

# BLAKE

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY



Read All about It: Blake in the Marketplace, 2005

VOLUME 39

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SPRING 2006

# Blake

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

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

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

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

ROBERT N. ESSICK is a professor emeritus at the University of California, Riverside, and a frequent contributor to this journal.

AILEEN WARD (Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities, Emeritus, New York University) is author of *John Keats: The Making of a Poet* and of articles and reviews on British romantic writers, and editor of selected works by Blake, Keats, and De Quincey. She is currently at work on a biography of Blake.

MORTON D. PALEY's (mpaley@berkeley.edu) most recent book is *The Traveller in the Evening: The Last Works of William Blake*. He is currently working on a study of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the fine arts.

MICHAEL FISCHER (mfischer@trinity.edu) is the author of *Stanley Cavell and Literary Skepticism* (1989) and numerous articles on romanticism and literary theory. He is professor of English and Vice President for Academic Affairs and Dean of the Faculty at Trinity University.

MAGNUS ANKARSJÖ (magnus.ankarsjo@ntu.ac.uk) is a lecturer at the University of Northampton and a visiting fellow at Nottingham Trent University. He is the author of *William Blake and Gender* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005).

JUSTIN VAN KLECK (jsv6s@virginia.edu) recently completed and defended his dissertation, on the editorial history of the *Four Zoas* manuscript, at the University of Virginia. The obsession lives on, however: he is currently working on an electronic edition of the manuscript for the *Blake Archive*.

## E D I T O R S

EDITORS: Morris Eaves and Morton D. Paley

BIBLIOGRAPHER: G. E. Bentley, Jr.

REVIEW EDITOR: Nelson Hilton

ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR GREAT BRITAIN: David Worrall

PRODUCTION OFFICE: Department of English, Morey 410,  
University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451

MANAGING EDITOR: Sarah Jones sarah.jones@rochester.edu

TELEPHONE: 585/275-3820 FAX: 585/442-5769

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

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

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

Nelson Hilton, Department of English, University of  
Georgia, Athens GA 30602  
Email: nhilton@english.uga.edu

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

## I N F O R M A T I O N

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Cover: George Cumberland, *Portrait of Catherine Blake(?)*,  
c. 1783-85(?). Essick collection. See pp. 164-65.

## Blake in the Marketplace, 2005

BY ROBERT N. ESSICK

I begin by updating the introductory comments in my 2003 and 2004 sales reviews (*Blake* 37.4 [spring 2004]: 116-17, and 38.4 [spring 2005]: 124-25). In the former, I told the story of Blake's rediscovered watercolors for Robert Blair's *The Grave*; their most recent adventures are reported below under Drawings and Paintings. In the 2004 review, I commented on the rediscovery of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* copy N and the legal controversy over its ownership. In early February 2005 I learned from Christine von der Linn of Swann (formerly Swann Galleries), the New York auction house, that a member (or members) of the Whitney family, in whose possession the volume resided for many years, had won the case, apparently out of court, against the man who brought the book to Swann. As far as I can determine, the book is now owned by, and in the physical possession of, a member or members of the Whitney family. John Windle, the San Francisco book dealer who specializes in Blake, has been told that there are no current plans to sell the book.

I was not able to inspect *Visions* copy N while it was at Swann, but Windle saw the volume only a few days before its return to the Whitney family. He found on a front flyleaf the following, previously unrecorded, pencil inscription:

1848  
12 8th paid 70s  
for this to  
A Evans & Son [ampersand and final word unclear]  
London  
RT [possibly "RL"]  
4 guineas was asked for it

I interpret this to mean that RT (or RL) purchased the book from the London dealer A. Evans & Son, probably on 8 December (or possibly 12 August) 1848, paying 70 shillings. The asking price had been 4 guineas (84 shillings). The provenance prior to 1878, as recorded in *BB* #476, for *Visions* copy N is speculative. This inscription adds a new twist to the book's history. Unfortunately, I have not been able to make even a good guess as to the identity of RT or RL.

I also reported in my 2004 review on several works by Blake from the late George Goyder's collection, including the removal of the tempera painting, *The Christ Child Asleep on a Cross* (Butlin #410), from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, where it had been on deposit for some years. I learned in February 2005 that another Blake tempera, *Christ the Mediator* (Butlin #429), had been withdrawn by the Goyder fam-

ily from deposit at the Tate Collection in late summer 2004. The third tempera from the Goyder collection, *The Flight into Egypt* (Butlin #404), remains on deposit with the Tate after an unsuccessful attempt by that institution to raise funds to purchase the work. *Christ the Mediator*, by far the best painting of the three, was offered at a Christie's London auction on 14 June 2005 with an estimate of £500,000-800,000 (illus. 1). There was only one bidder, an unidentified party on the telephone, who simply bid against the reserve price until winning the lot at £450,000 (£512,000 with the buyer's premium). Given the estimate range, the price must have disappointed both the vendor and the auction house, but *Christ the Mediator* still managed to set a record for a tempera painting by Blake.

A visually less impressive work, but a more famous representation of Blake's imaginative range than most of his biblical paintings, is his full-length portrait of *The Ghost of a Flea* from the Smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook of c. 1819 (illus. 2). The sketchbook was dismembered and auctioned leaf by leaf at Christie's London in 1971. The flea returned to the same rooms on 9 June 2005 with a cautious estimate of £4000-6000. The auction catalogue included an exceedingly poor illustration that turned the paper tone to a medium gray and the drawing into a ghost of the ghost of a flea. There were also rumors that the drawing had been fiddled with in recent years (see the caption to illus. 2). But collectors and dealers were not put off. There were at least 3 bidders still in the game at £30,000—Windle, the British Blake collector Alan Parker, and someone on the telephone. Windle dropped out at that point, with Parker the victor on a bid of £72,000 (£86,400 inclusive of the buyer's premium). Alan Parker is the son of the railroad executive and Blake collector Sir Peter Parker (1924-2002).

*The Ghost of a Flea* establishes a new record price for any uncolored drawing by Blake. Its sale also buttresses my suspicion that, with many of Blake's works, the usual standards of aesthetic appreciation and connoisseurship are not helpful in establishing market values. This slight pencil sketch of a humanized flea (or an insectivorous human) is less a "work of art," as a consensus of dealers and collectors would normally define that term, than a documentary record of an extraordinary mind.

Bloomsbury Auctions (formerly Bloomsbury Book Auctions) included a large number of Blake items in its London sale of 20-21 April. The few original works that fit within the purview of this report are listed below, but the most notable feature of the auction was the high prices fetched by the facsimiles of Blake's illuminated books produced by the Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust. For example, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, 1 of 526 copies published in 1955, achieved £547 on an estimate of £150-200. The *Songs of Innocence*, with a press run of 1600 copies in 1954, has always been one of the least expensive Trianon facsimiles, but was priced at £368 in a special "William Blake" list issued in May by the London dealer Henry Sotheran Ltd. In the same month, a copy of the 1951 facsimile of *Jerusalem* copy E, lacking the

publisher's folding box, fetched \$1136 on eBay. Perhaps these facsimiles are finally becoming rare, after being a drug on the market for several decades, and attracting the attention their quality deserves.

In *Blake* 31.4 (spring 1998): 113, I reproduced an impression of Blake's famous "The Ancient of Days" (the frontispiece to *Europe*), 1 of only 2 remaining in private hands. This impression and its questionable hand coloring came to my attention once again in May 2005. Glenn Horowitz, a New York City book and manuscript dealer acting on behalf of the owner, sent the print to Windle, who in turn brought it to me for study. After two hours of intense observation and speculation, followed by a telephone consultation with Joseph Viscomi, who saw the print in 1998, we came to a conclusion similar to the one I proposed in the caption to the 1998 illustration: the impression was printed by Blake, but probably hand colored, at least in part, by someone other than Blake or his wife Catherine, and was used by William Muir in 1887 as the model for his coloring of the frontispiece in his facsimile of *Europe* (but not for his separate facsimiles of "The Ancient of Days"). Muir probably believed that the coloring was by Blake, in spite of the careless handling of the rose-red tints on the clouds. The coloring on the figure is more controlled and convincing; perhaps two different artists were responsible for these different styles. Windle offered to acquire the print but without success. He returned it to Horowitz by the end of May, who in turn returned it to the present owner, an American private collector. See "The Ancient of Days" under "Illuminated Books," below, for further information.<sup>1</sup>

While in pursuit of books with illustrations by Thomas Stothard, I was lucky enough to turn up a previously unrecorded reprinting of one of Blake's rarer copy engravings, "F: Revolution" after Charles Reuben Ryley, first published in *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine*, 1793. See *The Cabinet of the Arts* under "Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake," below, and illus. 4-5. More important discoveries of 2005 include the pencil sketch, *Satan Going To and Fro in the Earth, and Another Figure*, unrecorded (or at least unknown to me) until its publication in Christie's auction cat. of 17 November. For details, see under "Drawings and Paintings," below, and illus. 3. Finally, a previously unrecorded posthumous impression of one of Blake's *Songs of Experience* came to light in a 25 November sale at Bloomsbury Auctions—see the "Introduction" plate under "Illuminated Books," below.

In November, Windle published the sixth in his series of sales catalogues devoted to Blake and his circle. This is the largest

1. The present owner of this impression of "The Ancient of Days" acquired, and generously forwarded to me, a digital image of the impression in brick-red ink with gray wash in the Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia (copy A in *BB* 108-09). The ink color and flat printing suggest that this is probably a posthumous impression. The broad, thin washes are similar to those found in some posthumous impressions of plates from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*—for example, "The Fly" in copy h (Essick collection).

yet, with 431 numbered items, and possibly the largest Blake sales catalogue ever issued. Highlights include 3 different printings of the Job engravings, 5 copies of Blair's *Grave* with Blake's designs, the rare *Leonora* of 1796 with Blake's illustrations, 2 copies of the 1821 Virgil with Blake's wood engravings, 3 copies of Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*, each with different states of Blake's plates, 3 copies of the 1797 *Night Thoughts*, and an almost complete run of Muir facsimiles (on which Windle has a near monopoly). All these materials, plus many others normally covered by this sales review, are listed below.

The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York houses one of the few institutional Blake collections to have acquired significant works in recent years. Thanks to their online catalogue (<<http://corsair.morganlibrary.org>>) and the assistance of Anna Lou Ashby, I have been able to record below these acquisitions—see under Drawings and Paintings and under Manuscripts in the sales list below, plus the appendix for prints. Apologies for my tardiness in recording these additions to the Morgan's collection.

The year of all sales and catalogues in the following lists is 2005 unless indicated otherwise. Works offered online and previously listed in either of the last 2 sales reviews are not repeated here. The auction houses add their purchaser's surcharge to the hammer price in their price lists. These net amounts are given here, following the official price lists. The value-added tax levied against the buyer's surcharge in Britain is not included. Late 2005 sales will be covered in the 2006 review. I am grateful for help in compiling this review to Marcia Allentuck, Anna Lou Ashby, Martin Bailey, Nancy Bialler, David Bindman, Harriet Drummond, William Drummond, William Goyder, Robin Hamlyn, Christine von der Linn, Tim Linnell, Joseph Viscomi, Rachel Weinstein, Steve Weissman, Angus Whitehead, and John Windle. My special thanks go to Alexander Gourlay for his generosity in keeping me abreast of internet auctions. Once again, Sarah Jones' editorial expertise and John Sullivan's electronic imaging have been invaluable.

#### Abbreviations

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| BA     | Bloomsbury Auctions, London  |
| BB     | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1977). Plate numbers and copy designations for Blake's illuminated books follow <i>BB</i> . |
| BBS    | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books Supplement</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995)  |
| BH     | Bonhams, auctioneers, London   |
| BR (2) | G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Records</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004)  |
| 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)  |

CL	Christie's, London
CNY	Christie's, New York
Coxhead	A. C. Coxhead, <i>Thomas Stothard</i> , R. A. (London: Bullen, 1906)
CSK	Christie's, South Kensington
E	<i>The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake</i> , ed. David V. Erdman, newly rev. ed. (New York: Anchor P, 1988)
EB	eBay online auctions
EssickCB	Robert N. Essick, <i>William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991)
EssickSP	Robert N. Essick, <i>The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983)
illus.	the item or part thereof is reproduced in the catalogue
K	Geoffrey Keynes, <i>A Bibliography of William Blake</i> (New York: Grolier Club, 1921)
pl(s).	plate(s)
SL	Sotheby's, London
SNY	Sotheby's, New York
st(s).	state(s) of an engraving, etching, or lithograph
Swann	Swann, auctioneers, New York
#	auction lot or catalogue item number

### Illuminated Books

"The Ancient of Days" (the frontispiece to *Europe* when presumably printed as a separate plate), copy D (see BB 109), printed in dark gray-blue on wove paper (sheet 24.2 x 17.7 cm.) without watermark, partly tinted with watercolors. Mounted in a window cut in another sheet of paper (30.7 x 23.7 cm.) with hand-drawn framing lines in brown ink just outside the printed sheet, the mounting sheet showing evidence of having once been bound along the left margin. The mounting sheet inscribed in pencil "2" (top left) and "From Europe, frontispiece" (bottom left). Probably printed in 1794 with the impressions in the Essick collection (blue-green ink), the Keynes Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (dark blue ink), and the Yale Center for British Art (brown ink). Presently framed and glazed, with a framer's label on the backing board inscribed in blue ink, "12-29-76." Offered for sale by the New York dealer Glenn Horowitz in May to the San Francisco dealer John Windle, but withdrawn. Probably pasted into its present mount, and the mount inscribed, by George A. Smith c. 1853 when the print was included as part of the large collection of Blake prints bound with the manuscript "Order in which the Songs of Innocence and Experience Ought to be Paged" (see BB #125). This impression of "The Ancient of Days" has a subsequent history of ownership to 1938 that can be traced through BB 337-40 (listed as item 100 on p. 339). At the auction of the George C. Smith collection, Parke-Bernet, New York, 2 Nov. 1938, what I believe

to be this print was incorrectly described in the cat., #28, as printed in "black" ink and sold for \$300 to a "private buyer" (BB 340). According to a handwritten note in black ink on the framer's label and information kindly supplied by the present owner, the print's subsequent provenance is as follows: probably the American book collector A. E. Newton (perhaps the purchaser at the 1938 auction); probably the Newton auction, Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941, #130 (apparently bought-in at \$175 or sold to A. E. Newton's daughter, Caroline Newton); Caroline Newton; given by her shortly after the 1941 auction to the poet W. H. Auden; by bequest upon Auden's death in 1973 to Chester Kallman; by inheritance in 1975 to his father, Edward Kallman; by inheritance in the early 1980s to his wife, Dorothy Farnan; given by her in 1998 to the present owner, an American private collector. See also the discussion in the essay prefatory to this sales review.

"Introduction" to *Songs of Experience*. A previously unrecorded posthumous impression in gray-black ink on wove paper without watermark, the sheet trimmed to 17.9 x 11.0 cm. to match the leaf size of a copy of William Pickering's 1839 ed. of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, into which this impression is bound as a frontispiece. Platemark 12.5 x 7.3 cm. (slightly larger than lifetime impressions, as is the case with all posthumous impressions). Inscribed in pencil below the image, "See P. 37." (a reference to the page in the Pickering ed. on which the "Introduction" poem begins). Inscribed in pencil on the verso of the print, probably in the same hand, "From a print shop in West Street, / given me by my Bro' in Law / M'. W. M. H. / 1857, / A. H." The recto of the front flyleaf inscribed in ink, "Adelaide A. L. Hewetson. / From her husband, with affection. / 15<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1861." Adelaide Hewetson was the wife of John Hewetson (died 1876); they may have been related to H. Bendelack Hewetson, whose book of 1880, *The Influence of Joy upon the Workman and His Work*, contains reproductions of two of Blake's illustrations to Robert Blair's *The Grave* (see BB #407). In the pencil inscription on the verso of the print, "A. H." is no doubt Adelaide Hewetson; "W. M. H." must have been her husband's brother (possibly one William M. Hewetson?). Another pencil inscription, on the verso of the front free endpaper, briefly describes the life of "Roger Langois," an artist said to be a "pupil of Flaxman's." This inscription seems unrelated to either the print or the book. The end of the "Preface," xxi, signed in pencil by the editor, "J. J. G. Wilkinson." On the same page, lower left, inscribed in pencil in a different hand (perhaps Adelaide Hewetson's), "Finchley Road & / 76 Wimpole St." Sold BA, 25 Nov., #746, issue of the book lacking "The Little Vagabond," described only as "Songs of Innocence and of Experience, frontispiece by Blake, slightly foxed and browned, contemporary calf, a little rubbed, gilt spine, 8vo, 1839" (£2618 to J. Windle, in partnership with Maggs Bros., on an estimate of £200-300). The auction house failed to recognize what it was selling, but the price suggests that at least two bidders did know the nature of the inserted print.

## Drawings and Paintings

*Christ the Mediator*. Tempera, 26.4 x 37.8 cm., datable to c. 1799-1800. Butlin #429. CL, 14 June, #10, "from the collection of the late George Goyder, C.B.E.," illus. color (£512,000 on an estimate of £500,000-800,000). Illus. 1.

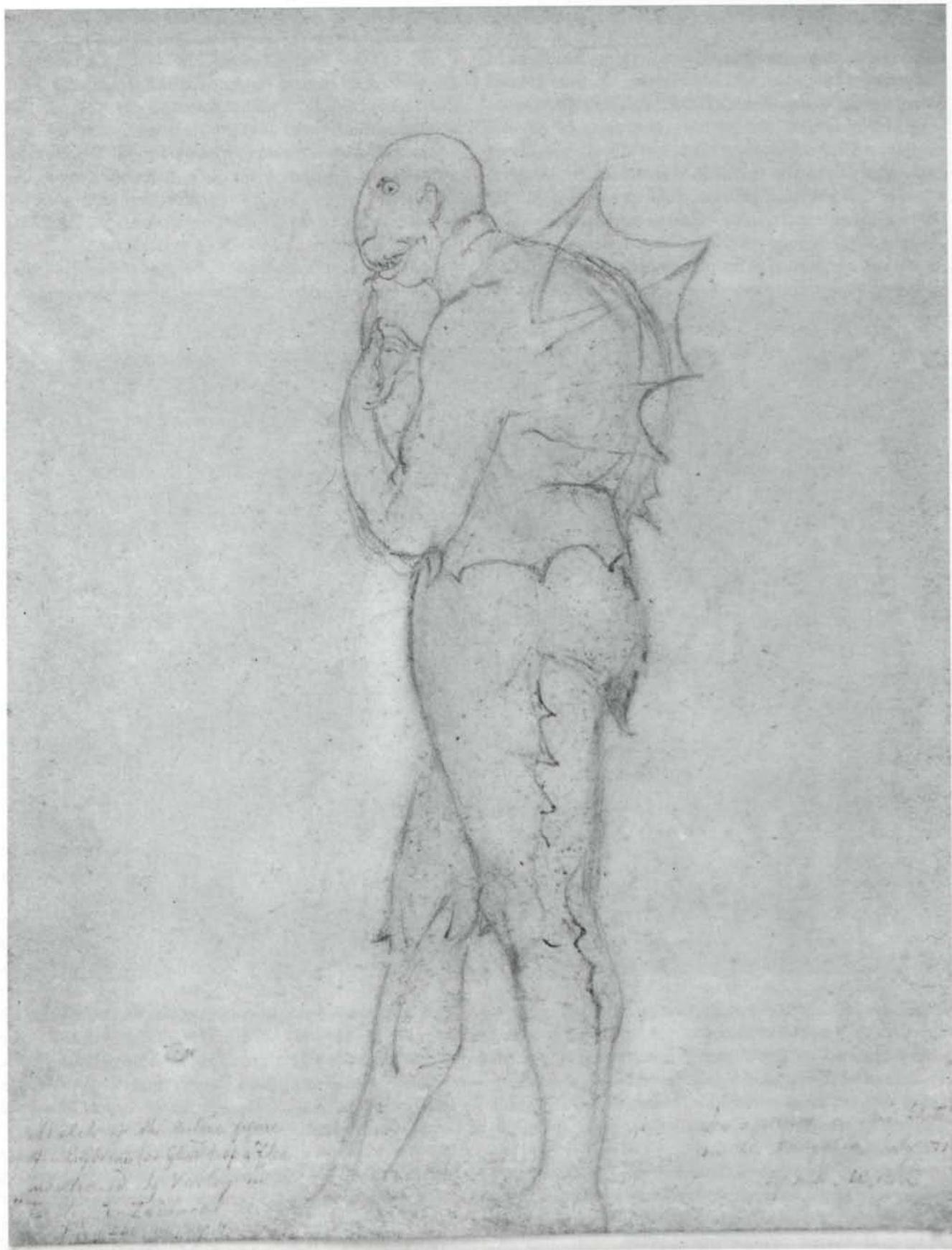
*Christ Nailed to the Cross: The Third Hour*. Watercolor, 33.2 x 34.6 cm., datable to c. 1800-03. Butlin #496. Acquired c. 1982 by Eugene V. and Clare E. Thaw, New York; currently on

deposit at the Pierpont Morgan Library and promised to that institution. Morgan-Thaw depository #EVT 9.

*The Ghost of a Flea, Full-Length (recto); A Druidical Building with Figures (verso)*. Pencil on paper 20.0 x 15.3 cm., datable to c. 1819. Butlin #692.94 (recto) and #692.93 (verso). CL, 9 June, #13, illus. (£86,400 to Alan Parker on an estimate of £4000-6000). See illus. 2 and the essay introductory to this sales review.



1. *Christ the Mediator*. Tempera, 26.4 x 37.8 cm., datable to c. 1799-1800. Butlin #429, where it is pointed out that the painting was restored by Dr. John Hell in 1950. The title was first given to the painting by William Michael Rossetti in his catalogue of Blake's works published in Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake* (London: Macmillan, 1863) 2: 231, #200. The design probably takes its subject from 1 Timothy 2.5-6: "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." Christ, assuming a cruciform posture, asks God the Father, sitting in judgment on the right, to be merciful to the female figure in the left foreground who bows in supplication. She is identified as Mary Magdalene by W. Graham Robertson in the manuscript catalogue of his collection, later published as *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson*, ed. Kerrison Preston (London: Faber and Faber, 1952) 156. Perhaps Christ is preventing, with his own body, the flames of divine wrath from harming the Magdalene. If she is a representative of all sinners, then Christ is performing an act similar to his self-sacrifice on the cross as "a ransom for all." Winged angels attend upon the scene and also appear to be asking the Father to be forgiving. Photo courtesy of Christie's London.



2. *The Ghost of a Flea, Full-Length*, from the Smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook. Pencil, approx. 18.0 x 6.0 cm. on paper 20.0 x 15.3 cm., datable to c. 1819. Butlin #692.94. Collection of Alan Parker, London; photo courtesy of Christie's London, where the drawing was sold on 9 June 2005, #13 (£86,400). Previously sold CL, 15 June 1971, #141 (£2100 to the London bookseller Martin Breslauer), and offered by Breslauer, June 1972 cat. 102, #95 (£3800). Inscribed by William Bell Scott, who owned the sketchbook from 1870 to c. 1890, "Sketch of the entire figure of of [sic] the Emblem (or Ghost) of a Flea mentioned by Varley in 'Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy'" (lower left), and "See a paper on this sketch in the Portfolio July 71 by me W.B.S." (lower right). Although probably not visible in this illus., the paper is whiter and abraded just left of the creature's left thigh, extending from his elbow to his right leg. Some of the pencil lines bounding this area may have been strengthened by someone other than Blake.

In his discussion of Blake's vision of the flea, John Varley notes that "this spirit afterwards appeared to Blake, and afforded him a view of his whole figure, an engraving of which I shall give in this work" (Varley, *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy* [London: the author, 1828] 55). Varley intended to issue further installments of his treatise, but none was published and there is no further record or extant impression of the proposed "engraving" of this full-length sketch. The "paper" referenced by Scott in his inscription on the drawing is his essay, "A Varley-and-Blake Sketch-Book," *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* 2 (1871): 102-05. The article contains lithographic reproductions of Scott's copies of drawings in the sketchbook, including the full-length ghost of a flea and the drawing of the head alone on a different leaf (Butlin #692.98, since 1940 in the Tate Collection). Two pls. engraved by John Linnell and published in Varley's *Treatise* reproduce this head, both mouth closed and mouth open. The latter is based on a detail of the flea's open mouth on the same sketchbook leaf as the whole head; only the closed-mouth version is reproduced by Scott in his 1871 essay. Blake's tempera painting of the full-length flea is not directly related to the pencil sketch illus. here but probably also dates from c. 1819-20 (Butlin #750, since 1949 in the Tate Collection).

Butlin records this pencil drawing in a "Private Collection, Great Britain." The cat. for the 9 June 2005 auction lists a provenance with no owner intervening between the drawing's purchase by the firm of Martin Breslauer and its sale "from the Estate of Dr Bernard Breslauer," Martin Breslauer's son and successor in the bookselling business. The "Private Collection" was apparently that of Bernard Breslauer, although it is also possible that there was some other owner who returned the drawing to the Breslauer firm and family.

