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Cover: Adobe Stock map of Australia (#121553992), with details of (clockwise from left) *Jerusalem* copy I, plate 16 (Library of Congress); "Tornado" for Darwin, *The Botanic Garden* (Metropolitan Museum); "To the Queen" dedication for *The Grave* (courtesy of John Windle); "A Family of New South Wales" for Hunter, *An Historical Journal* (National Gallery of Victoria); *Dante Running from the Three Beasts* (National Gallery of Victoria); "Thomas Hayley" for Hayley, *An Essay on Sculpture* (collection of Robert N. Essick); *Milton* copy B, plate 32 (Huntington Library); and *Illustrations of the Book of Job*, plate numbered 15 (collection of Robert N. Essick). Thanks also to the *William Blake Archive*.

A R T I C L E

Blake in the Marketplace, 2022

By Robert N. Essick

Robert N. Essick has been collecting and writing about Blake for over fifty years.

Table of Contents:

1 JOHN Windle provided an auspicious beginning for the 2022 Blake market with his February publication of catalogue 70, *Present Joy*. At 160 pages offering 809 items, this is the second-largest sale catalogue devoted to Blake and his circle, exceeded only by Windle's October 2009 catalogue 46. The organization of *Present Joy* is unusual for its genre. The main section is arranged chronologically, with works listed by the year they were originally created, even for later reproductions. Thus, a 1955 facsimile of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* appears in the subsection on Blake's productions of 1789–94. The catalogue includes three drawings from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook, separate plates including "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," print series such as the Job and Dante engravings, a large group of Blake's commercial book illustrations, ranging from his apprentice work in Jacob Bryant's *A New System, or, an Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (1774–76) to John Varley's *Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1828), and most of the William Muir and Blake Trust/Trianon Press facsimiles of Blake's illuminated books. All but a few works by Blake are illustrated. Many items are recorded as "Sold," including "Holy Thursday" from *Songs of Innocence* copy W and "A Cradle Song" (both plates) from *Songs of Innocence* copy Y, and have been listed in earlier installments of these sales reviews. In the listings below, I have included all original materials for the record.[1] The Muir and Blake Trust facsimiles are not included. A PDF version of the catalogue is available at <https://www.johnwindle.com/catalogues.php> (accessed 17 December).

2 Windle continued at the forefront of the Blake market when in late February he received on consignment for sale an unrecorded posthumous copy of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Printed by Frederick Tatham c. 1831–32, the volume contains the full complement of 54 plates plus an impression of plate b, "A Divine Image." See the entry below and illus. 1-2. In partnership with the London dealer Sims Reed Rare Books, Windle acquired one of the sixteen traced impressions of Blake's white-line metal cut "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour" in April—see under Separate Plates and Plates in Series and illus. 3. Finally, in August Windle purchased for stock, and promptly sold, a manuscript signed by Blake concerning the prevention of banknote forgeries—see Alexander Tilloch under Manuscripts.

3 The summer auction market included three notable works by Blake: his separate plate of "The Fall of Rosamond," engraved after a design by Thomas Stothard; a copy of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* with seventeen of Blake's illustrations hand colored (illus. 5); and a copy of William Hayley's "The Eagle" among the *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802), with Blake's three engravings after his own designs (see the entries below). A letter by Dante Gabriel Rossetti with a draft of his poem on Blake's workroom and death room was auctioned in June—see the entry for 1880 under Interesting Blakeana and illus. 6. The run of books with Blake's commercial engravings continued during the fall and early winter in its usual tireless and unexciting way, but no drawings,

1. An exception to my usual practice of not including individual plates extracted from letterpress books or incomplete sets of the Job and Dante engravings.

paintings, or plates from the illuminated books made an appearance.

4 The year of all sales, catalogues, and correspondence in the following lists is 2022, unless indicated otherwise. With a few exceptions, such as Blake's engraving after William Hogarth, rare items such as prepublication proofs, and original works in Windle's *Present Joy* catalogue noted above, only complete copies of plates in series and letterpress books with Blake's commercial illustrations are included. Most reports about auction catalogues are based on the online versions. Illustrations are in color, unless noted otherwise. Coverage of regional auctions is selective. Dates for dealers' online catalogues are the dates accessed, not the dates of publication. Works offered online by dealers and listed in previous sales reviews are not repeated here. Most of 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. Estimates in auction catalogues are usually for hammer prices. I am grateful for help in compiling this review to Sidney Berger, David Bindman, Mark Crosby, Detlef W. Dörrbecker, Rachel Eley, Annika Green, John Holmes, Morton Paley, Justin Schiller, Joseph Viscomi, and John Windle. My special thanks go to Jenijoy La Belle for assistance in all matters. Once again, Sarah Jones's editorial expertise has been invaluable.

Abbreviations

AH	Abbott and Holder, London
BB	G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1977). Plate numbers and copy designations for Blake's illuminated books and commercial book illustrations follow *BB*.
BBS	G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995)
BHL	Bonhams auctions, London
BR(2)	G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004)
Butlin	Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981)
cat(s).	catalogue(s)
CB	Robert N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991)
CL	Christie's auctions, London
CW	Chiswick auctions, London
DW	Dominic Winter auctions, South Cerney, Gloucestershire
EB	*eBay* online auctions
EW	Ewbank's auctions, Woking, Surrey
FM	Forum auctions, London
Grant	*William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's "Night Thoughts,"* ed. John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, and Michael J. Tolley, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1980)
illus.	illustration(s), illustrated
JCB	James Cummins Bookseller, New York
LLY	Lowell Libson & Jonny Yarker, London
NYBF	New York International Antiquarian Book Fair, 21-24 April
PHB	Peter Harrington Rare Books, London
pl(s).	plate(s)
SBS	Subun-So Book Store, Tokyo
SL	Sotheby's auctions, London
SNY	Sotheby's auctions, New York
SP	Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983)
SRB	Sims Reed Rare Books, London
st(s).	state(s) of an engraving, etching, or lithograph
SWD	Sworders auctions, Stansted Mountfitchet, Essex
Windle	John Windle Antiquarian Bookseller, San Francisco
#	auction lot or catalogue item number

Illuminated Books

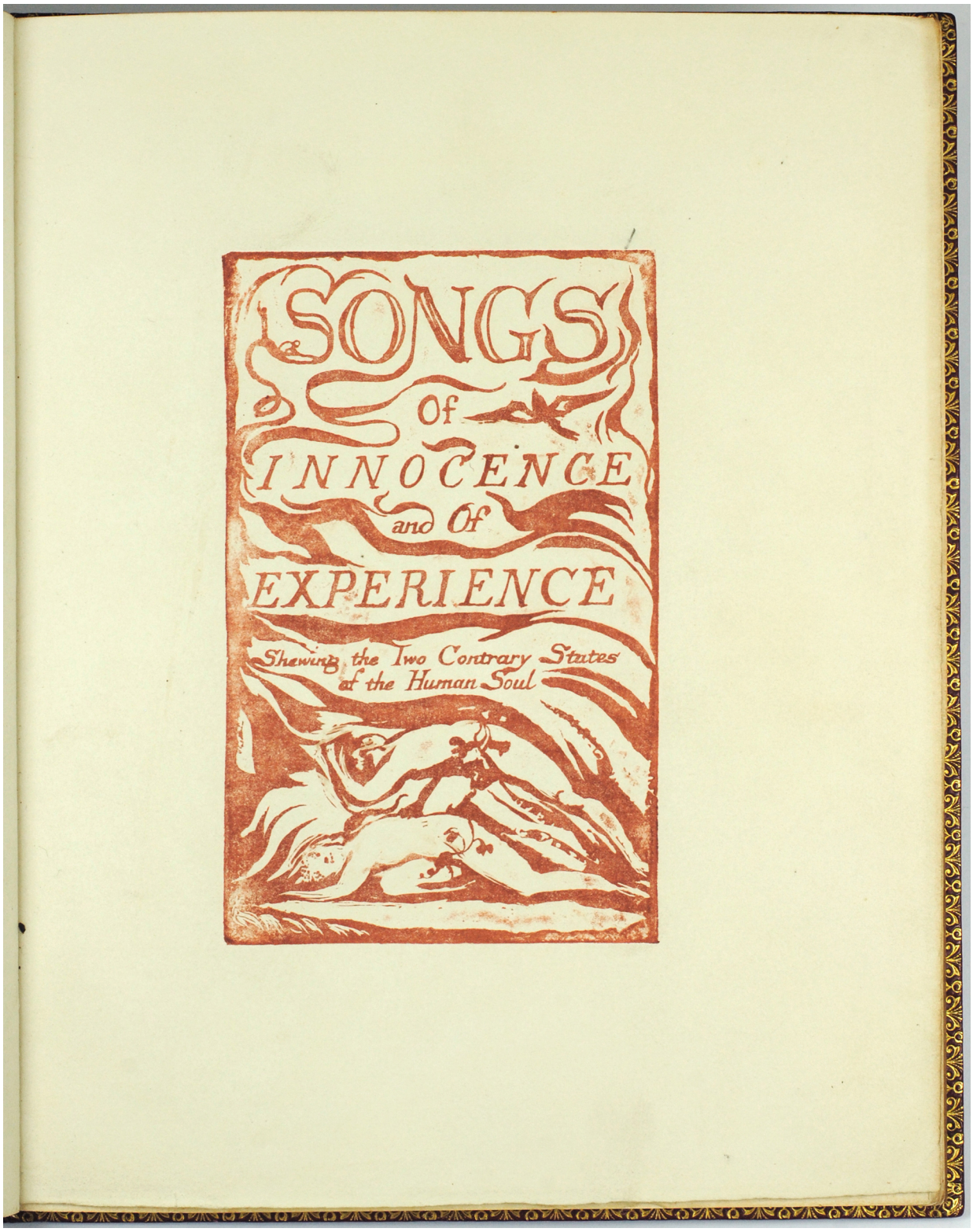
Songs of Innocence, copy W, pl. 19 ("Holy Thursday") only. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #49, illus. ("Sold" in Jan. 2020 to a Canadian private collector). For illus. and comments, see the 2016 sales review, *Blake* 50.4 (spring 2017): illus. 4.

