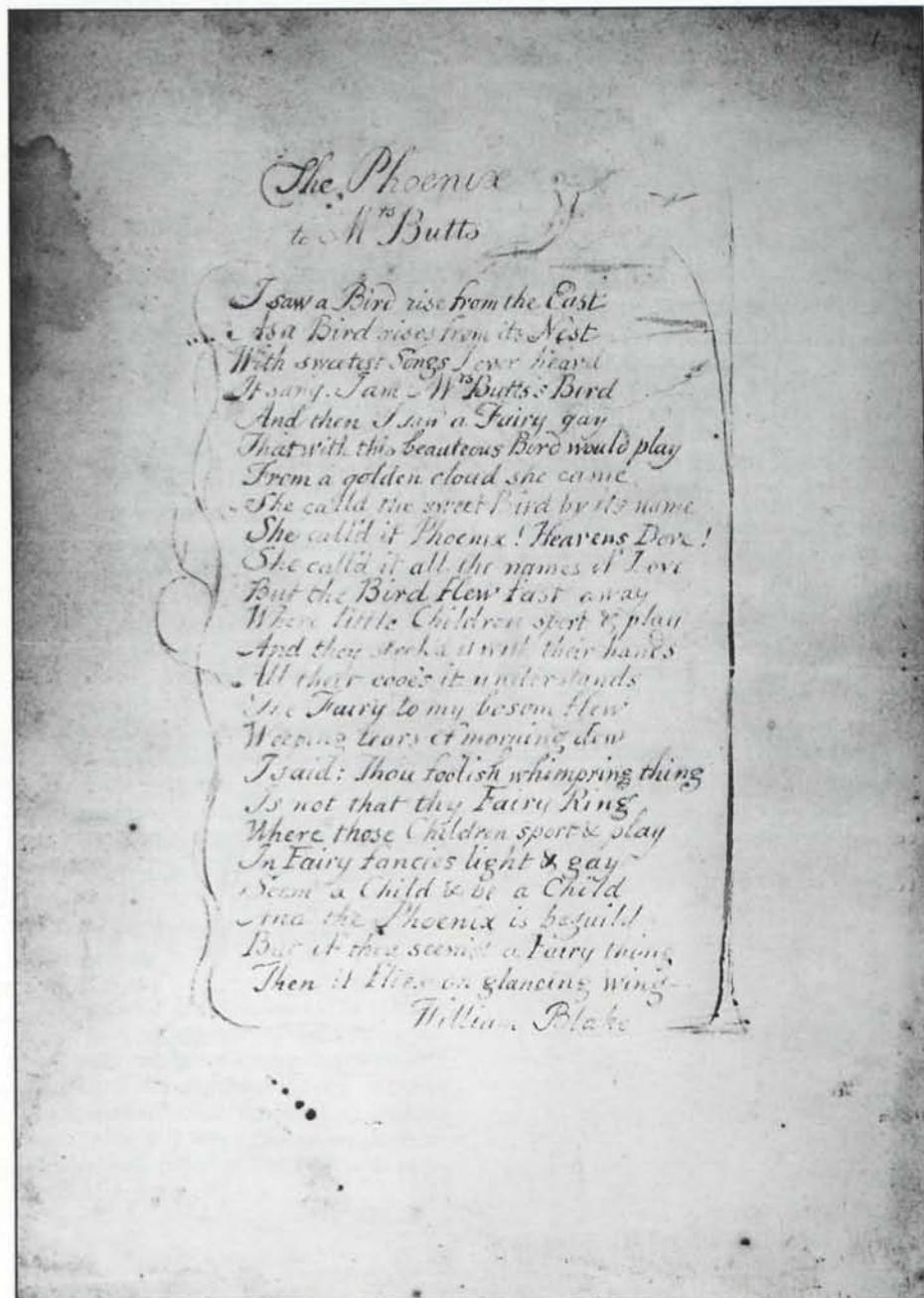
Robins, *Gallery of Fine Arts*, c. 1840. Kuballe, Oct. 1989 cat. 177, #2419 (DM240).

Rogers, *Italy*. Roy Young, May/June 1989 cat. 75, #386, 1838 quarto (\$125). BBA, 14 Dec. 1989, #193, 1830 ed., with *Poems*, 1834, bindings rubbed (Kitazawa, £121). Kuballe, Jan. cat. 179, #3398, 1842 reissue (DM240). Jarndyce, Feb. cat. 68, #432, 1838 quarto, with *Poems*, 1838 quarto, publisher's dark green morocco (£300). Ars Libri, March cat. 78, #1344, 1830 ed., with Rogers, *Poems*, 1834, worn, minor foxing (\$375). BBA, 26 April, #405, 1830 ed. (Ginnan, £44). Howes, July cat. 247, #948, 1830 ed., original boards

with leather label (£50). David Bick-ersteth, Dec. cat. 113, #194, 1830 ed., light foxing (£35).

Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*. Kuballe, May 1989 cat. 170, #2209, 1810 ed.

(DM75). Jeffrey Stern, Jan. cat. 8, #230, 1806 ed. (£35). Ken Spelman, Feb. cat. 16, #93, 1810 ed., small paper (£30). Jarndyce, Feb. cat. 68, #433, 1803 ed. (£20); #434, 1806 ed. (£20).



19. Blake. "The Phoenix / to Mrs Butts." Illustrated manuscript, executed in water colors, apparently with a small pointed brush, c. 1794? Leaf 22.7 x 15.4 cm. British Library add.MS 63583, reproduced by permission of the British Library. The only previous reproduction of this work known to me was published in *Philological Quarterly* 67 (1988): 382. I hope that this reproduction, with the contrast artificially heightened to increase legibility, will prove more useful than the somewhat murky representation in *PQ*. The poem is included in the 1988 revised reprinting of *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (New York: Doubleday) 517.

Rogers, *Poems*. Blackwell's, March 1989 cat. A95, #364, 1834 ed. with a note by Rogers (£40). Kuballe, June 1989 cat. 169, #3581, 1834 ed. (DM200). Sanders, Oct. 1989 private offer, 1814 ed. (£20). Shapero, 1989 cat. 3, #63, 1834 ed. inscribed by Ruskin and with a letter by Pickering (£650). David Holmes, Dec. 1989 cat. 27, #68, 1834 ed., presentation inscription from Rogers (\$650). Jarndyce, Feb. cat. 68, #437, 1820 ed. (£20); #440, 1834 ed. (£35); #443, 1854 ed. (£32). Ian Hodgkins, May cat. 51, #272, 1838 ed., "large paper," pls. on laid India, publisher's full green morocco, some foxing (£150); #273, 1854 ed., apparently original cloth (£35). James Cummins, June cat. 26, #92, 1838 ed., "large paper," worn, 1 pl. heavily foxed (\$250). Howes, July cat. 247, #949, 1834 ed., some heavy foxing of the pls. (£35). Deighton, Bell, Oct. cat. 254, #230, 1812 ed., issue with 268 pp. (£22). David Bickersteth, Dec. cat. 113, #195, 1834 ed., light foxing (£35).

Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas, 1809, 1814-16, 1819-26. A collection of 240 pls. after Stothard, mounted in a small full leather album. W. & V. Dailey, March private offer (\$800).

Sargent, *The Mine*, 1796. Sanders of Oxford, Jan. cat. 115, #447 (£30).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1798-1800. Grant & Shaw, Sept. cat. 3, #169, 12 vols., fine contemporary calf (£660).

Shakespeare, *Works*, pub. Pickering, 9 vols., 1825. SL, 30 Oct. 1989, #478 (£320).

Sterne, *Works*, 1803. Deighton, Bell, Oct. cat. 254, #236, 4 vols. with "9 plates after Stothard"—probably those first used in the 10 vol. *Works* of 1798, also published by J. Johnson (£150).

Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, 1787. Howes, July cat. 247, #362, 2 vols. (D. W. Dörrbecker, £60). Previously unrecorded 1st sts. of the 2 pls. after Stothard appearing in the 1792 and 1797 eds.

Thomson, *Seasons*. Sanders, Oct. 1989 private offer, 1794 ed. (£40). David Bickersteth, Feb. cat. 109, #58, 1793 ed. (£48).

Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1798. Claude Cox, July cat. 79, #203, marginal brown-ing of pls., rebacked (£40).

Young, *Works*, 1813. Beeleigh Abbey Books, Sept. cat. BA/45, #249, 3 vols., with the *Night Thoughts* pls. of 1798 with new imprints dated 1802, considerable offsetting and some foxing (£80).

VON HOLST, THEODORE

A Fantasy Based on Goethe's "Faust." Oil, 112 x 73 cm., signed and dated 1834. CL, 20 April, #61, illus. color (£14,300 on an estimate of £5000-7000; a record for Von Holst?).

Historical Scene(recto); *An Abduction* (verso). Black chalk and pencil, 28.6 x 28.5 cm. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, Oct.-Nov. cat. of *English Drawings*, #65, illus. color (price on application).

Study of a Young Lady Wearing an Elaborate Headdress. Pencil, 18 x 20.5 cm. SL, 16 Nov. 1989, #27 (not sold).

Appendix: New Information on Blake's Engravings

Since the publication of my catalogue of Blake's separate plates in 1983, I have used this annual sales review to correct and update information in that book. I will continue that effort, and add to it revisions for my catalogue of *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations*, published in 1991 by The Clarendon Press. Since these revisions tend to get lost when buried in the lists of sales, I plan to add when necessary an appendix such as this. Abbreviations and methods of citation follow those used in each catalogue.

The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue

Pp. 12-13, "The Approach of Doom." In "Heavenly 'Spears' and Fiery 'Tears' in Blake's 'Tyger,'" *Notes and Queries* 235 (1990): 17-18, Marilyn S. Olson and Donald W. Olson propose the interesting theory that the huddled figures in this print are looking in awe at a meteor, a scene suggested to the artist by the "Great Fiery Meteor of 18 August 1783," much remarked on in journals of the day. A light streak in the print may be a rather vaguely defined tail of a meteor, although none of the figures is clearly looking at it. In Robert Blake's drawing on which the plate is based, the streak of light includes a jagged outline of lightning or, less plausibly to my eyes, a meteor's tail. The figures in the drawing are more clearly looking at the phenomenon. For a detailed argument for dating the print to c. 1788 rather than my c. 1792, see Joseph Viscomi's review of the catalogue in *The Wordsworth Circle* 19 (1988): 212-18. I am almost convinced by Viscomi's analysis.

P. 235, "The Return of the Jewish Spies from Canaan." This is not a proof of an otherwise unknown plate but a proof before the border design and all letters of pl. 1 in *The Royal Universal Family Bible* (1780)—see *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations*, p. 21.

P. 252, "Beggar's Opera" in *The Original Works of William Hogarth*, pub. J. and J. Boydell, 1790. My comment that the plate "was no doubt commissioned by the Boydells specifically for publication in their edition of Hogarth's works" now seems open to more than a little doubt. According to Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1970) 1: 71, the Boydells acquired Hogarth's own copperplates in 1789, one year later than the date inscribed on the first proof state of "Beggar's Opera." Indeed, the acquisition must have been late in that year, for Hogarth's widow did not die until 13 November 1789 (see *DNB* 9: 986 and Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd ed. [London: The Print Room, 1989] 20). She left the copperplates and remaining stock of prints to her cousin, who in turn sold them to the Boydells. Thus, if intended specifically for publication in a book with Hogarth's works, Blake's plate must have been commissioned in hopeful (and risky?) anticipation that its companions could be acquired. The "Catalogue" of plates in the 1790 volume states that Blake's plate was "never before inserted in this Collection." The word "inserted," rather than what would seem a more commercially advantageous comment that the print was "produced specifically for this collection" (or some such piece of puffery), also suggests that the "Beggar's Opera" may have been produced initially as a separate plate. To compensate for the lack of a full entry on the print in the separate plates catalogue, I have provided a description of all nine states, 1788 to c. 1880, in *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations*, pp. 42-45.