Except for a caricature of John Varley as an elephant (Butlin #690 verso), the drawings of the flea are the only portrayals of an animal (or semi-animal) among Blake's many so-called "Visionary Heads" he drew at Varley's behest. Blake's depictions of the insect were probably influenced by a large, unsigned engraving of a flea, as seen through a microscope,

published in Robert Hooke, *Micrographia: Or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries Thereupon* (London: Martyn and Allestry, 1665), pl. 34 (first pointed out in Charles Singer, "The First English Microscopist: Robert Hooke," *Endeavour* 14 [1955]: 12-18). Perhaps Blake associated the segmentation of the flea's exoskeleton, clearly evident in Hooke's illustration, with physiognomic and phrenological divisions of the face and head. Many of the Visionary Heads show the influence of those two pseudosciences. In his text, Hooke states that he "perceiv'd him [the flea] to slip in and out" his "tongue or sucker" (211). In the drawing reproduced here, Blake pictures an extended tongue just above the nail or claw on the figure's extended forefinger. Tongues are also clearly represented in the Tate's pencil drawing and tempera painting. The spiny fins or wings on the creature's back, present only in this full-length sketch, may be Blake's elaboration of the "sharp pinns, shap'd almost like Porcupine's Quills, or bright conical Steel-bodkins" (Hooke 210) growing from a flea's scales; they also recall the bat-like wings distinguishing several of the evil characters in Blake's own designs, including the personification of Death in *Death Pursuing the Soul through the Avenues of Life*, an 1805 illustration to Robert Blair's *The Grave* (Butlin #635), Satan in the c. 1805-06 watercolor illustrations to the Book of Job (Butlin #550.3) and in pl. 21 of *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* (c. 1820), and the Spectres in pls. 6, 30, 37, and 39 of *Jerusalem* (c. 1804-20). The suggestion of bat wings on the flea leads us back to another blood-sucking animal, "the vampire [bat] or spectre of Guiana" described and pictured in John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (London: J. Johnson and J. Edwards, 1796), a book Blake knew well and for which he engraved 16 pls. (quotation from 2: 142 and see the facing pl. 57 engraved by Anker Smith). The bat wings in Blake's designs were probably influenced by the "bat of monstrous size" (2: 142) that attacked Stedman—see Geoffrey Keynes, "Blake's Spectre," *The Book Collector* 28.1 (spring 1979): 60-66.

In his *Treatise*, Varley claims that "the Flea told him [Blake] that all fleas were inhabited by the souls of such men, as were by nature blood-thirsty to excess, and were therefore providentially confined to the size and form of insects" (55). This comment suggests a thematic connection between a flea's dining habits and Blake's criticism of blood sacrifice and vengeance in late works such as *The Ghost of Abel* (1822). In that text, the "ghost" or spirit of Abel "Cries for Vengeance: Sacrifice on Sacrifice Blood on Blood," while Satan demands "Human Blood & not the blood of Bulls" (E 272). The anthropomorphized *Ghost of a Flea* is a pictorial embodiment of the "blood-thirsty" aspect of fallen human consciousness as much as the spiritual form of an insect. My comments here take Blake's fleas more seriously than does Keynes, who suggests that Blake had "his own tongue in his cheek" when he conjured up the vision for Varley—see Keynes, *Blake Studies*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1971) 134.

*Nineteen Watercolors Illustrating Robert Blair's The Grave.* Sold Feb. or March by Libby Howie, the London art dealer, to Marburg BVI, a Swiss corporation, for £6 million. Export was stopped until 30 May 2005 by the British Arts Minister, Estelle Morris, acting on a recommendation of the Reviewing Committee, with a possible extension to 30 Sept. 2005, and with a valuation of £8.8 million placed on the watercolors (see the Reviewing Committee report, meeting of 16 March 2005, at <[http://213.225.138.141/resources/assets//R/revcom\\_case043\\_note\\_doc\\_6927.doc](http://213.225.138.141/resources/assets//R/revcom_case043_note_doc_6927.doc)>). The export ban was extended (see <[http://www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//R/Reviewing\\_Committee\\_report\\_2004\\_5\\_8704.pdf](http://www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//R/Reviewing_Committee_report_2004_5_8704.pdf)>, case 29), but since no British purchaser stepped forward, an export license was issued and, as far as I can determine, the watercolors were sent to Switzerland by the end of 2005. I suspect, however, that "Marburg BVI" is a front for a private collector, not necessarily of Swiss nationality. For information about the *Grave* watercolors, see Martin Butlin, "New Risen from the Grave: Nineteen Unknown Watercolors by William Blake," *Blake* 35.3 (winter 2001-02): 68-73; G. E. Bentley, Jr., "William Blake and His Circle: A Checklist of Publications and Discoveries in 2001," *Blake* 36.1 (summer 2002): 13-16; Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2002," *Blake* 36.4 (spring 2003): 116; Alexander S. Gourelay, "'Friendship,' Love, and Sympathy in Blake's *Grave* Illustrations," *Blake* 37.3 (winter 2003-04): 100-04; Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2003," *Blake* 37.4 (spring 2004): 116; British Department for Culture, Media, and Sport web site (<[http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/press\\_notices/archive\\_2005/dcms051\\_05.htm](http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/press_notices/archive_2005/dcms051_05.htm)>), 30 March 2005; *First to Inspire Christian Magazine*, 31 March 2005, online at <<http://www.1st2inspire.co.uk/blairsgrave.php>>, with 2 designs illus. color; *Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 2005, online at <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk>>; Anon., "Export Stop to Save Blake Watercolours," *Rare Book Review* 32 (May 2005): 6; and numerous other British government and newspaper web sites.

*Satan Going To and Fro in the Earth, and Another Figure.* Pencil, sheet 28.3 x 21.0 cm., datable to the mid-1820s. Not in Butlin; not previously recorded. CL, 17 Nov., #4, illus. color (£7200, on an estimate of £3000-5000, to an anonymous private collector). Illus. 3.

*Sketch for Alternative Title-Page for "The Grave" (recto); Sketch Perhaps for the Same (verso).* Pencil on sheet 51.2 x 36.2 cm., datable to c. 1806. Butlin #614. Given in 2001 by Gertrude Weyhe Dennis to the Pierpont Morgan Library in honor of Charles Ryskamp. Call #OS E.2, accession #2001.14.

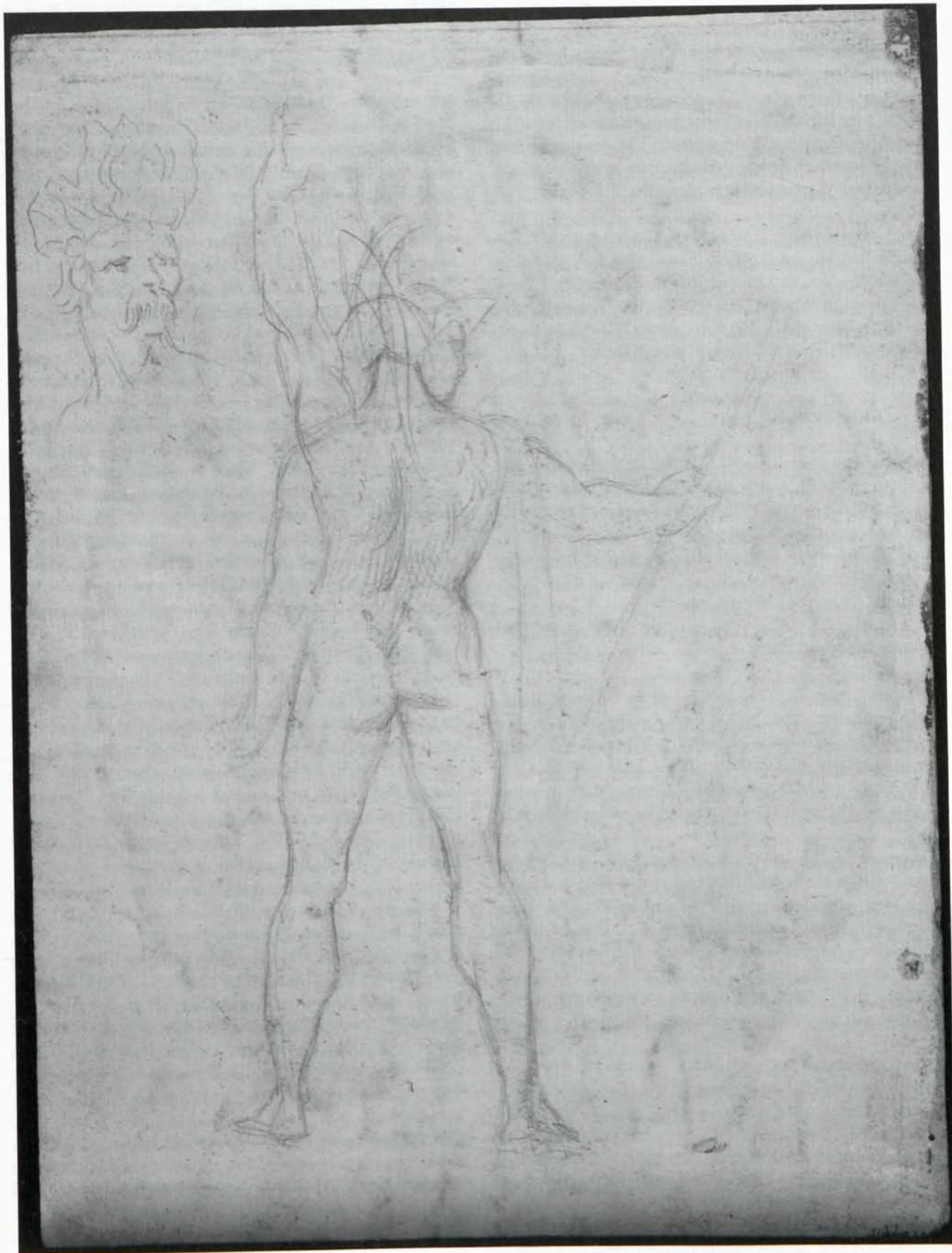
*Visionary Head of a Bearded Man, Perhaps Christ.* Pencil, 12.5 x 10.0 cm., datable to c. 1819-20. Butlin #758. Acquired in 1971 by John E. du Pont; sold at an unknown time, possibly through John Howell Books of San Francisco, to Mrs. Peter Duchin; given in 1999 by Mr. and Mrs. Peter Duchin to the Pierpont Morgan Library in honor of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

the Morgan Library and the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Association of Fellows. Call #s Add. E. Box 4, accession #1999.5.

3. *Satan Going To and Fro in the Earth, and Another Figure.* Pencil, sheet 28.3 x 21.0 cm., datable to the mid-1820s. Not in Butlin; not recorded until its appearance in the auction cat., CL, 17 Nov., #4. The standing figure seen from the back includes alternative positions for his left arm, raised and lowered, and perhaps two views of his head, one from the back and one turned to the right. The Christie's cat. suggests that the main figure is related to the back view of Satan in the marginal design above the central image of the pl. numbered 4 in the Job engravings, and to the similar figure in one of the Dante watercolors, *The Schismatics and Sowers of Discord* (Butlin #812.57). This may indeed be true, but there are notable differences between this pencil "Satan" and the Job and Dante versions. The sketch lacks large, raised, and bat-like wings—the most striking feature of the other two versions. In the Job engraving, Satan holds a large sword in his left hand, pointing downward and with its tip touching the arc (the rim of the earth?) on which the figure stands. The Dante watercolor shows him holding a very similar sword in his right hand, raised above his head on a diagonal descending slightly from right to left. The figure in this sketch holds a shaft—presumably of a spear—in his right hand rather than a sword. He wears a helmet, or some sort of complex headgear; the Dante figure has curly hair, while the Job figure is bald. The object, probably part of a cloak, descending over his right shoulder and reaching to the right of his upper right leg is also unique to this drawing. In another related pencil sketch, *A Devil Holding a Sword* (Butlin #824), the wingless figure holds a prominent sword, pointing downward, in his right hand.

Blake seems to have been experimenting with alternative versions of this satanic composition in the 1820s, a composition that hints at Henry Fuseli's influence. The back view of a heroically proportioned male nude (or semi-nude) recalls his "Fertilization of Egypt," engraved by Blake for Erasmus Darwin's *The Botanic Garden* (1791), and the titular figure in "Satan Rousing His Legions," engraved by Peltro Tomkins and published in an 1805 edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The figure wears a helmet in the latter. In "Satan Encountering Death at Hell's Gate, Sin Interposing," engraved by James Neagle after Fuseli for F. J. Du Roveray's 1802 edition of *Paradise Lost*, Satan is nude except for a cloak, wears an elaborate helmet, and holds the shaft of a spear in his raised right hand (for an etched proof, see illus. 9).

The sketch (upper left) of a man with a bushy mustache and flame-like hair may portray another devil figure. Christie's cataloguer interestingly describes this fellow as "a piratical looking man with drooping moustache and a mass of upstanding hair, perhaps an invention akin to Blake's Visionary Heads." Photo courtesy of Christie's London.



## Manuscripts

Letter to William Hayley, 12 March 1804. Given by Charles Ryskamp in Jan. 2005 to the Pierpont Morgan Library in memory of Grace Lansing Lambert. Accession #MA 6334. BB 278 records "Mrs. John Malone" as the then-current owner of this letter. According to the Morgan Library's provenance records, the letter was purchased by Ryskamp from "Mary E. Malone" (presumably the same person as Mrs. John Malone) in 1976.

Receipt signed by Blake, 5 July 1805 to Thomas Butts for £5.7s. Kenneth Rendell, Jan. Antiques Show, New York (\$45,000); John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #1 (price on application). Previously offered by Windle, Dec. 1995 cat. 26, #9, pasted to the inside front cover of A. E. Newton's copy of K, from the Joseph Holland collection, illus. (price on request).

## Books Owned by Blake

John Quincy, *Pharmacopœia Officinalis & Extemporanea* (London: J. Osborn and T. Longman, 1733). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #68, with a "William Blake" signature on the title page, contemporary calf, title page illus. (price on application). For illus. of the title page and discussion, see *Blake* 34.4 (spring 2001): 109.

## Separate Plates and Plates in Series

"Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." Jeremy Norman & Co., March online cat., 5<sup>th</sup> st., dated by the dealer to "1920" but probably a Sessler restrike, considerable light brown staining, framed and glazed, illus. color (\$7500). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #9, 5<sup>th</sup> st. on laid India, probably a Colnaghi printing but possibly pre-Colnaghi, framed, illus. (price on application).

Dante engravings. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #6, complete set of the 7 pls. on laid India, printing date uncertain but probably c. 1892, with the letterpress title label, morocco portfolio, pl. 1 illus. (price on application); #7, 5 pls. sold individually, India paper impressions, printing date uncertain but probably c. 1892, as follows: pl. 1 (\$17,500), pl. 2 (\$10,000), pl. 4 (\$15,000), pl. 5 (\$8750), pl. 6 (\$7500); #8, 6 pls. only, lacking pl. 1, 1968 printing, cloth portfolio (\$17,500).

"George Cumberland's Card." BH, 17 May, #238, printed in black ink on a sheet of wove paper, 4.1 x 8.1 cm., a previously unrecorded impression, sold in a lot of approx. 170 pictorial bookplates, illus. (£8640, on an estimate £200-400, to an anonymous bidder on the telephone). John Windle tells me that, in addition to the Cumberland card, the lot contained many rare and important bookplates. The estimate indicates that Bonhams did not consider these prints of much value, but collectors and dealers clearly thought otherwise. John

Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #10, printed in brown ink on a sheet of laid paper, 10.2 x 12.8 cm., "with three tiny ink spots within the margins," illus. (price on application).

Job engravings. Leslie Hindman auction, Chicago, 14 Dec. 2004, #1636, pl. numbered 3 only, apparently the 1826 printing on Whatman paper after removal of the "Proof" inscription, illus. color online (\$1000). Go Antiques auction, Nags Head, North Carolina, 15 Dec. 2004, #213586, pl. numbered 8 only, apparently the 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, framed, illus. color online (\$850). SL, 16 Dec. 2004, #296, complete set, 1826 "Proof" printing on so-called "French" wove paper, full margins, later morocco, from the collection of General Archibald Stirling of Keir, pl. numbered 14 illus. color (not sold; estimate £30,000-50,000); #297, complete set, 1826 "Proof" printing on laid India, each pl. framed, pl. numbered 15 illus. color (£15,600). Auctions by the Bay, Alameda, California, 2 May, #214, pl. numbered 5 only, apparently an 1826 impression on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, illus. color online (\$550). Ursus Books, June cat. 253, #13, complete set, 1826 printing on Whatman paper after the removal of the "Proof" inscription, tissue guards, original cloth-backed boards, cover label, previously offered for £40,000 by Sims Reed and for \$85,000 by Ursus (\$85,000 again). SNY, 16 June, #60, complete set, 1826 "Proof" printing on so-called "French" wove paper, light but extensive foxing, original boards (very worn, front cover loose) with cover label, the word "French" written before the printed word "Proofs" on the label and the address changed to 38 Porchester Terrace (John Linnell's home), front free endpaper signed Thomas G. Linnell and dated 1872, illus. color (not sold; estimate \$35,000-45,000). Swann, 3 Nov., #305A, pl. numbered 18 only, 1826 "Proof" printing on laid India, illus. (\$1300). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #11, complete set, 1826 "Proof" printing on laid India, scattered foxing in margins, morocco box repaired (price on application); #12, complete set, 1826 "Proof" printing on so-called "French" wove paper, each pl. matted, modern cloth box (price on application); #13, complete set, 1874 printing on laid India, slight marginal foxing, modern cloth box, pl. numbered 12 illus. (price on application); #14, pl. numbered 5 only, 1826 "Proof" printing on "French" wove paper (\$3950); #15, pl. numbered 12 only, 1826 "Proof" printing on "French" wove paper (\$4500); #16, pl. numbered 19 only, 1826 "Proof" printing on "French" wove paper (\$3950). Edwin Epps, Dec. cat., no item #, pl. numbered 9 only, described as a published "Proof" impression, no description of the paper, framed (\$2500).

"M<sup>o</sup> Q," Blake after Villiers. Lawrences Auctioneers, Crewkerne, Somerset, 21 Jan., #1074, with the companion print, "Windsor Castle," Maile after Barrow, both foxed and discolored, framed, illus. color online (£40). John Nicholson Auctioneers, Haslemere, Surrey, 22 June, apparently trimmed close to the image, bad stain lower right, illus. color online (£120).

Grosvenor Prints, June online cat., #135, with the companion print, "Windsor Castle," both trimmed to the platemark, illus. color online (£1650). Some of these impressions might be the convincing lithographic reproductions of 1906.

"Rev. John Caspar Lavater," Blake after an unknown artist. EB, Feb.-March, 3<sup>rd</sup> st., from the stock of the New York book and print dealer Donald Heald, trimmed within the platemark and mounted, illus. color (\$499.95). Probably impression 31 in EssickSP.

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

Allen, *New and Improved History of England*, 1798. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #17, pls. 1, 3, 4 only, loose (\$375 each).

Allen, *New and Improved Roman History*, 1798. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #18, later cloth (\$1250).

Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*. Kennys Book Export Company, July online cat., 1799 ed., 5 vols., contemporary calf rubbed (\$736.77). EB, Aug., 1799 ed., 5 vols., pls. foxed, contemporary calf very worn, some covers loose, illus. color (\$103). John Price, Nov. cat., #6, 1785 ed., 5 vols., pls. foxed or browned, contemporary calf slightly worn (£300).

Bellamy's *Picturesque Magazine*, 1793. See *The Cabinet of the Arts*, below, and illus. 4-5.

Blair, *Grave*. Buddenbrooks, Dec. 2004 cat. 126, #236, 1808 quarto, scattered foxing, original boards worn with cover label, rebacked with cloth, "John Quinn's copy" (\$7500); same copy, Pacific Book auction, San Francisco, 24 Feb., #11 (\$3000—but apparently bought-in at that price); same copy, Buddenbrooks, Dec. cat. 130, #203 (\$7500). Quinn (1870-1924) was an important collector of modernist literature, particularly James Joyce. This is probably the copy sold from Quinn's library at Anderson Galleries, New York, 12-14 Nov. 1923, #715 (\$40). EB, Jan., pl. 2 only, 1813 imprint, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £29.99); same impression, Jan. (£37.40). Adrian Harrington, Feb. online cat., 1813 "folio" (but probably the quarto), modern morocco (£750). EB, Feb., pl. 2 only, 1813 imprint, possibly the 1926 printing, illus. color (\$26.55). BA, 3 March, #90, 1813 quarto, "light spotting and marginal water-staining," contemporary Russia very worn, covers detached (£428 on an estimate of £150-200). EB, March, 1813 quarto, light staining and foxing on some pls., quarter roan worn, illus. color (\$709). BA, 21 April, #656, the 12 pls. after Blake's designs only, "on India paper laid on board (title only laid on wove)," probably 3<sup>rd</sup> published sts. as in the 1813 quarto, some soiling, with *Illustrations to the Divine Comedy of Dante by William Blake*, 1922, lacking 4 reproductions, original portfolio soiled (withdrawn before

the auction). Auctions by the Bay, Alameda, California, 2 May, #215, pl. 9 only, 1813 imprint, illus. color online (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$150). EB, May, 1813 ed., described as a "folio" but probably the quarto issue, lacking pl. 1, publisher's cloth of the 1870 ed., rebacked and worn, illus. color (\$699.99). Perhaps John Camden Hotten, the publisher of the 1870 ed., acquired some remainder sheets from the 1813 ed. when he acquired the copperplates and issued those sheets in the same binding he used for his new printing. CSK, 7 June, #320, 1813 quarto, "title shaved at upper margin, a little spotting and soiling," contemporary half morocco "rubbed," illus. (£540). EB, June, 1813 quarto, engraved title page lightly stained, binding not described, illus. color (\$560). George Minkoff, July online cat., 1808 folio, scattered foxing, contemporary leather-backed boards, damaged slipcase (\$5000). Pra Antikvariat, July online cat., 1808 quarto, half calf (\$2677.79). Houle Rare Books, July online cat., 1808 quarto, contemporary half morocco rebacked (\$2500). Antiquariat Gundel Gelbert, July online cat., 1808 quarto, rebound (\$2143.40). Anthony Laywood, July online cat., 1808 quarto, modern half calf (£1100). Peter Stern, July online cat., 1813 quarto, foxed, contemporary half morocco worn (\$1750). Antiquaries Manasek, July online cat., 1813 "folio" (but probably the quarto), half morocco (\$1600). Quaker Hill Books, July online cat., 1808 folio, stained, three-quarter morocco (\$1597.75). EB, Aug., pl. 5 only, 1926 printing, illus. color (\$49.99). Creighton Davis Gallery auction, McLean, Virginia, 7 Sept., #420, pl. 2 only, 1808 imprint, illus. color online (\$100); same impression, 20 Sept., #621 (\$70). BH, 3 Oct., #13, the frontispiece portrait of Blake only, apparently an 1808 impression printed on wove paper, illus. color (£384). Phillip Pirages, Nov. cat. 52, #341, 1808 quarto, minor foxing, near-contemporary half morocco slightly worn, illus. (\$2500). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #19, 1808 quarto, slight soiling, 2 pls. with marginal repairs, later morocco, illus. (\$2750); #20, 1813 folio, 9 pls. in the 1808 folio "proof" sts., frontispiece portrait of Blake on laid India, leaves trimmed to 41.9 x 33.3 cm., some foxing and spotting, "early" half morocco (\$6750); #21, 1813 quarto, half morocco (\$2250); #22, "1813" (actually 1870) folio, publisher's cloth, hinges repaired (\$1250); #23, another copy of the 1870 folio, later morocco, from the Doheny Library (\$1250).

Boydell, *Graphic Illustrations of... Shakspeare*, c. 1803. Charles Agvent, July online cat., contemporary half calf worn, covers detached (\$3500); another copy, contemporary morocco, front cover detached (\$4000).

Bryant, *New System ... of Ancient Mythology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1775-76. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #24, 3 vols., contemporary calf worn (\$1500).

Bürger, *Leonora*, 1796. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #26, pl. 1 stained in margin, bound with the German text (as often) of 1796 and A. Seward, *Llangollen Vale* (1796), early quarter morocco (\$12,750).

*The Cabinet of the Arts: A Series of Engravings, by English Artists* (London: n.p., 1799). EB, July, 2 leaves loose, uncut in original boards, spine very worn, illus. color (£88 to R. Es-sick). Contains a previously unrecorded printing of Blake's plate for *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine*, 1793. See illus. 4-5.

Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, 1782, in *Bell's Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*. EB, Feb., vols. 1-10, 13-14 only, but including Blake's pl. in vol. 13, presentation inscription in vol. 1 from Walter Scott to his friend James Skene, contemporary quarter calf very worn, illus. color (\$1025).

Cumberland, *Outlines from the Antients*, 1829. Marlborough Rare Books, Oct. cat. 205, #37, small-paper issue, pls. foxed, quarter morocco (£135).

Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline*, 1796. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #27, 22 (of 24) pls. only, lacking pls. numbered 18 (Blake's pl. 6) and 24 (not by Blake), "on uncut sheets water-marked J. WHATMAN 1794 ... loosely inserted in old blue wrappers" (\$2500).

Darwin, *Botanic Garden*. EB, Jan.-Feb., 1<sup>st</sup> ed. of Part 1 (1791), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. of Part 2 (1790), 2 vols., vol. 1 modern cloth, vol. 2 original boards very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £890); same copy, Feb., same result on a required minimum bid of £590; same copy, April, offered only at the "buy it now" price of £425. Quaritch, Feb. cat. 1329, #30, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. of Part 1 (1791), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. of Part 2 (1791), 2 vols. in 1, contemporary Russia worn, "joints tender" (£1500). Dublin Bookbrowsers, July online cat., 1799 ed., vol. 1 (of 2) only, no description of the binding (\$371.94). Black Oak Books, July online cat., 1791 ed., apparently 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. of Part 1, no mention of Part 2, early calf worn, repaired (\$1100). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #28, pl. 1 ("Fertilization of Egypt") only, margins foxed (\$875).

Enfield, *The Speaker*. James Cummins, July online cat., 1785 ed., contemporary calf worn, rebaked (\$750). BA, 6 Oct., #357, 1781 ed., contemporary calf worn (£119).

Flaxman, Hesiod designs, 1817. EB, March, water stained, foxed, "four plates are defective," later quarter calf very worn, covers loose, illus. color (£103.87). John Nicholson Auction, Haslemere, Surrey, 5 July, #454-C, original boards with cover label, with Flaxman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* designs, 1805, the former lacking the title pl., bindings not described, Hesiod front cover illus. color online (£60). McLean Arts & Books, July online cat., modern three-quarter calf (\$1200). EB, Aug., scattered foxing, "first 2/3 pages a little grubby," pls. loose in original boards damaged, cover label, illus. color (£112.87); Oct., scattered light foxing, original boards, cover label, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £750); same copy and result, Nov.