Songs of Innocence, copy Y, pls. 16 and 17 ("A Cradle Song") only. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #50, both pls. illus. ("Sold" in April 2018 to a private collector). For earlier sales and illus. of pl. 16, see the 2007 sales review, *Blake* 41.4 (spring 2008): illus. 5. For earlier sales and illus. of pl. 17, see the 2017 sales review, *Blake* 51.4 (spring 2018): illus. 1, and the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52.4 (spring 2019).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience. A posthumous copy printed by Frederick Tatham c. 1831–32, previously unrecorded. Windle, Feb. private offer, illus. (price on request). See illus. 1-2.

I have not inspected this copy. The information given here is based on high-resolution digital images of all pls. and a detailed description of the volume provided by Annika Green and Rachel Eley of John Windle Antiquarian Bookseller. The description below covers the same details provided for illuminated books in *BB* and *BBS*; it is intended as a supplement to those 2 bibliographies.

Copy designation: The last posthumous copy listed in *BBS* is copy p. In 2014 Bentley designated an untraced volume



1. Title page to *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, posthumous copy r. *BB* pl. 1. Relief etching printed in dark sepia (dark reddish brown) ink, image and platemark 11.4 x 7.1 cm. on leaf of Whatman wove paper 20.0 x 16.0 cm. Second st. (of 2), found only in posthumous copies. Numbered "1" in pencil upper right. Photo courtesy of John Windle.

as copy q.[2] Accordingly, this copy can be designated as copy r.

Plates in order bound and number of leaves: b, 1-54 (55 pls. on the rectos of 55 leaves). The binding order of pls. 1-54, often considered the standard arrangement, is also found in posthumous copies b, c, and j. This sequence was established by Tatham.[3] The placement of pl. b, "A Divine Image," at the beginning of the volume, rather than as an appendix at the end, is both odd and unique.

Ink: Dark sepia (dark reddish brown). No hand coloring other than some slight touches of gray wash on pl. 28, the frontispiece to *Songs of Experience* (see illus. 2 and its caption for details).

Numbering: 0-54 in pencil above the top right corner of each pl. in an unidentified hand. Although Tatham established the sequence of pls. 1-54, the numbering is probably not his. The "0" on "A Divine Image" appears to be in a different hand from all the other numbers. Many leaves show evidence of erased or partly erased numbers in pencil; these indicate a different, earlier sequencing of the pls. For example, pl. 38 includes a partly erased "48" below and to the right of its number "38".

Paper: Wove.

Leaf size: Ranging between 19.0 x 15.4 cm. and 20.0 x 16.0 cm. Fourteen leaves show deckle edges.

Watermark: J Whatman | 1831. Parts of the watermark appear on the leaves numbered 0, 6, 19, 21, 23, 26, 32, 34, 37, 38, and 47.

Stabholes: None visible.

Binding: Full red morocco by Riviere & Son, probably c. 1900–20, top edges gilt. Covers tooled in blind, backstrip with 5 raised bands, compartments with decorations and title ("Songs of Innocence") in gilt.

Provenance: Frederick Tatham, who printed this copy; acquired, probably c. 1831–32, by Tatham's friend Isaac Faulkner Bird (1803–84), a portrait artist; his nephew, F. Faulkner White, probably by inheritance in 1884 but no later than early 1885; the Exeter book dealer J. G. Commin by Feb. 1885; sold at an unrecorded date to the present owner's great-great-grandfather, a member of a distinguished American family; by descent to the present American owner; on consignment with Windle Feb. 2022. I have not received permission to publish the name of the first American owner or the present owner.

The provenance to 1885 is based on a brief letter by White, addressed to Commin and dated "26th July 1886", kept with the volume: "The copy of Blakes Songs of innocence & experience which I sold you at Cowper place, Leeds on 12th Feby 1885 was the property of my Uncle I. Faulkner Bird who was an intimate friend of the Blakes." I. F. Bird is very probably the "Mr. Bird" who on 23 Oct. 1831 attended Catherine Blake's funeral, according to Tatham's "Life of Blake" (*BR*[2] 691), and on that occasion was given copy F of Blake's *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* by Tatham (*BB* pp. 202-03). I. F. Bird may also be the "Mr Bird" who acquired a copy of Blake's Job engravings from John Linnell on 27 Dec. 1830 (*BR*[2] 793, 801). Other than White's letter, there is no record of an "intimate" friendship between Bird and the Blakes.

2. (next page) Frontispiece to *Songs of Experience*, posthumous copy r. *BB* pl. 28. Relief etching and white-line engraving printed in dark sepia (dark reddish brown) ink with touches of gray wash, image and platemark 11.1 x 7.1 cm. on leaf of Whatman wove paper 20.0 x 16.0 cm. This illus. trimmed close to the print. Second st. (of 2), found only in posthumous copies. Numbered "28" in pencil upper right with fragments of an erased pencil number further to the right. Photo courtesy of John Windle.

Slight touches of gray wash appear on the standing figure's lower torso just above his right leg and extending to his right hip, on his upper left leg, and on his right inner thigh. Very small patches of wash are on his right upper arm, left arm just above his left armpit, left elbow, and left wrist, below his left breast, left of his right eye, and on and to the right of his throat. Perhaps the tinting on his lower torso and legs was intended to complement the white-line work in the same or adjacent areas added to the pl. in this 2nd st. Similar shading has been added to the winged child on the right side of his chest (from the viewer's standpoint) and on his genital area. There are also small patches of gray wash left and right of the standing figure's left knee, right of his left lower foot, on and around his right foot, and on the back of the frontmost sheep on the left. These additions, like the conversion of the 1st into the 2nd st., were presumably executed by Tatham. Part of the platemaker's mark prints in blind upper left, above and to the left of the standing figure's raised right hand.

2. "William Blake and His Circle: A Checklist of Publications and Discoveries in 2013," *Blake* 48.1 (summer 2014): entry for "Copy q." Apparently a posthumous copy, known only from its listing in 2 Quaritch cats., March 1871 and April 1873. In both cats., the vol. is titled "Songs of Innocence" and described as "a Series of 20 Poems" (1871) and "a Series of 20 plates" (1873). I suspect that "20 plates" is the more accurate description. Perhaps Bentley added the vol. to his census of the combined *Songs*, rather than *Songs of Innocence*, on the off-chance that it contained 1 or more pls. from *Experience*.

3. See Joseph Viscomi, "Posthumous Blake: The Roles of Catherine Blake, C. H. Tatham, and Frederick Tatham in Blake's Afterlife," *Blake* 53.2 (fall 2019): pars. 61-65. Viscomi demonstrates that posthumous copies a, i, and possibly copy e were originally arranged in the standard order. Indeed, "all the [posthumous] copies" may have "been initially in standard order" (par. 65).

Drawings and Paintings

A Girl Full-Face with Bare Breasts. Pencil sketch from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook, leaf approximately 15.5 x 20.5 cm., c. 1819. Butlin #692.82. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #223, illus. ($19,500). Previously sold CL, 15 June 1971, #148 (£147 to Alfred Essex, London); previously offered by the London dealer Jonny Yarker, Nov. 2018 private offer ($10,000).

A Seated Monarch with an Agonized Expression. Pencil sketch from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook, leaf approximately 15.5 x 20.5 cm., c. 1819, inscribed in pencil by Blake "Crimson" on the man's shirt or cloak and "Green" on his breeches. Butlin #692.64. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #222, illus. ($19,500). Previously sold CL, 15 June 1971, #158, illus. black and white (£252 to Alfred Essex, London); previously offered by the London art dealer Jonny Yarker, Nov. 2018 private offer ($10,000).

Visionary Head of Queen Boadicea (recto), sketch of geometric and architectural forms (verso). Pencil, leaf of wove paper 20.5 x 15.5 cm. (previously recorded as 19.9 x 15.5 cm.). Probably removed from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook of c. 1819 at an early date. Not in Butlin because not discovered until 2021. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #221, recto illus. ("Sold" in 2021 to a British private collector). For earlier sales, comments, and illus. of recto and verso, see the 2021 sales review, *Blake* 55.4 (spring 2022): illus. 4 and 5.

Whilst Surfeited upon Thy Damask Cheek, an illus. to Robert Blair's *The Grave*. Watercolor, 19.6 x 13.3 cm., datable to 1805. Not in Butlin because not discovered until 2001. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #184, illus. ("Sold" in Oct. 2020 by Marburg Ltd. to Essick, Windle acting as his agent). Previously offered SNY, 2 May 2006, #5, illus. (not sold; highest bid $520,000 on an estimate of $700,000-$1,000,000), and SNY, 25 Jan. 2017, #108, illus. (not sold; highest bid $160,000 on an estimate of $180,000-240,000). For illus. and comments, see the 2006 sales review, *Blake* 40.4 (spring 2007): 122 and illus. 3.