William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations

P. 19, Enfield, *The Speaker* (1774 [1780]). Detlef Dörrbecker has brought to my attention yet another re-engraving of Blake's pl.: Stothard's signature only, lacking "Shakespeare" after the verses, imprint dated "Aug. 1. 1780." This pl. appears in Dörrbecker's copy of the 1807 ed. published by J. Johnson.

Pp. 61-64, Gay, *Fables* (1793, c. 1811). All pls. in the c. 1811 second ed. are in a second state. The volume and facing page references, appearing far lower right in 1793 impressions, were removed and the same information inscribed top right on each plate. I did not notice the c. 1811 inscriptions until I acquired an uncut copy of the 2nd ed. in Oct. 1990. Another uncut copy, with the added inscriptions visible on most plates, is in the Huntington Library.

P. 68, Cumberland, *Outlines from the Antients* (1829). The description of the folio issue should include the fact that some copies have the plates printed on laid India paper.

Pp. 111-12, Rees, *Cyclopaedia* (1820), pl. 6 ("Sculpture, Plate III"). References to Blake's drawings related to the classical sculptures represented on this plate should include the pencil sketch of the right foot of the Apollo Belvedere on the verso of *Moses Staying the Plagues* (Butlin 1981, no. 115 verso, dated c. 1790-80?, the source of the foot not identified).

Pp. 125-26, Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807, 1810, 1816, 1822). To the list of modern scholars (falsely) attributing the illustrations to Blake as their engraver should be added Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984) 66 (Blake "probably" engraved the plates). On p. 515 Carpenter and Prichard add a new twist to this long-lived ascription: Blake "apparently" engraved the different plates in later editions of the *Tales*. This too is false in my view.

MINUTE PARTICULAR

Blake's Headgear:
The Seventh Head of
the Beast in *Night
Thoughts* 345

Morton D. Paley

For the title page of Night VIII of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*, Blake drew a striking water color showing the Whore of Babylon and the seven-headed dragon of Revelation (illus. 1). In my 1969 essay on the *Night Thoughts* series, I identified the heads as follows, going from right to left:

The one on the lower right is a judge, scaly, fanged and red-eyed. Somewhat resembling Blake's later painting of the Ghost of a Flea, this representative of Law has a single horn and wears a judicial wig. Next comes the armored head of a warrior, then a crowned head with ram's horns. The fourth head has goat's horns and the papal tiara, the fifth the crown of a king. The next two wear, respectively, a bishop's miter and a priest's black biretta. The picture as a whole epitomizes the institutions of the fallen world revealed in their true monstrous nature as "Religion hid in War, a Dragon red and hidden Harlot" (J89: 53, K735). (155)

A similar view of the heads was advanced in *The Apocalyptic Sublime* (78-80), and recently John E. Grant disagreed with my characterization of the fifth head as wearing a bishop's miter. "The distinctive feature of a bishop's miter," Grant correctly observes, "is that it has a slice removed, resulting in pointed horns fore and aft" (113n6). This is not the case with the fifth head, and Grant suggests that the headgear here may be Turkish, pointing to "a similar canonical hat (though less sharply pointed and adorned by a scarf

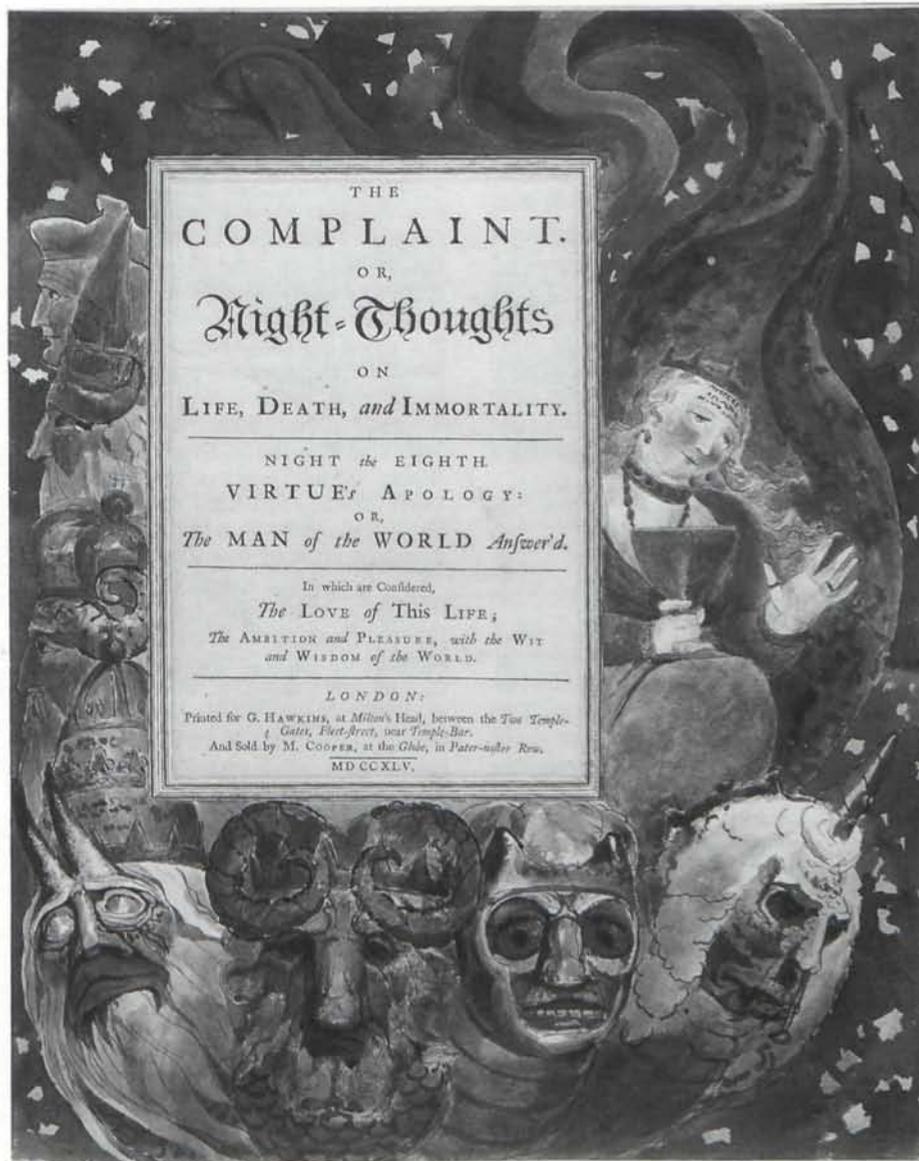


Figure 1. William Blake: Title page to Night VIII of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (Butlin 345). Pen and watercolor over pencil. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

in the back) . . . worn by the standard-bearer and his follower who appear in an illustration attributed to Hogarth entitled 'A Procession Through the Hippodrome, Constantinople,' in Aubrey de la Motraye, *Travels: Europe, Asia, and Part of Africa* (London 1723/ 24)." Grant goes on to make the interesting suggestion that "The apparently Muslim hat reminds the viewer that Blake would not depend exclusively on Western symbolism to convey a sense of the powers that be."

This suggestion is intriguing because, if its basis in fact could be demonstrated, Blake would be brought into closer relationship with millenarians who saw Turkey as connected with John's apocalyptic visions. It was common in the 1790s and early 1800s to identify the Ottoman Empire with one of the horns or heads of one or another of the Beasts. The waning of the Ottoman Empire was for millenarians like Joseph Priestley and Joseph Bicheno a signal of the imminent realization of John's

prophecies. Blake's writings, in which there are only two uses of "Turk" and two of "Turkey," do not convey similar notions. In "The Divine Image" there is a universalistic statement that "all must love the human form, / In heathen, turk or jew" (E 13); and in a Notebook poem Fuseli "was both Turk & Jew" (E 507) because of his unorthodoxy in the eyes of others. The two references to Turkey in *Jerusalem* (72: 38 and 79: 48) occur among lists of nations that once dwelled in Jerusalem or may again dwell there, and Turkey is not differentiated from the others. Any evidence for a reference to Turkey in Blake's great apocalyptic *Night Thoughts* design must therefore rest on the putative source for the headgear of the fifth head from the right.

Aubrey de la Motraye's book, the correct title of which is *Travels Through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*, was published in two volumes in London in 1723. It is profusely illustrated and a number of plates are signed by Hogarth. This includes plate 15 (illus. 2), which is designated as no. 23 in Paulson's catalogue (1: 101). (No doubt is cast upon its authenticity there, and as the plate is signed it is difficult to know why it should be referred to as an attribution). In "A Table of the Prints in the First Volume," the subject is described as follows:

Print XV: The *Atmeydan* itself, where the *Turks* still exercise their Horses after their manner, tho' differently from the ancient *Greeks*. On the same Print is a *Turkish* Bride, whom they are conducting thus in Pomp to her Bridegroom, who has not yet seen her, tho' the Contract is made between the Parents; she is on Horseback under the Canopy (I). (429)

There is nothing of an apocalyptic nature here, nor is there in the corresponding part of the text proper:

The Bride, if she is of Condition, is set astride upon a Horse, with her face veil'd under a sort of Canopy like that in the Print, N XV, supported by four Men, and some Janizaries, with their Ceremonial Caps, march at the Head of the Procession, with the little Pyramidal Trophy adorn'd with



Figure 2. William Hogarth: Illustration for A. de la Motraye's *Travels Through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*, volume 1, plate 15. Engraving. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

Handkerchiefs, embroider'd with Gold, Tinsel, and Jewels. (249)

Of course Blake could have taken a ceremonial scene such as this and adapted it to his purposes. Although nothing in the book's description of the scene depicted suggests that the janissaries belong among the apocalyptic icons of *Night Thoughts*, something about the headgear could have struck Blake as appropriate. The most striking feature of the janissaries' "ceremonial caps" is the train that descends from the apex of the cone down the back of the wearer to a point corresponding to his waist. There is not a trace of such a train in Blake's picture. What is there to suggest that the fifth head wears any kind of Muslim headgear? Without a distinctive train, this hat could have any number of antecedents.

Ronald Paulson suggests that Hogarth's engravings for La Motraye were influenced stylistically by Bernard Picart's *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses* (Amsterdam 1793), an English version of which was published in London in 1731-39 as *The Religious*

Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known Worlds. This elegant and well-known book no doubt influenced artists other than Hogarth. If we consider Picart's depiction of a bishop in volume 2, we see that the cleft in the miter was more or less visible depending on the position of the bishop's head (illus. 3). In "Autre Maniere [sic] de Confirmer" that position is almost the same as that of the head in Blake's drawing, reversed. If we imagine a vertical line in Picart's engraving in the position of the printed paste-in on Blake's page, we can see that the miter could be made to appear conical as a result. In Blake's drawing, however, there is a very slight upturn as the headgear meets the inset margin. Was this a slip on Blake's part or are we to imagine that line continuing upwards behind the printed title? If the former be the case, this figure's headgear may be a bishop's miter; if the latter, the result would be equally inappropriate for Turk or Christian.