Flaxman, *Iliad* designs, 1805. EB, March-April, some foxing, paper evenly browned, apparently unbound, illus. color (\$49.99); June-July, lacking 10 pls. but with all 3 by Blake, bound with Flaxman's *Odyssey* designs, 1805, lacking 2 pls., light to heavy foxing, later quarter calf, illus. color (\$76). John Windle, July online cat., foxed, contemporary half morocco (\$450). Avenue Victor Hugo Bookshop, July online cat., bound with Flaxman's *Odyssey* designs (1805) and Aeschylus designs (1795), foxed, "19<sup>th</sup> century binding" worn (\$1900). EB, July, lacking the title plate, 2 pls. loose, soiled, foxed, original boards with cover label, spine gone, from the Easton Neston library, illus. color (£91).

Gay, *Fables*. EB, Dec. 2004, pl. 11 only, light staining, illus. color (\$61); pl. 9 only, stained, illus. color (\$75.77). Swann, 2 May, #74, 1793 ed., 2 vols., foxed, contemporary calf very worn, covers detached (\$375). James Jaffe, July online cat., 1793 ed., 2 vols., later morocco (\$4000). Hollett & Son, July online cat., 1793 ed., apparently 2 vols. in 1, later half calf (£550). Jeffrey Thomas, July online cat., [1811] ed., with the Stockdale ed. of Aesop's *Fables*, 1793, 4 vols. in all, later calf worn (\$4500). EB, Oct., pl. 7 only, elaborately framed, illus. color (\$99.99). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #29, 1793 ed., 2 vols., top edge gilt, others uncut, "early 19<sup>th</sup>-century" morocco (\$2500); #30, some foxing and offsetting of the pls., later morocco (\$1500). Edwin Epps, Dec. cat., no item #, 1793 ed., 2 vols. in 1, some marginal stains and foxing, half calf rebaked (\$850).

Hayley, *Ballads*, 1805. SL, 12 July, #348, early 20<sup>th</sup>-century calf, pl. 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> st.) illus. color (£780). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #31, all pls. in the 1<sup>st</sup> st., "original drab grey boards, printed paper label" (\$7500); #32, pls. 1-3 in their 2<sup>nd</sup> sts., later calf (\$5750).

Hayley, *Designs to a Series of Ballads*, 1802. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #34, prefatory matter and Ballad 1 only, some offsetting of the pls., half morocco, "the Monckton Milnes, Earl of Crewe, Moss, Todd, Bentley, Essick, Klemen copy," 1 of only 3 traced copies remaining in private hands with 1 or more of the ballads (price on application; sold to Roger Lipman shortly before cat. 40 was distributed).

Hayley, *Essay on Sculpture*, 1800. Alex and Emily Fotheringham, Aug. cat. 36, #55, slight foxing on 1 pl., uncut in original boards worn, "Hayley on Sculpture" written in ink on spine, lower third of paper spine missing (£350). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #35, "the Gordon Castle—Raymond Lister copy," quarter calf (\$975).

Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, 1803-04. EB, Jan.-Feb., 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 3 vols., some foxing and damp staining, later calf, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £90); same copy, Feb. (£79.77); March, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., vol. 2 only, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£9.99); May, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3 vols., supplement of 1806 bound in vol. 3, some offsetting and minor foxing, contem-

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*English Artists,*  
FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS, BY  
*Stothard, Burney, Harding, Corbould, Van Assen, Potter,  
Conway, Paul Sandby, Mather Brown, Catton, &c.*



London: Published by the Author, at the Theatre, in Pall Mall, 1799.

London,  
M.DCC.XCIX.  
PRICE FIVE GUINEAS, BOUND.

4. *The Cabinet of the Arts: A Series of Engravings, by English Artists*, London: n.p., 1799. First title page, approx. 18.0 x 11.5 cm. The text in letterpress, the design an intaglio engraving printed in brown ink. Essick collection. For the previously unrecorded reprinting of a pl. by Blake in this volume, see illus. 5. The unillustrated second title page, also printed in letterpress, has a different typography and format, but the same verbal content. The unsigned design on this first title page is attributed to Thomas Stothard in Coxhead 38. The volume contains only the 2 title pages and 64 engravings on the rectos of 64 leaves. All the pls. are probably reprinted from earlier publications; 8 of the 12 pls. after Stothard were first published in Thomas Townshend, *Poems*, 1796.



Engraved by W. H. Pyly del. 1790

5. "F: Revolution," etched and engraved by Blake after a design by Charles Reuben Ryley. Image 16.5 x 11.4 cm., platemark 19.9 x 14.4 cm., untrimmed leaf 24.4 x 16.6 cm. Essick collection. First published in *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine*, vol. 1, 1793, this impression reprinted in *The Cabinet of the Arts*, 1799 (see illus. 4 and the caption thereto). Printed on wove paper with part of a watermark, "J Wha / 17" (fragments on other leaves indicate that the full mark is "J Whatman / 1794"). The st. of the pl., including the imprint, is identical to the earlier publication. Impressions in the 1793 volume are on larger (28.2 x 22.5 cm., untrimmed) sheets of a softer wove paper with a rougher texture. These differences in paper indicate that the impressions in *The Cabinet of the Arts* are not remainders from the *Magazine* printing but new pulls from the copperplate. The attribution of the pl. to William Blake, artist and poet, has been questioned, but it has been accepted by most authorities (for a summary of the arguments, see *BBS* 192-93). *BB* and *BBS* list only 3 traced copies of the 1793 *Magazine*. The *Cabinet* contains one further pl. first published in the magazine, "French Revolution," engraved by Charles Grignion after another design by Ryley. The reprinting of Blake's pl. in *The Cabinet of the Arts* has not been previously recorded.

porary calf rebaked, illus. color (\$306.77). Fisher's Auction Service, Huntsville, Texas, 26 June, #7436, apparently 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 3 vols., original calf worn, 1 spine damaged, illus. color online (\$1000). Z Antiques, July online cat., vol. 1 only, heavy foxing, binding worn (\$75). Heritage Book Shop, July online cat., 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 3 vols., contemporary calf (\$500). Quaritch, July online cat., 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 3 vols. with the supplement of 1806 bound in vol. 3, contemporary half calf (£1250). EB, Sept.-Oct., pl. 1 only, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$129). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #36, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 3 vols., early calf worn, hinges repaired (\$1375).

Hayley, *Life of Romney*, 1809. Marlborough Rare Books, Dec. 2004 cat. 202, #100, "library faux-leather" (£350).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*, 1803. John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, large-paper issue, contemporary calf (\$2750). James Fenning, Feb. cat. 219, #117, small-paper issue, contemporary calf (£450). EB, March, small-paper issue, some pls. foxed, contemporary calf, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$824.99); same copy, March, no bids on a required minimum bid of \$799.99. Phillip Pirages, Nov. cat. 52, #342, small-paper issue, contemporary calf, illus. (\$750). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #39, apparently the small-paper issue, foxed, early calf worn (\$475).

Hoare, *Inquiry*, 1806. Henry Sotheran, Nov. cat. 51, #182, contemporary calf worn (£198).

Hogarth, *The Beggar's Opera by Hogarth and Blake*, 1965. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #40, with the restrike from Blake's pl. as issued, original folding box worn, illus. (\$975).

Hogarth, *Works*. EB, Dec. 2004, pl. only, st. not identifiable but probably late, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$295). BA, 26 May, #309, undated Baldwin and Cradock issue, contemporary half sheep, covers detached, "effectively disbound" (£833). CSK, 2 Nov., #374, 1822 ed., later half morocco worn (£1680). BA, 17 Nov., #409, undated Baldwin and Cradock issue, some stains, mostly marginal, contemporary half morocco very worn, covers detached (£952).

Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 1793. Grant & Shaw, Feb. cat. 65, #40, quarto issue, "large paper copy" (29.5 x 23.8 cm.), later half calf (£3000); same copy and price, Aug. cat. 66, #43. Banfield House, July online cat., octavo issue, later half calf (\$3088). CL, 21 Sept., #48, quarto issue, imprint partly cropped, quarter roan worn (not sold; estimate £2000-3000). Gaston Renard, Oct. cat. 385, #112, quarto issue, modern half calf (\$9500 Australian).

Josephus, *Works*. EB, April, pl. 3 only, 3<sup>rd</sup> st., slight marginal foxing, illus. color (\$128.50); April, apparently between issues A and B as listed in *BB*, scattered foxing and a few marginal stains, contemporary calf worn, covers loose, illus. color (\$179.95). Krown & Spellman, July online cat., issue D or E as listed in *BB*, stains and tears, cloth worn (\$850). EB, Sept., issue E as listed in *BB*, a few leaves stained, contemporary suede, front cover stained, illus. color (£161.22); Nov.-Dec., issue between A and B as listed in *BB*, a few stains, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (\$528.18).

Kimpton, *History of the Bible*, c. 1781. EB, Jan., lacking about 15 pls., title page repaired, contemporary calf rebaked and repaired, illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of \$399.99); June, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£217). Eric Chaim Kline, July online cat., contemporary calf worn, rebaked (\$250). Beckham Books, July online cat., some browning, contemporary calf worn (£210).

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*. Jeremy Norman, July online cat., 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, some foxing, later quarter morocco worn (\$2750). Ursus Books, July online cat., 1810 ed., 3 vols. in 5, later three-quarter morocco (\$3500); same copy and price, Dec. "Christmas" cat., #40, illus. EOS Buchantiquariat Benz, July online cat., 1810 ed., 3 vols. in 5, contemporary calf very worn (\$1198). James Cummins, July online cat., "1792" (actually c. 1818) ed., 3 vols. in 5, contemporary calf rebaked (\$2000). Sevin Seydi, July online cat., 1810 ed., 3 vols. in 5, contemporary Russia (£1200). Peter Harrington, July online cat., "1792" (actually c. 1818) ed., 3 vols. in 5, later morocco (£2450). Krown & Spellman, July online cat., "1792" (actually c. 1818) ed., 3 vols. in 5, later Russia rebaked (\$1300). Down

in Denver Books, July online cat., 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. (in 3?), calf worn (\$2500). EB, Aug., 1789-98 ed., vols. 1-2 (of 3) only, marginal foxing and staining, disbound, illus. color (£155). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #41, 1789-98 ed., 3 vols. in 5, later calf worn, repaired (\$2750); #43, Blake's pl. 4 only (\$200); #44, Blake's pl. 1 only (\$125).

Malkin, *Father's Memoirs of His Child*, 1806. James Cummins, April cat. 92, #6, uncut in original boards rebacked, illus. (\$1500). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #45, uncut in original boards, printed spine label (\$2000); #46, contemporary morocco worn (\$1875).

*Novelist's Magazine*, vol. 9, 1782. EB, Jan., contemporary calf, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$325.99); same copy, Jan., same result on a required minimum bid of \$162.99; same copy, April-May, same result on a required minimum bid of \$325.99; same copy, May, same result on a required minimum bid of \$162.99. Book Haven, July online cat., foxed, quarter morocco very worn, covers loose (\$250).

Olivier, *Fencing Familiarized*, 1780. New England Book Auctions, Northampton, Massachusetts, 18 Oct., #209, later calf worn, upper cover detached (no price information; estimate \$300-500). EB, Nov.-Dec., modern calf, illus. color (\$520).

Rees, *The Cyclopædia*, 1820. EB, Jan., pl. 6 only, illus. color (\$9.99). BA, 3 March, #97, complete in 45 vols. (including the 6 pls. vols.), light foxing and soiling, contemporary half calf (£1012 on an estimate of £300-400). EB, March, pl. 3 only (1 of 2 pls. of this image, designated as pl. 3A in Es-sickCB 110), illus. color (\$9.99); another impression, April-May, illus. color (£2.99); another impression, June, illus. color (\$9.99); March-April, pl. 7 only, illus. color (\$9.99); March-April, pls. vol. 2 only, presumably including Blake's pl. 2, no description of binding (possibly loose), illus. color (£100); May-June, a group of (6?) pls. illustrating armor and artillery, including Blake's pl. 1, illus. color (£8.99); pl. 4 only, illus. color (\$9.99). Old Book Company, Oct. online cat., pls. vol. 1 only, cloth rebacked (\$1595). Robert Frew, Oct. cat., #149, 45 vols. in 26, complete with the pls. vols., some foxing, half calf (£3500).

Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs*, 1783. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #47, pls. 1, 4, 6-8 only, loose (\$300).

Salzmann, *Elements of Morality*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #214, 1791 ed., 3 vols., some browning, contemporary calf with hinges repaired (£3500). John Gach, April online cat., 1791 ed., 3 vols. in 1, lacking 9 pls. and title pages to vols. 1-2, leaves stained, early 19<sup>th</sup>-century quarter calf worn (\$850). Heritage Book Shop, July online cat., 1792 ed., 3 vols., modern quarter calf (\$4750). Parker's Books, July online cat., 48 pls. only, foxed and stained, some tears, disbound, cloth portfolio (\$3000).

Scott, *Poetical Works*, 1782. Ed Bury, July online cat., "marbled leather boards" (?), 1 cover detached (\$450). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #48, pls. 1 and 3 only, loose (\$175).

Shakespeare, *Dramatic Works*, 1802. Heritage Book Shop, July online cat., 9 vols. in 6, contemporary morocco rebacked, rubbed (\$10,000). Bauman Rare Books, July online cat., 9 vols., later morocco (\$16,000).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805. EB, Jan.-Feb., 9 vol. issue, contemporary calf worn, 1 vol. repaired with tape, illus. color (£875). John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, 10 vol. issue, some marginal foxing on the 2 Blake pls., contemporary Russia (acquired from Blackwell's and sold 3 days later for \$7500). EB, March, 9 vol. issue, contemporary calf very worn, many covers loose, 1 spine missing, illus. color (\$201.50 to Windle for stock); June-July, group of 32 unbound pls. only, including Blake's pl. 1, marginal foxing, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$700); same group of pls., Aug., same result on a required minimum bid of \$400; same group of pls., Sept., same result on a required minimum bid of \$350; July, 10 vol. issue, scattered foxing, contemporary calf rebacked, illus. color (\$1525); Oct.-Nov., 9 vol. issue, scattered stains and foxing, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (£88). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #50, complete set of the pls. only, some stains and spotting, bound in later calf (\$2750). For other pls. from this work, not engraved by Blake, see under Fuseli, below.

Stedman, *Narrative*, colored copies. CNY, 14 June, #214, 1813 ed., 2 vols., imprints partly trimmed off most pls., some soiling, illus. color (\$3120). The hand coloring in this copy is that of the 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (1796), not the later coloring generally found in the 1806 and 1813 eds. Perhaps there were some remainder impressions of the pls. from the 1796 ed., already hand colored, and these were used in at least this copy of the 1813 ed. Heritage Book Shop, July online cat., 1806 ed., 2 vols., many imprints trimmed off, later half morocco (\$8500); same copy and price, cat. for the Oct. Boston Book Fair (no item #). Reg and Philip Remington, Sept. cat. 36, #138, 1806 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf rebacked (£8000). William Reese, Sept. cat. 242, #159, 1813 ed., 2 vols., modern three-quarter morocco (\$9000). EB, Nov.-Dec., pl. 4 only, with 1<sup>st</sup>-ed. hand coloring, illus. color (\$32).

Stedman, *Narrative*, uncolored copies. Hollett & Son, Oct. private offer, 1796 ed., 2 vols., calf worn (£2750). EB, Nov.-Dec., 1806 ed., 2 vols., considerable foxing, modern quarter cloth, marbled boards, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$1777).

*Vetusta Monumenta*, 1767-1835. CNY, 16 Dec. 2004, #696, 6 vols., later half morocco worn (\$2151 on an estimate of \$400-600). Presumably includes Joseph Ayloff's *An Account of Some Ancient Monuments in Westminster Abbey* (1778) with 7 pls. signed by Basire but attributed, at least in part, to Blake.

Virgil, *Pastorals*, 1821. Justin Schiller, April New York Book Fair, 2 vols., original sheep (\$55,000). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #51, 2 vols., later calf, from the collection of George Goyder (\$29,500); #52, vol. 1 only (containing all of Blake's wood engravings), publisher's sheep (\$22,500).

Virgil, *The Wood Engravings of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil*, 1977. BA, 20 April, #154, original box, illus. color (£3094). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #53, original box, illus. (\$6500); #54, the wood engravings in 3 frames, original box and introductory text retained (\$6500).

Whitaker, *The Seraph*. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #56, BB issue A, "parts 1 vol. 2 and 3 vol. 2 only," but with the pl. based on Blake's *Night Thoughts* design, quarter calf (\$325); #57, pl. based on Blake's design only, from a copy of BB issue C (\$125).

*Wit's Magazine*, 1784. Keys Fine Art Auctioneers, Aylsham, Norfolk, 24 March, #301, vol. 1 (1784) and part of vol. 2 (1785) bound in 1 vol., lacking pl. 5, 2 pls. damaged, pl. 1 (EssickCB pl. 1A) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> st., half calf very worn, with *The Encyclopaedia of Wit*, [1823], calf worn (£140). Kenneth Karmiole, June Pasadena Book Fair, pls. 2 (EssickCB pl. 1B), 4, 5 only, individually framed (\$1500 the set). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #58, with part of vol. 2 bound in, pl. 1 (EssickCB pl. 1A) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> st., margin restored, "rebound in contemporary style" (\$5750); #59-61, pls. 3-5 only, little soiled (\$400 each). Blake's pls. are in vol. 1 of 1784.

Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #213, 1791 ed., pl. 1 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> st., sts. of other pls. not recorded, later morocco, pl. 1 illus. (£2800). Half Moon Books, May online cat., 1796 ed., pls. almost certainly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> st., some marginal browning, "hardbound leather" (\$3500). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #62, 1791 ed., all pls. in the 1<sup>st</sup> st., contemporary calf, upper cover rehinged (\$6750); #63, 1791 ed., all pls. in the 2<sup>nd</sup> st., modern calf (\$6750); #64, 1796 ed., all pls. in the 3<sup>rd</sup> (final) st., a little soiling, from the collection of Douglas Cleverdon with a pencil note that he was given this copy by Geoffrey Keynes, modern boards (\$4750). Heritage Book Shop, Nov. cat. 217, #485, 1791 ed., sts. of pls. not recorded, later morocco, front hinge repaired (\$4500).

Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797, uncolored copies. Maggs, Sept. online cat., with the "Explanation" leaf, "generously-margined copy," modern half morocco (£5000). Phillip Pirages, Nov. cat. 52, #66, with the "Explanation" leaf, from the collection of George Goyder, fine contemporary morocco, illus. (\$19,500). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #65, with the "Explanation" leaf "mounted to size," minor soiling, 1 leaf torn and repaired, uncut on the fore- and lower edges, 19<sup>th</sup>-century morocco rebaked, illus. (\$17,500); #66, lacking the "Explanation" leaf, some pls. trimmed, later morocco (\$8250); #67, lacking the "Explanation" leaf, last 2 leaves stained, morocco worn (\$6500).

## Interesting Blakeana

J. Boehme, *Works*, the so-called "Law edition," 1764-81. Swann, 28 April, #22, 4 vols., some foxing, contemporary calf rebaked (\$5600). The ed. of Boehme known to Blake and perhaps owned by him—see his comment to Henry Crabb Robinson on the beauty of the "figures" (i.e., the illus.) in "Law's transl<sup>n</sup>" (BR [2] 423).

T. Stothard, *Portrait of William Blake*, c. 1780. See under Stothard, below, and illus. 10.

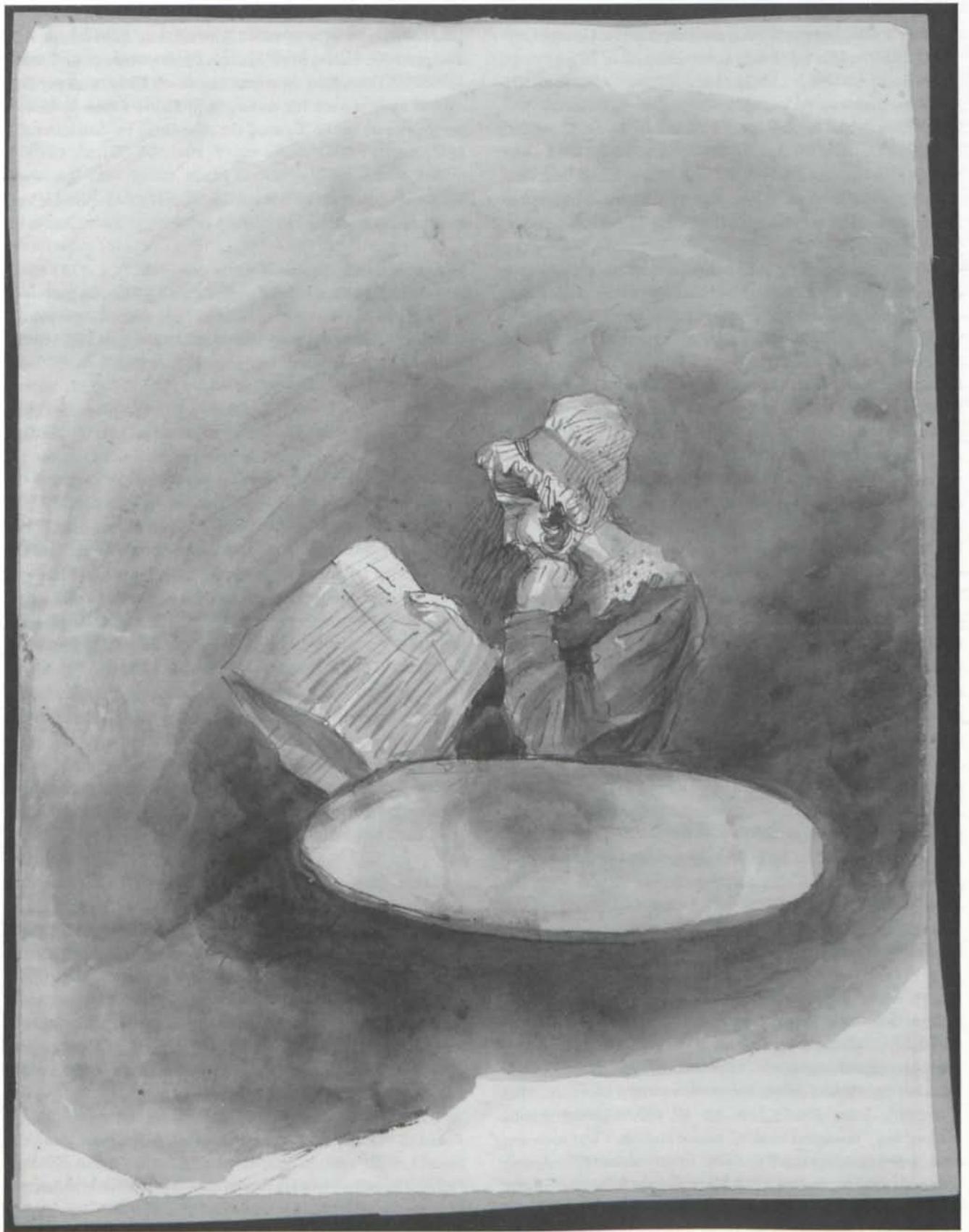
G. Cumberland, *Portrait of Catherine Blake(?)*, c. 1783-85(?). Pen and ink, black and gray wash, 21.5 x 17.8 cm. on a sheet of wove paper, 23.1 x 17.8 cm. William Drummond, June private offer (acquired, with the assistance of D. Bindman, by J. Windle for R. Essick). Previously unrecorded—see illus. 6.

T. Gray, *Poems* (London: J. Murray, 1790). Michael Good, Feb. online cat., contemporary calf rebaked (\$100). The ed. cut up by Blake and used, in part, as the inset texts for his watercolor illus. to Gray's poems (Butlin #335). Some of the materials not used by Blake in his illus., including the 7 pls., "A Short Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray," "The Tears of Genius: An Ode to the Memory of Mr. Gray," and the notes on the poems were almost certainly known to Blake and may have had some influence on his designs. For example, 3 of the pls. feature lyres and 1 pictures a Welsh harp. Both symbolic motifs appear prominently in Blake's designs. Not listed in BB 681-705 as one of the "Books Owned by Blake" (perhaps John Flaxman, who commissioned the watercolors, actually owned the book, even while in Blake's possession).

E. Swedenborg, *The Wisdom of Angels Concerning the Divine Providence*, 1790. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #69, "original sheets sewn but not bound," modern cloth box (\$375). The ed. owned by Blake—see BB #743.

E. Baker, *Thirty-Three Years Practice and Observations with Rifle Guns*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 1813. Maggs, April online cat., 1 pl. loose, light browning, contemporary morocco rubbed (£500). William Cole discovered, in a collection in Spain, an impression of Blake's "Albion rose" that was at one time tucked into a copy of Baker's book. On the verso of the print is a poem, alluding to Baker's book, which Cole has attributed to Blake—see Cole, "An Unknown Fragment by William Blake: Text, Discovery, and Interpretation," *Modern Philology* 96.4 (May 1999): 485-97.

J. and A. Taylor, *City Scenes*, 1818. Ken Spelman, May cat. 55, #71, slight foxing, quarter roan (£180). Contains Blake's "Holy Thursday" from *Songs of Innocence*, illus. with an engraving which, although showing the children being led out of the church by beadles, is not directly related to Blake's design.



6. George Cumberland. *Portrait of Catherine Blake(?)*, c. 1783-85(?). Pen and ink, black and gray wash, 21.5 x 17.8 cm. on a sheet of wove paper without watermark, 23.1 x 17.8 cm. Pasted to a sheet of gray laid paper without watermark, 23.7 x 18.0 cm., this mount inscribed on the verso in pencil, "64." Loose in an old mat, the cover (window) mat inscribed on the inside in pencil, "M<sup>rs</sup> Blake by George Cumberland" and "10," in an unidentified hand. Not previously reproduced or recorded. Essick collection.