Manuscripts

Alexander Tilloch (Scottish inventor and engraver, 1759–1825). Manuscript testimonial, dated "5th April 1797", indicating that Tilloch's invention of a way of engraving banknotes created bills that could not be forged by any of the 12 engravers who signed the document, including "Willm Blake" (the poet and artist), the engraver "Willm Staden Blake" (1748–1814), and "James Basire" (Blake's engraving master, 1730–1802, or his son and successor of the same name). Windle, Aug. private offer (price on inquiry; sold Sept. to the E. J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto). For a description of the manuscript, complete transcription, early printed versions of the testimonial, and discussion of the historical context of Tilloch's invention, see Mark Crosby, "Blake and the Banknote Crises of 1797, 1800, and 1818," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 80.4 (fall 2011): 815-36. A printed version of the testimonial at McMaster University Library, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, is quoted in part in *BR*(2) 78. Engravings by W. S. Blake have sometimes been misattributed to Blake the poet and artist.

Receipt signed by Blake, 5 July 1805, to Thomas Butts for £5.7s. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #171, illus. ($150,000); same price, April online cat. for the NYBF, #1, illus. For earlier sales and comments, see the 2019 sales review, *Blake* 53.4 (spring 2020). According to *BR*(2) 764, this receipt repeats another of the same date and amount specifying that the payment was for 4 of Blake's large color-printed drawings, *The Good and Evil Angels*, *The House of Death*, *God Judging Adam*, and *Lamech and His Two Wives*.

First Editions of Blake's Writings First Published in Letterpress in Blake's Lifetime

Poetical Sketches, 1783, *BB* and *BBS* copy E. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #11, full morocco, quarter morocco box ("Sold" in 2019 to the Charles Deering McCormick Library, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois). For earlier sales, see the 2007 sales review, *Blake* 41.4 (spring 2008): 147, the 2017 sales review, *Blake* 51.4 (spring 2018), and the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52.4 (spring 2019). For a black-and-white illus. of the title page, including John Flaxman's presentation inscription, see *Blake* 40.4 (spring 2007): back cover.

Separate Plates and Plates in Series

"Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #217, 5th st., Colnaghi impression on laid India, framed ($35,000); another impression, #218, 5th st., Colnaghi impression on laid India, illus. ($25,000). SRB, Feb. private offer to Windle, 3rd st., with repaired tears into the image, framed, illus. ($40,000); same impression, Sept. online cat., illus. (£40,000).

Dante engravings. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #248, complete set, an early printing on laid paper, the set sold from the Doheny Memorial Library, 21 Feb. 1989, #1713, foxed ($60,500 to the dealer Donald Heald), now cleaned, illus. ($350,000); #249-52, pls. 2, 4-6 only offered individually, impressions on laid India, illus. ($8500 for pl. 2, $12,500 for pl. 4, $8750 for

pl. 5, $6500 for pl. 6); #253, pl. 1 only, 1954 printing "on hand-made paper," illus. ($7500).

"The Fall of Rosamond," after Stothard, 2nd st., 1783. Leaf of wove paper trimmed on the platemark to 39.5 x 33.3 cm. CW, 15 July, #223, illus. (£3250 to Windle acting for Essick; estimate £100-200). This impression not recorded in *SP*. According to Anon., "Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts," *Monthly Magazine* 11.3 (April 1801): 246, Thomas Macklin, the publisher of "The Fall of Rosamond," paid Blake £80 to engrave this work. Briefly noted in *BR*(2) 758.

"George Cumberland's Card." Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #258, "printed in black ink on thick card," trimmed close to the image on the left and right margins, illus. ($20,000).

"The Idle Laundress," after Morland, 1788. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #38, 2nd st. of "The Idle Laundress" with the 3rd st. of "Industrious Cottager," both printed in brown, titles and imprints cut off and pasted to the backing mats, illus. ("Sold"). For earlier sales, see the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52.4 (spring 2019). EW, 23 June, #2057, 3rd st., illus. (£625 to Windle for stock).

"Industrious Cottager," after Morland. See "The Idle Laundress," above.

Job engravings. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #232, complete set, published "Proof" impressions on laid India, with the letterpress label, individually matted, illus. ($125,000); #233, complete set, published "Proof" impressions on laid India, bound in morocco, illus. ($89,500); #234, pl. numbered 8 only, published "Proof" impression on so-called "French" paper, illus. ($2950); #235, pl. numbered 9 only, published "Proof" impression on laid India, illus. ($3250); #236-39, pls. numbered 4, 7, 8, and 12 only, impressions on Whatman paper after removal of the "Proof" inscription, offered individually, illus. ($1950 each); #240, complete set, 1874 printing on laid India, loose in a morocco box "slightly worn," illus. ($47,500). PHB, June online cat., complete set, published "Proof" impressions on "French paper," later 19th-century half morocco, illus. (£57,500). Interencheres auction, Lyon, France, 16 Sept., #261, complete set, impressions on Whatman paper after removal of the "Proof" inscription, leaves 37.5 x 26.7 cm., bookplate of Henri Focillon (art historian and poet, 1881–1943), early boards with calf spine, binding illus. (€19,000); same copy, SRB, Dec. cat., #8, illus. (£60,000).

"The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour," 2nd st., *SP* impression 2L. Windle, April private offer (acquired by Essick). See illus. 3 and compare to illus. 4.

Provenance: As in *SP* to 1998; offered by the London dealer Andrew Edmunds in March 1998 (price on inquiry); offered SL, 11 Dec. 1998, #111, illus. in black and white (not sold; estimate £30,000-40,000); acquired by Windle, Feb. 1999; offered by Windle, Nov. 1999 online cat. 31, #16 (price on inquiry), April 2001 cat. 32, #19, illus. (price on inquiry), and Sept. 2003 cat. 36, #11, illus. (price on inquiry); sold July 2006 by Windle, in partnership with Maggs Bros., to a British private collector; acquired by Windle, in partnership with SRB, April 2022; acquired by Essick as above.

"Mrs Q," after Villiers. Grosvenor Prints, Sept. online cat., with the companion print, "Windsor Castle," engraved by Maile after "I. B." (J. Barrow?), "both plates trimmed just within platemark, some creasing on 'Mrs Q,'" only "Windsor Castle" illus. (£1650 the pair). Possibly the convincing lithographic facsimiles.

Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake

Allen, *Roman History*, 1798. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #147, Blake's 4 pls. only, imprints present, illus. ($1250).

Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #16, 1783 ed., 5 vols., contemporary calf worn and repaired, illus. ($975); #18, 1799 ed., 5 vols., contemporary calf worn, illus. ($500). Zubal Books, Feb. online cat., 1799 ed., 5 vols., 19th-century half calf worn, illus. (not priced; "no longer available"). Addison & Sarova auction, Social Circle, Georgia, 16 July, #24, 1783 ed., 5 vols., "occasional foxing," contemporary calf repaired, illus. ($500). Rodger Friedman, Sept. online cat., 1783 ed., 5 vols., scattered foxing, contemporary calf, illus. ($725).

Bible, *The Protestant's Family Bible*, [1780–81]. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #6, 19th-century calf worn, new endpapers, illus. ("Sold"); #7-10, Blake's pls. 1-3, 5 only, illus. ($675 each).

Bible, *The Royal Universal Family Bible*, 1780–81. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #4, 2 vols. in 1, early calf very worn, illus. ($7950).

Blair, *The Grave*. Whitmore Rare Books, Jan. online cat., 1808 quarto, imprint trimmed off Blake's pl. 1, early 20th-century calf, slipcase, illus. ($3950). CW, 27 Jan., #120, 1808 quarto, "light soiling," later half calf worn, illus. (£600). Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #185, 1808 folio, 19th-century half morocco worn, illus. ($8950); #186, 1808 quarto, uncut in original boards, cloth box worn, illus. ($9750); #187-99, complete group of pls. only (including the frontispiece portrait of Blake) from the 1808 quarto offered individually, all illus. (ranging between $275 and $675 each); #200, 1813 folio, modern boards with morocco backstrip, illus. ($9750); #201-11, Blake's pls. 1-5, 7, 8-12 only from the 1813 quarto


W. Blake.

3. (previous page, top) "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour." White-line metal cut, datable to c. 1822. Second st., *SP* impression 2L. Image and platemark 8.0 x 16.1 cm. on leaf of wove paper 9.3 x 17.6 cm. Essick collection.

According to *SP* p. 106, the leaf has a "[JW]HATM[AN] | 1821" watermark running "vertically on the right, cut by the edge of the sheet." This information was supplied by Michael Phillips, a previous owner of this impression. Although I can see part of the letter "M" of this watermark, I am unable to confirm Phillips's reading.

This impression shows dramatic contrasts between black and white areas because of heavy inking of the relief surface of the metal pl. A comparison with a lightly inked example (illus. 4) demonstrates how management of the inking ball can determine the visual impact of a printed design. Heavy inking almost inevitably brings with it a tendency to clog—and thus mask—fine white-line work in a pl. such as "The Man Sweeping." For example, the rectangular bar of solid black ink extending diagonally from the top center edge of the print in illus. 3 obscures the wavy, vertical white lines present in illus. 4. Similarly, most of the horizontal white lines defining the floor right of the large bat-winged figure's broom in illus. 4 are not visible in illus. 3. Collectors would probably prefer this richly inked impression to one that is lightly inked, but a full consideration of what Blake executed on the metal pl. requires attention to the latter.