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CEREMONIE de la CONFIRMATION.



Autre Maniere de CONFIRMER.

Figure 3. Bernart Picart: "CEREMONIE de la CONFIRMATION" and "Autre Maniere de CONFIRMER." Illustrations for *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known World*, volume 2, facing page 30. Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

REVIEWS

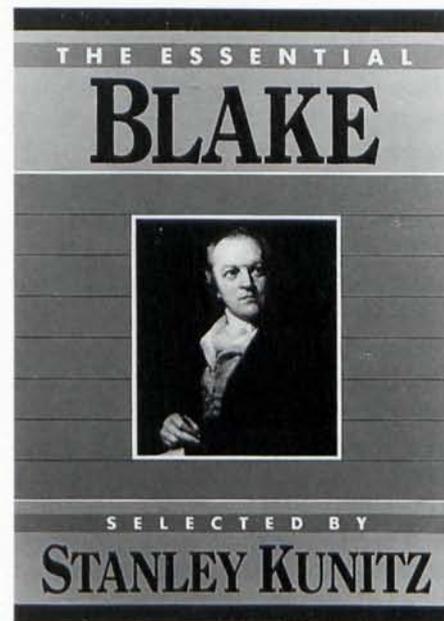
Stanley Kunitz, ed. *The Essential Blake*. New York: The Ecco Press, 1987. 92 pp. \$5.00 paper; Michael Mason, ed. *William Blake*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. xxvi + 601 pp. \$45.00 cloth/\$15.95 paper; David Punter, ed. *William Blake: Selected Poetry and Prose*. London/New York: Routledge, 1988. ix + 283 pp. \$9.95 paper.

Reviewed by E. B. Murray

Volume 4 of Ecco Press's *The Essential Poets* series, *The Essential Blake*, may be conveniently slipped into your hip-pocket, brought to the pub, read on the subway, or on the toilet and may as well be flushed down the drain afterwards if a trace of scholarly substance is what you demand in the Blake texts you keep around. Its unannotated contents, so far as they go, are something less than those you'd find in a survey course anthology—*The Songs of Innocence*, *The Songs of Experience*, *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Auguries of Innocence,"—but no *The*, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, or *Urizen*,—whose space is perhaps taken up by a "Miscellany" of gnomic verses, epigrams, and letter excerpts. A most unpretentious booklet, meant for the literate among *hoi polloi*, with a poet to provide an essential biographical sketch and a few uninspired generalities by way of essential evaluation. All in all, a harmless little pot-boiler.

Not so the Oxford Authors and Routledge Blakes. They do have some pretensions and they may not be altogether harmless. Michael Mason is initially concerned with telling us what he does not do in his edition. He does not include *An Island in the Moon*, *The Book of Abania*, or *The Four Zoas*. He does not follow a chronological order in presenting Blake's texts; he does not provide deleted or alternative readings; he does not provide the illuminations or describe them; he does not summarize the content of Blake's works nor does he explicate Blake's mythology. Most of the rest of this part of his introduction is concerned with justifying what he has not done. For example, he does not provide the illuminations because "the enhancement of our reading of Blake which was expected to flow from attention to his illustrations has simply not occurred." So much for the majority of the present generation of Blake scholars and teachers who have in fact spent much time and trouble trying to enhance their readings of Blake by attending to his illuminations and who have subsequently beguiled themselves into believing they've had some solid success in their attempts. But Mason knows how to put these bemused and errant souls in their place. They are implicitly aligned with the "[e]ditors [who] have fallen into the habit of transcribing what Blake crossed out," who are either "protective Blake experts" insisting, as Blake did not, that the illuminations are an integral part of the text they accompany or "[s]tudents of Blake . . . too ready to assume that his mythology is a well-formed system," and who therefore work up "drab paraphrases" to fit Blake into the Procrustean limitations of their own inferably drab understandings. Mason, a veritable Daniel come to judgment or an editorial David defiant against these overspecialized "giant forms," will let Blake speak for himself—sans illuminations and alternative readings of course.

As we know, and contrary to Mason's implications, Blake felt his illuminations an integral part of his composite art, going so far as to applaud himself (in the third person) for having invented "a method of Printing which combines the Painter and Poet" and, in an earlier self-evaluation, he bluntly asserts, through a persona, that those (*pace* Mason) who will not accept and pay highly for the illuminated writings he projected "will be ignorant fools and will not deserve to live." *Ipse dixit*. The poet/artist is typically seconded by his twentieth-century editors, who, even when obliged to omit the illuminations, argue for their necessary relevance. Max Plowman, in his 1927 *Everyman's Library* edition, has the humility and good sense to note the "insuperable difficulty in the way of a transcript version" when "there is alternation between words that expand the meaning of a design, and designs that give to the words their complete significance" (xxv). Vivian de Sola Pinto (*William Blake*, 1965) states that the "text and illustrations form a single integrated whole," that part of the effect of the lyrics in *The Songs of Innocence and of Experience* "is lost when they are read in ordinary print without the designs," and that in *Jerusalem* "the



pictures are not 'illustrations' but essential and organic parts of the structure" (17, 52). As Thomas Frosch noted in reviewing the most discriminating work on the subject, W. J. T. Mitchell's *Blake's Composite Art: A Study of the Illuminated Poetry*, the author not only contends that "each illuminated poem is an organic unit and develops its own particular relationship of text and design" but in specific instances "indisputably shows that text and design together create signification that can't be gained from either by itself" (*Blake* 13 [1979]: 40, 41). But readers tempted to accept Mason's assertion at face value need only riffle through the pages of this quarterly and check out its annual bibliography to infer a consensus refutation *passim*.

While Mason is justified in singling out for our special praise his most helpful "Index of Names and Motifs" (not so original as he seems to think, though, since a roughly comparable and more detailed precedent appeared in the 1926 OUP Sloss/Wallis edition), the most striking feature of his edition will surely be his mixed chronological/generic/thematic division of Blake's works under headings such as "Blake on Religion and Knowledge," "Blake on Art and Literature," "Septenary Verse of the French Revolutionary Period," "The Lyrics," and "The Los Poems." He thus reorganizes the canon for the benefit of readers who will be less "intimidated" by Blake's mythological writings if they find them mixed and matched with the lyrics according to arrangements which, Mason feels, will remind them "that the Prophetic Books are by no means all of a piece." Assuming the epics and the Lambeth poems are together defined as Prophetic Books, we can see how this piecemeal arrangement is effected. "The Los Poems" contains *The Book of Urizen*, *The Book of Los*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. However, lyrics from these latter poems are taken out of their epic context to form a subgenre of their own called, not surprisingly, "Lyrics from the Epic

Poems." For reasons both chronological and nominal, *The Song of Los* does not appear under that title at all but is rather divided into "Africa" and "Asia" to so flank *America* and *Europe* under the "Septenary Verse" heading (which also subsumes *Tiriel*, *The*, *Visions*, and of course *The French Revolution*). Both genre and chronology are disrupted for thematic considerations which, for example, place under the head of "Blake on Religion and Knowledge" many of Blake's annotations, the *Natural Religion* propositions, *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Auguries of Innocence," *The Everlasting Gospel*, and the prefaces to chapters 2, 3, and 4 of *Jerusalem*. The preface to chapter 1 appears with the preface to *Milton* under the "Blake on Art and Literature" rubric, along with a few other annotations, eight letters, some of *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures* and the comments on Homer and Virgil. *The Poetical Sketches* also lose their integral identity and title when they move into the margins of nonentity variously defined by "Early Visionary and Narrative Writings," which contains most of them, and "The Lyrics," which contains nearly all of the poems with "Song" in their titles. Even given Mason's general disregard for chronology, there seems no reason why these two divisions should be separated as they are by the "Septenary" inclusions, all of which are dated later than any of "The Lyrics" which follow them.

One may infer that Mason's decision to refashion the canon so led him to omit *The Book of Abania* partly because it obviously follows on *The Book of Urizen* but could not be put into the "Los" poems because Los barely appears in it, and partly because Mason prefers to suppose that the real sequel to *Urizen* is *Milton*. Conversely, it's reasonable to suppose that *The Song of Los* could not be allowed its Blakean title, lest it seem to lay at least a nominal claim for inclusion among the Los poems. A lesser but still bothersome

effect of Mason's categorizing nomenclature is that the running heads, instead of advising the reader that he's confronting a page of *Milton* or *Jerusalem* or *Urizen*, keeps him guessing what work it is he's opened to at some indefinite point among "The Los Poems." For the student who reads as he runs, Blake's titles are likely to be replaced in his memory by Mason's categorical name for them. Besides the prose already noted, the edition includes excerpts from *Public Address*, *A Vision of the Last Judgment*, and the prose from *Poetical Sketches*. Given what Mason provides, his claim to have provided the prose with fuller annotation than other editors seems fairly made, since others have tended to slight it.

David Punter's text follows the traditional chronological orderings. Its selections and annotations are presumably geared to the Routledge English Texts' stated purpose—"to meet the needs of readers for whom the study of literature involves the study of its historical and critical contexts." The usual anthology pieces, along with *Tiriel*, *America*, and *The Song of Los*, are presented complete; but *The French Revolution*, *Urizen*, and "Auguries of Innocence," as well as the longer poems, appear only in extracts. *Europe* is omitted, as are *The Book of Abania*, and *The Book of Los*; prose selections include the *Natural Religion* propositions, excerpts from *A Vision of the Last Judgment*, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, "On Homer's Poetry," and "On Virgil"; there are no letters.

Assuming the historical bias of the edition, it might have seemed appropriate for *The French Revolution*, probably the most history-laden of Blake's works, to have appeared complete; and for the potential it might have provided for historical commentary, perhaps *Europe* is likewise a desideratum. The text is bookended by an introductory essay which seems relatively forced into a style and content expressive of innocence for the innocent reader yet to

engage the text, as it fulfills in a generalized and superficial fashion the editorial policy of providing historical and literary contexts; and by a freeflowing epilogue essay on a higher and more organized plane which apparently assumes that a world of experience has been gained by a reader who has gone through the preceding text. Unfortunately, the essay assumes a knowledge of Blake which simply cannot be gained by the selections as presented and abstracted from in this text. There is a refreshing honesty and due humility (particularly refreshing to a reader who has just been through the first few pages of Mason's introduction) in Punter's admission that the abstracting task which he is constricted to is a "near-impossible" one because "nothing can give the flavor of [*The Four Zoas*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem*] but a full reading of at least one of them" and because they are "interwoven" and because we must "build up some familiarity with the 'characters' before we can properly understand what is happening." Unlike Mason, Punter also notes that the relevant works should be consulted in their illuminated form because "there are many cases where our notions of a specific poem's meaning can be radically altered by looking at the visual materials which not only accompany but frequently twine around and thread through the written text."

While the two texts seem meant for different audiences, the practical fact is that they will probably be in competition, along with other editions, for a good part of the same audience, particularly since most, perhaps the great majority, of Blake readers will be in college classrooms. To find out which of the two may be better as a teaching and reading text is therefore well worth doing, though to do only that is to do less than enough. The best presently available text for teaching and reading is, with a qualification or two, undoubtedly the Norton Critical Edition (*Blake's Poetry and Designs*, 1979) edited by Mary Lynn Johnson and John

Grant. For those who require a complete text of *Jerusalem* (or miss *Tiriel*), then David Erdman's generally diplomatic edition or Geoffrey Keynes' perennially reprinted Oxford Standard Authors edition will be best.