David Bindman is confident that this drawing is indeed by Cumberland and that the subject is William Blake's wife, Catherine. The evidence for authorship is primarily stylistic and, in my view, reasonably certain. The identification of the figure is less solid, but not devoid of supporting evidence. Another drawing of Catherine, tentatively attributed to Cumberland, is described and reproduced in *The Complete Portraiture of William & Catherine Blake*, with an Essay and an Iconography by Geoffrey Keynes (London: Trianon P for the William Blake Trust, 1977) 149-50 and pl. ii (now Keynes Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, accession no. PD.189-1985). This pencil and wash drawing shows a female figure wearing a bonnet, sitting in a chair, and warming one foot, and perhaps her hands, at a fire. Keynes dates this work to c. 1785; the figure in the drawing reproduced here appears to be about the same age. One facial feature, the very sharp nose, suggests that these 2 drawings portray the same person. Although the lower portion of the woman's face is covered by her hand (and perhaps a partly extended finger) in the newly discovered drawing, her upper lip seems to project outward, perhaps the result of an overbite. Her upper lip is full and slightly projected beyond the lower in the Fitzwilliam drawing. The narrowed eyes and overall pensive expression are also similar, even though the woman in the Keynes drawing is not reading.

When Catherine married William Blake in Aug. 1782, she may have been illiterate (see *BR* [2] 27-28 and Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake* [London: Macmillan, 1863] 1: 37-38). Her husband helped her acquire "the useful arts of reading and writing" (Gilchrist 1: 38), and thus by c. 1783-85 she was probably capable of reading, as in the present drawing. Her text may be a newspaper, although the way the sheet seems to loop over at the top suggests it may be galley proofs or a very large broadside. To indulge in a bit of pure speculation, might Catherine be proofreading the galleys of her husband's *Poetical Sketches* (1783)?

The history of this drawing lends circumstantial support to the notion that it is a portrait of Catherine Blake. According to information supplied by Bindman and William Drummond, the London art dealer from whom I acquired the drawing, this work has long been associated with Thomas Stothard's pencil sketch of Blake (see illus. 10). Both were once part of an album of drawings (and perhaps letters) put together by a member or members of the Cumberland family. The number (64) on the back of the mounting sheet of this drawing and the number on the recto of the William Blake portrait (84) appear to have been made with the same pencil by the same hand; perhaps these

numbers represent their respective positions in such an album. The inscriptions on the William Blake portrait (see the caption to illus. 10) also associate it with the Cumberland family. At least the 2 portraits were acquired by Sidney Sabin by 1970 (see Keynes, *Complete Portraiture* 118, provenance of the Stothard sketch of William Blake). Sabin was at that time associated with Sabin Galleries Ltd., the London art dealer. After Sabin's death, Drummond acquired the 2 portraits early in this century.

*Group Portrait of Numerous Figures the Central Figure Being William Blake, English School Attributed to Thomas Phillips*. Oil, unfinished, 60.3 x 49.5 cm., date unknown. BH, 3 Oct., #14, sold from the collection of Roy Davids, illus. color (£5400). Previously sold SL, 15 July 1992, #80, illus. color (£5720 to Philip Mould of Historical Portraits Ltd.). For illus. and discussion, see *Blake* 26.4 (spring 1993): 148. I remain unconvinced that Blake is portrayed and that the painting is by Phillips.

Hayley, *Memoirs*, 1823. BookLustr Books, July online cat., 2 vols., bindings very worn, one cover loose (\$180). David Strauss, July online cat., 2 vols., contemporary quarter calf (£225). Contains important early references to Blake.

G. Cumberland, *An Essay on the Utility of Collecting the Best Works of the Ancient Engravers of the Italian School*, 1827. Ken Spelman, Feb. cat. 54, #52, foxed, original boards rebacked (£120); same copy and price, Nov. cat. 56, #153. Quaritch, June cat. 1334, #15, publisher's cloth rebacked (£250). Cumberland records in his notebook that he "Lent Blake [his] Catalogue to read" in Nov. 1823 (*BR* [2] 388).

*Literary Gazette*, 1827. Charles Cox, April cat. 50, #17, contemporary half calf amateurishly rebacked (£125). The Aug. issue, 540-41, contains an important obituary of Blake, possibly written by William Paulet Carey (see *BB* #1071).

J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*. J & S Wilbraham, April online cat. 50, #107, 1828 ed., 2 vols., contemporary half calf rubbed (£75). Ken Spelman, May cat. 55, #128, 1828 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf rebacked (£195). EB, July, 1829 ed., 2 vols., foxed, publisher's cloth, illus. color (a bargain at £9.99); Aug., 1828 ed., 2 vols., frontispiece stained, later cloth, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £39.95); Sept., 1829 ed., 2 vols., publisher's cloth worn, illus. color (£13.39); Oct., 1828 ed., 2 vols., early quarter calf very worn, illus. color (\$36). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #374, 1828 ed., 2 vols., extra-illus. with c. 132 pls. (none by Blake), modern morocco (\$1750); #375, 1828 ed., 2 vols., calf rebacked and restored (£250). Howes Bookshop, Nov. cat. 314, #122, 1829 ed., 2

vols., uncut in original boards, spines repaired (£150). Contains an important early biography of Blake.

A. Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters*. The Bookpress, March cat. 159, #24, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1829-33, 6 vols., later half calf (\$925—probably a record asking price). EB, Sept., New York 1835 ed., 3 vols., “publisher’s original roan and paper boards” worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$34.95). Contains an important early biography of Blake.

P. A. Hanrott, auction cat. of his collection, Evans, 16 July 1833 and 11 following days. CNY, 22 March, #289, 5 parts in 1 vol., annotated with buyers and prices, modern quarter morocco, page with lots 634-44 illus. color (\$960); #290, “thick paper” issue, modern calf (\$840). Lots 630, 642, 644, 893, and 894 in part 1 are important works by Blake (see BB #544, confusing lot 630 with 642).

R. Heber, auction cat. of his collection, Sotheby’s and Evans, 1834-37. CNY, 22 March, #291, 13 parts in 5 vols., annotated with prices, full morocco (\$12,000 on an estimate of \$2000-3000); #292, 13 parts in 3 vols., annotated with prices and buyers, modern half calf (\$7200 on an estimate of \$2000-3000). A copy of Blake’s *Poetical Sketches* was sold as lot 99 on 8 Dec. 1834.

[R. Southey], *The Doctor*, 1834-47. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #191, 7 vols., contemporary calf rubbed (£950). Simon Finch, July cat., #84, 7 vols., contemporary half calf worn (£750). Vols. 6 and 7, both of 1847, contain references to Blake’s painting, *The Ancient Britons*, and to the engravings of Blake’s “Ghost of a Flea” in Varley’s *Zodiacal Physiognomy*, 1828.

W. Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, Pickering ed., 1839. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #167, issue without “The Little Vagabond,” publisher’s cloth slightly faded (\$6500). The first letterpress ed. For another copy, see the “Introduction” to *Songs of Experience* under Illuminated Books, above.

J. Jackson [and W. A. Chatto], *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 1839. CSK, 7 June, #384, George Cruikshank’s copy, contemporary half morocco rubbed (not sold; estimate £400-600). Contains an important description of Blake’s relief-etching methods, 715-17.

W. Chatto, *Gems of Wood Engraving*, 1849. Zarak Books, Dec. 2004 online cat., modern cloth (\$245). Contains a brief description of Blake’s relief-etching process (28). Only the 2<sup>nd</sup> copy I have seen on the market in the last 35 years.

*Hogg’s Weekly Instructor*, New Series vol. 2, 1849. Barter Books, July online cat., contemporary quarter calf worn (£17). Contains, 17-20, an essay on Blake by the Victorian poet William Allingham (1824-89).

*The Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art*, 1852. Chandler & Reed, April online cat., 2 vols. in 1, contemporary calf worn, front cover almost loose (\$48). Claude Cox, Sept. cat. 168, #363, 2 vols. in 1, contemporary half calf rebacked (£55). Vol. 1, 369-71, contains 1 of W. J. Linton’s 2 wood engravings of Blake’s “Death’s Door” and an anonymous essay about Blake. See the caption to illus. 7.

*Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857*. Charles Wood, July cat. 123, #76, contemporary half calf (\$175). 2 of Blake’s watercolors were exhibited; see BB #563.

*International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department*. Charles Wood, July cat. 123, #90, original paper wrappers (\$250). 1 Blake tempera and 4 of his watercolors were exhibited; see BB #566.

*The Light Blue: A Cambridge University Magazine*, 1867. EB, Jan., vols. 1-2, 1866-67 (apparently all published), some spotting, quarter calf, illus. color (\$200). Vol. 2 contains a 3-part essay on Blake, signed “P. M.” The essay includes the first publication of 3 poems from Blake’s manuscript, *An Island in the Moon*. Other passages clearly indicate that the author had access to John Linnell’s collection of Blake’s works. Might Linnell have owned (or at least temporarily possessed) the *Island* manuscript at the time? BB #74 records no certain provenance prior to 1893, when the manuscript was in the collection of Charles Fairfax Murray. Anne Gilchrist knew of *The Island in the Moon* in 1863 and had the original or a transcription in her possession (BB 224n1). The only copy of *The Light Blue* I have ever seen on the market.

A. C. Swinburne, *William Blake: A Critical Essay*, 1868, with the 1<sup>st</sup> published state of the title page (“Zamiel” beneath the vignette). J & S Wilbraham, Sept. online cat. 53, #168, publisher’s cloth (£150). EB, Oct., publisher’s cloth, spine darkened, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$175).

W. C. Bryant, *Thanatopsis*, c. 1874. EB, April, publisher’s pictorial paper-covered boards and cloth spine, corners worn, pages coming loose, illus. color (\$10.50 to R. Essick). See W. J. Linton’s wood-engraved title page, illus. 7.

W. Blake, *Jerusalem*, Pearson facsimile, [1877]. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #90, slight paper damage to the margins of the last few leaves, modern quarter morocco (\$1650); #91, slightly foxed, original front wrapper repaired, back wrapper replaced (\$1295).

W. C. Bryant, *Bryant’s First and Last Poems*, 1878-79. Kavanaugh Books, April online cat., publisher’s cloth (\$20). Contains W. J. Linton’s wood-engraved title page to “Thanatopsis”—see illus. 7 and its caption.

7. William James Linton. Wood-engraved title page for William Cullen Bryant, *Thanatopsis* (New York and Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co., n.d.). 11.9 x 9.4 cm. Essick collection. A colophon on the verso of the letterpress title page states that the book was "entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1874, by G. P. Putnam's Sons." This Caldwell ed. is probably a reprint of the 1874 Putnam ed. In an undated ed. (but possibly 1<sup>st</sup> ed. with Linton's illus.?), "G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York" is printed in letterpress below the wood-engraved title design. The same letterpress below the block appears in *Bryant's First and Last Poems: I. Thanatopsis, II. The Flood of Years. Illustrated by W. J. Linton* (New York: Putnam, "1878-9"). In all 4 eds., the illustrations are stated to be "designed and engraved by W. J. Linton" with "indebtedness acknowledged to David Scott and William Blake ..." (unnumbered page following the wood-engraved title). For unexplained reasons, Linton's illustrations for "Thanatopsis" are dated to 1879 in F. B. Smith, *Radical Artisan: William James Linton 1812-97* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1973) 190.

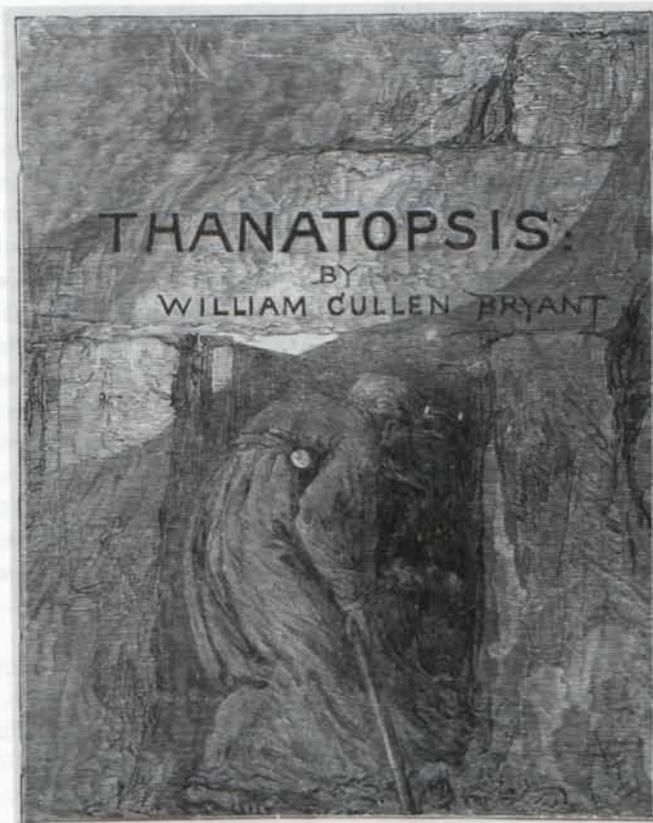
The image is based on the old man entering the tomb in Blake's "Death's Door," an illustration to Robert Blair's *The Grave*, engraved by Louis Schiavonetti and first published in 1808. It is unlikely that Linton saw either Blake's original watercolor, or even his white-line etching, "Deaths Door," the latter known only in a single impression. Linton has reversed the right/left orientation of Schiavonetti's engraving, deleted the youth rising above the tomb, and substituted additional stones above the lintel for Blake's hillock. The design is probably

meant as an illustration to the once-famous concluding 5 lines of "Thanatopsis":

Thou go not, like the quarry-slab at night  
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustain'd and soothed  
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,  
Like one who draws the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

Borrowing from a design originally intended as an illustration for *The Grave* is appropriate because Bryant could "remember reading, at this time [shortly before composing "Thanatopsis," c. 1811-13], that remarkable poem, Blair's 'Grave,' and dwelling with great pleasure upon its finer passages" (quoted from "An Autobiography of Mr. Bryant's Early Life" as printed in Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* [New York: Appleton, 1883] 1: 37). Blair's work was a major influence on Bryant's, as demonstrated by Charles H. Brown, *William Cullen Bryant* (New York: Scribner's, 1971) 59-61.

Linton also executed 2 wood engravings of the full "Death's Door" design, one (21.9 x 13.8 cm., with top corners rounded, image reversed in relation to Schiavonetti's engraving) published in *The Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art* 1 (1852): 369, and in *The Ladies' Drawing Room Book* (London: Cassell, c. 1852). The other (20.9 x 12.1 cm., corners not rounded, image not reversed) was published in *Thirty Pictures by Deceased British Artists Engraved Expressly for The Art-Union of London by W. J. Linton* ([London?]: n.p., 1860), and in John Jackson and W. A. Chatto, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Bohn, 1861).



W. Muir facsimiles of Blake's illuminated books. Simon Finch, cat. for the Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, #11, *There is No Natural Religion*, 1886, Muir's copy #20, original wrappers (\$2000). John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, all sold to a private collector, copy numbers not recorded by Windle if not given here: *The Book of Thel*, 1920, original wrappers (\$2250); *There is No Natural Religion*, 1886, original wrappers (\$1675); *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1885, with the manuscript "Order of the Songs" and "A Divine Image," later cloth, original wrappers bound in, no Muir copy number but inscribed "For the Times," presumably as a review copy (\$2500); *Europe*, 1887, Muir's copy #38, original wrappers (\$5750); *Songs of Innocence*, Muir's copy #41, with *Songs of Experience*, Muir's copy #22, both 1885, 2 vols., original wrappers, modern slipcases (\$5500); *Songs of Innocence*, with *Songs of Experience*, both 1927, both Muir's copy #12, original wrappers (\$3500); *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1885, Muir's copy #49, original wrappers foxed and chipped (\$2500); *The Book of Thel*, 1884, with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1884, and *There is No Natural Religion*, 1886, in 1 vellum vol. (\$8750). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #37, *Little Tom the Sailor* ("one of the separate issues"—see also *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, below), center fold, slight marginal stains (\$2500); #73, *America*, hand-colored issue, Muir's copy #34, original wrappers (\$9500); #77, *The Book of Thel*, 1885, Muir's copy #2, with "a 2 page manuscript note on *Thel* by Muir and an old Quaritch note on the Muir facsimiles," modern boards, original wrappers retained (\$4500); #84, *Europe*, 1887, Muir's copy #8, original wrappers, "backstrip perished, leaves loose," title page illus. (\$8500); #89, *The Gates of Paradise*, 1888, Muir's copy #26, original wrappers (\$4500); #97, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1885, apparently no copy number but "inscribed by Muir for the Saturday Review," presumably a review copy, later morocco, original wrappers retained (\$6500); #98, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1885, Muir's copy #15, bound with *The First Book of Urizen*, 1888, Muir's copy #13, later morocco, original wrappers retained (\$16,500); #102, *Milton*, 1886, Muir's copy #30 (struck through and "inscribed by Muir for the Saturday Review"), with a facsimile of Blake's letter of 16 March 1804 bound in, later morocco, original wrappers retained (\$7500); #106, *The Song of Los*, Muir's copy #19, "tiny fragments from tissues adhering to 2 plates," original wrappers (\$9500); #111, *Songs of Innocence*, 1885, Muir's copy #30, with *Songs of Experience*, 1885, Muir's copy #13, 2 vols., quarter vellum, original wrappers retained (\$12,500); #112, *Songs of Innocence* with *Songs of Experience*, both 1927, both unnumbered but inscribed by Muir "For Review," 2 vols., original wrappers (\$6750); #116, *There is No Natural Religion*, 1886, Muir's copy #26, later morocco, original wrappers retained (\$4500); #118, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1885, issue on Hodgkinson wove paper, Muir's copy #39, later morocco, original wrappers retained (\$5500). Windle tells me that almost all of his Muir facsimiles listed in cat. 40 were sold by Nov.

W. Blake, *There is No Natural Religion*, Pickering facsimile, 1886. John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, large-paper issue, later morocco, original wrappers bound in (\$1500).

*The Rowfant Library: A Catalogue of the Printed Books ... Collected by Frederick Locker-Lampson*, 1886. CNY, 22 March, #191, with the *Appendix* published as a separate vol., 1900, both quarter roan (\$720). Important works by Blake are listed in the 1886 vol., 138-41 (see BB #582). The 1900 vol., 180, includes a few minor engravings by Blake.

*The Century Guild Hobby Horse*. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #38, vol. 1 no. 4 (1886) with the Muir facsimile of *Little Tom the Sailor*, original wrappers (\$750); #105, vol. 1 no. 7 (1887), with a facsimile of *On Homers Poetry* [and] *On Virgil*, original wrappers (\$450).

*Catalogue of the Library of Bernard Buchanan Macgeorge*, 1892. CNY, 22 March, #193, presentation inscription from Macgeorge to Sir Charles Tennant, original half vellum (\$300). The important Blake collection is listed on 7-11 (see BB #589). A revised ed. was published in 1906.

W. B. Yeats. Autograph letter signed, 7 pp., to "M<sup>r</sup> [John] O'Leary," not dated (1892 or early 1893?), addressed from "3 Blenheim Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick" and containing a reference to "the article in [on?] Blake you sent me" and to "the pending ... completion of Blake." Heritage Galleries and Auctioneers, Dallas, 13 April, #25528, illus. color online (\$4750). Yeats lived on and off at 3 Blenheim Road between 1887 and 1894. The pending "completion of Blake" is probably a reference either to *The Works of William Blake*, ed. E. J. Ellis and Yeats, 1893, or (less probably) to *The Poems of William Blake*, ed. Yeats, 1893. This letter not in *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (London: Hart-Davis, 1954). In a letter of 2 March 1892 to Katharine Tynan, Yeats states that "Blake is getting through the press—about two thirds, and that the most troublesome part, is gone to press and most of it is already in proof." In another letter to O'Leary, dated by Wade to "early 1893," Yeats writes that he is "editing a volume of Blake lyrics for *The Muse's Library* [i.e., *The Poems*] and shall get £25 for it. The Blake book [probably the *Works*] will be ready some time next week I believe." *Letters*, ed. Wade, 204, 227.

*Facsimile of the Original Outlines before Colouring of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, intro. by E. J. Ellis, 1893. John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, half morocco, title page foxed (\$1750).

*Facsimile of ... Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, hand colored, intro. by E. J. Ellis, 1893. John Windle, Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, half morocco worn, repaired (\$6750).

W. Blake, *The Book of Thel*, *Songs of Innocence*, and *Songs of Experience*, illus. C. Ricketts, 1897. Bow Windows Bookshop,

May cat. 171, #6, with the signature of William Russell Flint (British artist, 1880-1969) dated 1934, original paper-covered boards, front hinge split (£595).

W. Blake, *Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience* (Boston: Knight & Millet, 1901). Waldo's Books, July online cat., publisher's cloth (\$39). BB #174A. Bentley lists a "London, 1901" issue (BB #174B), but the identical typography and format of all but the title page shared by BB #174A and BB #176 (London: R. Brimley Johnson, and Guildford: A. C. Curtis, 1901) indicate that #174B repeats the entry for #176. BB dates #176 to "1911," but its title page is dated "MDCCCCI" (as in K 278 #158).

W. Blake, *Poems*, intro. by Alice Meynell (London: Gresham, n.d. [1911?]). EB, May, publisher's cloth, illus. color (£4.99 to R. Essick). Possibly BB #289A, dated "1911" (#289B is dated "[1927]"). K 286 #181 states that the ed. of "[September 1911]" was published in London by "Blackie and Son Ltd.," measures "15 x 10 cm.," and was issued as part of the "[Red Letter Library]" (the brackets indicate that this information is not printed in the book). The volume I acquired on EB contains some titles, running heads, and small decorations printed in red; its art nouveau inspired endpaper design of twisting blackberry vines and the gilt-stamped decorations on the spine and front cover suggest a very late 19<sup>th</sup>- or early 20<sup>th</sup>-century publication date. However, the book varies in two respects from the description in K: it was published by "The Gresham Publishing Company" and its leaves measure 15.5 x 10.3 cm. Either K is wrong about these two points for the [1911] ed. or my example is an unrecorded issue. What I believe to be the "[1927]" ed. was published in London and Glasgow by "Blackie & Son Limited"; it measures only 13.9 x 8.3 cm. and contains no printing in red. According to the University of Glasgow Archive Services (<<http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk>>), Gresham was founded in 1898 as a subsidiary of Blackie & Son. Many of the cover and endpaper designs for both firms were designed by Talwin Morris (1865-1911); the (now defunct) web site of Archie MacSporran, the world's leading authority on the life and works of T. Morris, gave the size of the Red Letter Library eds. as "c 15.5 x 10 cms." Perhaps the book was published in 1911 under both the Blackie and Gresham imprints. The author of the introduction, Alice Meynell (1847-1922), was a poet and journalist and the mother of Francis Meynell (1891-1975), the founder of the Nonesuch Press in 1923. Several of Geoffrey Keynes' Blake publications were issued by Nonesuch, beginning with the 3-vol. ed. of *The Writings of William Blake* in 1925.

National Gallery, British Art. *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Works by William Blake*, London, 1913. EB, Jan., apparently 1<sup>st</sup> ed., cloth, original printed wrappers bound in, illus. color (£4.99). The only copy I've seen without "Second Edition" printed at the top of the front wrapper and title page.

W. Blake, *Auguries of Innocence* (Flansham, Sussex: Pear Tree P, 1914). Written out by Lillian Frost, both text and decorations etched in intaglio and printed by James Guthrie and S. J. Housley. Marilyn Braiterman, Oct. cat. 29, #79, #7 of 25 copies (of a total ed. of 100) printed in blue and silver, some stains, A. J. Symon's copy with his book label, original wrappers (\$850). Guthrie (1874-1952), who founded the Pear Tree Press in 1899, is an important figure in the history of 20<sup>th</sup>-century fine printing. See also the Pear Tree Press ed. of *Songs of Innocence* (1939), below.

G. Keynes, *A Bibliography of William Blake*, 1921. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #321, publisher's quarter morocco (\$2000).

W. Blake, *The Act of Creation*, small pamphlet printed for A. E. Newton, 1925. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #121, original envelope (\$75). Includes a color illus. of the frontispiece to *Europe*, copy E.

W. Blake, *All Religions are One*, Hollyer facsimile, 1926. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #70, original quarter cloth, small-paper issue (\$175).

Photographic reproduction, postcard-size, of Thomas Wright "delivering an oration" (from the caption) at the dedication of a memorial to William and Catherine Blake at Bunhill Fields, 12 Aug. 1927. EB, Jan., illus. (\$10.50).

*Illustrated Books and Original Drawings by William Blake* [and] *Drawings, Etchings, Lithographs by Muirhead Bone Loaned by Lessing J. Rosenwald*. Exhibition cat., Print Club of Philadelphia, 1930. EB, July, original wrappers, illus. color (\$6.99). Apparently a rare item; the only copy I've seen on the market in the last 35 years.

W. Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (London: New-Church P Ltd., 1936). EB, Nov., publisher's blue cloth with a large star, title, and author's name stamped in gilt on the upper cover, illus. color (£5.50 to R. Essick). Apparently BB #182, marked as not seen by Bentley. A reissue, by the same publisher in the same binding, of BB #171C, a reset 1925 republication of the 1839 Pickering ed. of the *Songs* (issue lacking "The Little Vagabond," BB #171B). The only difference between the 1925 and 1936 issues is a printed slip of paper in the latter, pasted over the publisher's name, address, and the 1925 date on the title page; the slip names the same publisher, a new address, and the new date of "1936." Some copies of the 1925 volume have a slip of paper, pasted over the publication information on the title page, giving a new address for the publisher (20 Hart St., as in the 1936 reissue, rather than 1 Bloomsbury St.) and lacking a date of publication.