4. (previous page, bottom) "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour." White-line metal cut, datable to c. 1822. Second st., *SP* impression 2E. Image and platemark 8.0 x 16.1 cm. on leaf of wove paper 12.2 x 19.0 cm. Inscribed below the image in pencil "W. Blake" in an unknown hand. Blake's pencil sketch *Samson Pulling Down the Pillars of the Temple* on verso (not illus. here). This illus. cropped inside the edges of the leaf. Essick collection.

For some comparisons of this lightly inked impression with one that is darkly inked, see illus. 3 and its caption.

offered individually, all illus. (ranging between $395 and $875 each); #212, [1870] "4to" (actually a folio), publisher's cloth ($1975). Cotswold Auction Company auction, Cheltenham, 8 Feb., #343, [1870] folio, publisher's cloth, bookplate of Osbert Sitwell, with *Songs of Innocence and Experience with Other Poems*, pub. Pickering, 1866, publisher's cloth worn, illus. (£187.50). Potter & Potter auction, Chicago, 26 Feb., #248, 1813 quarto, modern quarter goatskin, illus. ($1250). EB, April, 1808 quarto, "stain to 4 plates at fore-edges," modern half calf, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $1800); same copy and price, D & D Galleries, April online cat., illus. Bloomsbury auction, London, 27 April, #30, "1813" ed., pls. foxed, "original black cloth" (and thus probably the [1870] issue), illus. (not sold; estimate £200-300). FM, 5 July, #213, [1870] ed., some pls. badly foxed, publisher's cloth very worn, illus. (£162.50); 14 July, #172, 1808 quarto, scattered foxing, "modern morocco-backed cloth," illus. (£1250). DW, 20 July, #316, 1813 quarto, marginal stains on some pls., later buckram worn, illus. (£204). SWD, 23 Aug., #192, 1808 quarto, later quarter calf, with a copy of Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, 1863, 2 vols., publisher's cloth worn, illus. (£687.50).

Blair, *The Grave*, prepublication proof of Blake's pl. 7, "The Descent of Man into the Vale of Death." With drypoint signatures, as in the 1st published st., but before all other letters. Leaf of wove paper 27.5 x 16.7 cm. Lacking many hatching strokes in the design, particularly evident on the path, on the rocks (for example behind the woman holding a child, upper right), on the head of the figure immediately adjacent to the center right edge of the design, on the left knee and lower left leg of the man holding his hands in prayer (lower center), on the right upper leg of the woman holding a baby to her breast (lower right), and on the child farthest right in the group of children at the bottom of the design. A so-called "touched" proof, with diagonal pencil strokes over the rocks in several areas, particularly evident lower right and left. This pencil work very probably executed by Luigi Schiavonetti as a way of indicating further work to be done on the copperplate. Generously given Oct. by Detlef W. Dörrbecker to Essick on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Blower, *Maria: A Novel*, 1785. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #24, pl. only, illus. ("Sold").

Boydell's Graphic Illustrations … of Shakspeare, c. 1803. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #157, publisher's morocco worn and repaired, binding illus. ($9500).

Bryant, *New System … of Ancient Mythology*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #1, 1st ed., 1774–76, 3 vols., contemporary calf rebacked, illus. ("Sold"); #2, 2nd ed., 1775–76, 3 vols., contemporary calf worn, illus. ($1250).

Bürger, *Leonora*, 1796. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #119, bound with 7 other eds. of the poem, including the 1796 ed. with illus. by Diana Beauclerk, "old calf, very worn, covers detached, preserved in a new box," illus. ($29,750). Mallams auction, Oxford, 24 Feb., #481, later morocco, with Kálidása, *The Megha Dúta*, trans. H. H. Wilson, 1843, in a separate vol., illus. (£676 to Windle for stock); same copy (without Kálidása), Windle, April online cat. for the NYBF,

#5, illus. ($19,750). FM, 26 May, #219, lacking the half title, "10mm tear to lower margin" of pl. 1, contemporary calf, illus. (£2176).

Catullus, *Poems*, 1795. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #108, 2 vols. in 1, early boards with modern calf backstrip, illus. ("Sold").

Cumberland, *Attempt to Describe Hafod*, 1796. Madoc Books, May online cat., several brown stains on the pl., original boards worn, illus. (£995; acquired by Windle on behalf of an American private collector). Windle, June private offer, pl. "slightly browned as usual," recent morocco ($4950).

Darwin, *Botanic Garden*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #77, 3rd ed. of Part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of Part 2, 1794, 2 vols. in 1, "occasional foxing," contemporary calf rebacked ("Sold"); #78, Blake's pl. 1 only, "margins foxed," illus. ($875). FM, 10 March, #165, 3rd ed. of Part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of Part 2, 1794, 2 vols. in 1, "some foxing," inscribed in ink on the title page, "Harriet Duchess of St Albans Septr 6 1829 This book was given to the Duchess when Mrs. Coutts by Mr Fuseli," contemporary calf very worn, upper cover detached, illus. (£687.50 to Windle for stock); same copy, Windle, June online cat., *Recent Acquisitions*, #3, "covers rehinged," illus. ($2950). EB, July, 2nd ed. of Part 1, 1791, 4th ed. of Part 2, 1794, 2 vols. in 1, contemporary calf very worn, illus. (£328); Nov., 3rd ed. of Part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of Part 2, 1794, 2 vols. in 1, lacking frontispiece (not by Blake) to Part 2, modern calf, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £650). Forest Books, Sept. online cat., 1st ed. of Part 1, 3rd ed. of Part 2, both 1791, 2 vols. in 1, contemporary morocco, illus. (£1200). FM, 6 Oct., #128, 3rd ed. of Part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of Part 2, 1794, 2 vols. in 1, pls. in vol. 1 foxed, contemporary calf worn and rebacked, Blake's pl. 6 illus. (£314.40 to Windle for stock).

Darwin, *Poetical Works*, 1806. EB, Feb., 3 vols., "lacking covers," illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $325).

Enfield, *The Speaker*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #3, 1781 ed., later calf worn, illus. ("Sold"). EB, March, 1797 ed., contemporary calf very worn, "both boards almost completely detached," illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of £34.99); same copy, March, illus. (£34.99). JCB, Oct. online cat., *The Romantics*, no entry no., 1785 ed., contemporary morocco, available at the same price since 2012, binding illus. ($750).

Flaxman, Hesiod designs, 1817. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #220, bound with Flaxman's Aeschylus designs, 1831, early half morocco worn, binding illus. ($500). PHB, April online cat., half calf, illus. (£750); another copy, original boards with cover label, inscribed by Flaxman to his friend William Gunn, illus., the copy sold at SWD, 11 Sept. 2018, #59, with Flaxman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* designs, 1793, and the Dante designs, 1807, in 4 vols., for £516.50 (£2000). Mallams auction, Oxford, 23 Sept., #700, bound with Flaxman's *Iliad* designs, 1805, *Odyssey* designs, 1805, and Aeschylus designs, 1831, later calf, illus. (£125).

Flaxman, *Iliad* designs, 1805. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #178, "some foxing throughout," contemporary half morocco worn, illus. ("Sold"). EB, April, bound with Flaxman's *Odyssey* designs, 1805, later half calf worn, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of €400); another copy, Oct.-Nov., scattered foxing, large water stain on cover and Blake's pl. 1, original boards with title label, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of £119.99); same copy, Nov. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £119.99). See also the Hesiod designs, above.

Gay, *Fables*, 1793. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #91, 2 vols. in 1, contemporary calf worn and rebacked, illus. ($1500). DW, 2 March, #229, 2 vols., "light spotting," contemporary calf worn, illus. (£480). JCB, Oct. online cat., *The Romantics*, no entry no., 2 vols., contemporary morocco, available at the same price since 2012, illus. ($1750).

Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1786. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #25, contemporary calf worn ("Sold"); #26, proof of Blake's pl. 10, "Portrait of Queen Philippa from Her Monument," illus. ("Sold" 2020 to the E. J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto). For the proof, see the 2020 sales review, *Blake* 54.4 (spring 2021): illus. 4.

Hartley, *Observations on Man*, 1791. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #79, pl. only, "a little soiled," illus. ($750).

Hayley, *Ballads*, 1805. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #172, 1st sts. of pls. 1-3, contemporary calf rebacked, illus. ($6500); #173, pl. 3 only, 1st st., stain in lower margin, illus. ($975); #174, pl. 4 only, only st., illus. ($975); another copy of the book, #175, 2nd sts. of pls. 1-3, bound with Salomon Gessner, *The Death of Abel*, 1803, contemporary calf rebacked, binding illus. ($4250). SBS, March cat., #10, 2nd sts. of pls. 1-3, presentation inscription from George Cumberland to his daughter Eliza Martha Cumberland, modern calf, illus. ($4517). Leland Little auction, Hillsborough, North Carolina, 5 May, #271, 2nd sts. of pls. 1-3, 19th-century calf worn, illus. ($1187.50). JCB, Oct. online cat., *The Romantics*, no entry no., sts. of pls. not recorded, contemporary half calf, binding illus. ($4500).

Hayley, *Designs to a Series of Ballads*, 1802. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #156, pl. 1 only, illus. ($49,500). DW, 21 July, #330, "The Eagle" only, the 2nd ballad issued, "original tissue guard to each plate, light paper toning, untrimmed,

stitched as issued in pale blue paper wrappers, with printed title on upper cover," illus. (£23,370 to Windle acting for a private American collector; estimate £1500-2000).