Having asserted my preferences, I'd like to back them by comparing the Mason (M) and Punter (P) editions with each other and with Johnson/Grant (J/G), both in their respective treatments of the accidental features of Blake's illuminated works and in the quantity and quality of their annotations. As a kind of "control" in accidental matters I'll use Erdman's latest edition of *The Complete Poetry & Prose of William Blake* (E), which, along with G. E. Bentley, Jr.'s *William Blake's Writings*, does about as good a job as can reasonably be done of reproducing in print the pointing of the illuminated works. As the traditional reading text since its first appearance, Keynes's *Complete Writings* (K) may also serve as a standard of modernization in a reading text, since, along with J/G, it comes closest to observing what should probably be an editor's golden rule of thumb: if it works, don't fix it.

A few collations from and comment on variant pointing in *Thel* and *Visions* may serve as an expedient if not sufficient index to differing policies of modernizations, insofar as a policy can be inferred from practice. The "shriek mark" is of all points the one which should be shunned if there is no clear authority for it, either in the original or in the texts and apparatuses of those like Erdman and Bentley who have devoted their eyesight to Blake's ambiguous pointing. M's decision to provide an exclamation after "joys" in *Visions* 3:6¹ is therefore dubious, given E's colon, Bentley's semicolon, and the relatively neutral modernization into a period preferred by K and P. Since M states that on occasion he returned to facsimiles (not originals) to confirm or qualify what he felt was "problematical," his unique reading here and elsewhere has no preferential claim to

authority and must be presumed a product of his modernizing prerogative. (One may parenthetically wonder why he didn't go down the road from London University, where he teaches, to the British Museum Print Room and check the originals—though discrepant readings of the same points by Erdman and Bentley abundantly illustrate that even that reiterated appeal may be in many instances "problematical.") But after "maid" in *Visions* line 19 it's M who more chastely converts the original's ambiguous colon/semicolon to a period, while K and P supply the emphatic but unauthorized exclamation. At this point the vacillating subjectivity involved in this kind of nitpicking, which makes the aforementioned rule of thumb always subject to a reader's or editor's clinamen towards formal or rhetorical pointing, surfaces, as I find myself wishing that M, like K and P, had added rather than subtracted an exclamation in *Visions* 5:3 (which in E reads "Creator of men! mistaken Demon of heaven:"), though recognizing as well the plausibility of M's editorial decision.

The fact that only M removes the interruptive but rhetorically effective exclamation after "spring" in *Thel* 1:6 may suggest a preference for a formal syntax (see also the comma used by K, P, and M for the original question mark after "spring" in the next line), though it is not clear that M consistently abides by that preference. In *Thel*'s "Motto," only M among modernizers chooses to change line 3's "rod?" to "rod," a change which seems particularly anomalous if one infers that the only justification for his (and K's and P's) changing line 4's "Mole:" to "mole?" is that the four clauses of the "Motto" are best formalized into a modern syntax when each of them is followed by a question mark. If one is going to change the question mark to a comma in the first instance, then why not keep the colon (along with the semicolon, a rhetorically prevalent surrogate for the interrogative in a series of clausal questions in Blake's

time which may still be appropriately used); or else replace the question mark after line 1's "pit" with a comma? The assumption is that modernization helps the modern reader better understand the sense of the words by a late twentieth-century pointing which joins them together in a formally consistent syntax. If the modernizer is simply going to groom Blake's inferably inconsistent pointing into his own, the would-be step forward is really a step backward, on the grounds that in such cases Blake's version is preferable. It is nonetheless and also the case that no one is likely to argue against normalizing to suit modern sensitivities such as patently whimsical punctuation as that represented by the half dozen pointing variations which Blake worked into the several repetitions of "Mark well my words, they are of your eternal salvation" in *Milton*. At the level of pure theorizing, one may care to applaud the ideal surmise of Max Plowman, who felt that even the "vagaries" of Blake's pointing "would eventually prove explicable" (*Blake's Poems and Prophecies*, xi). But in eagle-eyed confrontations with the originals one very soon discovers the futility of attempting to provide the context for that eventuality by trying to reproduce the poet's intended punctuation when it is impossible to be sure whether a given point is a comma or a period, a semicolon or a colon.

At times modernization means disrupting Blake's emphatic caesura ("light," *Thel*, 1:23 in E becomes "light" in M; "cow," 2:10 in E, becomes "cow" in M) or his enjambment ("springs" 1:24 in E becomes "springs," in M). Only M provides an emphatic caesura Blake did not provide by adding a comma after "not," (3:2 in E). But only M among modernizers follows Blake in *not* providing the comma caesura in 3:9 after "thou"—perhaps indicating that random chance rather than organizing intelligence rules the modernizer's syntactical universe. Accepting that indication, a reader sensitive to

rhetorical pointing may further infer that even though all modernizers agree to drop a given point, a Blakean effect worth preserving—typically an emphasis on a word before the point—could thereby be lost (e. g., "Har," 2:1 in E, "Har" in K, M, P). Extrapolating from that inference, and all of the above, the reader's ultimate (and charitable) conclusion may be that the modernizer's lot, in theory and in practice, is not a happy one.

There's some implicit disagreement between M and P on the "metrical consequences" of the terminal "-ed." While Mason states that he retains Blake's elliptical "d" only when he feels it might have such consequences, P insists that any poem which contains both the "-ed" and the "d" participles should have them discriminated. *Thel* is among these poems (we have "o'ertired"—or is it "o'erfired"?—in 2:4, "naked" in 4:5). But for M, *Thel* 2:2 "ceasd & smild" in E becomes "ceased" and "smiled" (P, following K, merely provides an apostrophe). In fact, M seems seldom if ever to find the foreshortened participle of any consequence: my own random sampling of his text has failed to turn up any example of his retaining it. While P perhaps protests his point too much—he spends half his "Note on the Texts" minutely arguing this particular—it's probably best to observe Blake's distinction, so that in those poems where it may seem to matter the reader will discriminate appropriately. Certain words seem to prescribe a pronounced "-ed," at least in poetry—e.g., *Thel* 3:31, where M's "sailed" (for "saild") will tend to become a disyllable in the pronunciations of some readers.

The great majority of Blake's rhetorical (or idiosyncratic) capitalizations are modernized away in both M and P, though both K and J/G retain most if not all of them. Hyphenations are added *passim* in M, with mixed warrant and effect: *Visions* 2:33, "hot-burning" seems to me an unnecessary coalescence of Blake's words, though "chamel-house,"

3:36 is unobjectionable. M's "new-washed" (3:18) perhaps rightly avoids a possible ambiguity in the original, since Blake could hardly have intended "new" to imply, as unmodified it might, "new born." M's "fat-fed" seems to aid in understanding the rather obscure allusion of 5:14. Both M and P change such obsolete or variant spellings as "subtil," *Visions* 6:7. While a few of M's modernizations, such as "tyger" to "tiger," will bother the Blakean, others, such as "may'st" for "maist," *Visions* 2:1, should seem well-warranted, since they avoid a momentary ambiguity some readers would otherwise hesitate over. J/G continue to represent their relatively strict adherence to Blake's text by retaining spellings such as "hipocrisy" ("Africa" 3:13). Where this kind of retention stops being a virtue in a reading text is a nice question. While "eccho," *Visions* 2:20, 5:11, presents no problem, is retained in as popular an edition as *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, and patently "works," there seems no objection to "echo" it in a reading text (like M's) very much given to modernizing; likewise with "perswading," 2:22—K and J/G prefer Blake's spelling; M and P do not. P, apparently following Bentley, prints "towards" rather than "toward" in *Visions* 1:2; he also prints "is this" for "this is" in *Thel* 5:5 (his line 91—he does not use plate numbers in *Thel*). Only J/G among reading texts consulted preserve and try to justify the perhaps misread or more probably misetched "o'erfired" in *Thel* 2:4. (E accepts, most dubiously to my eyes, that Blake really did etch "o'ertired," which nonetheless seems to be what he meant to etch.) Since I came across it, I should perhaps record for someone's future purposes that M's reference to Proverbs 9:17 in his note to *Europe*, line 6 (iii: 6), is right, J/G's 8:17 wrong.

While the Oxford jacket-cover claims the text is "fully annotated," compared to J/G, M provides us with a mere thimbleful, a good portion of which

contains bare references to the Bible and to *Milton* or provides dictionary definitions. Since the Routledge series more modestly emphasizes the historical contexts of its authors, the fact that Punter's notes are comparably sparse and a bit disproportionate in coverage may be accepted as a built-in limitation of general editorial policy. It will once again be most illuminating to let the two editions face off against each other, refereed again by the generally preferable J/G.²

Since M does not treat the *Poetical Sketches* as a unit, he fails to provide it with even the perfunctory headnote which he generally supplies elsewhere. J/G have an excellently informative headnote on composition, publication, and content, including as well a reference to the standard work on the poems, Margaret Lowery's *Windows of the Morning*. P provides only two of the poems, with comparably minimal annotation. M's deficiencies as annotator relative to J/G begin early and stay late. Of "To Spring" he tells us that its metre anticipates that of the "septenaries" and prophetic writings and that lines 2-3 could be glossed by Dan. 11:18—an utterly irrelevant reference. J/G point out that the seasonal cycle instituted with this poem parallels comparable sets of poems by Pope and Thompson, noting as well that general anticipations of the Biblical and Miltonic allusions of the later works appear in these early poems, with "To Spring" echoing the "Song of Solomon," "Lycidas," 163 (which lines 2-3 do echo and which perhaps M meant to note), *Comus*, 744 [752?], *Samson Agonistes*, 119, and Horace, *Odes*, 1, v, 3-5 [iv might seem a more appropriate analogue]. In the "Love and Harmony" lyric, M simply reprints without comment the obviously incorrect "her" of line 17. Even if he had not cared to accept the handwritten "his"—the diplomatic rigors of the Bentley and Erdman editions keep them from accepting it—he should have at least noted it, since other less modernized texts (K, P, and J/G) accept it as Blake's intention, which is also the

common sense of the context—Blake is hardly a feminist deconstructionist trying to rattle our pronominal preconceptions in the interests of gender ideology.³ Likewise, while M provides extraneous 1910 commentary from Saintsbury for "Mad Song," he fails to note, as E does, that in several copies line 4's "unfold" was changed by hand to "infol" and that line 7's "birds" was so changed from "beds." Both changes should have been accepted (as they are by K, P, and J/G) in a reading text.

Both M and P follow an editorial tradition, perhaps enforced by the texts, of minimal annotation for the *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, though on balance M seems more helpful, at least in the *Innocence* notes. P occasionally illustrates his historical concerns—by, for example, noting that the introduction to *Experience* implies Blake's view of the poet as one "in whom the threads of human history are drawn together," which leads him to further infer that prophecy in Blake meant "focusing" not futurizing. When he says that in "London" "mind-forged manacles" means that "we contribute to our plight by accepting and internalizing various constraints on our freedom" he will allow the teacher to point out to the student that what Blake more probably means and what the context better supports is the reading providing by J/G, who note that they refer "primarily [to] the authorities of church and state," though allowing the subordinate possibility that P exclusively advances. The differing annotative policies of the editors under review and J/G are obvious in such contrasts, with both P and M generally providing only one (perhaps unduly subjective) reading, thereby avoiding alternative, or even consensus, readings in order to impose their restrictive glosses. J/G will generally indicate their preference but allow for alternatives. One kind of editor goes through the text objectively asking himself "How may this be most helpfully annotated?"; the other kind subjectively asks "Do I have in mind an annotation I'd care to provide?"