W. Blake, *Songs of Innocence* (Flansham, Sussex: Pear Tree P, 1939). Written out by Helen Hinkley, both text and decorations etched in intaglio and printed in colors by James Guthrie.

John Windle, Aug. private offer, no. 10 of 300 copies signed by Guthrie, publisher's vellum and slipcase with engraved label (acquired by R. Essick). The illus. are not related to Blake's. The only copy I've seen on the market in the last 35 years. Perhaps the start of World War II disrupted the project and fewer than the 300 copies noted in the colophon were printed. See also the Pear Tree Press ed. of *Auguries of Innocence* (1914), above.

W. Blake, *The Divine Image*, "25 copies printed and illuminated by Valenti Angelo," New York, 1949. EB, July, original wrappers, illus. color (\$76). Not in *BB* or *BBS*, although the latter (151) lists an ed. without place of publication or date, tentatively identified as "[?New York. ?1949]." I suspect the undated ed., in gray wrappers and also limited to 25 copies, is earlier and should not be confused with the dated 1949 ed. sold on EB. Yet a 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., not recorded in *BB* or *BBS*, includes the following title page: "William Blake: The Divine Image[.] Printed by Valenti Angelo for the Zamorano-Roxburghe joint meeting, San Francisco 1976." Angelo printed at least 2 other books containing Blake's poems: *A Cradle Song*[,] *The Divine Image*[,] *A Dream*[,] and *Night*, New York, 1949, limited to 125 copies (*BB* #243); and *Auguries of Innocence*, Bronxville, New York, 1968, limited to 35 copies (*BB* #224). The artist, writer, and printer Valenti Angelo (1897-1982) is an important figure in the history of 20<sup>th</sup>-century American printing by small presses.

W. Blake, *Auguries of Innocence*, wood engravings by Leonard Baskin, Gehenna P, 1959. EB, Sept., 1 of 250 copies, publisher's paper wrappers, with the prospectus, illus. color (\$495).

W. Blake, *A Letter from William Blake*, wood engravings by Leonard Baskin, Gehenna P, 1964. EB, Sept., 1 of 500 copies, publisher's paper wrappers, illus. color (\$140).

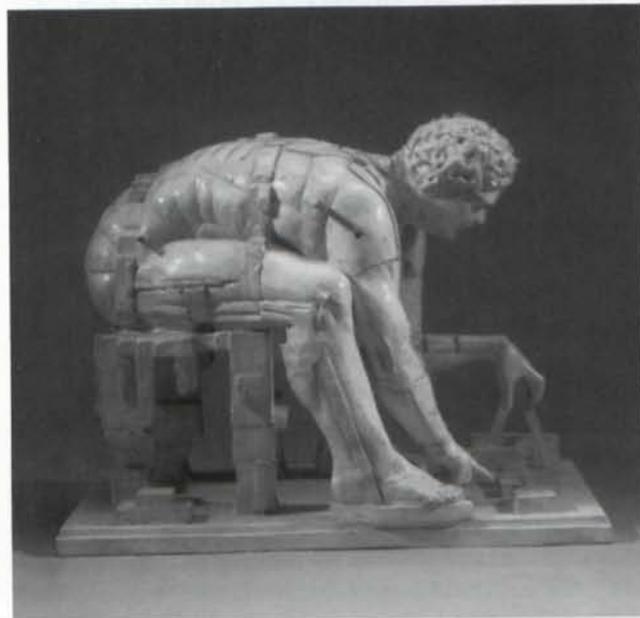
L. Baskin, *Portrait of William Blake*, wood engraving, 1964. EB, Oct., signed by Baskin in pencil, illus. color (\$122.53). This portrait was published in Baskin's ed. of *A Letter from William Blake*, 1964 (see above).

W. Blake, *Poems from ... Songs of Innocence*, illus. Maurice Sendak, 1967. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #200, original wrappers (\$4950).

E. Paolozzi, *Newton*. Painted plaster and wood, 49.0 cm. high, dated 1993. SL, 24 Oct., #113, illus. color (£30,000). See illus. 8.

J. Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book*, 1993. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #391, publisher's cloth, dust jacket (\$275). A very scarce book, long out of print and rarely seen on the secondary market.

R. Essick, *A Troubled Paradise: William Blake's Virgil Wood Engravings, with an Afterword on Collecting William Blake* by John Windle, 1999. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #55, 1 of 13 copies with an original impression of one of Blake's wood engravings, this copy with the 5<sup>th</sup> cut, original cloth box (\$3500).



8. Sir Eduardo Paolozzi (1924-2005). *Newton*. Painted plaster and wood, 49.0 cm. high, signed and numbered 1 of 3, inscribed "For Sabina" and dated 1993. Paolozzi's *Newton* sculpture, based on Blake's large color print of the same title, is known to visitors to the British Library, where a monumental version in bronze stands in the forecourt. Although Blake's figure of Newton is both beautiful and heroic, most Blake scholars have interpreted the color print as representing the contraction of the human mind into the twin prisons of materialism and abstraction. In contrast, Paolozzi's sculpture has been understood as an icon of human intellect at one of its most expansive, even triumphant, moments of scientific achievement. Photo courtesy of Sotheby's London.

## Blake's Circle and Followers

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

### BARRY, JAMES

"King Lear" and "The Diagorides Victors at Olympia," etchings. BA, 26 May, #190, "King Lear" with a horizontal fold and damp staining, "The Diagorides" with a vertical fold and "some browning," the latter illus. (£167).

Barry, *A Letter to the Dilettanti Society*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1799. Ken Spelman, Feb. cat. 54, #34, contemporary half calf rebaked (£650); same copy and price, Nov. cat. 56, #36.

### CALVERT, EDWARD

Leonard Baskin, "Edward Calvert after a Drawing by His Third Son," wood engraving, c. 1956. EB, Oct.-Nov., signed by Baskin in pencil, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$110). This portrait was published in Baskin, *Blake and the Youthful Ancients* (Northampton: Gehenna P, 1956).

### FLAXMAN, JOHN

*Illustrations to Sophocles's Ajax*. 6 sheets of drawings, 2 with verso pencil sketches, variously pen and ink and pencil with washes, largest 19.0 x 12.0 cm. SL, 24 Nov., #122, 1 illus. color (not sold; estimate £2000-3000). The auction cat. suggests a date in the 1790s, when Flaxman was composing most of his outline illustrations, but the date is possibly a good deal later, when he was also using washes in his *Acts of Mercy* drawings and a small group of Hesiod designs.

*Three Studies of Sleeping Children; Study of a Young Girl; and Study of a Family Group*. Pencil, 5 sheets in all, 14.7 x 12.0 cm. and smaller. CL, 17 Nov., #33, 2 illus. color (£2400).

*Design for the Shield of Achilles*. Pencil, 10.5 x 17.8 cm., inscribed "153.W" top right, paper evenly browned. Skinner auction, Boston, 1 Oct., #169, illus. color online (\$200). This drawing is not related to any section of the finished design for the shield.

*Figure Mourning beneath an Urn*. Pen, wash, 10.2 x 10.2 cm., dated to c. 1810. Abbott and Holder, Jan. cat. 365, #33 (£1400).

*The Misses Harrison, Sharpe and Rogers and Mrs. Sharpe at Samuel Rogers' Party, 1800*. Pen and brown ink, 22.7 x 18.6 cm., inscribed with the names of the figures and dated 10 June 1800. W/S Fine Art and Andrew Wyld, June cat., #23, illus. color (£7500).

*Prologue to Henry 5<sup>th</sup>*. Pencil, inscribed in ink with verses from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, lines 5-8 of the preface, and *Julius Caesar*, act 3, scene 1, line 273, 38.5 x 24.5 cm., signed and dated 1782. EB, Aug., illus. color (\$560). Previously offered as *Figure Study*, SL, 1 Dec. 2004, #26, in a lot of miscellaneous drawings (not sold).

*Woman and Children around an Anchor*. Pen, wash, 10.2 x 10.2 cm., dated to c. 1810. Abbott and Holder, Jan. cat. 365, #34 (£1400).

Autograph letter signed, 2 pp., to Dawson Turner, 9 April 1819. BH, 15 March, #582 (£312). For the attempted sale of this letter by the autograph dealer Roy Davids, see *Blake 37.4* (spring 2004): 129.

Autograph letter signed, 1 p., to Thomas Lawrence, 21 Feb. 1825. Michael Silverman, Sept. online cat. (\$645.33).

Aeschylus designs, 1795. Vallot auction, New York, #206, pl. 28 only, illus. online (\$275—a remarkably high price for a single pl.). EB, May, lacking 3 pls., bound but covers gone, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £95).

Dante designs. EB, Jan.-Feb., 1807 ed., badly water stained, original boards worn, partly repaired, cover label, illus. color (\$122.50). John Windle, April private offer, 1802 ed., some foxing (mostly marginal), quarter calf worn (\$850). Freeman's auction, Philadelphia, 19 May, #5228, 1867 ed., contemporary morocco very worn, illus. online (\$50). EB, May, 1807 ed., scattered minor foxing, quarter vellum, illus. color (\$559.99); Aug., 2 pls. only offered individually, ed. unknown, illus. color (no bids on required minimum bids of \$6.99 each); Nov., apparently the 1807 ed., 50 pls. only, some spotting, disbound, illus. color (£22.30).

*Odyssey* designs, 1805. EB, March-April, some pls. spotted, quarter leather very worn, damaged, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$299.99); Nov.-Dec., 3 pls. only, loose, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$9.99).

### FUSELI, HENRY

*A Lady Kneeling at a Prie Dieu and Studies of Two Nudes* (recto); *A Striding Nude and Lovers Embracing* (verso). Pen and

brown ink, pencil, sheet 16.0 x 22.0 cm., the verso inscribed "Sir Jesus Reynolds / William Hunter / all tog[ether]." SL, 24 Nov., #119, recto illus. color (£3,360).

*Meleager Implored by the Aetolians to Defend the City of Calydon.* Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, 29.4 x 38.0 cm., inscribed "Roma [17]76." CNY, 25 Jan., #212, sold from the estate of Bernard Breslauer, illus. color (\$180,000 on an estimate of \$50,000-70,000).

*A Midnight Modern Conversation*, attributed to Fuseli. Pencil, pen and ink, gray wash, 27.2 x 27.2 cm., possibly a work of the mid-1760s indebted to Hogarth. Doyle auction, New York, 26 Jan., #1005, framed and glazed, illus. color online (\$500).

Circle of Fuseli, *Satan Starting from the Touch of Ithuriel's Spear.* Pencil, pen, gray wash, 52.8 x 68.8 cm. CL, 9 June, #34, illus. color (£4560).

"The Weird Sisters," mezzotint by Smith after Fuseli. Michael Finney, Sept. online cat., trimmed to the platemark, slight overall browning, laid onto a card, illus. color (£350).

Bible. *A Practical Family Bible*, published by Wilkie, 1772-73. John King Books, Oct. online cat., 2 vols., stained with preliminary leaves missing, bindings very worn with amateur repairs (\$519.75).

Bible, published by Macklin, 1800. EB, 7 vols., contemporary morocco slightly worn, illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of \$4999.99).

Boothby, *Sorrows Sacred to the Memory of Penelope*, 1796. John Windle, cat. for the Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, #41, "large-paper copy," pl. after Fuseli "before all letters" (but actually with the small Fuseli signature centered below the design), slightly foxed, uncut in original boards, cover label (\$4500). James Cummins, Sept. cat. 93, #3, uncut in original(?) boards, later cloth spine (\$1000).

Boydell, *Collection of Prints ... Illustrating ... Shakspeare*, 1803. SL, 16 Dec. 2004, #56, 2 vols., contemporary morocco rubbed (£3120). Heritage Book Shop, July online cat., 2 vols., contemporary morocco (\$15,000). EB, Nov., 1 pl. only, "Midsummer Nights Dream, Act II, Scene I," Simon after Fuseli, 1 tear extending into the image, slight marginal stains, illus. color (\$127.51).

Cowper, *Poems*, 1806. EB, Sept., 2 vols., foxed, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£9.64).

Darwin, *Poetical Works*, 1806. EB, 1 pl. only, "The Creation of Eve," Dadley after Fuseli, illus. color (\$10.50).

Darwin, *The Temple of Nature*, 1803. EB, Aug., marginal stains on some pls., scattered browning, later cloth, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid \$510).

Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, 1820. A. D. Constance, July online cat., contemporary calf (£145).

Gray, *Poems*, Du Roveray ed., 1800. EB, Aug., contemporary morocco worn, illus. color (\$78). EB, Nov., contemporary morocco, spine very worn, illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of £29.99).

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*. EB, July, 1 pl. only, "Head of Satan," from the 1797 ed. published by Symonds, illus. color (\$39.95); Sept., 1 pl. only, "St. John," Holloway after Fuseli, from the 1789-98 ed. published by Murray, marginal foxing, illus. color (\$29.95). John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #42, 1 pl. only, portrait of Fuseli engraved by Bromley (\$200). For copies of the 1789-98 ed., see under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Du Roveray ed., 1802. EB, Feb.-March, 2 vols., small-paper issue, some spotting, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £500); same copy, March, same result on a required minimum bid of £350; June, pl. 2 ("Satan Encountering Death at Hell's Gate, Sin Interposing") only, an etched proof lacking most of the work on the figures, with signatures but no other inscriptions, light foxing, illus. color (£63). For the proof, see illus. 9.

Milton, *Poetical Works*, 1844. Buddenbrooks, July online cat., three-quarter calf (\$495). Rullon-Miller, July online cat., contemporary morocco rubbed (\$250).

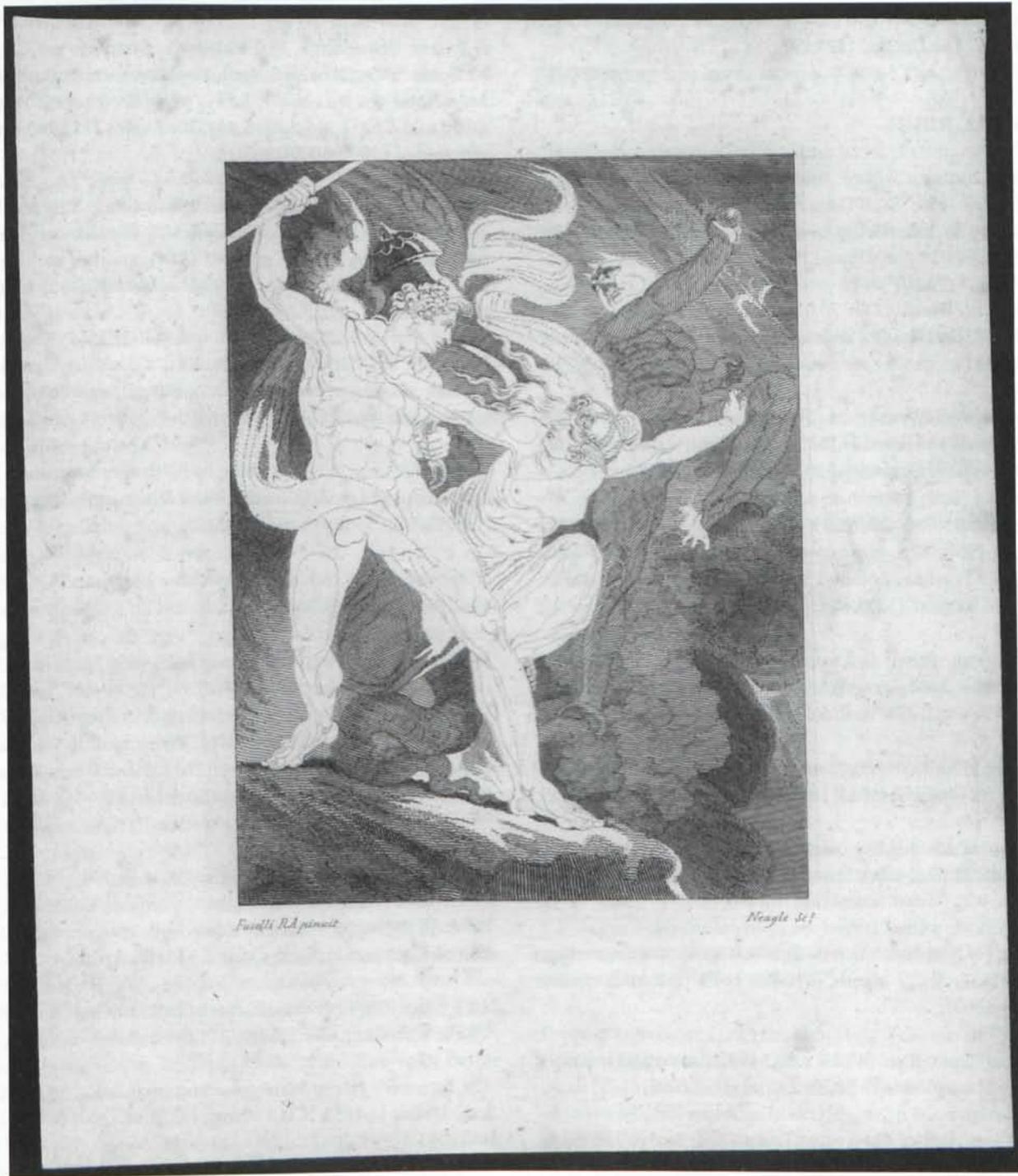
*A Series of Magnificent Engravings to Illustrate the Various Folio or Quarto Editions of the Works of Shakespeare and Milton*, published by M'Lean, 1818. BA, 20 April, #217, a few pls. stained, contemporary morocco rubbed (£119). Contains 3 pls. after Fuseli: "Oberon Squeezing the Flower on Titania's Eyelids," "Titania Embracing Bottom," and "The Witches Appear to Macbeth and Banquo."

Seward, *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, 1798. Xerxes Books, Oct. online cat., 4 vols., "full leather" slightly worn (\$900).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805. EB, 1 pl. only, "Winter's Tale," illus. color (\$9.99). See also under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

Smollett, *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, 1773. EB, Sept., 4 vols., the pls. by Grignion after Fuseli of the 1769 ed. re-engraved by Lodge, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£32.77).

9. James Neagle after Henry Fuseli. "Satan Encountering Death at Hell's Gate, Sin Interposing," pl. 2 in John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London: E. J. Du Roveray, 1802). An etched proof, lacking a great deal of engraving (and possibly further etching) on the figures, with scratched signatures of "Fuselli [sic] R. A pinxit" (lower left) and "Neagle Sc!" (lower right). Image (not including the signatures) 11.4 x 8.7 cm. printed on a sheet of laid paper without watermark, 17.5 x 15.0 cm. Essick collection. While such proofs offer insights into an engraver's methods of developing an image, the signatures suggest that this is not a true "working" proof, pulled so that the craftsman can check the progress of his work, but an early state printed in limited numbers for collectors. For a drawing by Blake that may have been influenced by Fuseli's representations of Satan, see illus. 3.



Wieland, *Oberon*, trans. Sotheby, 1805. EB, Feb., 2 vols., with all pls., quarter calf very worn, covers detached, illus. color (even in this condition, a bargain at £8.39); March, 2 vols., with all pls., contemporary quarter calf, bindings illus. color (another bargain at £14.60).

Young, *Catalogue of the ... Collection of ... Angerstein*, 1823. EB, March, the 3 Fuseli pls. offered individually, illus. color: "Satan Starting from the Touch of Ithuriel's Spear" (\$29.99), "The Birth of Eve" (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$29.99), "The Deluge" (\$29.99).

#### LINNELL, JOHN

*Cattle Crossing a Stream*. Watercolor, 20.0 x 30.0 cm., signed and dated 1851. SL, 8 Dec., #184, "with a watercolour of figures by a loch by George Fennel Robson," the Linnell illus. color (£2880).

*The Cattle Pond*. Oil, 70.0 x 98.0 cm., signed and dated 1874. SL, 24 Nov., #6, illus. color (not sold; estimate £8000-12,000).

*Dolwyddelan, North Wales*. Pencil and watercolor, 19.1 x 24.8 cm., signed and dated 1813. Lowell Libson, Nov. cat. of "Watercolours and Drawings," #31, illus. color (£6000).

*The Farmer's Boy*. Oil, 62.0 x 45.5 cm., signed and dated 1830. SL, 24 Nov., #75, illus. color (not sold; estimate £60,000-80,000). Previously offered SL, 1 July 2004, #18 (not sold; estimate £100,000-150,000).

*Hampstead*. Pencil and watercolor, 11.4 x 18.5 cm., signed, probably c. 1824. Lowell Libson, Nov. cat. of "Watercolours and Drawings," #30, illus. color (£3600).

*The Keg*. Oil, 45.0 x 60.0 cm., signed and dated 1862. SL, 30 June, #65, illus. color (not sold; estimate £20,000-30,000).

*Portrait of Mr. Bolding, and His Wife, Mrs. Bolding*, a pair. Oil, each 32.0 x 24.0 cm., both signed and dated 1832. SL, 22 March, #70, both illus. color (£10,800).

*Portrait of Mrs. Anna Young*. Oil, 32.0 x 25.0 cm., signed and dated 1831. SL, 22 March, #71, illus. color (not sold; estimate £4000-6000).

*Study of Goats*. Pencil, 10.2 x 16.5 cm., signed and inscribed "From Nature" in ink. EB, Jan., illus. color (£90).

*The Three Ages of Man, after Titian*. Oil, 86.3 x 148.0 cm., inscribed on the relining of the canvas, "Copy painted in the Royal Academy in the year 1839 by Mr Linnell A. J. Oliver." CL, 23 Nov., #71, illus. color (£7800).

#### MORTIMER, JOHN HAMILTON

*Head Studies*. Pen and ink, recto and verso, approx. 26.0 x 36.0 cm. EB, April-May, recto and verso illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of £380).

*The Removal of the Body of Patroclus*, attributed to Mortimer. Oil, 68.6 x 86.4 cm. CL, 23 Nov., #59, illus. color (not sold; estimate £5000-8000).

*Il Reposo*. Pen and ink, 28.0 x 21.0 cm., datable to c. 1778. W. M. Brady & Co., New York, Jan. offer, illus. color in *Burlington Magazine* 147 (Jan. 2005): [viii] (price on request). Previously sold CL, 18 Nov. 2004, #61, illus. color (£13,145 on an estimate of £3000-5000).

*Sheet of Figure Studies*, attributed to Mortimer. Pen and ink, approx. 21.0 x 22.0 cm. EB, April-May, illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of £280); another such sheet, 21.0 x 32.0 cm., illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of £220).

"Banditti at Market" and "Banditti Gambling," etchings by Hall after Mortimer. EB, Oct., offered separately, water stained, illus. color (£14.99 each).

"Boat in a Storm at Sea," etching by Blyth after Mortimer. EB, Aug.-Sept., water stain in the lower left margin, illus. color (£9.99).

"Captive Family," etching by Blyth after Mortimer. EB, Sept.-Oct., illus. color (\$9.98).

"Fishermen with Nets," etching by Blyth after Mortimer. Abbott and Holder, March cat. 366, #235, "First Proof" inscribed "J. Mortimer Inv." in pen and ink (£400). Apparently a proof before most letters of the pl. titled "Fishermen" in John Sunderland, *John Hamilton Mortimer: His Life and Works*, Walpole Society vol. 52 (London: Walpole Society, 1988) 158 #88a.

#### PALMER, SAMUEL

Note: All the books offered by Adam Mills are from the collection of Raymond Lister and contain his bookplate.

*A Cliff Top View in Cornwall*. Black chalk, 10.4 x 17.4 cm. CL, 9 June, #30, illus. color (£1440).

*The Forrester's Horn*. Watercolor and body color, 19.0 x 40.0 cm., datable to 1852. CL, 17 Nov., #83, illus. color (£9600).

*Landscape with a Glowing Cloud*. Watercolor, 6.2 x 12.4 cm., dated by Lister to 1861 but by Wyld to c. 1832. W/S Fine Art and Andrew Wyld, June cat., #50, illus. color (£8500).

*Pistyll Mawddach, North Wales.* Watercolor, 35.5 x 41.0 cm., signed and dated 1835. SL, 8 Dec., #180, illus. color (£28,800).

*The Rising Moon.* Watercolor, 32.5 x 70.8 cm., signed and inscribed "[Ri]sing Moon," c. 1857. CL, 9 June, #45, in the original gilt-composition frame, illus. color (not sold; estimate £50,000-80,000). This previously unrecorded work, given by Palmer to George Richmond, is very similar to, and possibly the basis for, Palmer's 1857 etching of the same title.

*A Road Past a Farm.* Watercolor, 6.7 x 13.0 cm., dated by Lister to 1861 but by Wyld to c. 1832. W/S Fine Art and Andrew Wyld, June cat., #49, illus. color (£8500).

*Rustics with Sheep and Goats in a Rocky Landscape.* Watercolor, 15.0 x 27.0 cm., signed, datable to 1844. SL, 22 March, #131, illus. color (not sold; estimate £20,000-30,000).

*Sabrina*, based on Milton's *Comus*. Watercolor, 16.5 x 23.5 cm., datable to c. 1855-56. SL, 30 June, #315, illus. color (£66,000). Previously sold SL, 14 June 2001, #34 (£75,000).

Autograph letter signed to the dealer and artist Henry Mogford, 2 pp., undated but possibly 1854. BH, 15 March, #655 (not sold; estimate £350-400).

Autograph letter signed to "Dear Sir" (apparently an exhibition organizer), 3 pp., undated but possibly 1865. BH, 15 March, #656 (not sold; estimate £450-500).

Manuscript, 33 pp., including brief essays entitled "How to Choose Teas" and "Snuff," sent in a letter to George Richmond, 6 Oct. 1828. John Windle, Nov. cat. 40, #4 (\$750).

"The Bellman," etching. Garton & Co., Aug. cat., no item #, 6<sup>th</sup> st., illus. color online (£8500).

"The Cypress Grove," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #98, 2<sup>nd</sup> st., with "The Sepulchre," 2<sup>nd</sup> st. (not sold; estimate £400-600).