Hayley, *Essay on Sculpture*, 1800. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #152-54, the 3 pls. only offered individually, "a little browned around the edges," illus. (pl. 1 $375, pl. 2 $495, pl. 3 $595). EB, Oct., pls. foxed, contemporary calf repaired, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $375).

Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, 1803–04. Aldridges of Bath online auction, 25 Jan., #253, ed. not specified, 3 vols., contemporary half calf worn, illus. (£48, a price suggesting that there are condition problems with this copy not mentioned in the brief cat. entry). Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #161, 1st ed., 3 vols. with the supplement of 1806 bound in vol. 3, pl. 4 in the 2nd st., contemporary calf worn, illus. ($1250); #162, 2nd ed., 3 vols., pl. 4 in the 4th (final) st., contemporary half calf worn, illus. ($1250). EB, April, 1st ed., 3 vols., with the supplement of 1806 in a 4th vol., uncut in original boards, printed spine labels, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £357.50); another copy, Aug., 1st ed., 3 vols., scattered foxing on pls., contemporary calf rebacked with modern calf, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of £1485); same copy, Rooke Books, Aug. online cat., illus. (£1350).

Hayley, *Life of Romney*, 1809. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #214, "large paper copy," later half calf, illus. ($3250); #215, apparently the small-paper issue, half calf worn, illus. ($575); #216, Blake's pl. only, illus. ($450).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*, 1803. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #158, large-paper copy, later morocco, illus. ($2750); #159, large-paper copy, contemporary calf, illus. ($2750); #160, small-paper copy, scattered foxing to the pls., "signed at the front by W. M. Rossetti in ink and dated 1868," early calf worn, illus. ($975). Besleys Books, July online cat., scattered foxing, contemporary morocco worn, illus. (£260). Addison & Sarova auction, Social Circle, Georgia, 22 Oct., #268, large-paper copy, original boards, illus. ($500).

See also C. A. Tulk (1786–1849) under Interesting Blakeana.

Hoare, *Inquiry*, 1806. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #179, original boards worn, illus. ($2750); #180, Blake's pl. only, "a little soiled," illus. ($875).

Hogarth, *The Beggar's Opera by Hogarth and Blake*, 1965. EB, Jan., Blake's pl. only, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $125); July, publisher's cloth box damaged, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $118.97 or "best offer"). Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #110, publisher's cloth box, illus. ($975).

Hogarth, *Works*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #109, Blake's pl. only, 3rd st., illus. ($3500). EB, April-May, 1790 ed., the copy offered on EB in Oct. 2021 (no bids on a required minimum bid of $8500), with the 2nd st. of Blake's pl., modern half calf, illus. ($4500); Aug., Blake's pl. only, probably 4th st., illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of €58.99). David Lay auction, Penzance, 22 July, #572, Blake's pl. only, 3rd st., margins badly foxed, illus. (no bids on an estimate of £80-120). Westport auction, Norwalk, Connecticut, 15 Nov., #394, possibly 4th st., framed, illus. ($112.50). It is difficult to determine the sts. of impressions of this pl. based on low-resolution online images.

Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 1793, quarto issue. Tennants auction, Leyburn, North Yorkshire, 18 May, #2189, contemporary calf, illus. (£1037). Australian Book auction, Armadale, 23 Nov., #16, 19th-century half calf, illus. ($3556 Australian).

Josephus, *Genuine and Complete Works*, c. 1785–87. DW, 17 Aug., #47, *BB* issue A, contemporary calf worn, illus. (£60). EB, Nov., *BB* issue A, contemporary calf worn, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $702 or "best offer").

Lavater, *Aphorisms*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #47, 1789 ed., 1st st. of Blake's pl., contemporary calf worn, illus. ($595); #48, 1794 ed., 2nd st. of Blake's pl., contemporary calf worn, illus. ($295). Alex Alec-Smith, Nov. online cat., 1794 ed., st. of the pl. not recorded, contemporary calf, binding illus. (£85).

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1810. EB, Sept., 3 vols. in 5, original(?) boards very worn, leaves loose, scattered foxing, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $550).

Malkin, *Father's Memoirs of His Child*, 1806. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #181, George Goyder's copy with his bookplate, original boards worn with "later spine," illus. ($3000); #182, contemporary morocco worn, illus. ($1875); #183, Blake's pl. only, "trimmed to the image, recently cleaned," illus. ($200). JCB, Oct. online cat., *The Romantics*, no entry no., original boards rebacked with cloth, available at the same price since 2012, binding illus. ($1500).

Novelist's Magazine, vols. 10-11 (*Sir Charles Grandison*), 1783. EB, Oct., 2 vols., contemporary calf, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £350); another copy, Nov., 2 vols., 19th-century half calf worn, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $412 or "best offer").

Olivier, *Fencing Familiarized*, 1780. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #5, uncut in original boards worn, modern clamshell box, illus. ("Sold"). Stride & Son auction, Chichester, 7 April, #192, "scattered foxing," half calf with "boards detached," il-

lus. (£177). BHL, 22 June, #85, modern pigskin worn, illus. (£609.60).

Remember Me! Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #247, [1825] for "1826," Blake's pl. lightly foxed and with a water stain in the right margin, "publisher's original printed yellow paper boards, no backstrip," illus. ($29,500); another copy, April online cat. for the NYBF, #2, [1824] for "1825," publisher's "original full brown calf" a little worn, illus. ($30,000). SL, 12-19 July online auction, #118, [1824] for "1825," Blake's pl. browned, half calf worn, illus. (no bids on an estimate of £1000-1500). The issue for 1826 is considerably rarer than the issue for 1825.

Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs*, 1783. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #19, 3 vols., contemporary calf rebacked, illus. ("Sold").

Salzmann, *Elements of Morality*, 1792. EB, Feb., 3 vols., lacking 2 unidentified pls., some pls. partly hand colored, contemporary half calf very worn, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £390); same copy, July, illus. (£402).

Scott, *Poetical Works*, 1782. More Booksellers, June online cat., 19th-century calf worn, illus. ($315.45, but "no longer available"). Raptis Rare Books, Aug. online cat., 19th-century calf, illus. ($375).

Shakespeare, *Dramatic Works*, 1802. Hindman auction, West Palm Beach, Florida, 8 Dec., 9 vols., "extensive foxing," later calf, bindings illus. (not sold; estimate $600-800).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #176, 10 vol. issue, contemporary Russia, illus. ($5750); #177, Blake's pl. 1 only, "some toning and spotting," illus. ($500). Lucius Books, Feb. online cat., 9 vol. issue, contemporary Russia, illus. (£1500). EB, March, 9 vol. issue, apparently lacking Blake's pl. 2, later calf very worn, some backstrips missing, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of £399.99); same copy, March, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £399.99 or "best offer"); another copy, Nov., 9 vols., contemporary calf worn, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £252).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805, prepublication proof of Blake's pl. 2. Alessandro Borgato, online cat. for Firsts: London's Rare Book Fair, 15-18 Sept., #10, with signatures but before all other letters on a leaf of wove paper 21.1 x 12.3 cm. (€1800; acquired by Windle and generously given to Essick on the occasion of his 80th birthday).

Stedman, *Narrative*, colored copies. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #111, 1796 ed., vol. 1 only, contemporary calf, illus. ($12,500); #113, 1806 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf repaired, illus. ($19,500); #115, 1813 ed., Blake's pls. 1, 3-5, 7, 12, 13, and 15 only, illus. ($2500). East Bristol online auction, 21-24 May, #4, 1806 ed., 2 vols., contemporary Russia worn, illus. (£6545). SWD, 23 Aug., #261, 1806 ed., 2 vols. in 1, modern half calf, illus. (£8125). Van de Wiele auction, 1 Oct., #1031, 1806 ed., 2 vols. in 1, colored pls. probably remainders from the 1796 printing, vellum binding, illus. (€10,400).

Stedman, *Narrative*, uncolored copies. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #112, 1796 ed., 2 vols., contemporary calf rebacked, bindings illus. ($7500); #114, 1813 ed., 2 vols. in 1, early boards rebacked in calf, illus. ($6750); #116, Blake's pls. 8, 9, and 11 only, illus. ($500). Potter & Potter auction, Chicago, 20 Oct., #0217, 1796 ed., 2 vols., "uncut" but with "some browning or spotting to plates" and marginal "dampstain" on a few pls. in vol. 1, contemporary half morocco, illus. ($3250). EB, Nov., 1806 ed., 2 vols., "some light toning and marginal staining," modern half calf, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £3950). Quinn's auction, Falls Church, Virginia, 29 Nov., #269, 1796 ed., 2 vols., some pls. heavily foxed, contemporary calf, illus. ($1524).

Varley, *Zodiacal Physiognomy*, 1828. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #259, 1st sts. of Blake's pls. 2-3, presentation inscription from Varley to Martin Archer Shee (1769–1850), "original boards, covers re-attached, plates cleaned," folding box, illus. ("Sold" in Feb. 2016 to Essick); #260, Blake's pl. 1 only, "cleaned," illus. ($1500).