THE OXFORD AUTHORS

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William Blake

EDITED BY MICHAEL MASON

There may be nothing particularly objectionable in M's telling us that, in the Cynic's first song in *An Island in the Moon*, "vest" is used as in modern American and probably signifies a dandy but not when so telling us that bit of relative inconsequence may eliminate a reading of "Old Corruption" as a radical term for the political establishment, a much more substantive piece of information which a majority of M's readers will not know—unless they read J/G. In general, it's really not so much a matter of what M does tell us but what he does not which will make his claim to "full annotation" a subliminal self-mockery in the mind of the reader as he recurrently ponders the relative value of the notes, what they contain and what they do not. It is correspondingly the case that M's implicit claim to have provided a host of recent secondary commentary is unwarranted. J/G, in one note to "The Mental Traveller," a poem to which M does provide a helpfully suggestive general commentary, provide more such references than M does through the course of his annotations for all the Blake he prints.

Both P and M typically provide brief headnotes to each work. For example, for *America* P has about 60 words, M about 160, both therein providing the barest sense of the poem and its historical and symbolic relations (half of M's note is concerned with defining "prophecy" as M construes it). J/G have over 1100 words, which enlarge on the historical context (beyond P), relate it in some detail to other works, and devote some time to the designs. P generally uses his fewer words to better purposes than M. M's *Visions* headnote is mainly taken up with what the reader could infer from the poem without M's help: That it is dramatic, that its speakers are engaged in moral (sexual), philosophical, and political dialogue. Even after allowing editorial prerogative its exegetal due, a reader may balk at M's feeling that Blake himself does not arbitrate among the ideologies he presents and that, Oothoon to the contrary, there is nothing to choose between Bromion and Theotormon. M's penchant for irrelevant tidbits surfaces in his longest note, a disproportionate attempt at relating the "jealous dolphins" with the story of the sea-nymph Galatea and a jealous suitor. He later tells us, to no helpful or cogent purpose, that "wake her womb" refers to a contemporary sexual physiology. A quick read through the fully annotated J/G *Visions* redundantly demonstrates how much better M might have used his time and space. M continues to illustrate his penchant for the arbitrary: *Urizen* "must have been a formation from 'horizon,' and perhaps Greek *horizein* to limit. The name is stressed on the first syllable." J/G allow for the problematic and alternative by noting that while "probably" deriving from the Greek word, it may also be a Blakean pun on "Your Reason"; they further note that, while metrically *Urizen* accented on the first syllable seems best, pronunciation, as well as the etymology, of such words must remain speculative. P here avoids dealing with the name but does define

in a traditional way what *Urizen* stands for. Both J/G and P note "God tormented" as a justifiable meaning for "Theotormon"; M simply notes the word as Blake's coinage.

In his de facto headnote to *The Book of Urizen* M expends most of his space pointing out how Blake followed the Bible in using the word "Book" to describe this and a few other of his works. He then points out to no one's surprise who had looked at the Table of Contents that Blake "does not achieve anything remotely like a Bible-sized text, or even a Pentateuch-sized one"—and he then flies off on an associative tangent to tell us such would be the case "even if the imitations of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, and Revelation in *Milton* and *Jerusalem* are counted into the project." Is this what the reader needs to know? Instead of straightforward expository prose, we too often get this kind of magisterial gobbledegook, usually, as here, following from and further developing a relatively private thesis the editor believes in to the exclusion of all others: "[*Urizen*] modulates from a complex reworking of *Paradise Lost* into a strange psychomachia that is combined with an imitation of Genesis." Irrelevance, disproportion, and tortured prose work in concert to produce the following note to the *Preludium* to *Urizen*: "The traditional word-order of the opening to an epic (starting with the subject of the poem, which is also the object of the first main verb) is preserved, as is the Miltonic genitive grammatical aspect, even though there is no main verb in Blake's opening, let alone one that takes a genitive." Compare J/G commenting on the same context: "The text of the *Preludium*, in one formulation, summarizes the theme of the work and then invokes the 'Eternals' to dictate stories 'of torment.' This mood is somewhat alleviated by the design . . . of a flying woman guiding a child, which B once printed separately with the caption, 'Teach these souls to fly.'" Since M does not believe in the relevance of

the designs, he of course can't help his readers to these latter associations and qualifications, though he could have emulated the clarity and relevance of the preceding reading and application of the *Preludium*.

Having dismembered and variously distributed the "Song of Los," M is free to make his annotations fit his crime—the "four harps" are taken to represent the "sequence of four texts which commences with 'Africa.'" While the inference is plausible, it's still the case that if Blake intended to sell what he'd written as written, two of the four would not make up the sequence as M prints it. Only J/G point out that "Africa" has little to do with Africa. They also note that Blake's tendency to repeat lines in different poems is illustrated by the first line of plate 3 of *America* and the last line of "Africa" but they do not further take advantage of that kind of repetition, as M does, to separate what Blake has integrated so that they can integrate what he has separated. The fact that *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *Visions*, and *America* contain the line "For every thing that lives is holy" is an argument for a seminal thought connecting these poems but nothing more than that. M reads the problematical "loose Bible" as a reference to the "considerable overlap in events and persons between the Koran and the Bible" which makes the former an approximation of the latter. J/G simply supply the etymological suggestion derived by S. Foster Damon from George Sale that Koran means "a collection of loose leaves." (Since Antamon and Leutha, sexual sorts, give the Bible to Mahomet, Damon's further suggestion that moral or sexual looseness is implied may seem a more contextually helpful interpretation.) Perhaps envisaging a more popular audience than either M or J/G, P tends towards strictly informative notes that will seem redundant to scholars and most students—he glosses Ararat in "Africa," provides dates for Newton and Locke, and, it may be with his historical charge

in mind, tells us the needful about Rousseau and Voltaire, noting as well their urizenic parallels. His historical bent is more obviously at work when he relates Blake's critique of the Kings of Asia to the European *ancien regime*. Occasionally P indicates that he is not as much up on his American history as he should be—or he would have singled out, as J/G do, "Light-horse Harry Lee" instead of letting the reader do what he can with Blake's *America* allusion by sorting out the "many possible Lees" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Nor does P seem to have the background to suggest, as J/G do, that the scribe of Pennsylvania is probably Franklin and the builder of Virginia probably Thomas Jefferson.

Blake's tendency to foist names at his reader with an implicit challenge to make what he/she will of them can lead to a superfoetation of predication as one moves from commentator to commentator. Both P and M note that a historical Ariston stole his best friend's wife. But P discounts the reference, supposing that Blake is "using the image for his own purposes, because of the double connotation of grandeur and hiddenness," while M feels that the contextual association of Ariston with Atlantis may indicate that Blake was "thinking of Plato's story that Poseidon lord of Atlantis captured a mortal bride." J/G, following Damon, note both references, historical and platonic, though Damon himself feels the historical reference (from Herodotus) "is probably a coincidence." Readers may legitimately infer that the real significance of this and other inextricable allusions is that they remind us of the infernal holographs that based the plates we have, as well as of lost drafts never transcribed into copper, that might have helped solve the referential puzzles the extant canon sometimes presents both editors and readers.

Examples of differences in annotative style may be as serendipitously picked up as Indian arrow heads were for Thoreau at Walden. For M, Orc

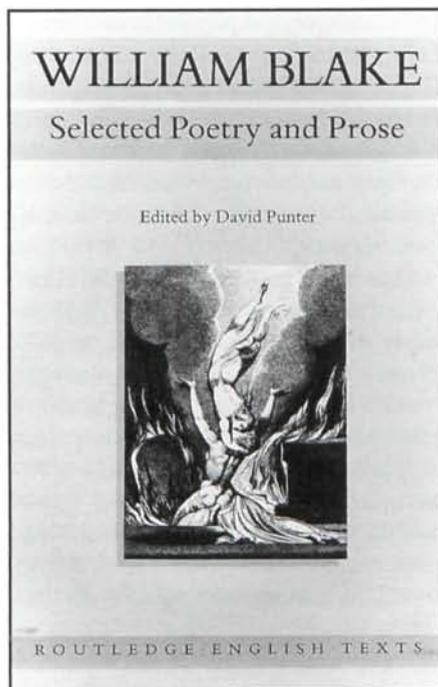
"clearly derives from the Latin word Orcus for the underworld and his god." P does not try to derive the name, merely identifying the character with revolution, desire, etc. J/G let the reader take his choice from among the vagaries of an indefinite consensus which derives the word from "Orc" (sea monster), or "Orcus" (hell, also a giant in Spenser), or "cor" (heart), or "orchis" (testicle), concluding that whatever you choose from the above, the word represented for Blake a figure who struggles against political oppression, sexual repression, and restrictions on energy. M's "clear" if tunnel-visioned identification is in keeping with his general assurance that whatever he happens to know is both right and exclusively so. Actually, Orc's later association with Luvah makes it fairly clear that among other meanings "heart" has a good deal of Blakean potential in it, with "testicle" perhaps warranted because at last Luvah is relegated to the place of seed in one version of the Blakean millennium. The hellish reference M is so certain of has no comparable justification in Blake or, for that matter, in classical associations.

P says of the "Atlantean hills" that Blake "was interested in myths of Atlantis; and they become useful here as he sets up a symbolic site for debate and battle between America and Britain." This last would perhaps lead into a helpful association if P would further tell us what those myths were and how he thinks Blake is usefully using them. Since he feels he should remind us that George Washington was the President of the United States, why not more on these myths? M is even less helpful—he tells us "Atlantean" means "as mighty as Atlas." J/G suggest a relevance for the association when they note that the mythical Atlantis, referred to by Plato, "is the land of the Golden Age (cf. 10:7) which is now sunk beneath the Atlantic, breaking the continental link between England and America." To further strengthen this reading, they also point

out a consequential parallel in the "Song of Liberty" to "those infinite mountains of light, now barr'd out by the atlantic sea." In this instance, the best note after all might have been a reference to Damon's rundown of variants under "Atlantic" or merely to "Atlantic" in the *Concordance*.

In his notes to *Europe* the reference to the "secret child" (line 59, 3:2) is simply the birth of Christ in M; in J/G it is not only a reminder of the "Nativity Hymn" (M's Miltonic associations seem to have failed him here) but also and consequently contains the implication that His birth should have brought about an overthrow of Old Testament values it did not bring about: Orc's birth, correlated with the French Revolution, is thereby substantively kindred.