"The Early Ploughman," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #101, 5<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (£2280). Swann, 3 Nov., #351, 5<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (\$650).

"The Herdsman's Cottage," etching. EB, Jan., 2<sup>nd</sup> st. from *The Portfolio*, 1871, illus. (\$600); another impression, Jan., illus. (\$400). Abbott and Holder, March cat. 366, #238, st. not identified but probably 2<sup>nd</sup> (£275). Grogan & Co. auction, Dedham, Massachusetts, 26 Sept., #509, 2<sup>nd</sup> st., illus. color online (\$200).

"The Lonely Tower," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #93, 6<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (£4200).

"Moeris and Galatea," etching. EB, July, 2<sup>nd</sup> st., illus. (£207).

"The Morning of Life," etching. EB, Aug., probably 7<sup>th</sup> st., illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £400).

"Opening the Fold," etching. Gorrings auction, Lewes, East Sussex, 8 Sept., #1750, 8<sup>th</sup> st., illus. online (£320). CSK, 5 Oct., #95, 5<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (£1020).

"The Rising Moon," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #97, 7<sup>th</sup> st. (£660).

"The Skylark," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #94, 7<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (£540).

"The Sleeping Shepherd," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #102, 4<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (£1200).

"The Weary Ploughman," etching. CSK, 5 Oct., #99, 8<sup>th</sup> st., illus. (not sold; estimate £700-900).

"The Willow," etching. Abbott and Holder, Jan. cat. 365, #241, st. not given, but presumably 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>, "a later but nice impression" (£175). CSK, 5 Oct., #96, 3<sup>rd</sup> st. (£420).

Adams, *Sacred Allegories*, 1856. Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #5, publisher's morocco (£155).

*A Book of Favourite Modern Ballads.* Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #9, n.d. (c. 1860), half morocco worn (£90); #10, 1860 ed., foxed, original cloth (£110); #11, n.d. (c. 1865), the illus. color printed, original cloth worn (£110); #12, "sectional issues of the colour-printed edition," 2 vols., original cloth (£155).

Dickens, *Pictures from Italy*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1846. SL, 23 March, #74, original cloth (£300).

*Household Song*, 1861. Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #8, original cloth (£80).

Moore, *Lalla Rookh*, 1860. Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #6, original cloth rebacked (£110).

A. H. Palmer, *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892. John Windle, cat. for the Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, #78, large-paper issue, original cloth with "minor wear" (\$975). EB, Nov., apparently the small-paper issue, binding not described (offered only at the "buy it now" price of \$595). Contains Palmer's etching, "The Willow," 2<sup>nd</sup> st.

Procter, *Legends & Lyrics*. Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #1, 1866 ed., contemporary half morocco (£145); another copy, #2, original cloth rebacked (£145); #3, 1875 ed., full morocco (£155); #4, 1886 ed., original cloth (£75).

Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*, n.d. (c. 1865-75). Adam Mills, Feb. cat. of "Samuel Palmer: 1860s Books," #7, foxed, original

cloth (£175). EB, Nov., original cloth faded, illus. color (offered only at the "buy it now" price of \$270).

#### RICHMOND, GEORGE

*A Folio of Figure Studies*, 2 by George Richmond (*Christ in the Wilderness* and *Michelangelo—a Recollection* on 1 sheet, and a portrait of Samuel Palmer), 5 by William Blake Richmond, and others by Isaac Bird. The drawings by G. Richmond in pen and brown ink, "various sizes." SL, 22 March, #81, *Christ in the Wilderness* and *Michelangelo—a Recollection* illus. color (not sold; estimate £3000-5000).

*An Extensive View across a Valley*. Watercolor, 19.0 x 39.0 cm. SL, 8 Dec., #182, "indistinctly inscribed in pencil," illus. color (not sold; estimate £1000-1500).

*Head of a Girl*. Pen and ink, 18.8 x 12.5 cm., probably dating from the 1830s and perhaps a young boy. BA, 17 Nov., #297, illus. color (£333).

*Study of a Figure in Contemplation*. Pen and brown ink, 23.5 x 15.2 cm. CL, 17 Nov., #27, illus. color (£504 on an estimate of £500-800). Previously offered Spink-Leger, Sept. 1999 "Head and Shoulders" cat., #36, illus. color (£1400); CL, 5 June 2003, #24, illus. color (not sold; estimate £1500-2000); CL, 18 Nov. 2004, #25, illus. color (not sold; estimate £800-1200). An interesting study in declining expectations.

#### ROMNEY, GEORGE

*The Death of Alcestis*. Pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 17.5 x 25.1 cm. Flavia Ormond Fine Arts, pamphlet for the Master Drawings Fair, London, 2-8 July, illus. color (price on request). Previously offered as *Figures Grouped around the Bed of a Dying Woman*, Agnew's, Romney cat., 11-28 June 2002, #17, illus. color (£15,000).

*The Fortune Teller*. Pencil, 38.0 x 55.0 cm. SL, 30 Nov., #110, illus. color (not sold; estimate £1000-1500).

*Portrait of Emma Hamilton*. Oil, 31.6 x 26.5 cm., datable to c. 1786. SL, 24 Nov., #56, illus. color (£66,000). A study for the head of Miranda in Romney's painting for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, *The Tempest*, Act 1.

*The Procession*. Pencil, 10.2 x 20.3 cm. Abbott and Holder, May online cat. 367, #57 (£1400).

*Satan, Sin and Death: An Illustration to Milton's "Paradise Lost" Book II* (recto); *Studies of Figures* (verso). Pencil, sheet 16.0 x 19.0 cm. CL, 17 Nov., #3, illus. color (not sold; estimate £800-1200).

*The Sentencing of Mary Stuart*. Pen and gray ink, gray wash, 9.0 x 11.6 cm. oval. CL, 9 June, #26, illus. color (£840).

*Studies of Warriors in Combat*, recto and verso. Pen and brown ink, 8.9 x 15.3 cm. CL, 9 June, #10, recto illus. color (£1080).

*Study of a Gentleman Resting His Chin on His Hand*. Pencil, 12.3 x 18.2 cm. BA, 17 Nov., #302, illus. color (£190). Although the auction cat. states that this slight sketch is only "attributed to" Romney, I see no reason to question such an attribution. The use of "attributed to" is a traditional way for auctioneers to express doubt, or at least uneasiness.

*Study of a Seated Woman*, recto and verso. Pen and brown ink (recto), pencil (verso), 30.5 x 22.8 cm. CL, 9 June, #12, recto illus. color (£4560).

"Portrait of William Hayley," mezzotint by Jacobé after Romney, 1779. BH, 3 Oct., #67, "surface rubbing and creasing, ... a later impression," illus. color (£408).

#### STOTHARD, THOMAS

2 drawings: 6 girls seated, pen and gray wash (5.6 x 10.0 cm.); man seated, pen and ink (5.8 x 5.3 cm.). EB, Aug., the drawings mounted together on a large card with the pencil date "1787," illus. color (£47.01). The card mount is similar to those associated with some of Stothard's preliminary drawings for *The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*, 1790-1826, but these 2 drawings are probably not for that publication. The attribution of the pen and ink drawing to Stothard might be questioned.

*The Ambitious Step-Mother*. Pen and ink, 9.2 x 9.6 cm. John Windle, cat. for the Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, #94, with an engraving of the design by William Leney (\$750). The pl. was published as an illus. to Nicholas Rowe's *The Ambitious Step-mother* in *Bell's British Theatre*, vol. 25 (1795).

*Boccaccio's Decameron, the Sixth Day*. Watercolor, 22.9 x 16.5 cm., c. 1824. EB, June, illus. color (£800.04). A very similar design, with the foreground figures differently arranged, was engraved by Augustus Fox and published by William Pickering as an illus. to his 1825 ed. of the *Decamerone* (see below); the pls. were also issued separately in portfolio.

*Figures Crowding Excitedly*. Pen and ink, sepia wash, 15.2 x 10.2 cm. Abbott and Holder, May online cat. 367, #61 (£250).

*Hippomenes and Atalanta*. Pen and gray wash, 2.7 x 6.2 cm. EB, July, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £99); Aug., reserve not met (highest bid £49). Possibly a preliminary for *The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*, 1790-1826; previously sold EB, July 2004 (\$159.37).

*Maidens in a Landscape*, attributed to Stothard. Oil, 36.8 x 25.4 cm., signed "T. Stothard" and dated 1818, damaged. Goringes auction, Lewes, East Sussex, 25 Aug., #2019, illus. color online (£240). The 4 figures are characteristic of Stothard's work, but this may be a copy.

*Portrait of Stothard and His Studio, English School 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Oil, 88.9 x 68.6 cm., date uncertain. BH, 3 Oct., #218, illus. color (not sold; estimate £5000-7000). Previously sold CSK, 11 Sept. 1997, #28, illus. color (£3220).

*Portrait of William Blake*, c. 1780. Pencil, 4.5 x 4.0 cm., on a sheet of laid paper, 21.2 x 19.0 cm., with part of a crown watermark. William Drummond, June private offer (acquired, with the assistance of D. Bindman, by J. Windle for R. Essick). See illus. 10.

"Amyntor and Theodora," Tomkins after Stothard, 1796. EB, Sept., trimmed close to the image, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £30).

"The Death of Captain Faulkner," engraving published by Bowyer, 1801. EB, Oct.-Nov., stained, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$250).

"Mary, Queen of Scots, Being Told Her Fate" (?), Gaugain after Stothard, 1788. EB, Sept., apparently a proof before title, illus. color (£10).

"Pilgrimage to Canterbury," Schiavonetti after Stothard. EB, Feb.-March, modern restrike, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £30).

"The Princess Catherine of France Presented to Henry the 5<sup>th</sup> of England by the Queen Her Mother & the Duke of Burgundy at the Treaty of Troy in 1419," Cardon after Stothard, 1797. EB, Feb., the title almost rubbed off, illus. color (£9.99).

"Sailors in Port" and "The Sailors Return," a pair, mezzotints by Ward after Stothard. Michael Finney, Sept. online cat., color printed and hand colored, slight overall browning, margins repaired, "Sailors Return" foxed, illus. color (£480).

"Sailors in a Storm," mezzotint by Ward after Stothard, 1798. EB, Sept.-Oct., color printed, framed, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$500).

Aesop, *Fables*, 1793. See Gay, *Fables*, under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

Akenside, *Pleasures of Imagination*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #674, 1803 ed., contemporary calf rubbed (£38). EB, March-April, 1795 ed., contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£16); April, "1794" ed. (but actually 1795?), badly stained, old boards very worn, illus. color (\$20.50). Blackwell's, July

cat. B148, #16, 1814 ed., with 3 (of 4?) pls. after Stothard, pls. foxed, contemporary calf worn (£40).

Bacon, *Essays Moral, Economical and Political*, 1822. EB, Sept., later quarter calf, illus. color (£13.50).

*Bell's Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*, 1776-92. John Windle, cat. for the Feb. San Francisco Book Fair, #9, complete in 109 vols., pl. in Chaucer vol. 13 by Cooke (rather than Blake) after Stothard, contemporary calf worn, the Chaucer vols., 1-14, not matching the others (\$4750). John Price, "Spring 2005" cat., #113, 7 vols. only, containing Watts, *Poetical Works*, 1782, full morocco (£350).

Bible, published Macklin, 1800. See under Fuseli, above.

*The Bijou*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #461, 1828 ed., lacking 1 pl., original boards (£50); #462, 1829 ed., contemporary morocco (£75). EB, April, dated to "1826" but actually the 1828 ed., quarter calf and original boards rubbed, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$295); probably the same copy, July, no bids on a required minimum bid of \$49.99. Claude Cox, July cat. 167, #233, 1828 ed., original quarter roan worn (£50).

Blane, *Cynegetica*, 1788. EB, May-June, later quarter calf, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$250).

Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, published Pickering, 1825. EB, May, vol. 2 (of 3) only, large-paper issue with published "Proof" impressions, scattered foxing, publisher's cloth very worn, most of spine detached, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £49.99); same copy, late May, same result on a required minimum bid of £29.99.

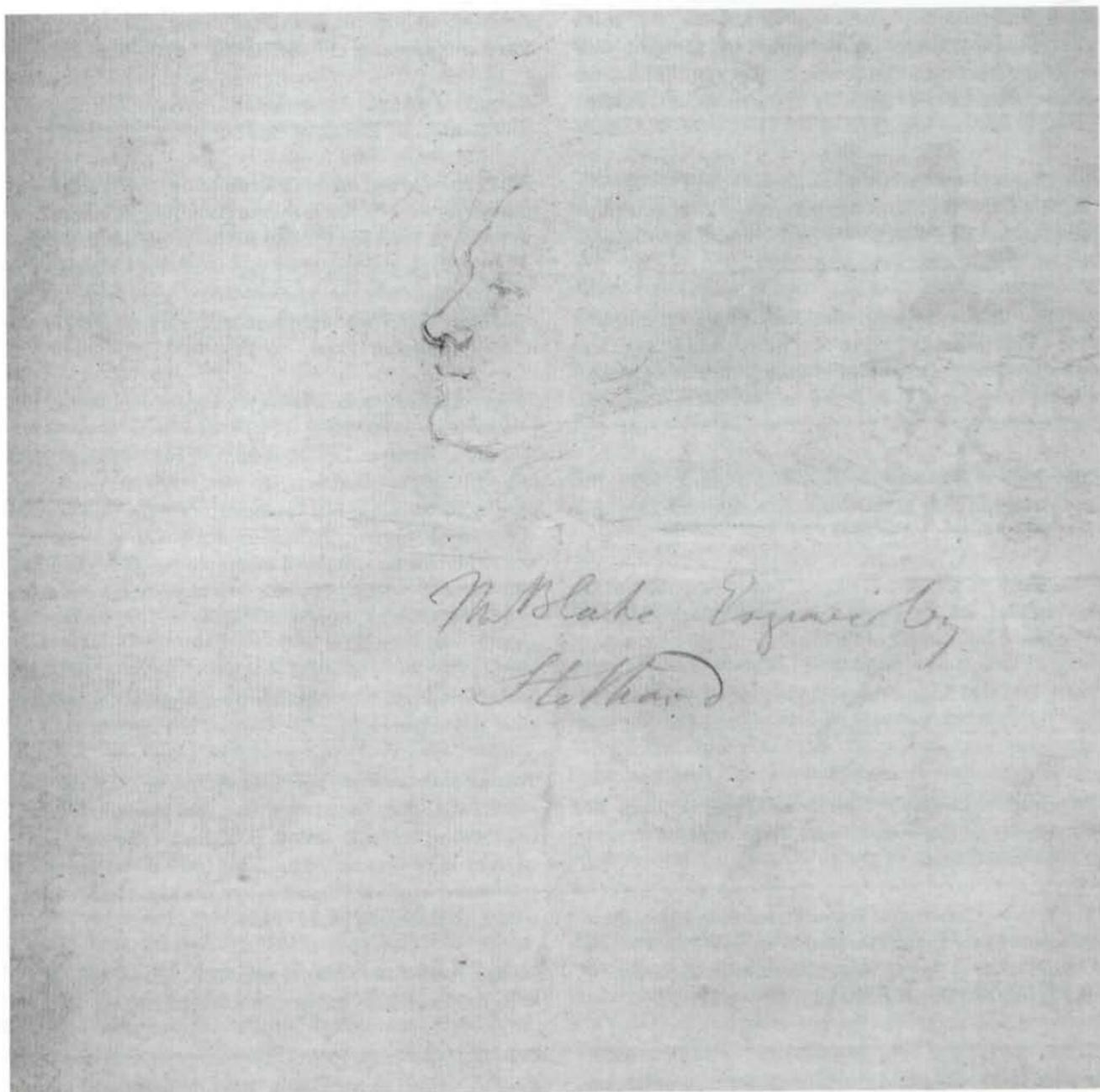
Bowles, *Sonnets and Other Poems*, 1800. EB, March-April, 2 vols., contemporary calf worn, illus. color (\$40).

Boydell, *Collection of Prints ... Illustrating ... Shakspeare*, 1803. EB, Aug.-Sept., 1 pl. only, "King Henry the Eighth, Act I, Scene IV," Taylor after Stothard, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$20).

Bray, *Life of Stothard*, 1851, extra-illus. copies only. EB, May, unstated number of added pls. after Stothard, including at least 1 for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, full calf, slipcase, illus. color (\$17.35).

Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1798. EB, June-July, 1 pl. only, "The Affright," Strutt after Stothard, dated 1791 in the imprint, st. with inscriptions in English and French, light foxing, illus. color (£7.51).

Byron, *Works*, 1815. EB, Nov., vol. 2 (of 4) only, contemporary morocco, illus. color (\$20.50).



*Cabinet of the Arts*, 1799, with 12 pls. after Stothard. See under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above, and illus. 4-5.

*Catullus, Tibullus, et Propertius*, published by Pickering, 1824. EB, Jan., publisher's cloth very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £50); same copy and result, several times through Dec.

Collins, *Poetical Works*, 1797. EB, May, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£10).

Cowper, *Poems*, 1803. EB, June-July, 2 vols., foxed and stained, contemporary calf very worn, hinges repaired with cloth, illus. color (£13).

Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*. EB, Jan., 1820 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$92.99); same copy, Feb. (\$35.99); Feb., 1790 ed., 2 vols., some spotting, contemporary calf, illus. color (£156); March, 1820 ed., 2 vols., some spotting, later morocco worn, illus. color (\$251.50). J & S Wilbraham, April online cat. 50, #124, 1820 ed., 2 vols., minor foxing, later half morocco, vol.

10. Thomas Stothard. *Portrait of William Blake*. Pencil, 4.5 x 4.0 cm., on a sheet of laid paper, 21.2 x 19.0 cm., with part of a crown watermark. Essick collection. Inscribed in pencil below the image, "Mr Blake Engraver by / Stothard," in a hand identifiable as George Cumberland's or possibly that of his son, George Cumberland, Jr. Also inscribed in pencil, top left and sideways, "84" (not pictured), in an unidentified hand. The verso contains 11 figure studies in black ink attributable to Stothard on stylistic grounds. Also on the verso is a bold inscription in brown ink, "T. Stothard R. A.," possibly in the hand of George Cumberland, Jr.

This slight and delicate drawing is the earliest known portrait of Blake. It is dated to c. 1780, when Blake was 23-24 years old, in *The Complete Portraiture of William & Catherine Blake*, with an Essay and an Iconography by Geoffrey Keynes (London: Trianon P for the William Blake Trust, 1977) 118 and pl. 3. Keynes states that the recto inscription is "probably by Cumberland" and that "the expression" of the profile "is similar to the posthumous drawing by Mrs. Blake of her husband at the age of 28," illus. by Keynes as his pl. 4. While the two drawings are clearly of the same person only a few years apart in age, I find that Catherine Blake's portrayal is more serious (even heroic) in expression and more idealized. The naturalistic sketch illustrated here suggests the beginnings of a smile, a self-possessed personality in repose, and a certain sweetness of character.

Stothard, Blake, and a "Mr. Ogleby" went on a sketching tour on the River Medway, probably in Sept. 1780 (see BR [2] 22-23). If Keynes' dating is accurate, perhaps this drawing was produced during the trip, Stothard having already used the other side of the sheet for his figure studies. Although not specifically named as a member of that expedition, Cumberland was a good friend of Stothard's from at least the mid-1770s and went on similar sketching trips c. 1779-81 (see Shelley M. Bennett, *Thomas Stothard: The Mechanisms of Art Patronage in England circa 1800* [Columbia, Missouri: U of Missouri P, 1988] 3, 11). My tentative attribution of the "Stothard" inscription on the verso to Cumberland's son is based on its similarity, in both letter forms and ink color, to his inscriptions in an album of his father's prints he assembled in 1848 for presentation to the publisher Mathew Gutch (now Essick collection). For provenance information, see the caption to illus. 6.

1 rebounded (£120); same copy, Nov. cat. 54, #180 (£100). EB, May, 1820 ed., 2 vols., slight foxing, slightly later quarter morocco worn, vol. 1 rebounded, illus. color (\$306). Book Gallery, June Pasadena Book Fair, 1790 ed., 2 vols., later half calf (\$1100). EB, Oct., 1820 ed., 2 vols., contemporary quarter morocco worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$229); Oct., 1790 ed., 2 vols., scattered light foxing, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (\$589); Oct.-Nov., 1790 ed., 2 vols., scattered foxing, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£205); 1790 ed., vol. 2 only, scattered foxing, contemporary quarter calf very worn, most of spine missing, illus. color (£4.99); Nov., 1790 ed., vol. 2 only, foxed, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid £16); 1820 ed., 2 vols., light stains in margins, near-contemporary quarter calf worn, illus. color (\$282).

Falconer, *The Shipwreck*, 1811. EB, Feb.-March, contemporary calf, illus. color (£10.50).

Fénelon, *Adventures of Telemachus*, 1795. Marlborough Rare Books, May cat. 204, #354, prospectus for, making mention of Stothard's designs (£25); #355, another copy at the same price.

*Forget-Me-Not*, 1828. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #481, original printed boards, slipcase repaired (£110); #482, another copy, original printed boards rubbed (£65).

[William Giles], *The Refuge, by the Author of The Guide to Domestic Happiness*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: W. Button & Son, 1815). EB, Oct.-Nov., frontispiece stained at bottom right, calf very worn (no bids on a required minimum bid of £10). The fron-

tispiece, "Lavinia" by Neagle after Stothard, is listed in Coxhead 193-94, but its publication in this book has not been previously recorded.

Goldsmith, *Miscellaneous Works*, 1806. Eric Moore, April online cat., 4 vols., some foxing on the 6 Stothard pls., early calf rebounded with cloth, worn (£65). Very probably the ed. dated to "1805 or thereabouts" in Coxhead 119.

Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield*. EB, Jan., published J. Bumpus, London, 1819 (engraved title page dated 1820), original boards very worn, spine mostly missing, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £4.99); same copy and result, several times through Dec. EB, May, 1792 ed., pls. badly stained, contemporary calf very worn, part of spine missing, illus. color (\$39.99).

Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, 1836. EB, May, publisher's cloth worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £25). With 1 wood engraving after Stothard, not previously recorded.

Hall, ed., *The Book of Gems*, 1836-38. Heritage Book Shop, Dec. 2004 private offer, 3 vols., later morocco (\$750). Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #613, vol. 3 only, contemporary morocco rubbed (£200).

Hume, *History of England*, Bowyer ed., 1806. EB, Feb.-March, 1 pl. only, "Q. Elizabeth at Tilbury," Parker after Stothard, illus. color (\$12.50); Nov., 1 pl. only, "The Landing of William 3<sup>d</sup>. at Torbay," Noble after Stothard, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$65).

Johnson, *Rasselas*, 1796. EB, May, water stained, contemporary calf very worn, spine missing, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$99.99).

*The Keepsake*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #535, 1828 ed., original half morocco worn (£120); #536, another copy, original silk worn (£85); #537, another copy, original silk worn (£85); #538, 1829 ed., original silk rubbed (£120); #539, 1830 ed., original silk worn (£150); #540, another copy, original silk very worn (£45); #543, 1832 ed., original silk rubbed (£75); #546, 1834 ed., original silk worn (£65); #547, another copy, original silk very worn, lacking spine strip (£35); #548, 1835 ed., original silk rubbed (£110); #549, another copy, original silk worn (£65); #550, 1836 ed., original silk rubbed (£75). EB, Dec. 2004, 1830 ed., some water staining and foxing, later quarter calf very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$39.95). CSK, 2 Nov., #69, 12 vols., 1836-47, later morocco (not sold; estimate £600-800). EB, Nov., 1828 ed., Stothard's 2 pls. only, "The Lady's Dream" and "The Enchanted Stream," offered separately, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$4.99 each); Nov., 1829 ed., Stothard's pl. only, "Garden of Boccaccio," illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £3.74); another impression, Nov., illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$4.99).

*Lady's Magazine*, 1781-1812. Charles Russell, July online cat., 16 miscellaneous vols., many with pls. after Stothard, contemporary bindings worn (£800).

*Lady's Poetical Magazine*, 1781. EB, Jan., contemporary calf worn, illus. color (£9.99).

Milton, *Paradise Lost*. EB, Aug., 1825 ed., margins foxed, later calf worn, illus. color (£62); Nov., 1822 Sharpe ed., 2 vols., 1 pl. after Stothard first published in Sharpe's 1816 ed. (this 1822 printing not previously recorded), illus. color (£14.99).

*Novelist's Magazine*. EB, Feb., vol. 16, 1784, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid \$256). J & S Wilbraham, April online cat. 50, #34, vol. 1, 1780, contemporary quarter calf worn (£30). EB, April, vol. 18, 1785, later cloth, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid \$150.50). See also under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

[Peregrine Phillips], *A Diary Kept in an Excursion to Little Hampton* (London: Bew and Davenhill, 1780). Ximenes, Sept. private offer, 2 vols. in 1, frontispiece in vol. 1 by Heath after Stothard, modern half calf, "scarce" (£1500). Not previously recorded as containing a pl. after Stothard.

*Pledge of Friendship*, 1828. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #599, original silk rubbed, original slipcase (£60).

*The Rambler*, 1785, in Harrison's *British Classics*. EB, July-Aug., 4 vols. in 1, early boards newly rebounded, illus. color (£67.55).

Raymond, *History of England*, c. 1790. EB, Jan., old calf very worn, poorly repaired, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £59.99).

Ritson, ed., *The English Anthology*, 1793-94. Heritage Book Shop, Dec. 2004 private offer, 3 vols., later morocco (\$1000). EB, March, vol. 3 only (containing the Canterbury pilgrims after Stothard), contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid \$15.50).

Rogers, *Italy*. EB, April-May, 1842 ed., contemporary calf elaborately tooled, illus. color (\$37.78); April-May, 1830 ed., contemporary morocco, illus. color (£51.01). Henry Sotheman, May cat., #294, 1830 ed., with "proofs before letters," some leaves browned, later fancy morocco (£248). EB, Sept., 1836 ed., scattered foxing, contemporary morocco worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £95); same copy, Oct., same result on a required minimum bid of £85; same copy, Nov., same result on a required minimum bid of £65.

Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*. EB, Jan., 1810 ed., small-paper issue, contemporary morocco worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £49); same copy, Feb., same result on a required minimum bid of £45; same copy, April, same result on a required minimum bid of £20; April, 1803 ed., contemporary calf very worn, front cover almost detached, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £9.99); Aug., 1810 ed., small-paper issue, contemporary calf very worn and damaged, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £49); Aug.-Sept., 1810 ed., possibly the large-paper issue, few pages stained, scattered foxing, contemporary calf, illus. color (\$1.99); Oct.-Nov., 1793 ed., contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$63); Nov., 1810 ed., apparently the small-paper issue, bound with Rogers, *Human Life*, 1819, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £45).

Rogers, *Poems*. Heritage Book Shop, Dec. 2004 private offer, 1838 ed., later morocco (\$500). EB, Dec. 2004, 1810 ed., small-paper issue, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (reserve not met; highest bid \$41). BA, 13 Jan., #191, 1824 ed., with Rogers, *Italy*, 1830, minor foxing, uniform in contemporary morocco rubbed (£259). Howes Bookshop, Feb. cat. 311, #119, 1834 ed., with Rogers, *Italy*, 1830, 2 vols., some foxing, uniform in contemporary morocco (£280). EB, April-May, 1834 ed., presentation inscription from Rogers to George Sumner, later presentation inscription from Charles Sumner (senator from Massachusetts in the Civil War era), modern quarter calf, illus. color (\$318.65). Bow Windows Bookshop,

May cat. 171, #71, 1822 ed., fancy contemporary calf (£80). EB, June, 1834 ed., contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (\$26).

Ruggle, *Ignoramus Comædia*, 1787. Swann, 2 May, #115, contemporary morocco (\$500).

Shakespeare, *The Family Shakespeare*, ed. Bowdler, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 1831. EB, Jan., letterpress title page and 37 wood engravings only, later quarter morocco, illus. color (\$43.99). Not previously recorded as containing at least 3 wood engravings after Stothard.

Shakespeare, *The Plays*, ed. Wood, 1806. Vangsgaards Antikvariat, Oct. online cat., 14 vols., contemporary calf (\$2060).

Shakespeare, *The Plays*, Pickering ed., 1825. Heritage Book Shop, Dec. 2004 private offer, 9 vols., publisher's cloth (\$1250).

Spenser, *Poetical Works*, in Johnson's *Works of the English Poets*, 1802. About Books, July online cat., 6 vols., complete with the Stothard pls., early calf worn, joints weak (\$525).

Sterne, *Sentimental Journey*, 1792. Ken Spelman, Jan. cat. 53, #37, pls. slightly foxed, contemporary morocco (£200).

Thomson, *Seasons*. EB, Dec. 2004, 1794 ed., lacking 1 pl., spotted, contemporary calf worn (no bids on a required minimum bid of £40); same copy and result, Jan.; same copy, Feb. (£45). Claude Cox, March cat. 165, #159, 1793 ed., contemporary calf rubbed (£110). EB, Nov., 1794 ed., some stains, contemporary calf very worn, illus. color (£12.50).

*Town and Country Magazine*. Zubal, July online cat., vols. 15-20, 1783-88, quarter calf very worn (\$1838). Atlanta Vintage Books, July online cat., vol. 12, 1780, half calf worn (\$160). Apocalypse Books, July online cat., vol. 14, 1782, half calf worn (£170).

Walton, *Complete Angler*, Pickering ed., 1825. EB, July-Aug., publisher's cloth very worn, part of spine missing, illus. color (\$44.99).

Walton, *Complete Angler*, Pickering ed., 1836. Heritage Book Shop, Dec. 2004 private offer, 2 vols., some pls. foxed, contemporary morocco rebacked (\$1350). BA, 31 March, #320, 2 vols., "extra-illustrated, 35 plates," not further explained, foxing and browning, later morocco, illus. (£1190). BA, 14 July, #469, 2 vols., "large paper copy," occasional spotting, full morocco slightly worn, illus. (£300).

Watts, ed., *Cabinet of Modern Art*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #591, 1837 ed., contemporary morocco rubbed (£65).

Not previously recorded as containing a pl. after Stothard. EB, Jan., 1836 ed., 1 pl. only, "Lalla Rookh," illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of £1.99).

Watts, ed., *Literary Souvenir*. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #577, 1828 ed., with 4 additional pls. bound in, contemporary calf rubbed (£75); #578, another copy, lacking 2 pls., contemporary calf worn (£35); #579, another copy, contemporary morocco worn (£45); #583, 1831 ed., contemporary half calf rubbed (£75); #584, another copy, contemporary morocco rubbed (£55); #585, another copy, original silk worn (£45); #586, 1832 ed., contemporary morocco (£75); #589, 1835 ed., original cloth rubbed (£65); #590, 1836 ed., original cloth rubbed (£65).

Watts, *Poetical Sketches*, 1824. Second Story Books, Aug. online cat., foxed, old calf worn (\$150).

*Winter's Wreath*, 1832. Jarndyce, Dec. 2004 cat. 162, #610, original silk worn (£50).

Young, *Night Thoughts*. EB, Dec. 2004, 1798 ed., some spotting, early morocco (\$26.01); Feb.-March, 1798 ed., foxed, contemporary calf very worn, covers detached, illus. color (\$39); March, 1798 ed., some pls. foxed in margins, contemporary calf worn, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$280); May, 1813 ed., badly foxed and stained, contemporary calf worn, front cover almost loose, illus. color (no bids on a required minimum bid of \$50).

#### Appendix: New Information on Blake's Engravings

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

#### William Blake: Book Illustrator, vol. 1

Note: Revisions pertain only to information about Blake's plates, not to the bibliographic descriptions of the books.

P. 8, Commins, *An Elegy, Set to Music*, 1786. An impression of Blake's very rare plate was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1998, the gift of Charles Ryskamp in memory of Michael S. Currier. Accession #P1998.36:5.

### The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue

P. 65, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," impression 3P, with most faces and hands lightly tinted in flesh tones. Acquired by Charles Ryskamp no later than 1993 and given by him in 2005 to the Pierpont Morgan Library in memory of Grace Lansing Lambert. Accession #2005.190.

Pp. 111-22, "George Cumberland's Card." For two previously unrecorded impressions, see under Separate Plates and Plates in Series, above.

P. 194, "M<sup>n</sup> Q," Blake after Villiers, impression 2M, with hand coloring added by Kate Greenaway. Given in 1998 by Charles Ryskamp to the Pierpont Morgan Library in memory of Michael S. Currier. Accession #P1998.36:4.

Pp. 198-99, "M<sup>n</sup> Q." On 199 I state that the publisher of the plate "was either the J. Barrow who exhibited enamels and miniature portraits in London from 1797 to 1836, or John Barrow, who exhibited portraits at the Society of Artists from 1812 to 1816." Some years ago, David Worrall offered good evidence that the publisher was the former; see his "The Mob and 'Mrs Q': William Blake, William Benbow, and the Context of Regency Radicalism," *Blake, Politics, and History*, ed. Jackie DiSalvo, G. A. Rosso, and Christopher Z. Hobson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998) 169-84. Worrall shows that the miniaturist lived at the same address as that given for the publisher on the plate ("Weston Place, S<sup>t</sup>. Pancras"), and—more surprisingly—that this John Barrow lived at a later time at Fountain Court, Strand, where Blake lived from 1821 to the end of his life (see Worrall, 180n1). In "I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel: The Will of Henry Banes, Landlord of 3 Fountain Court, Strand, and the Last Residence of William and Catherine Blake," *Blake* 39.2 (fall 2005): 78-99, Angus Whitehead confirms Worrall's identification and provides a wealth of information about Barrow and his friendship with Henry Banes, Blake's brother-in-law and landlord. Banes was very probably instrumental in acquiring the engraving commission for Blake.

On 198 of the separate plates catalogue, I suggest that, since Blake is not known to have ever used mezzotint, the mezzotint on "M<sup>n</sup> Q" may have been added by George Maile, the engraver of the companion print, "Windsor Castle." As his illus. 9 on p. 95 of his essay, Whitehead reproduces a mezzotint dated 1813 and signed "Drawn & Engraved by J. Barrow." This opens up the possibility that the mezzotint on "M<sup>n</sup> Q" is the work of its publisher, John Barrow, and not Maile.

Pp. 214-19, "Christ Trampling on Satan," Butts after Blake. The original copperplate was acquired in 2002 by the Pierpont Morgan Library, the gift of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, accession #2002.62:1. The gift also included 2 previously unrecorded impressions, accession #2002.62:2, 3. On 218 I speculate that the copperplate may have been in the possession of the New

York print and book dealer E. Weyhe between c. 1925, when the plate was sold at auction, and c. 1983. This indeed appears to have been the case, for the Morgan Library catalogue indicates that the plate was owned by Erhard Weyhe, New York, and passed by descent to his daughter, Mrs. Dennis.

### William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations

P. 60, *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine*. Blake's pl. was reprinted in *The Cabinet of the Arts: A Series of Engravings, by English Artists* (London: n.p., 1799). See illus. 4-5 in this sales review.

## C O R R I G E N D U M

BY ROBERT N. ESSICK

In "A (Self?) Portrait of William Blake," *Blake* 39.3 (winter 2005-06): 137, I claimed that the "Meyer" to whom Hayley refers as having helped Blake learn miniature portraiture in 1801 was "probably ... Jeremiah Meyer." He died in 1789, and thus Blake's instructor must have been Jeremiah's son, William, also a miniaturist.

## Building Jerusalem: Composition and Chronology

BY AILEEN WARD

Of all the puzzles surrounding the dates of Blake's poems, that of *Jerusalem* seems the most intractable. In the absence of a draft, and with only a few contemporary references whose interpretation itself is problematic, critics and editors have settled for the stretch of time from 1804, the date on the title page, to 1820, the latest watermark in the first four complete copies printed, as the probable limits between which Blake composed, etched, revised and printed the hundred plates of the volume.<sup>1</sup> But within these limits there is great disagreement as to the specific years in which Blake actually composed *Jerusalem*<sup>2</sup>—and indeed, exactly what is meant by the composition of any of Blake's illuminated works. The process includes a number of stages separable from each other by varying lengths of time: initial inspiration, whether verbal or visual; drafts of text, sketches of designs; inscribing more or less finished portions of text and accompanying designs on copper; possible revision; etching the plates; printing, coloring, then arranging and binding the printed pages. Indeed, one of Blake's descriptions of the process raises doubts about the reliability of any of his reports on the composition of a specific work.<sup>3</sup> His apparent references to *Jerusalem* are too vague to be useful—whether in his 1803 letters to Butts, once alluding to a "long Poem" descriptive of his "Spiritual Acts" during his three years at Felpham, and two months later to "a Sublime Allegory which is now perfectly completed into a Grand Poem" speaking of his "three years trouble," or in his *Descriptive Catalogue* of 1809, where he refers to a "voluminous" work which he "will, if God please, publish," or in his *Public Address* of 1810 mentioning a "Poem concerning my Three years <Herculean> Labours at Felpham," soon to be published: all these allusions point more clearly to either

*The Four Zoas* or *Milton*.<sup>4</sup> In fact, his only direct reference to *Jerusalem* occurs in a letter to George Cumberland of 12 April 1827 mentioning it as "the Last Work" he produced, one copy of which he has "Finishd," i.e., colored (E 784). Two possible allusions also occur in *A Vision of the Last Judgment* (1810), where his statement "Imagination is Surrounded by the daughters of Inspiration who in the aggregate are calld Jerusalem" (E 554) sounds remarkably like a description of the title page to *Jerusalem*, while his later reference to Jerusalem as the Emanation of Albion, which he immediately cancels to identify her as the daughter of Albion and Britannia (E 558), suggests a stage in the composition of the poem before her role was fixed.

However, a more precise dating of *Jerusalem* was offered by G. E. Bentley, Jr., in his *Blake Records* of 1969 which has since been widely adopted. In 1964 Bentley discovered in an 1807 notebook of George Cumberland's an isolated entry that "Blake has eng<sup>d</sup>. 60 Plates of a new Prophecy!" This, he concluded, must refer to *Jerusalem*, since it is the only poem of Blake's containing sixty plates or more (BR 187 and n4). He communicated his discovery to David Erdman, who noted it in his 1964 article on *Jerusalem* but did not adopt Bentley's conclusion as to the date in his edition of Blake's works in 1965 or thereafter—nor did Geoffrey Keynes in his 1966 edition.<sup>5</sup> However, in 1977 Bentley extended his argument by specifying thirty-seven "late" plates which for various reasons of internal evidence he believes were added to *Jerusalem* after 1807,<sup>6</sup> leaving some sixty-three as the "early" plates supposedly shown to Cumberland in 1807. Since then, most scholars and editors have followed Bentley's hypothesis that more than half of the work was completed and etched by the summer of 1807.<sup>7</sup>

Yet there are strong reasons for disagreeing with Bentley's theory. First, there are twenty-six plates containing references to Hand scattered through the poem, which must have been written after Robert Hunt's devastating review of *The Grave* in 1808 (followed by his still crueler notice of Blake's 1809 Exhibition),<sup>8</sup> but of these twenty-six plates only ten are

1. See the table in G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977; henceforth BB) 226.

2. Both Christine Gallant (*Blake and the Assimilation of Chaos* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978] 49) and James King (*William Blake: His Life* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991] 172-74) argue that it was begun even earlier, at Felpham, 1800-03, as Peter Ackroyd also implies (*Blake* [London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995] 174). Ackroyd thinks it was started "at the same time" as Richard Brothers published *A Description of Jerusalem*, i.e., 1801 (cf. Morton D. Paley, "William Blake, the Prince of the Hebrews, and the Woman Clothed with the Sun," *William Blake: Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes*, ed. Morton D. Paley and Michael Phillips [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973] 273).

3. "When I am commanded by the Spirits then I write, And the moment I have written, I see the Words fly about the room in all directions[.] It is then published[.]—The Spirits can read and my MS: is of no further use[.]" Henry Crabb Robinson, *Reminiscences* (1852), in G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; henceforth BR) 547.

4. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, newly rev. ed. (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1988; henceforth E) 728, 730, 543 (cf. BB 457), 572.

5. David V. Erdman, "The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *Studies in Bibliography* 17 (1964): 1-54 and E 730; Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Complete Writings of William Blake*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 918.

6. BB 225-28: pls. 8, 10, 11, 16, 19, 33, 34, 35, 42, 43, 46, 47, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78, 82, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100.

7. Most importantly, Morton D. Paley, ed., *Jerusalem*, Blake's Illuminated Books, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press/Blake Trust; London: Tate Gallery/Blake Trust, 1991) 12, and in *The Continuing City: William Blake's Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) 2.

8. The Blake concordance (ed. Erdman, 2 vols. [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967] 1: 860) lists twenty-five plates (to which 43:50 should be added) referring to "Hand (Symbolic Name)," in thirty-seven separate lines: 5, 7, 8\*, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19\*, 21, 26, 32, 34\*, 36, 42\*, 43\*, 58, 60\*, 67\*, 70\*, 71\*, 74, 80, 82\*, 83, 84, 90. The ten plates marked with asterisks are from Bentley's "later" group.

in the group of thirty-seven that Bentley identifies as "later," i.e., post-1807.<sup>9</sup> The other sixteen plates mentioning Hand (in twenty-two separate occurrences) are in the remaining group of sixty-three plates which Bentley would presumably designate as "early" (i.e., 1804-07).<sup>10</sup> In addition to these sixteen problematic "early" plates should be added a group of six other "early" plates alluding to events occurring after 1807. Plate 27:25-26 refers to excavations in Paddington in 1811;<sup>11</sup> plate 38:6-7 refers to the War of 1812 and the executions of Mexican insurgents in 1811 and 1813 (BPAE 482); plate 40:19-24 describes the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 (BPAE 429); plate 45:25 alludes to the new (1815) Bethlehem Hospital as well as to the Battle of Waterloo (lines 55-56), and includes one of many warnings against taking vengeance on the defeated French (lines 36ff.) (BPAE 469, 466, 470). Plate 68:10ff. contains a song of victory for 1814 or 1815 as well as an allusion to the Russian campaign of 1812 (line 52) like that of plate 86:46.<sup>12</sup> Beside these post-1807 allusions, the character of Erin (mentioned seventeen times in twelve different plates)<sup>13</sup> symbolizes the new hope for freedom springing up in England with the revival of the cause of Irish independence in the decade of 1810, as Erdman suggests (BPAE 481-84), while the repeated warnings to Albion not to take vengeance on his defeated enemy (BPAE 462, 470) must date from 1815 onward.<sup>14</sup> Thus a total of thirty-four or more plates which apparently were written in 1808 and after should be added to Bentley's group of thirty-seven "later" plates. If approximately seventy-one out of the hundred plates of *Jerusalem* are then to be dated after 1807, Cumberland's 1807 memorandum that "Blake has eng.d 60 plates of a new Prophecy!" cannot refer to *Jerusalem*.

It has been suggested that Blake simply revised many of these sixty etched plates in the years following 1807 to incorporate the thirty-odd references to Hand and post-1807 events.<sup>15</sup> But both Robert Essick and Joseph Viscomi, with their expert knowledge of Blake's printing methods, have described the "extreme difficulty" of making revisions on already etched

plates,<sup>16</sup> and none of the small number of such revisions which they detect involves the allusions cited above. If it is supposed that Blake revised his text after 1807 by simply discarding already etched plates for new ones, it must be countered that no evidence of such discarded plates survives, and that he was of necessity extremely parsimonious with copper. Almost all of the plates of *Jerusalem* (like those of most of the other illuminated works) were etched back-to-back in order to save expense, and it appears he was running out of copper as he completed Chapter IV.<sup>17</sup> As for revising previously etched or "early" plates to incorporate the twenty-two lines referring to Hand (to say nothing of all the other post-1807 references), it should be noted that only seven "etched variants" are listed by Bentley, including none of these allusions.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Hand is an integral part of the poem from the beginning: he first appears on the sixtieth line of the text (5:25), and the thirty-seven separate allusions to him are scattered fairly evenly throughout the poem as a whole. Revising the etched plates of *Jerusalem* to incorporate such a number of textual additions after 1807 is thus a virtual impossibility: the "new Prophecy" cannot have been *Jerusalem*, and can therefore only have been *Milton*.

How then are we to interpret Cumberland's statement? First the possibility of human error or misunderstanding in one form or another should be admitted. Cumberland may have misremembered sixty for fifty, in which case his statement readily applies to *Milton*, which may well have contained nearly fifty plates in the summer of 1807. Or, since it does not appear from Cumberland's statement that Blake actually showed him sixty plates of an unnamed "new prophecy" but merely mentioned the figure, he may have simply been referring to intermediate stages of its design. Or the "new prophecy" may have denoted an amorphous state in the evolution of both *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, in which portions of both were mingled.<sup>19</sup>

16. Robert N. Essick, *William Blake Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) 109, demonstrating the difficulty of adding new relief lines to the already etched text of pl. 25 of *Jerusalem*; Joseph Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 278, 342.

17. Cf. BB 113, 145, 166, 208, 235-36, 308-09, 335, 381-82; also 225-28 on Blake's shortage of "other, more perfect" plates in etching pls. 33, 56, 63, 71-72, 92-93, and 100.

18. Bentley, BB 237, adds seven other plates containing pen-and-ink variants and mentions about thirty more minor variations in the designs in his catalogue of the separate plates (238-58); none of these makes significant changes in the text except for the deleted mottos on pl. 1. Viscomi (338-39) claims forty-six plates bear deletions but mentions specifically only a few of them, such as the notable gouging-out on pl. 3; the few additions to etched plates consist of page numbers, corrected spellings, and two lines (37/33:1, last four words, and 45:40) etched in white line on a raised area (Viscomi 254, 256, 340-41, 354; cf. BB 246, 248; Essick 110-11, 156; Paley, ed., *Jerusalem* 188, 203).

19. Bentley, BB 307, suggests the existence in draft of "a poem which comprehended the actions that were later divided between *Milton* and *Jerusalem*"; Essick and Viscomi (eds., *Milton a Poem*, Blake's Illuminated Books, vol. 5 [Princeton: Princeton University Press/Blake Trust; London: Tate Gallery/Blake Trust, 1993] 36) describe "both *Milton* and *Jerusalem* as a single project" at one point.

9. The ten "later" plates referring to Hand are 8:41, 43, 44; 19:18; 34:22, 36; 42:47; 43:50; 60:14, 43; 67:62; 70:1; 71:11, 22; 82:63.

10. 5:25; 7:18, 71; 9:21; 15:1; 17:62; 18:36, 39; 21:28; 26; 32:10; 36:15, 23; 58:29; 74:49; 80:57; 83:30, 86; 84:20; 90:23, 40, 49. Bentley notes that "The references throughout to Hand, who evidently represents the three Hunt brothers, must date from 1808 or later" (BB 228-29), but does not correlate these references with his division of early-late plates.

11. David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977; hereafter BPAE) 474.

12. BPAE 466, 482. Note also pl. 63:5-6, alluding to the Peace of Paris (BPAE 466), previously counted (note 6).

13. Pls. 9\*, 11\*, 12, 44, 48, 50, 72\*, 74\*, 78\*, 86, 88, 94\*. Asterisks indicate plates counted previously, leaving eight new post-1807 allusions.

14. Pls. 25:3-6, 36:41-42, 45:29-38, 47:12-16\*, 63:8, for a total of four additional post-1807 allusions, not counting pl. 47 (cf. note 6).

15. E.g., W. H. Stevenson, ed., *The Poems of William Blake* (London: Longman, 1971) 622: "To include Hand as an important figure B. must have revised the poem after 1808."

But it is also possible that *Milton* at one time may have contained something like sixty plates, as Bentley himself has thought possible (BR 187n4). *Milton* clearly went through several stages of expansion and contraction during the course of its composition, as reflected in the varying number of plates in the different copies, and one of the early stages apparently included material about the English Civil War (BPAE 423-24), subsequently deleted, which linked it with the Lambeth Prophecies as one more chapter in the history of revolution. Erdman's speculations on "the missing ten books of *Milton*" (BPAE 423-24) which linger in the background of "the early and late versions," i.e., the "revolutionary version" and the pacifistic version (BPAE 425-27), suggest that at least a few pages of the early twelve-book form were committed to copper before being erased. In 1845 J. T. Smith recalled that Blake often "rubbed out" already etched plates "to enable him to use them for other subjects."<sup>20</sup> Though he did not describe how these etched plates were erased, presumably an already etched plate could be polished to a clean surface like a new one more readily than it could be revised for corrections or additions.<sup>21</sup> If so, this would supply the ten or more pages added to the existing forty-five to fifty pages of *Milton* (copies A-C) to make up the mysterious "60."

One final consideration in the case against the half-finished *Jerusalem* of 1807 is the date on the title page. How is the date of 1804, inscribed at the bottom of the page, to be understood if the poem was not actually begun until at least 1808? Butlin has commented on Blake's "habit of pre-dating works unparalleled until its adoption by some of the pioneers of the modern movement,"<sup>22</sup> which may well be the case here. In fact, the only reason for taking 1804 as the date at which Blake started work on *Jerusalem* is simply the date "1804" of the title page, squeezed in above the signature in a cramped space at the bottom of the page, looking almost like an afterthought. The date is not an integral part of the design of the page, as it is so strikingly in the title page of *Milton*, or even of the signature itself, as in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* ("Printed by William Blake : 1793."), *The Song of Los*, *The First Book of Urizen*, *The Book of Ahania*, and *The Book of Los*. Instead, the date "1804" is etched in white line, i.e., incised on a large dark area, which could readily be done any time after 1804, if indeed the page as a whole was designed and etched that year rather than in 1808 or 1809 or whenever he did in fact begin *Jerusalem*. The addition of the 1804 date presumably was caused by his desire to link the two poems, as they seem to have been linked in their gestation, or perhaps to tie them both to a significant date in Blake's life, the rebirth of inspiration following his return from Felpham and his acquittal at his January 1804

20. BR 26n1, and cf. Viscomi 389-90n4 and BB 225-28, 335.

21. See Viscomi 48-49 on the preparation of the plate for etching or engraving. Viscomi nowhere refers to Smith's statement quoted above, from his 1845 *Book for a Rainy Day*.

22. Martin Butlin, *William Blake* (London: Tate Gallery, 1978) 27.

trial, or still more the mysterious experience of renewal at the Truchsessian Gallery in October 1804.

To place *Jerusalem* firmly in the decade of the 1810s sets it in a far more meaningful context of Blake's life than that of the mid-1800s. It links the poem to the mood of contrition and forgiveness of his last work, as contrasted with the spirit of condemnation and self-justification of the ending of *Milton*. It also answers the question of what Blake was doing in the years from 1810 to 1818, when he virtually disappeared from the London art world and apparently produced little work of significance compared with that of the decades immediately preceding and following. Only the hundred plates of *Jerusalem*, in both its verbal and visual dimensions, fill this puzzling gap in the output of a major artist at the height of his powers. Its record of profound spiritual struggle and triumph in the face of worldly defeat was a labor calling forth all of Blake's imaginative strength. Seen from this perspective, the composition of *Jerusalem* appears a striking example of what Charles Lamb was the first to describe as the sanity of true genius: as the creative means by which Blake regained his creative wholeness after the crisis of the years preceding 1810.

## MINUTE PARTICULAR

### William Blake in "The Vanguard of the Age"

BY MORTON D. PALEY

In 1887 there appeared in *The Architect: A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Art, Civil Engineering, and Building* an illustrated series of articles entitled "The Vanguard of the Age."<sup>1</sup> Written by Hugh Stannus and illustrated by reproductions of drawings by Herbert Johnson after paintings by Edward Armitage, R.A., these articles were a tribute to Henry Crabb Robinson on the subject of a monument to his memory. The monument comprised a series of paintings commissioned by Robinson's friends and painted by Armitage in 1870-71 on the walls of University Hall, London. Robinson (1775-1867), a founder of the University of London, had also been a mov-

1. 37 (Jan.-June 1887): 9-10, 23-24, 35, 42-44.