Virgil, *Pastorals*, 1821. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #227, 2 vols., with a presentation inscription by the editor, Robert John Thornton, to his daughter, publisher's sheep a bit worn, modern box, illus. ($67,500); #228, 2 vols., modern calf, illus. ($47,500); #229, Blake's 17 wood engravings only, mounted in an album, bookplate of Samuel Boddington (1766–1843), very probably printed by Edward Calvert and sold to Boddington by John Linnell, illus. ("Sold" in 2021 by PHB to Essick, Windle acting as his agent); #520, Blake's 2nd wood engraving only, inserted in Essick and Windle, *A Troubled Paradise*, 1999, no. 2 of 13 copies with original prints, paper wrappers, cloth box ($3500). DW, 9 March, #181, vol. 1 only (containing Blake's 17 wood engravings), contemporary calf worn, illus. (£6480); same copy, SRB, Sept. online cat., illus. (£14,000); same copy and price, SRB, Dec. cat., #7, illus. Windle, April online cat. for the NYBF, #6, the copy with a presentation inscription to Thornton's daughter (see 1st entry above), illus. ($67,500).

For further information about the Calvert impressions from Boddington's collection and illus., see the 2021 sales review, *Blake* 55.4 (spring 2022): entry for Virgil wood engravings and illus. 7.

Virgil, *The Wood Engravings of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil*, 1977. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #230, publisher's box, illus. ($12,500); same copy and price, April online cat. for the NYBF, #7, illus. SBS, March cat., #12, publisher's box, illus. ($7529).

Whitaker, *The Seraph*, c. 1818–28. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #139, Blake's pl. only, 1st st., oddly described as being published in the "third edition," but the st. of the pl. indicates 1st ed. (*BB* #512A), illus. ($225).

Wit's Magazine, 1784–85. CW, 27 Jan., #41, 2 vols. in 1, with the 2nd version of Blake's frontispiece in the Jan. 1784 issue (*BB* pl. 2, *CB* pl. 1B), some worm damage to text but not pls., contemporary boards rebacked, illus. (£625). Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #20, 2 vols., with the 2nd version of Blake's frontispiece in the Jan. 1784 issue, contemporary calf worn, illus. ($3750); #21, 2 vols. in 1, with the 2nd version of Blake's frontispiece in the Jan. 1784 issue, contemporary boards with modern calf backstrip, illus. ($3750).

Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories*. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #74, 1791 ed., 2nd sts. of all pls., modern calf, illus. ($8750); #75, Blake's 6 pls. only, imprints trimmed off, 2nd sts. of pls. 1 and 2, 1st sts. of pls. 3-6, illus. ($3000); #76, 1796 ed., 3rd (final) sts. of all pls., contemporary calf worn, illus. ("Sold"). FM, 10 Feb., #138, 1791 ed., 2nd st. of pl. 1, sts. of other pls. not recorded but probably 2nd, modern calf, illus. (£2992). SBS, March cat., #9, 1791 ed., 2nd st. of pl. 1, sts. of other pls. not recorded but probably 2nd, full calf, "front cover repaired," slipcase, illus. ($5646).

Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797, colored copy. SL, 12-19 July online auction, #117, hand coloring added to 17 pls. (*BB* pls. 1-6, 8, 9, 12-20), pl. 11 in the 2nd st. of 2, lacking pp. 73-74 (and thus pl. 34) and the "Explanation" leaf, leaves 42.7 x 33.8 cm., short tears and repairs in some leaves, margins browned on most leaves, "19th century half black russia" worn, illus. (£25,200 to Windle in partnership with SRB). Shortly after acquisition, SRB disbound the vol., had the colored pls. professionally cleaned, and began offering them for sale individually. In Aug. I acquired pls. 3 and 12 from Windle before cleaning (see illus. 5). Not recorded in the census of colored copies in *BB* or *BBS*; recorded in Grant 1: 69, copy I-15.

According to Grant,

> if one were to suppose that quality of colour were the surest evidence of Blake's own responsibility for the tinting of a particular copy, this copy [I-15] would be judged the equal of I-1 [Yale Center for British Art, *BB* copy Q] and superior to any other Type I copy. It could indeed be theorized that Blake himself began colouring these sheets, then laid them aside where they were treated carelessly. (1: 55; see 1: 53-54 for the 2 "types" of hand coloring).

These statements lie behind the contention in the SL auction cat. that the coloring in this copy is "widely thought to be the work of Blake himself." Based on digital images of all colored pls., I agree that the coloring on some pls. in copy I-15 is "superior" to that displayed in other type I copies, but the palette is the same, many colors are similarly placed on the same motifs, and the style in which the washes are applied is within the range of other type I copies. If indeed this copy was colored by Blake, then all type I copies could be attributed to him. For type I copies with all pls. hand colored, see the *William Blake Archive*, <http://www.blakearchive.org/copy/bb515.2?descId=bb515.2.comb.01> (Huntington Library, *BB* copy I), and <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/?utf8=%E2%9C%93&search_field=all_fields&q=blake+young+night+thoughts> (Yale Center, *BB* copies N and Q). For a tentative attribution of the coloring in type I copies to Blake and his wife, Catherine, see the 2019 sales review, *Blake* 53.4 (spring 2020): illus. 2-4 and their captions.

Provenance of copy I-15: As in Grant 1: 69 to 1953; by descent to the vendor at SL from the English private collector who purchased the vol. from the London book dealer E. Seligman in 1953.

In early Nov. Windle provided me with the following prices and purchasers for individual pls. (6 pls. printed recto/verso):

Pls.	Price
1	$50,000, sold to a private collector
2	$35,000
3	Sold to Essick
4/5	$55,000, sold to a private French collector
6	$23,000, sold to a private collector
8	$37,500
9	$35,000, sold to the E. J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto
12	Sold to Essick
13/14	$75,000
15/16	$55,000, sold to a private French collector
17	$45,000, sold to the E. J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto
18	$35,000
19	$35,000
20	$15,000

In a Dec. update, Windle reported that the E. J. Pratt Library had acquired pl. 8.

Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797, uncolored copies. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #120, with the "Explanation" leaf, "very occasional toning and offsetting," later half morocco slightly worn, illus. ($15,000); #121-38, a selection of *Night Thoughts* pls. offered individually, all illus. ($1250 each).

5. Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797. Detail of pl. 12, area shown approximately 10.5 x 16.0 cm. Colored copy I-15 in Grant 1: 69. Essick collection.

This detail of the skeleton in the bottom right corner of the pl. shows the fine hand tinting typical of this copy. The bones are enhanced, in both color and volume, with touches of gray, black, and blue tints, the last perhaps hinting at lichens or moss. We might ask, "Can these bones live?" (Ezekiel 37:3). The trumpet (only its bell shown here) held by a descending angel of the resurrection offers an answer.

W. C. Baker Rare Books, May online cat., lacking the "Explanation" leaf, "scattered foxing," contemporary calf with modern morocco spine labels, illus. ($9000). Pierre Bergé & Associés auction, Paris, 20 June, #133, with the "Explanation" leaf and the bookplate of Paul Éluard (French poet, 1895–1952), "brown Russian leather," illus. (€5852; estimate €800-1200); same copy, SRB, Dec. cat., #6, illus. (£12,500). CL, 21 Oct., #81, with the "Explanation" leaf, some minor defects, contemporary calf, illus. (£2750).

Interesting Blakeana

John Quincy, *Pharmacopœia Officinalis & Extemporanea; or, a Complete English Dispensatory*, London, 1733. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #403, inscribed in brown ink on the title page "William Blake | his Book" ($49,500). Possibly a copy owned by Blake. For discussion and illus., see *Blake* 34.4 (spring 2001): 109, illus. 2 and its caption.

Jakob Böhme, *Works*, the so-called "Law edition," 1764–81. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #402, 4 vols., modern half calf ($22,500). EB, June, 4 vols., 19th-century half calf, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $23,125 or "best offer"). The ed. of Böhme known to Blake and perhaps owned by him—see his comment to Henry Crabb Robinson on the

beauty of the "figures" (i.e., illus.) in "Law's transl.ⁿ" (*BR*[2] 423).

Charles Augustus Tulk (1786–1849), friend and patron of Blake and John Flaxman. Cheffins auction, Cambridge, England, 13 Oct., #336, a collection of materials assembled by Tulk and other members of his family, including published engravings of J. Flaxman's designs and *Serena Viewing Herself in the Glass*, 1 of 2 versions of a watercolor by Maria Flaxman illustrating W. Hayley's *Triumphs of Temper*, many items illus. (£1369.50 to Justin Schiller of Battledore Ltd. for stock). Apparently the same Tulk family archive offered privately to Victoria University Library, Toronto, in Nov. 2018; see the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52. 4 (spring 2019). The design by M. Flaxman is not among Blake's engravings for the 1803 ed. of Hayley's poem. For further information on the unengraved illus., see *CB* p. 84 and Mark Crosby, "'a Ladys Book': Blake's Engravings for Hayley's *The Triumphs of Temper*," *Blake in Our Time: Essays in Honour of G. E. Bentley Jr.*, ed. Karen Mulhallen (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2010) 105-30.

George Crabbe, *Tales*. London: J. Hatchard, 1812. EB, March, signed in ink "WBlake" on the front free endpaper, contemporary quarter calf worn, illus. (no bids on a required minimum bid of $2000; "ended" 1 day after initial listing). Not the signature of the poet and artist.

Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, pub. W. Pickering, ed. Wilkinson, 1839. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #51, issue lacking "The Little Vagabond," publisher's cloth worn, illus. ($17,500).