Because excerpts make up most of the rest of P's text, annotation is comparably selective, though the editor often provides a brief gloss, mainly concerned with their symbolic purposes, of the works he selects from. M's annotation of the remaining works, when compared to J/G, continues minimal, disproportionate, arbitrary, and relatively irrelevant. He correspondingly continues to suffer from a misguided tendency to originality, perhaps traceable to an insufficient knowledge of secondary materials, while failing to provide what's really needed and helpful. The truly full annotation of J/G's *Book of Urizen* indexes what we need and miss in M. No objective reader could accept M's reductive assessment of the integral relation between illumination and text after reading through J/G's commentary on the title page or, for that matter, after following up the references to the designs which they make *passim*. As usual, M's commentary suggests that all his reader needs are bare references to the Bible and *Paradise Lost*. M characteristically fails to demonstrate the validity of his parallels to either work, with most of the notes simplistically tangential analogues (e. g., "Dictate. Milton's well-known



word for the activity of his muse"; "cities: The appearance of cities at this point reflects their similar prominence in Gen. 11-14 and 18-19"). Here as elsewhere M pretends to a knowing superiority to his predecessors which he fails to demonstrate: "[Urizen] is a much more ambiguous figure than many critics recognize," a portentous utterance which delivers the usual Miltonic mouse as its ambiguously superficial inconsequence. At about this juncture, one may strongly suspect that given a half-day's research for the project, a competent graduate student would have made up a more helpful set of notes for *The Book of Urizen*, and, in a proportional period of time, for at least a majority of the other works M so "fully" annotates. P has ten notes to his selections from *Urizen*, proportionally more than M provides, and they are more helpful. M's annotations for *The Book of Los* are comparably sparse, unhelpful, mere deadwood—he tells us what a polybus is, how "pliant" and "redounding" should be defined, and of course that chapter 2 is "full of memories of *Paradise Lost*." Again, the continuing point is not so much what M does give us,

but rather what he doesn't. Dictionary definitions and references to "Gen. 2:2" would be unobjectionable in an edition that was in fact fully annotated. M simply does not make discriminative use of the space he has.

At times, M's annotative tendency to let what he happens to know loom disproportionately large relative to need or merit verges on the speciously inconsequential—for example, his reminding us that "lovely woman" (*Europe*, line 92, 5:3) is an echo of Goldsmith; or on the inconsequentially ludicrous—for example, the "doors of marriage are open" (*America*, line 233, 14:19) is somehow supposed to be glossed by the fact that "Blake married Catherine Boucher in 1782," a biographical fact there is no reason to believe Blake would have felt important enough to intrude into this 1793 prophecy. As J/G indicate, the context could better suggest Blake's and the general liberal hope that the Marriage Act of 1753 would by then have been repealed or modified—it was being agitated in Parliament around this time. Blake would have regarded it as a triumph for Orc, as well as for "the females naked and glowing with the lusts of youth." The fact that P does not note this may encourage an occasional impression that his historical bent is often as perfunctory as it is sometimes superficial, even when compared to J/G, who have no special historical pretensions to live up to. Their respective notes on "caverned" man suggest the relative awareness M and J/G have of their author's associations. M's reference to Plato's allegory of the cave is generic, shop-worn, nothing much to any *ad hoc* point. J/G's reference to Locke's epistemology reminds the reader of the *Natural Religion* propositions, of *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, of a particular *bête noire* in the Blakean pandemonium.

It's more their quality and character than their number and length that make J/G's *Milton* annotations vastly superior to M's, though J/G have about

twenty percent more notes than M, including nearly three times as many to Milton and his works, though one would have expected that M's persistent use of that poet elsewhere would have been appropriately compounded in a work specifically concerned with him. As usual, M's annotations are typically the briefest of one liners—"Cf. Ps. 120:3"—while J/G's typically tell the student who needs annotation what will actually help him rather than uselessly cf. him into what may as well be a deadend. Both M and J/G refer us to the *Paradise Lost* source of "To Justify the Ways of God to Man," Blake's first Miltonic allusion, but J/G goes beyond the obvious to proleptically point up to the reader its irony ("Blake makes Milton's purpose . . . his own, but he rejects Milton's theology"). M's notes fail to alert the reader to the fact that he has placed the preface to *Milton* elsewhere in his edition, though even if he had so advised him, a trip to its place in "Blake on Art and Literature" would have provided nothing of annotative value, though it would have required yet another excursion into "Lyrics from the Epic Poems" in order for the reader to discover the rest of what Blake had meant to preface his poem with. And even then all he would get for his troubles is misinformation (of the preface's "stolen and perverted writings" M vaguely supposes Blake believed they derived "from more ancient sources," whereas J/G, arrogating to themselves some of M's usual thunder, most helpfully and relevantly note that "the idea that the classics were plagiarized from the Bible . . . had been articulated by Milton's Christ" in *Paradise Regained*) or non-information (that "delight is in destroying" is "not a specific allusion"). In fully annotating "atone-ment" (*Milton* 2:13) J/G suggest a way M might have gone, had he really got below the surface with his Miltonic (and biblical) references: "Although much of Milton's theology was radical . . . his view of the atonement was the orthodox one that God demands man's death

as punishment for sin, but accepts Jesus' sacrificial death as a substitute payment of man's debt (*Paradise Lost* 3, 203-12, 236-41). To Blake, this view of the crucifixion was no different from 'Druidical' sacrifice." The note is then supplemented by references to confirming and explicatory commentary on the subject of Blake and atonement.

As noted, P realizes that excerpting from *Jerusalem*, as well as from *Milton*, is a "near[ly] impossible task," though one he must attempt. M in his annotation of his complete text of *Jerusalem* continues as above, though he abrogates his introductory policy and qualifies his general criticism of interpretive summaries by providing an intelligent and perceptive account of the poem (as he had of *Milton*). He is of course certain that his rendering of *Jerusalem* is the "best," but we've come by now to smile indulgently at M's naive assurance of his overall superiority to whatever in the world of Blake has had the blinkered misfortune to predate his original inferences about it.

Mason's bibliography is perfunctory at best, merely an outdated list of books containing nothing later than 1978 (only three listings later than 1970) and would not be acceptable appended to a graduate seminar paper on Blake. Punter's coverage is even sparser than Mason's, perhaps justifiable because of the narrower focus of his editorial policy, but he does provide a brief critical note for each entry, a few of which update the bibliography through 1985. J/G provide an ideal example of what a scholarly bibliography can and should be, particularly in an edition which is meant primarily for the student: A compendious headnote referring the reader to major Blake collections, bibliographies, journals etc., is followed by a listing of over one hundred titles divided into major editions, art collections and commentaries, reference tools, biographies, books of criticism, collected and selected essays. Not only is the bibliography up-to-date in itself but it was

later supplemented by the editors in *Blake* 16 (1982): 107-110.

Finally, a format matter which will matter to some prospective buyers: Mason and Punter save the typesetter a bit of time by numbering every tenth line; the Norton edition provides the more traditional and helpful five-line numerations.

As noted at the outset, the fact that the Oxford and Routledge texts may be primarily geared to somewhat different audiences does not eliminate the probability that they will both vie for their major readership in the university classroom. Which of the two is then preferable for that readership? For most thorough-going purposes, and in spite of deficiencies in format and annotation, the Mason text is preferable to Punter's simply because it includes *Jerusalem* and *Milton* whole. The given instructor can set his students right about the illuminations, further apologize as needed for Mason's introductory remarks, caution them about the notes, and/or perhaps simply follow the implications of Mason's negating introduction and the paucity or irrelevance of his notes by telling them to indeed let Blake speak altogether for himself. The Oxford text is a handsome and invitingly legible one, with generous margins and inter-linear spacings, a credit in this respect to the publishers. On the other hand, if a given instructor or set of students is satisfied with selections from Blake's major works, then Punter should be their choice because his notes, if skimpy, are typically more helpful and to the point both in their facts and in their interpretations than Mason's.⁴

But, as indicated, the choice is not so limited. The Oxford Standard Authors (Keynes) Blake is still the preferred choice for those who need all of Blake in a relatively modernized form; only Erdman's text will suit the scholars in a form most of them can readily afford. Even as it stands the Norton text, which reproduces many of the illuminations in color and most of them in

monochrome, is much superior to any other selected edition. If it were re-edited with a *Jerusalem* complete (and *Tiriel* added), and with the first edition's errors and oversights corrected, it would on balance be not only the best reading text available but also the most helpful for nearly all scholarly purposes that could still do without most of *The Four Zoas* and did not require attempts at reproducing Blake's accidents such as Erdman and Bentley variously make.

¹ I use the traditional plate/line number references, as in E. M. prefers consecutive line numbers to plate divisions throughout his edition—thereby seriously detracting from its usefulness to students and scholars who will therefore be unable to use it with the *Blake Concordance* or with secondary materials using plate/number references.

² The recently revised and reissued W. H. Stevenson/David Erdman edition of *The Complete Poems of Blake* (Longman/Norton) is also full of annotation and could serve nearly as well as J/G (who seem to have critically appreciated Stevenson's notes) in relevant contrast to the editions reviewed here.

³ While Blake did later put the case for a female cupid (in the *Notebook* poem "Why was Cupid a Boy?"), his grammatical context here obviates a possible argument-from-prolepsis.

⁴ P. H. Butter's Everyman paperback (*William Blake: Selected Poems*, 1982) is preferable to Punter's both for inclusiveness and annotation. In fact, Butter's occasionally arbitrary annotation is nonetheless, where comparable, superior both in quantity and quality to Mason's. (He is besides trenchantly helpful in explaining the problems of pointing in Blake which modernizers tend to assume without so explaining.) The complete Stevenson poetry text noted earlier will be overpriced (at \$74.95) for most college classrooms unless or until a paperback significantly reduces its cost.

Sensibility in Transformation: Creative Resistance to Sentiment from the Augustans to the Romantics. Essays in Honor of Jean H. Hagstrum, edited by Syndy McMillen Conger. Associated University Presses, Inc.: Cranbury, NJ, 1990. \$36.50

Reviewed by
Wallace Jackson

Not long ago Samuel Johnson was the hero of the age of sensibility. In 1984 Fredric Bogel published a book on English literature in the later years of the eighteenth century, diagnosed the malady from which its writers suffered as ontological insecurity and from this historical context brought forth Samuel Johnson as "a center of presence," an example of "ontological plenitude" in the midst of an age suffering the debilities of selfhood. In the years between then and now nothing much has changed except that in the essays comprising this volume little is said of Johnson and much of Mary Wollstonecraft, the new heroine of sensibility whose brief career reveals the journey from being "an early ideologue of sensibility . . . to its antagonist."

The nine essays, plus introduction, here enlisted under the title, *Sensibility in Transformation*, have been gathered to honor Jean Hagstrum and find in his work their inception. Syndy Conger, editor, proposes that the essays reveal

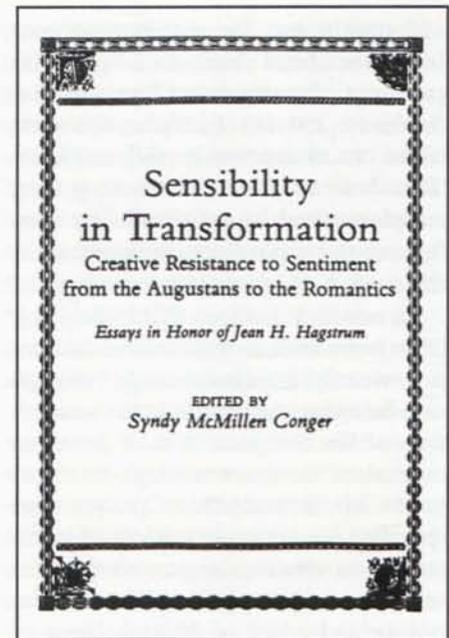
connections between sensibility and other key preoccupations of the age—conversation (Leland E. Warren), the self (Mark S. Madoff), the rhetoric of rights (Stephen Cox), the irrational (John Dussinger), the feminine ideal (Catherine N. Parke and Mitzi Meyers), marriage and romance (James Thompson), the poetic imagination

(Lore Metzger), and the sublime (Robert Platzner).