Detail from *The Vanguard of the Age*, ink-photo reproduction of a drawing by Herbert Johnson after a painting by Edward Armitage. Reproduced by permission of the New York Public Library.

ing spirit behind University Hall, a University College dining hall founded in celebration of the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844.<sup>2</sup> (The building, in Gordon Square, is now occupied by Dr. Williams's Library.) Armitage's paintings deteriorated and were papered over, but the illustrations and verbal descriptions that compose "The Vanguard of the Age" now serve as a record of its original. One of its numerous interesting features<sup>3</sup> is the place given to William Blake.

2. For information about University Hall I am grateful to David Bindman.

3. The image of Coleridge in "The Vanguard of the Age" is discussed in my *Portraits of Coleridge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 122-23. Some factual material is necessarily repeated here.

The large foldout illustration in which Blake appears follows page 22 in *The Architect* for 14 January 1887. In the lower right of the reproduction is printed "INK-PHOTO. SPRAGE & CO. 22 MARTINS LANE. CANNON ST, LONDON, E.C. ILLUSTRATIONS: THE VANGUARD OF THE AGE." The ink-photo process, which was introduced by Sprage and Co., has been described as involving "collotypes, made initially on a surface of reticulated gelatine on a glass base." A photo negative was printed on this surface, and, after a good many steps, a "lithographic printing surface" was made "from which the actual impressions were taken."<sup>4</sup> Blake is represented in a manner deriving from the Thomas Phillips portrait of 1807 (National Portrait Gallery), which was well known through graphic reproductions.<sup>5</sup> Blake is shown as one of a group around Robinson, of which the others are Charles and Mary Lamb, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and John Flaxman.<sup>6</sup> Stannus writes:

Art is represented in the group by two men. WILLIAM BLAKE may have seen more visions than any other seer since the days of SWEDENBORG. ROBINSON was his friend also, and often went to the room in Fountain Court where BLAKE and his wife lived in a simplicity that was ideal. FLAXMAN, the sculptor, will always be identified with University College, with which the Hall is associated, for there alone is it possible to form an idea of what he was as a sculptor.

The last sentence refers, of course, to University College's great collection of full-sized plaster models of Flaxman's sculptures, and although Stannus gets some facts about Blake slightly wrong—the Fountain Court apartment consisted of more than one room, and Robinson may have visited less frequently than "often"—the featuring of Blake in such proximity to Robinson in the original<sup>7</sup> shows how closely they were associated in the minds of the latter's friends. As "one who is very much delighted with being in good Company,"<sup>8</sup> Blake appears very much at home among the Vanguard of the Age.

4. See Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1973) 142-43. I thank Robert N. Essick for supplying this reference.

5. Louis Schiavonetti's engraving after Phillips had appeared as the frontispiece to the editions of Robert Blair's *The Grave* published by R. H. Cromek in 1808 and by R. Ackermann in 1813, and the image had been re-engraved by A. L. Dick for editions published in New York in 1847 and 1858.

6. The group occupies half of the foldout, design area 14 1/4 x 8 7/8 in.

7. In Armitage's painting, Robinson was pictured as "an old man seated at a table," an image based on a photograph of 1868 (National Portrait Gallery), according to Richard Walker, *Regency Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1985) 1: 416-17. This image was not reproduced in *The Architect*.

8. Blake's autograph, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, newly rev. ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1988) 698.

Robert D. Denham. *Northrop Frye: Religious Visionary and Architect of the Spiritual World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004. xiv + 373 pp. \$45.00, hardcover.

Reviewed by Michael Fischer

In *Northrop Frye: Religious Visionary and Architect of the Spiritual World*, Robert D. Denham argues that we cannot understand Frye "without considering the ways Frye's views on religion interpenetrate practically everything he wrote" (2). Denham supports this point with extensive references to Frye's diaries, notebooks, and letters, as well as his published work. These references document Frye's deep interest not only in Christianity but also in Buddhism, Taoism, Gnosticism, and Confucianism, not to mention many other forms of thought that detect spiritual influences on the visible world, such as astrology, alchemy, numerology, the Tarot, and even channeling. When Frye put down his Blake or Milton, he picked up his Herbert B. Greenhouse (*The Astral Journey*) or Guy Lyon Playfair and Scott Hill (*The Cycles of Heaven: Cosmic Forces and What They Are Doing to You*).

Frye served as an ordained minister in the United Church of Canada for 55 years. In one of his later notebooks, he describes himself as "an architect of the spiritual world" (qtd. Denham 3), adding, "I'm no evangelist or revivalist preacher, but I'd like to help out in a trend to make religion interesting and attractive to many people of good will who will have nothing to do with it now" (qtd. Denham 13). Denham shows how religion infuses everything that defines Frye as a critic: his critical vocabulary, his schematic thinking, his ongoing concern with such issues as vision, redemption, and inner growth, even his allegiance to Blake—according to Denham, "a deeply religious poet" (3) whom Frye often acknowledges as the source of his critical ideas. In Denham's view, religion was not just important to Frye, it was "central to practically everything Frye wrote, the foundation on which he built the massive superstructure that was his life's work" (3).

No one can deny Frye's lifelong engagement with religious thought, at least not after Denham's painstaking research. Nevertheless, despite my considerable interest in the materials that Denham so thoroughly analyzes, I would still place greater emphasis on the role of literature in Frye's thought than does Denham. I see Frye as a critic defending the autonomy of literature and the other arts throughout his published work. His strictures against value judgments in criticism in the *Anatomy*, for example, argue against tethering literature to external expectations. According to Frye, standards of taste, established canons, and privileged artistic models reinstate so-

cial biases; they limit the imaginative freedom that Frye wants to encourage. Commenting in the *Anatomy* on how modern critical fashions promote some writers while demoting others, Frye writes, "we can see that every increase of appreciation has been right, and every decrease wrong"; "criticism," he continues, "has no business to react against things, but should show a steady advance toward indiscriminating catholicity" (25). In literature, he concludes in *The Critical Path*, "there are no negative visions: all poets are potentially positive contributors to man's body of vision" (127).

This commitment to boundless curiosity and open-ended aesthetic exploration informed some of the wide-ranging reading that Denham chronicles, in particular Frye's fascination with what he affectionately called his "kook books," or texts that traffic in the paranormal, the occult, and the mystical. As Denham points out, Frye often found imaginative life in texts that had been discredited in other disciplines. What Frye regarded as pseudoscience, bad anthropology, and dubious psychology could still stimulate his imagination. Similarly, as much as Frye respected logic, fact, and evidence, he also welcomed speculation and daring in criticism. As he puts it in one notebook entry, "[C]riticism (which is energetic response to literature) must itself be imaginative, not afraid of humor or paradox, which latter are as essential to poetic truth as accuracy of observation is to botany" (qtd. Denham 191). In that spirit, he loved Frances Yates' *The Art of Memory*: "Francis Yates is wonderful," he writes in his notebook, "the combination of sober documentation and the wildest guesswork is very exhilarating" (qtd. Denham 196).

Much is at stake in Frye's commitment to the independence of the imagination. Imaginative writers not only enact human freedom, they keep it alive as a possibility for everyone else. As Frye observes in the *Anatomy*,

We live in a world of threefold external compulsion: of compulsion on action, or law; of compulsion on thinking, or fact; of compulsion on feeling, which is the characteristic of all pleasure whether it is produced by the *Paradiso* or by an ice cream soda. But in the world of imagination a fourth power, which contains morality, beauty, and truth but is never subordinated to them, rises free of all their compulsions. The work of imagination presents us with a vision, not of the personal greatness of the poet, but of something impersonal and far greater: the vision of a decisive act of spiritual freedom, the vision of the recreation of man. (94)

Pressure to limit the imagination must be resisted because it is always pressure to exempt the status quo from dissent or, what comes to the same thing, to let our fear of change and losing control get the better of our hope.

According to Frye, the freedom of literature from preestablished external controls applies also to religion, an important historical influence on law, morality, and views of knowledge. As a literary critic, especially in the *Anatomy*, Frye is more interested in opening literature to limitless possibility than in deriving it from any source outside itself, religion included:

[I]t is of the essence of imaginative culture that it transcends the limits both of the naturally possible and of the morally acceptable. The argument that there is no room for poets in any human society which is an end in itself remains unanswerable even when the society is the people of God. For religion is also a social institution, and so far as it is one, it imposes limitations on the arts just as a Marxist or Platonic state would do. ... Religions, in spite of their enlarged perspective, cannot as social institutions contain an art of unlimited hypothesis. The arts in their turn cannot help releasing the powerful acids of satire, realism, ribaldry, and fantasy in their attempt to dissolve all the existential concretions that get in their way. (127)

Although Frye understands irritation with the restless questioning and endless exploration exemplified by literature and the other arts ("nobody wants a poet in the perfect human state" [*Anatomy* 128]), he insists that "between religion's 'this is' and poetry's 'but suppose this is,' there must always be some kind of tension" (*Anatomy* 127-28), lest social institutions harden into ostensibly finished products rather than remain always imperfect works in progress.

Frye's unwavering defense of the autonomy of literature, then, is a central emphasis of his writing, expressed most eloquently in the *Anatomy* (still his most influential book) but resonating throughout his published work. Denham calls attention to a more private, less well-known side of Frye, the voice that we hear in the notebooks and diaries. Here Frye reflects on the restraint that has discomfited some of his critics who seek something more affirmative from literature: "I can't indefinitely go on saying that literature refuses to affirm or deny the identification of the verbal universe with Christ. Sooner or later ... I have to come to grips with the total form of human creative power" (qtd. Denham 58). Frye wants to go beyond what he calls "the suspended judgment of the imaginative" (qtd. Denham 125) and find some "existential reality beyond the hypothetical" (qtd. Denham 113), some "resolution of the 'is' and the 'as though' I've circled around since at least the AC [*Anatomy of Criticism*]" (qtd. Denham 103). Whereas the *Anatomy* stresses the centripetal interdependence of literary works within the self-contained realm of literature, the notebooks track Frye's centrifugal movement outward from literary experience toward something else that literature puts us in touch with. Borrowing from Frye, Denham variously calls this "something else" spiritual vision, *keyrigma*, faith, higher consciousness, revelation, the reality of the spiritual world, "the total identity of Word and Spirit" (260), among other terms.

As Denham notes, Frye had little interest in systematic theology and deep reservations about institutionalized religion, formal religious creeds, and dogmatic assertions of belief. He consequently uses terms like "faith," "revelation," and "spiritual vision" metaphorically, by which I mean that the insight suggested by these terms originates in literary experience and retains its imprint. Committed to the independent power of literature, Frye does not start from a religious position that he

then finds confirmed or illustrated in literary works. Instead, his cumulative experience of literature leads him to feel that life at some deep intuited level makes sense, that the creativity expressed in literature is somehow reinforced, not in another world or a redemptive future but here and now in this one. Pressed to elaborate, as, for example, when Bill Moyers asked him in an interview "What do you mean by the divine?" Frye makes complex statements like these: "I think that in human terms it means that there is no limit toward the expansion of the mind or of the freedom and liberty of mankind .... [T]he feeling that the genuine things you want, like freedom, are inexhaustible and that you never come to the end of them—that's the beginning of the experience of the divine, for me" (qtd. Denham 56-57). Or as Frye puts it in one of his notebooks,

My approach to faith turns it into *gaya scienza*, a joyful wisdom: most of the conventional approaches turn it into a burden of guilt feelings. Critics who distrust me because I don't seem too worried about inconsistencies ... can't tune into this notion of faith as a dancing ballet of intuitions, affirmations, counter-affirmations, "doubts" or retreats from dogma, & a pervading sense of "anything may be 'true' or 'false,' but whatever it is, the whole pattern has a design and a movement." (qtd. Denham 104)

There is a tension, in short, between Frye's defense of the autonomy of literature in his published works and his sense, expressed in his notebooks, that literary experience leads to some larger revelation. I do not want to overstate this tension. Passages in his published writings recall the spiritual affirmations of the notebooks, such as this comment in *The Critical Path*:

Nobody would accept a conception of literature as a mere dictionary or grammar of symbols and images which tells us nothing in itself. Everyone deeply devoted to literature knows that it says something, and says something as a whole, not only in its individual works. In turning from formulated belief to imagination we get glimpses of a concern behind concern, of intuitions of human nature and destiny that have inspired the great religious and revolutionary movements of history. Precisely because its variety is infinite, literature suggests an encyclopaedic range of concern greater than any formulation of concern in religious or political myth can express. (103)

Just as his published writings occasionally gesture toward some larger vision, the private notebooks keep that vision deliberately suggestive, open-ended, and literary—the vision of someone who describes his principles as "a) the less we believe the better b) nothing should be believed that has to be believed in" (qtd. Denham 262).

Even as I do not want to make too much of the tension between the public and private Frye, I also do not want to resolve it in favor of Frye's fidelity to religion, as I think Denham does when he refers to "the religious base of Frye's thought" (2) or when he claims that Frye's "religious ideas emerge un-

mistakably, though often behind a Blakean mask, in *Fearful Symmetry*" (2). Blake was not so much a mask for Frye as a key source of everything he had to say. As Frye puts it in one of his notebooks, "My Christian position is that of Blake reinforced by Emily Dickinson" (qtd. Denham 262). That is not an ordinary Christian position. I would go so far as to say that Frye inherited from Blake, Dickinson, and other writers a productive tension between asserting and questioning one's deepest beliefs, or say between commitment and uncertainty, a tension that saved Frye from sterile aestheticism in his literary criticism and from mindless dogmatism in his religious views. Keeping that tension alive may be one of the best ways of carrying on his work.

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## D I S C U S S I O N

*With intellectual spears, & long winged arrows of thought*

### Blake's Four "Zoas"!

BY MAGNUS ANKARSJÖ

In one of the minute particulars of *Blake* 39.1, "Blake's Four ... 'Zoa's?'," Justin Van Kleeck discusses the title page of Blake's original manuscript of *The Four Zoas*. Here he more or less claims to be the first to notice the mark indicated in the name of his essay, the "apostrophe" in the word "Zoa's". Van Kleeck gives an informative outline of the history of the manuscript and its various editions. The outcome of his account is that no editor or critic has ever commented on the mysterious "symbol" in the title of Blake's epic poem.

This is all very well, and the discussion is quite useful, not only for this particular issue but for any other purpose regarding the unconventional history of the *Zoas* manuscript. But his examination also raises a few questions that are not given completely satisfactory answers, or, in a few cases, they are not analyzed emphatically enough.

Admittedly, the manuscript of *The Four Zoas*, and maybe most conspicuously its title page, are not easy issues, in any aspect. I know that very well since I wrote my dissertation, which was subsequently published as a book, *Bring Me My*

*Arrows of Desire* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2004), on Blake's first epic. The immense difficulty can be easily apprehended by indicating my first reaction to Van Kleeck's article. Quite confidently I thought that if the mark is indeed an apostrophe, there is no doubt about the intention and the reference. Certainly, it is a possessive mark; that goes most excellently with the main theme of the poem, which I have outlined in my thesis. In my reading, *The Four Zoas* is a poem advocating a vision of a utopian existence with complete gender equality in which not only the male but also the female is active. But, as we know, it is a very long and complex poem, and the way to the utopia of Blake's Eden goes via the eternal battle of the sexes in a fallen world. Hence, quite logically, *The Four Zoas's Torments of Love and Jealousy*: a possessive. The only slight problem is that when looking closely once more at the title page one discovers that there is in fact one more word here: the definite article. So I reluctantly had to admit that my very pertinent explanation was no good.

But is what Van Kleeck labels "apostrophe" really a symbol proper, and not just something added by mistake? He hints at this possibility, but discards this alternative very easily in his discussion. Too easily, in my view. Bearing in mind the physical condition of the manuscript—many of its pages were after all written on top of the *Night Thoughts* drawings—and the handling of it over the years, it is a more than likely possibility that the mark actually is a blotch put there by mistake, either by Blake or one of the many people having set their hands on the manuscript during all the years until it was first presented to the public. Perhaps I was the one to do it when scrutinizing the original at the British Museum in 1997, since I cannot remember noticing such a mark? To be serious, this is of course impossible, since Sloss and Wallis's volume *The Prophetic Writings of William Blake* appeared already in 1926 and included the title of the poem for the first time transcribed as "The Four Zoas's", as Van Kleeck rightly points out (40). Or even more correctly, it was reproduced as early as 1913 in Sampson's edition, but then not commented on. But my extreme and egocentric example indicates the next to impossible task of determining this issue, which Van Kleeck also indicates in his concluding remarks: "There never may be a way to prove once and for all that Blake deliberately added this mark" (42).

However, in order to facilitate all kinds of close examination of *The Four Zoas* we need to emphasize that the final manuscript in fact consists of two poems: the early *Vala*, probably abandoned but then revised through many years to the "final" and retitled *The Four Zoas*. Therefore, we must keep the two titles clearly apart. The first title, written in 1797, is *VALA OR The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man a DREAM of Nine Nights*. The second, later, title is *The Four Zoas's The Torments of Love & Jealousy in The Death and Judgement of Albion the Ancient Man*. As has long been known, the subtitle of *The Four Zoas* is a late addition, something which has been pointed out recently both by myself and John B. Pierce in his useful study of the poem, *Flexible Design* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1998).

One might think a discussion of a tiny pencil line futile and petty, but it is a notoriously delicate matter. What Van Kleeck does not mention, and what I discovered by chance when separating and then puzzling together the various fragments of the two titles, is that if we look closely beside the mark discussed here there is one short word at the end of the second line of the later title: "in". As far as I can remember, the editors or commentators of the poem do not discuss or even include this word in their transcriptions. Neither does Van Kleeck mention it, even though he actually highlights exactly this bit by quoting Ellis and Yeats's rendition of Blake's second title of the poem (39). If we agree with Van Kleeck's argumentation, the second, and final, title of the poem should read: *The Four Zoas: The Torments of Love & Jealousy in The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man by William Blake 1797*. In that case, a reasonable and logical amendment according to modern punctuation and standards of the title would be: *The Four Zoas: The Torments of Love & Jealousy in The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man*. Whether the title makes good sense with the insertion of the original "in" is another matter.

However logical to our twenty-first century eyes this title is, we know that Blake in fact used the form "Zoa's" on his illuminated book plates. The next step, therefore, should be to take a very close look at these plates. Having scrutinized all the instances from *Milton* and *Jerusalem* mentioned by Van Kleeck, along with several other examples from the reproductions of the original manuscripts, I cannot detect much similarity between these marks and the one on the title page of *The Four Zoas*. While the title mark slants to the right, the top of the marks on the *J* and *M* plates nearly all of them bend the other way, slightly to the left, and the marks are generally thicker. If we use the handy calibration technique available in the *Blake Archive*, it becomes reasonably evident that none of the apostrophes indicated by Van Kleeck resembles the debated one in the *Zoas* title. Although the reproductions in the *Archive* do not provide us with the accuracy of the originals, I believe we can confidently claim that the *Zoas* mark was not put there by the same hand as the marks in *Jerusalem* and *Milton*. Hence, my contention must be that it is not likely that the mark was deliberately inserted by Blake.

Even so, the importance of Van Kleeck's short article should be positively appreciated by Blake scholars. It is a valuable contribution to bring the intricacies of the manuscript of *The Four Zoas* to the forefront of the debate. This will inspire us to examine the poem thoroughly again and make us recognize its true values and its crucial position in the Blake oeuvre: as the first locus where Blake uses his extended and refined mythology, which was to be developed into the magnificent splendor of *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

## "mark ye the points"

(*Jerusalem* pl. 83)

BY JUSTIN VAN KLEECK

I would like to begin by thanking Magnus Ankarsjö for responding to my article. Such a discussion as he initiates here, albeit necessarily short in this public forum, is one of the results I hoped for when writing the original piece as a description of my own struggles with this compelling minute particular. Further, I think that Ankarsjö and I generally agree about my main point: no matter how editors interpret the mark or whether they include it in their title for Blake's work, they should provide some note on it because of its extreme ambiguity. However, I do feel the need to respond to several points that Ankarsjö raises vis-à-vis my discussion and the evidence I cited to support my own interpretation, that the mark likely could be a deliberate apostrophe by Blake.

First, as a relatively minor issue, Ankarsjö's attention to the "in" that appears after "Jealousy" in the added subtitle leads to an inaccurate statement. While Ellis and Yeats do exclude the "in" when they record Blake's added (but then abandoned, in their reading) title, all other editors of the full manuscript text who record the title in some form—Keynes, Sloss and Wallis, Bentley, Erdman, Stevenson, Ostriker, etc.—include the "in". This word is quite clearly contemporary with the rest of the added pencil text at this place, and I do not find it to be problematic in terms of the full title, including the original subtitle that Blake retained. (The final, full title reads especially well if we include the colon that Ankarsjö adds "according to modern punctuation and standards.")

Second, and much more importantly, the basis of Ankarsjö's observations of the difference between the mark on the manuscript's title page and apostrophes in *Milton* and *Jerusalem* is highly questionable. However we view the *Four Zoas* manuscript as a work, and whichever editorial version of it we use for our own study, we always must remember that it is and will remain a *manuscript*. For us to compare the appearance of punctuation (?) marks on the manuscript pages with those in Blake's *etched*, and then *printed*, works offers little valuable or reliable evidence. In this case, Blake could have added the mark haphazardly, in a subsequent act of (perhaps hasty) revision, rather than with the deliberateness necessary when composing text on a copperplate. Or, as I will continue to acknowledge with joy at the uncertainty, someone else may have added the mark, deliberately or not. Either way, Blake's punctuation in the *Four Zoas* manuscript long has been one of the most seriously contested and commented-upon aspects of editorial work, a bugbear for the majority or the most liberating feature for a few. Indeed, my own impression was that determining what a specific point "is" turns into an endless game of pin the tail on the ink-dot—in many instances even when Blake is writing most carefully, in his "copperplate" script. As

a result, some of the most obvious “dots” end up *looking* like something far different; this is true even in a number of exclamation points, question marks, and occasionally the tops of colons, which seem to include commas rather than dots per se!<sup>1</sup> This pervasive indeterminacy makes using mere appearances frustrating and complicated to say the least.

We experience something quite similar in nearly all of Blake’s printed works, though in these cases the ambiguity results as much from the printing process as from Blake’s methods of composition. His methods of composition for etched and printed works, in and of themselves, make Ankarsjö’s use of visual comparisons even more problematic. After all, Blake composed the text on his copperplates *in reverse handwriting*—writing not with ink but with stop-out varnish—so that it would print in the normal, readable way. Of course, Blake certainly was skilled enough to write properly when not preparing his copperplates. Nevertheless, his use of reverse handwriting in *Milton* and *Jerusalem* only combines with the possible alterations to Blake’s original marks resulting from the printing process (acid eating into copper, ink adhering to relief surfaces, inked surfaces contacting paper, ink adhering to and drying on paper, etc.) to make straightforward visual comparison an unreliable basis of argumentation.

Ankarsjö notes that “the title mark [in the *Four Zoas* manuscript] slants to the right, the top of the marks on the *J* and *M* plates ... bend the other way slightly to the left.” Interestingly, Ankarsjö’s (accurate) description might suggest a *reverse apostrophe* on the title page—though I would not try to argue this too far. Regardless, David Erdman observed long ago that the serifs on Blake’s “g” undergo some interesting shifts over an identifiable period, all in clear relation to the act of writing in reverse; he also uses varying serifs to date portions of the *Four Zoas* manuscript, which extends the issue beyond etched texts.<sup>2</sup> This shifty serif only hints at how Blake’s methods of composition, whether writing normally or in reverse on a plate, can present various kinds of “complexity” when it comes to how a text *looks*. While the mark in the *Four Zoas* title may not be (and probably is not) a reversed apostrophe, the difference in composition between this text and Blake’s etched texts

again makes me question the reliability of visual appearance as a means of determination. I cannot agree with Ankarsjö’s final assertion, that “we can confidently claim that the *Zoas* mark was not put there by the same hand as the marks in *Jerusalem* and *Milton*.” Without any more compelling evidence than a comparison between two vastly different types of text, the strength of his conclusion seems unwarranted—especially when considered in light of Blake’s tendency to use an apostrophe in the plural: “Zoa’s”.

Again, I appreciate Ankarsjö’s response to my original article, which makes me feel that providing an abbreviated account of the title’s editorial history, various bits of material evidence, and my own interpretation of the mark served its purpose of drawing attention to an easily overlooked manuscript minutia. Opening up another vortex of ambiguity may be the last thing many individuals want or need when it comes to the *Four Zoas* manuscript, but, personally, I find only value in pondering over whether Blake called it “The Four Zoas” or “The Four Zoa’s”—after he called it “VALA” and in addition to calling it “VALA”.

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1. See, for example, manuscript pp. 10 and 37 for exclamation points and question marks; a “reversed-comma” top dot in a colon appears on p. 16. G. E. Bentley, Jr.—with commendable precision—goes so far as to reproduce the first two types of “commas” in the transcription he provides in his facsimile edition.

2. Erdman presents his “g” hypothesis fully, including the different forms Blake used and their probable dates, in “Dating Blake’s Script: The ‘g’ Hypothesis,” though he had introduced this subject five years earlier in “Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake’s *Jerusalem*” (see especially 51-54). He addresses the serif in the *Four Zoas* manuscript in “The Binding (et cetera) of *Vala*” (1968) and in his textual notes to *The Four Zoas* in his edition (see especially *Complete Poetry and Prose* 817). For further discussion (and complication) of Erdman’s hypothesis, see Morris Eaves, Robert N. Essick, and Joseph Viscomi’s introduction to *The Early Illuminated Books* (vol. 3 of the Blake Trust facsimiles); Viscomi goes on to discuss likely reasons for the shifting serif in “The Evolution of William Blake’s *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.”

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