Blake, *Songs of Innocence and Experience with Other Poems*, pub. B. Pickering, ed. Shepherd, 1866. Windle, April online cat. for the NYBF, #3, printing before the suppression of the fifth stanza of "Mary" (p. 90) and lines 113-14 of "Auguries of Innocence" (p. 100), full morocco, illus. ($1750).

Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Camden Hotten facsimile, [1868]. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #67, "original quarter green morocco …, good with occasional pages foxed or spotted as usual," illus. ($1750). PHB, March online cat., the copy "owned by the Pre-Raphaelite artist Ford Madox Brown (1821–1893)," scattered foxing, rebound in full calf, illus. (£2750).

Blake, *Works by William Blake … Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Editions*. [London: possibly Andrew Chatto], 1876. *BB* #368, *BBS* p. 169 (dating the publication to 1878, based on Chatto's records). Manhattan Rare Book Company, March online cat., with later hand coloring, "later calf with cloth centre panel," illus. ($25,000). The hand coloring of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* is based on copy Z; the coloring of *The Book of Thel* may be based on copy J. Previously sold BHL, 26 June 2019, #147, "hand-coloured throughout," illus. (£2550).

Dante Gabriel Rossetti, autograph letter signed to Frederic James Shields, 2 pp., datable to 21 May 1880. Duke's auction, Dorchester, 17 June, #92, with a reprint of Shields, "Blake's Work Room and Death Room and Rossetti's Sonnet," 1st published in *Manchester Quarterly* 29 (1910), both formerly in the collections of Kerrison Preston (1884–1974) and his son David Christopher Preston (1918–2014), illus. (£9259 to Windle acting for Essick; estimate £1000-2000). See illus. 6.

Blake, *Poems*, ed. W. B. Yeats, 1893. Between the Covers, Jan. online cat., small-paper issue, publisher's cloth worn, binding illus. ($400). Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #266, large-paper issue, publisher's quarter parchment ($650).

Blake, *Works*, ed. E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats, 1893. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #265, 3 vols., small-paper issue in publisher's "original green cloth with extensive gilt stampings" ($3750).

Blake, *The Book of Thel, Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience*, 1897. PHB, May online cat., with Blake, *Poetical Sketches*, 1899, both illus. Charles Ricketts, publisher's boards, illus. (£2500).

Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Liverpool: Henry Young and Sons, 1923. Windle, April online cat. for the NYBF, #4, hand-colored issue of this facsimile, modern half morocco, illus. ($5500).

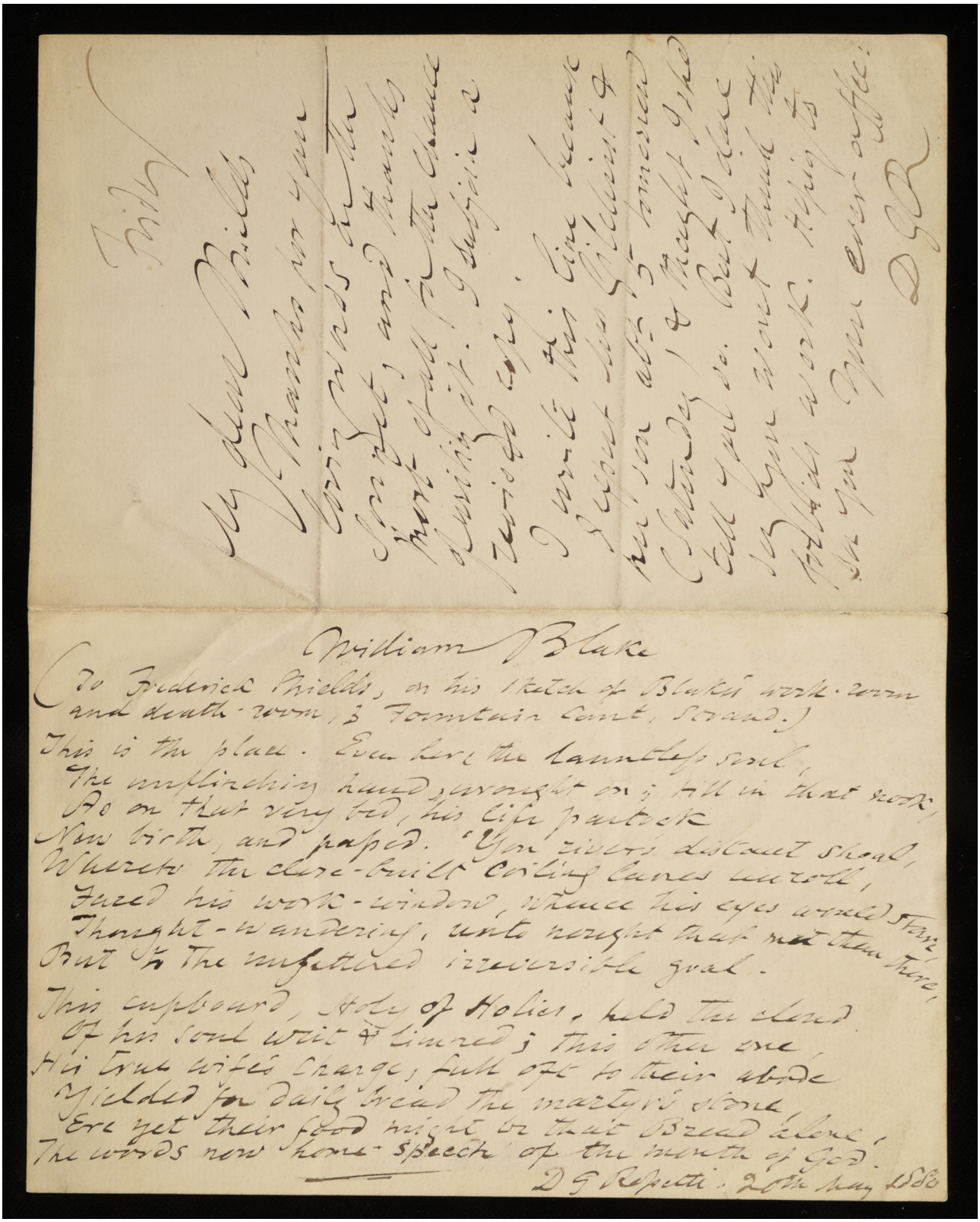
Laurence Binyon, autograph letter signed to "Dear Sir," 16 April 1925, 2 pp. Lasting Words, Jan. online cat., both pp. illus. (£225). Discusses Blake's Virgil wood engravings.

Jorge Luis Borges, autograph notebook about Blake, including quotations from his writings. Quarto, 4 pp., wrappers, datable to c. 1950. James Cummins, Jan. private offer ($40,000).

Leonard Baskin, *Blake and the Youthful Ancients*, wood engravings by Baskin, 1956. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #407, "stapled into wrappers" ($3750).

Blake, *Auguries of Innocence*, wood engravings by Baskin, 1959. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #406, publisher's wrappers ($1195).

Blake, *A Cradle Song*. Iowa City: Roberta Press, 1959. EB, March-April, publisher's wrappers, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of $200 or "best offer"; reduced to $160



William Blake

(To Frederick Shields, on his sketch of Blake's work-worn and death-worn, 3 Fountain Court, Strand.)

This is the place. Even here the dauntless soul,
The unflinching hand, wrought on; till in that work,
So on that very bed, his life partook
New birth, and passed. 'Yon rivers distant shoal,
Where the close-built coiling lanes unroll,
Faced his work-window, whence his eyes would stray
Thought-wandering, unto naught that met them there,
But to the unfettered irresistible goal.

This cupboard, holy of holies, held the blend
Of his soul-wit & tinct; this other one
His true wife's charge, left off to their end
Yielded for daily bread the mastic stone.
Ere yet their food might be that Bread alone,
The words now home-speech of the mouth of God.

D G Rossetti. 20th May 1868

6. (previous page) Dante Gabriel Rossetti, autograph letter signed to Frederic James Shields, 2 pp. on 2 leaves, datable to 21 May 1880. Laid paper, each leaf 18.0 x 11.5 cm. The letter includes a "revised copy" of Rossetti's sonnet "William Blake," a response to Shields's "sketch of Blake's work-room and death-room." Essick collection; photo courtesy of Duke's Fine Art Auctioneers.

Transcription:

[page 1, the recto of the 1st leaf]

Friday [21 May 1880]

My dear Shields
Thanks for your
loving words on the
sonnet, and thanks
most of all for the chance
of writing it. I subjoin a
revised copy.
I write this line because
I expect Mrs Gilchrist &
her son abt 5 tomorrow
(Saturday) & thought I shd
tell you so. But I dare
say you wont think this
forbids work. Hopi[n]g to
see you Your ever affect:
D G R

[page 2, the verso of the 2nd leaf]

William Blake
(To Frederick Shields, on his sketch of Blake's work-room and death-room, 3 Fountain Court, Strand.)

This is the place. Even here the dauntless soul,
The unflinching hand, wrought on; till in that nook,
As on that very bed, his life partook
New birth, and passed. 'Yon river's distant shoal,
Whereto the close-built coiling lanes unroll,
Faced his work-window, whence his eyes would stare,
Thought-wandering, unto nought that met them there,
But to the unfettered irreversible goal.