It is highly interesting that Wollstonecraft should emerge in this volume in the way that she does and that she should virtually dominate it. Jane Austen is present, but no later eighteenth-century novels are discussed except Wollstonecraft's (Madoff's text is Sterne's *Journal to Eliza*); no post-Augustan poets are considered and nothing much in the way of critical prose enters these essays with the exception of Metzger's reconsideration of Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795) and Wordsworth's Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800). Meyers reports on Wollstonecraft's literary reviews, most of which, it would seem, scold female novelists for their romantic vapidity. In this context Platzner's inquiry into De Quincey and the sublime seems as alien as its subject, the imagined cosmos.

We should all be pleased that Wollstonecraft is getting her due; we may be somewhat skeptical about the overpayments registered in this collection, for the literary politics of the redressed balance are vividly on display. Wollstonecraft's life was difficult and cruel. Her failed love affair with Gilbert Imlay, her two suicide attempts, her death in childbirth, and with it all her commitment to writing sensibly about women's rights and education make her a clearly memorable figure, even perhaps the archetypal feminist from whom many of the contributors to this volume derive inspiration. This is as it should be.

Yet at the same time the volume is not large enough, by which I mean capacious and varied enough in its inquiries, to take us as far into the subject of sensibility as the subject deserves. Most of the essays tend to find their motive power in a distrust of sensibility "as an artificial and unprincipled mode of discourse" (Cox, "Sensibility as Argument"), a kind of entrapment from which men but especially women suffer, and thus a sort of vast illusory web corrupting feelings



and distorting relations between the sexes. Dussinger observes that sensibility's "tendency [is] to equate the woman's social, with her psychological, subservience" ("Madness and Lust in the Age of Sensibility"), and Conger passes on the views of feminist critics who regard sensibility "as part of a reactionary ideology of propriety working to stifle women and keep them subordinate." All this is no doubt true; still we are offered no very enlarged exploration of sensibility as historically inscribed in the arts or the art of politics. Yet the outline of a master narrative is evident in the tale of Wollstonecraft's escape from the illusions and disempowerments to which sensibility subjected women.

So far as it goes this narrative is impressive and even moving, but the subplot is a story of betrayal and complicity, told by Jerome McGann, enlarged upon by Marjorie Levinson, and, like a thrice-told tale, is here served up once more by Metzger. Metzger finds that Wordsworth's Preface reveals "his unacknowledged ideology that promotes a hierarchy of feeling that masks his complicity with a repressive and exploitative socioeconomic system" ("The Poetics of Schiller and Wordsworth"). Wordsworth's evasions and

displacements (the terms originate in contemporary criticism with McGann; see *The Romantic Ideology*, Chicago, 1983), if that is what they are, might well be, but are not, brought into relation with the politics of post-Augustan poets and poetry. Gray's "Elegy" does not sponsor a critique of the British class structure, a fact irritably noted long ago by William Empson, nor does it lament a social condition in which those at the bottom have no hope of self-advancement. The "Eton College Ode" does not regret the absence of the disadvantaged among the matriculants. John Sitter has observed of the mid-century poet that he "characteristically longs to be not only far from the madding crowd, which Pope had wanted as much as Gray, but far from everybody. Accordingly, many of the poems that most reflect the 1740s and 1750s are not epistles—that is, not poems with an explicit audience and implicit social engagement—but soliloquies or lyrics, usually blank verse musings or odes addressed to personifications" (*Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England*, Cornell, 1982).

Wordsworth's project is deeply fissured, but it is grounded in the effort to translate the cultural marginality of rural life from the periphery to the center. Metzger states that Wordsworth's aesthetic ideology of the poet "signals the displacement of art anchored in the social relations of a specific time and place by an autonomous art anchored in the individual situated in mental space, in an ideal spot of time." It would be interesting to know what poets she has in mind, for most, if not all, are either leaping out of their skin in the desperate enterprise to be someone else at some other time or writing lamentations inviting resignation and retreat. The figure of the poet makes for an especially interesting subject. Thomas Weiskel noted that the "idealized image of the type is the figure of the virile poet identified with the sun and with Phoe-

bus; in Collins, the 'rich-haired youth of mom'; in Gray, the aged Bard whose 'beard and hoary hair / Streamed, like a meteor, to the troubled air'; in the young Blake, Summer with 'ruddy limbs and flourishing hair,' loved by the Valleys 'in his pride,' and in the mature Blake, the character Orc subsuming the traditional imagery of phallic fire" (*The Romantic Sublime*, Johns Hopkins, 1976). This is the vision of the poet that emphasizes the oracular and ecstatic, and composition as unmediated inspirational discourse.

Wordsworth's recreation of this figure seen against the backdrop specified by Weiskel is one of his most impressive achievements, for it does not capitulate to the desire for an heroicized identity. On the contrary, Wordsworth brings the figure of the poet right out of the emblematic identity of the "virtuous man" Thomson provides in "Summer" (cf. lines 431-68). The opening of "The Ruined Cottage" recreates Thomson's passage with the difference that Wordsworth's narrator comes upon his virtuous man in the person of the Wanderer. Wordsworth's two stories, the account of the Wanderer's education *and* the tale of Margaret are mutually dependent in that the right understanding of Margaret's tragedy depends upon the right understanding that apprehends and communicates it. One story, Margaret's, moves us by its pathos; the other, the Wanderer's, teaches us to see as the Wanderer would see. Taken together both stories have much to do with "natural feeling" and the education of the heart.

Like Burke's program on which it is to some extent founded, Wordsworth's is conservative and reactionary, but it allows us to historicize sensibility in a useful way. The burden of his enterprise is to shift the discussion of poetry and poets to a new locus of natural feeling and away from the romance of fine fabling and those various illusions of sensibility promoted by the Wartons and other masters of the sublime and pathetic in the second half century.

The case for Wollstonecraft—an impressive one—is that the Revolution extended her horizons and transformed her into a protofeminist. The case against Wordsworth is that he betrayed the Revolution, attempted to disguise his treachery, and advocated a new quietism in the name of personal salvation.

Sensibility is a difficult and even paradoxical concept because its major tendencies run in two opposed and irreconcilable directions. So far as sensibility promoted custom and habit it provided the essential rationale for the continued suppression of women. The female was the guardian of feeling; it was her strength but also the special index to her weakness. So far as custom and habit were the ground of natural feeling, feeling could be regarded, James Chandler says, as the product "of a collective human consciousness and therefore cannot be assessed by an individual's private stock of reason" (*Wordsworth's Second Nature*, Chicago, 1984). Natural feeling, in other words, is a product of traditional modes of thought supported by custom and habit and invested in sustained prejudices which have cultural and historical authority. If we are today Wollstonecraftians and not Burkeans that is not necessarily to the point. Wordsworth's importance in this context is that he provides a major stage in the transformation of sensibility, for the entire issue of natural feeling is related to the genealogy of sensibility, itself a very significant part of Wordsworth's inheritance in the closing years of the century.

Much of what this volume proposes is that feelings mythologized, institutionalized, hierarchicalized, and romanticized constitute the enemy out there; too often the enemy out there becomes the enemy within insofar as sensibility is inscribed in codes of behavior and conduct. Sensibility variously betrays. Dussinger remarks that "As Fuseli reveals in uncompromising detail, sensibility is a 'civilized' disguise

from primal urges toward sexual dominance and surrender, and the reason/madness axis sets the ideal conditions for this struggle." James Thompson, speaking of Austen's novels, tells us that the "nubile female must part with her independence on the open market, taking what the market will bear, thus the marriage market is like all other social institutions in that it has become externalized and objectified, transformed into an institution that always precedes the individual, is external and alienated from her, such that she seems to have no say in its rules or organization, but is merely subject to it" ("Sense and Sensibility: Finance and Romance"). Dussinger's Freudian and Thompson's Marxist analyses are complemented by Madoff's exploration—Susan Sontag is the leading spirit here—of the relation between the etiology of tuberculosis and the cultural idea of strong feeling ("They caught fire at each other": Laurence Sterne's *Journal of the Pulse of Sensibility*").

Out from the terrible darkness of the imperiled heart emerges Mary Wollstonecraft whose "analysis of the mesh between gender and genre inaugurates the feminist critical project" (Meyers, "Sensibility and the 'Walk of Reason'"). Wollstonecraft bears the wound; constituted initially of the burden of sensibility from which she has freed herself, she is the legitimate English female voice of the Revolution renouncing the tyranny of feeling. Sensibility, in sum, is fixed by Wollstonecraft as the thing it is: a "socially conservative force because it replaces truly spontaneous and individual consciousness with externally imposed imitations of feeling" (Cox, "Sensibility as Argument").

Catherine Parke states that the "pivotal term in the *Vindication [of the Rights of Women]* is *justice*, the term that she argues should replace *charity* as our primary category to name what women and men alike truly need" ("What Kind of Heroine is Mary Woll-

stonecraft?"). Justice is a term that has little or no place in the genealogy of feeling, which means that it has no historical identity as a component of sensibility. Sensibility arises historically from an optimistic appraisal of human nature, and the terms commonly employed to designate the disposition of feeling are pity, compassion, sympathy, and even the pleasurable sensations that benevolent actions or emotions engender in the one who performs or feels them. This is the character given to sensibility by R.S. Crane in his genealogy of the man of feeling. By the middle years of the eighteenth century sensibility had lost much of its earlier affiliation with benevolence and gained something of a closer association with melancholy. Gray's elegist, for example, is not an especially good example of the benevolent man, but is a first-rate example of what sensibility had come to mean. Wordsworth, who uses the past far better than Gray, uses also the idea of sensibility in a manner much closer to its original purport. His old Cumberland beggar presents the occasion for benevolent action—charity—and all those who assist him feel better for having done so. The beggar is a peripatetic example of the ecology of benevolence: even the birds benefit from the crumbs that fall from his aged and trembling hands. Parke's notion of Wollstonecraft is, I dare say, accurate; for Wollstonecraft charity is not an enabling or empowering concept. Justice "promises to subvert a social order and arrangement"; charity "confirms and supports the prevailing politics of the relationships between men and women."

Insofar as the essayists grapple with the morality of sensibility, Parke's distinction may provide terms of opposition and also suggest why Austen and Wordsworth come in for some rough handling in Thompson's essay and Metzger's. Something of the new politicization is evident in the antithesis Parke provides and informs a fair number of the other contributions (by no means

all). As I have suggested, Wordsworth's relation to the complicated tradition of sensibility is involved and difficult; Wollstonecraft's, I believe, is not, though the projects of each were entirely different and incommensurate with each other. The first part of my last sentence I would apply to Austen and Wollstonecraft had not Leland Warren done so: "In Jane Austen we find a near contemporary of Wollstonecraft who speaks with a much more finely tuned voice, who is a much better conversationist, but whose words nevertheless endorse much of what Wollstonecraft would tell us" ("The Conscious Speakers").

Charity and justice do not of course divide the issue, which I think is more interestingly seen in the uses that a great novelist and a great poet make of the devious and supple idea of sensibility to authenticate the experiential status of their writings at the same proximate time that sensibility was under attack for the inauthentic and artificial modes of feeling it promoted. Here again, we come to a dividing of the ways, a dividing that gathers to itself much of the individual and collective energies determining what was being written, for what purposes, and to what audience in the later and closing years of the century. This is an affecting tale that has no need of villains; as we say in the trade, sensibility is a site of consciousness within the "eighteenth century's extensive and varied program in the education of consciousness" ("Sensibility as Argument"), and as such it is a locale wherein feeling is variously reassigned or repudiated depending upon the particular projects of the actors and agents on the scene. At times the representation of consciousness can take rather peculiar turns, as in the four wholly disparate spokesmen/poets Gray creates in the "Elegy," "A Long Story," "The Progress of Poesy," and "The Bard," poems written one after the other that present in their totality a fragmented self-consciousness and an incoherent idea of

the poet who is assembled and disassembled in a bewildering set of juxtaposed and incompatible identities.

A very brief history of an earlier literary project may help to round off my commentary. Between 1711 and 1715 Pope completed and published *An Essay on Criticism*, *Windsor-Forest*, and *The Temple of Fame*. The revised and enlarged version of *The Rape of the Lock* and *The Messiah* are also products of these years, as is the beginning of the *Iliad* translation. The first three works in particular suggest the scope of the young poet's ambitiously educative program, and all three poems are predicated on well-known preceding discourse. All three poems assess critical, political, and cultural history and thereby initiate an encounter with public and evaluative verse. Pope's en-

terprise is variously underwritten by such concepts as "natural reason" and "natural law." His ability to deploy these concepts as congruent helps locate his discourse within the framework of accepted and recognized cultural and institutional authorities in the early years of the century, and suggests that he is teaching his audience in a manner not resumed again (by a poet; exceptions must be made for Johnson) with the same vigor and ambition until Wordsworth published his early poems and manifestos at the end and turn of the century.

The inability of any English poet to assume Pope's cultural authority in the years directly following his death reinforces the significance of Cox's remark about the education of consciousness in the middle and later years of the

century. One of the reasons sensibility is of such importance to the history of that period is because the values inherent within sensibility were susceptible of complex relations with emergent ideas of the self as personal and social being that a pre-modern culture was bringing into existence. That sensibility lent itself to a politics variously regressive or progressive is part of the give and take and ebb and flow of the greater historical adventure in the making of a modern citizen. It is merely a commonplace irony that one of the most exciting imaginations was also one of the most conservative and that one far less exciting was also among the most progressive.

POETRY

Mrs. Blake Requests Her Portrait

He keeps putting her off.
 She, in her quiet way, insists.
 Knowing he has a way with women,
 romancing them in paint
 the color of jewels, inventing
 their most flattering features,
 she expects he will exalt
 her wifely figure,
 the serviceable hips,
 hair ripe with oil and smoke.

Over lunch he takes up
 a dull lead stub and sketches
 her profile: one miniature eye
 downcast, half a mouth
 and chin. Still chewing
 the last bite of fish pie,
 he adds a few squiggles for hair.

Pushing it across the table,
 he trusts her to understand
 that when he rendered Beatrice
 crowned, Eve's exquisite neck
 and Bathsheba disrobed,
 his vision was of Catherine.

— Paulette Roeske

NEWSLETTER

Northrop Frye

 1912-1991

A quarter century ago, Northrop Frye, preaching a baccalaureate sermon from the text "Take therefore no thought for the morrow," urged the graduates of Victoria and Emmanuel Colleges to forgo "the expectation of identifying [their] lives with a definite body of work achieved." The life that manifests the practical wisdom of a social vision, he said, is to be preferred to a body of accomplishments. Such a vision, he continued, may occasionally give us a glimpse of a greater wisdom, "a sense of a presence which is ourselves yet infinitely bigger than ourselves, which lives with us but which will not disappear into death when we do."

It is difficult to imagine a body of accomplishments larger than Frye's. His works are monumental, but they need not be rehearsed for the readers of this quarterly. Moreover, Frye would naturally draw back from any suggestion that we canonize him for his achievements, for he was, in the words of the obituary writer for the *London Times*, "one of the last great critics to be concerned with humane letters rather than with his own position in the hierarchy." That is precisely the point of his urging the Victorian and Emmanuel graduates not to identify their lives with a body of achievements. He says, rather, that it's the practical wisdom of a social vision that we should commit ourselves to, for only then can we begin to envision, as he put it in the baccalaureate sermon, "a presence which is ourselves yet infinitely bigger than ourselves." The closer we are able to get to this vision, the farther away we move from what he often referred to as the "dreary society of egos."

Frye often wrote about the end of things: apocalypse was a central cate-

gory for him in both literature and life. In a 1970 sermon delivered in the Merton College Chapel, he spoke of mortality in these terms: "Death, the gospel tells us, is the last of our new beginnings: it is not the opposite of life, but only the opposite of birth, until we reach it, when it becomes birth, and in our last and greatest act of renunciation we find that all things have been made anew."

The sense of an ending, says Frank Kermode, reflects our "irreducibly intermediary preoccupations." Frye's sense of an ending was clearly related to his central intermediary preoccupation, the expanding vision that makes up his life's work. It has been too little remarked, I think, the degree to which this vision is fundamentally religious. The dissenting, visionary, Low Church Protestantism that was Frye's heritage helps to explain a number of his first principles. "My religious background really *did* shape almost everything," he recently reported. And just as his sense of a beginning was rooted in a religious vision, so was his sense of an ending.

In *The Secular Scripture* Frye remarks that "not all of us will be satisfied with calling the central part of our mythological inheritance a revelation from God, and, though each chapter of this book closes on much the same cadence, I cannot claim to have found a more acceptable formulation." The context of this perception is still another of his many efforts to name the imagination's sense of otherness, but what is perhaps most revealing is the dependent clause tucked away in the middle. To speak of the cadence of closure calls our attention to the intimate relation between the rhythm of Frye's ideas and his sense of an ending. The conclusions to his books, to chapters within his books, and to his essays seem more often than not to return to his own sense of what is fundamental—what he refers to as "the third order of experience." This, of course, is imaginative experience, but it is also the experience of a religious vision.

It seems foolish to try to put into other words Frye's sense of an ending. Let me simply recall a few of his own eloquent conclusions, a sampler of endings from each of the seven decades of his writing career—endings that return us to his beginnings and that reflect the ultimate end of his intermediary preoccupations. The first was written when he was twenty-three; the last, several months before his death.

You remember that it started to rain when Snow White dropped dead, and that she remained in her glass coffin through autumn and winter, and came back to life in the spring when her lover kissed her? Well, that's what most of those primitive rituals were about—the spirit of life and growth that died when the year died and rose again at the year's rebirth. The rituals meant more than just rape and murder. Primitive people were cursed with that, and we are born under that curse, but we and our children don't have to keep applauding gangsters and allowing them to tear us to pieces with bombshells to the end of time. If winter comes, can spring be far behind? —"Music and the Savage Breast" (1938)

Just as in time of prosperity and confidence men turn to science to speed up their own progress, so in times of trouble and confusion, when even the unreligious begin to understand something of what is meant by the fall of man, the humanities come into focus again. For they lead us away from that ordinary and unthinking life that promised us comfort and gave us misery, and toward the discipline of spiritual freedom from which they derive the name of liberal. —"Education and the Humanities" (1947)

All construction has to come from the spiritual power great enough to bring peace on earth to men of good will. And it is impossible to exaggerate the physical weakness of that power: a new-born baby in a deserted stable in a forlorn village of a miserable province of an enslaved empire is not more weak. The important thing is that it should be a real presence, and when it is, all the wise and simple begin to meet one another around its cradle. —"Trends in Modern Culture" (1952)

In the last plate [of Blake's *Job Illustrations*], things are much as they were before, but Job's family have taken the

instruments down from the tree and are playing them. In Blake, we recover our original state, not by returning to it, but by re-creating it. The act of creation, in its turn, is not producing something out of nothing, but the act of setting free what we already possess. —“The Keys to the Gates” (1966)

It is not difficult to see the destroying angel of the Book of Wisdom's vision, what with war in the Near East, war in the Middle East, war in the Far East. . . . There is nothing new in forebodings of disaster; they have been essentially the picture the world has presented for the last four or five thousand years, long before the time of Christ. But there is still a difference between seeing only that and seeing in it the eclipsing shadow of a power that is still fighting for us. It is the latter vision that turns the darkness of Advent into the festival of blazing lights, the lights which are the glory of a God who is also Man, who is continually born and continually dying, and yet remains unborn and beyond the reach of death. —“A Leap in the Dark” (1971)

If the human race were to destroy both itself and the planet it lives on, that would be the final triumph of illusion. But we have other myths, myths telling us that time and space and life have an end, but that the sense of identity with something other than these things will not, that there is a word which, whether flesh or not, is still dwelling with us. Also that our ability to respond to what it says is the only sensible reason yet proposed for our being here. —“The Expanding World of Metaphor” (1984)

There is nothing so unique about death as such, where we may be too distracted by illness or sunk in senility to have much identity at all. In the double vision of a spiritual and a physical world simultaneously present, every moment we have lived through we have also died out of into another order. Our life in the resurrection, then, is already here, and waiting to be recognized. —*The Double Vision* (1990)

The death of Northrop Frye, in Margaret Atwood's phrase, has left us orphaned. “We could mourn him,” says Richard Outram in the last line of a beautiful poetic tribute. “But that would be boasting.”

Robert D. Denham

WORDSWORTH SUMMER CONFERENCE AT DOVE COTTAGE

27 July to 10 August 1991

Twenty minute papers are invited on all aspects of romanticism, from any theoretical standpoint for this two week international conference directed by Richard Wordsworth. Send abstracts of papers to Jonathan Wordsworth at Dove Cottage. Paper readers are required to attend the full two weeks of the conference. An intensive program of lectures, panels, seminars, research papers, graded walks, and excursions is planned. Speakers who plan to attend include John Beer, Marilyn Gaull, Seamus Heaney, Morton Paley, and Helen Vendler. For a copy of the 1991 conference brochure and details of residential and non-residential attendance, write:

The Conference Administrator
Wordsworth Summer Conference
Dove Cottage, Grasmere
Cumbria LA22 9SH, UK

CENTRE FOR BRITISH STUDIES PUBLICATION

The Centre for British Studies at the University of Adelaide, South Australia, has published three papers presented at its symposium on romanticism, July 1989.

Edited by Deirdre Coleman and Peter Otto, the volume includes an introduction, Michael J. Tolley's “Marriages in Heaven and Hell: Blake's Enigmatic Title-Page” (1 illus.), Nelson Hilton's “‘I’ Sings Blake's Songs” (12 illus.), and Tilottama Rajan's “The Eye/I of the Other: Self and Audience in Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads.”

The volume is being distributed in the northern hemisphere through *Blake*, and is available for US \$9 (please send check made out to Blake to Patricia Neill at *Blake*, Department of English, University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627). The publisher would be grateful if readers would notify appropriate bibliographers of this procedure.

BLAKE AT THE TATE

The Tate Gallery's collection of more than 150 water colors, drawings, and prints by Blake will be shown in its entirety in a special display to be presented in the three lower floor galleries this summer. Complementing the display will be a small group of pictures by Blake's followers, John Linnell, and “The Ancients”—Edward Calvert, Samuel Palmer, and George Richmond. For further information, black and white photographs, and color transparencies, please contact the Tate Gallery Press Office. Tel: 071-821-1313, ext. 215 or 385.

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Morton Paley is traveling to Sweden and England this summer and will not be answering email at the above address until the fall.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

On the 15th day of January 1890, the Board of Directors of the [Company Name] met at the office of the President, [Name], and discussed the [Topic]. The following resolutions were adopted: [Text of resolutions]

The Board of Directors of the [Company Name] has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the [Document Name] from [Name] on the [Date]. The Board has considered the same and has decided to [Action].

Resolved, That the sum of [Amount] be paid to [Name] for [Reason].

Resolved, That the [Action] be taken regarding the [Topic].

Resolved, That the [Action] be taken regarding the [Topic].

Witness my hand and the seal of the [Company Name] this [Date] day of [Month] 1890.

[Signature]