This cupboard, Holy of Holies, held the cloud
Of his soul writ & limned; this other one,
His true wife's charge, full oft to their abode
Yielded for daily bread the martyr's stone,
Ere yet their food might be that Bread alone,
The words now home-speech of the mouth of God.
D G Rossetti, 20th May 1880

The only substantive difference between the version of the poem in this letter and the one published by Rossetti in 1881 is the substitution of "dusky shoal" for "distant shoal" in the 4th line.[4] The standard edition of Rossetti's letters includes an error in the final line of the poem: "in the mouth of God" rather than "of the mouth of God."[5] For the textual history of the sonnet, see *The Complete Writings and Pictures of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. Jerome J. McGann, at <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/6-1880.raw.html> (accessed 19 June). For a study of the relationship between Rossetti's sonnet and the 5 traced versions of Shields's picture, see Essick, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Frederic Shields, and the Spirit of William Blake," *Victorian Poetry* 24.2 (summer 1986): 163-72.

4. *Ballads and Sonnets* (London: Ellis and White, 1881) 314.
5. *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. 9, ed. William E. Fredeman, completed by Roger C. Lewis, Jane Cowan, and Anthony H. Harrison (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010) 184.

or "best offer" and sold for $120 to Essick). Colophon, verso of 2nd (final) leaf: "Ninety copies of this pamphlet, handset in Arrighi Italic type, have been printed on Okawara and Venezia papers, with covers of Omi, by N.R.K., at the Typographic Laboratory in the School of Journalism, State University of Iowa." *BBS* p. 151, listed as not seen.

Blake, *Poems from William Blake's "Songs of Innocence,"* illus. Maurice Sendak, 1967. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #429, publisher's wrappers ($4250). PHB, Feb. online cat., publisher's wrappers, illus. (£1750). Bellmans auction, Billingshurst, West Sussex, 11 Oct., #212, publisher's wrappers, illus. (not sold; estimate £400-600).

Allen Ginsberg, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience by William Blake, Tuned by Allen Ginsberg*, vinyl record, 1969. Windle, Feb. cat. 70, #416, "folding paper sleeve with extra paper leaf, 4 interior pages of commentary and poetry. Signed 'Allen Ginsberg N.Y.C. 12/11/87… Allen Ginsberg Dec 14-15 1969 New York City — returned again from Chicago as defense wittness (sic), conspiracy trial,'" sleeve slightly worn ($500).

Blake, *Illustrations of the Book of Job*. London: Blake Trust, 1987. Bow Windows Bookshop, Nov. online cat. 214, #193, 4 portfolio boxes, John Commander's copy, 1 of 5 copies "containing extra material … specifically made up for those most closely concerned with bringing the publication to completion," half morocco (£13,500).

Blake, *The Tyger*, with 16 linocuts by Tiziana Romanin printed in colors. Milan: Il Buon Tempo, 2017. Windle, Feb. online cat., "oblong small folio," 1 of 30 copies, publisher's boards and slipcase, illus. ($1500).

Blake, *America* and *Europe*. "A Limited Edition of 16 plates of William Blake's *America a Prophecy* and *Europe a Prophecy* printed by Michael Phillips." Online cat., illus., at <https://www.williamblakeprints.co.uk/america-a-prophecy-europe-a-prophecy>, accessed 16 March 2023 (price on request). The pls. printed in "shades of blue ink" (*America*) and "shades of charcoal green ink" (*Europe*) from "replica relief-etched copper plates" on "hand made" paper, "each sheet … watermarked with Blake's initials." Each set in a "drop-back box containing … a bound pamphlet." "Limited to ten sets only," but "any one or more of the plates that have been made to print the Limited Edition sets can be printed separately to order."

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 pls., book illus.

CALVERT, EDWARD
Early drawings, paintings, and original graphics

"The Sheep of His Pasture," engraving, 2nd st. Catherine Burns Fine Art, June online cat., from the *Memoir*, 1893, illus. ($2900).

FLAXMAN, JOHN
Drawings and sculpture

See also Flaxman under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

Antony's Oration over the Dead Caesar. Pencil, ink, and wash, 22.2 x 33.7 cm., inscribed "J. Flaxman" and "death of Jul: Caesar" lower right, "Anthonys Oration" lower left, datable to c. 1768. LLY, March online cat., illus. (sold to a "Private Collection, USA"). For more information on this important early work, see the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52.4 (spring 2019).

FUSELI, HENRY
Drawings, paintings, and separate pls.

A Naked Warrior Repelling Soldiers. Pen and brown ink over pencil, 15.0 x 16.6 cm. SL, 6 July, #40, "a preliminary study for … *Percival Delivering Belisane from the Enchantment of Urma* (Tate Britain, London)," illus. (£7560).

A Nude Male Figure, Seated on a Step. Pencil, 19.3 x 19.3 cm., numbered "108". CL online auction, 10-24 March, #80, illus. (£12,600). Previously offered Martyn Gregory Gallery, May 2012 online cat., no item #, illus. (price on request).

Study of a Lady, Perhaps Lavinia de Irujo. Pencil, 20.9 x 17.0 cm., inscribed "S. H. July — 16". SNY, 26 Jan., #41, illus. ($39,375). Previously sold CL, 14 April 1992, #7, illus. (£4620); previously offered by Andrew Clayton-Payne, Oct. 2019 cat., #28, illus. (price on application). The 1992 auction cat. notes that "S. H." refers to Somerset House.

"The Dream," stipple engraving by Robert William Sievier of a miniature by Moses Haughton based on a painting by Fuseli, 1820. EB, July, color-printed proof before signatures and imprint but with the title and quoted verses in English and French, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of

€150). For illus. of a proof with more limited color printing, see the 2019 sales review, *Blake* 53.4 (spring 2020): illus. 8.

"Queen Katharine's Dream," stipple engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, 1788. EB, Dec., hand colored, title and imprint trimmed off, illus. (offered at the "buy it now" price of £295).

"Sin Pursued by Death," stipple engraving by Moses Haughton with aquatint by F. C. Lewis, 1804. BHL, 29 June, #395, with 3 engravings after Fuseli illustrating *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *The Tempest* from *A Collection of Prints … Illustrating … Shakspeare*, pub. Boydell, 1803, all framed and illus. (£637.50).

LINNELL, JOHN

Early drawings, paintings, letters, and original graphics

A Child in a Smock and Bare Feet. Watercolor, 12.7 x 10.2 cm., signed and dated 1815. AH, Oct. online cat. 530, #31, illus. (£225).

Head Studies, attributed to Linnell. Pencil and white chalk, 17.0 x 11.0 cm. EW, 23 June, #2013, "the sitter is thought to be … Samuel Palmer," framed, illus. (£750). I believe that the attribution is correct; probably an early work.

Picnic on Primrose Hill. Watercolor, 10.2 x 14.7 cm., initialed and dated "[18]14". Semley auction, Shaftesbury, Dorset, 17 Sept., #109, with an unattributed pen-and-ink drawing "of a ruined castle" that might also be an early work by Linnell, illus. (£158.60).

Portrait of Thomas Chevalier, attributed to Linnell. Watercolor, 20.3 x 15.9 cm., signed and dated Dec. 1816, in an elaborate frame. Henry Aldridge & Son auction, Devizes, Wiltshire, 17 Sept., #171, illus. (£216). I believe that the attribution is correct. Linnell engraved this portrait in 1825. Blake probably knew Chevalier—see *BR*(2) 68, 398n.

Self-Portrait of the Artist. Pencil, 17.0 x 5.5 cm. Dreweatts auction, Newbury, Berkshire, 26 May, #91, illus. (£1000). The subject would appear to be in his 20s.

Shepherds. Oil, 16.5 x 22.2 cm. LLY, March online cat., dating the work to "c.1820s," illus. (not priced).

Southampton from the River near Netley Abbey. Oil, 38.1 x 97.8 cm., signed and dated 1825. CL online auction, 1-15 Dec., #133, illus. (£20,160). One of Linnell's most important early paintings. See also the watercolor *Study* for this work, below.

Studies of a Wheelbarrow. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 10.4 x 16.0 cm., inscribed "1805". Guy Peppiatt Fine Art, June cat., #36, illus. (£750).

Study of a Shed. Black and white chalk on gray paper, 20.0 x 26.7 cm., signed, datable to c. 1805–10. Guy Peppiatt Fine Art, June cat., #37, illus. (£1200).

Study of a Sleeping Baby. Pencil, leaf 19.5 x 24.5 cm., signed. DW, 9 March, #160, dated to "circa 1820," illus. (£144). Previously offered DW, 13 Oct. 2021, #145, illus. (not sold; estimate £150-200). Possibly Linnell's first son, also John, born in 1821.

Study of Southampton from the River near Netley Abbey. Watercolor, 16.2 x 49.3 cm., signed and dated 1814. CL, online auction, 1-15 Dec., #135, illus. (£4032). See also the oil painting of *Southampton*, above.

Trees by a River (*Possibly the Thames at Millbank*). Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 15.0 x 23.0 cm., inscribed "John Linnell" on the verso in pencil. EW, 9 Dec., #4079, illus. (not sold; estimate £100-200); 5 Jan. 2023, #371, illus. (£26). Probably an early work.

View of a Country House. Watercolor, 10.0 x 17.0 cm. Keys Fine Art auction, Aylsham, Norfolk, 18 Feb., #369, illus. (not sold; estimate £10-20). Probably an early work.

Wales; "In the old road from Beddgelert to Ffestiniog." Chalk drawing on brown paper, 20.3 x 14.0 cm. AH, March cat. 524, #27, illus. (£275). Probably drawn while on a tour of North Wales in 1813.

Autograph letter signed. Two pp., dated 6 Dec. 1869 to "Dear Sir". Eureka Books, Feb. online cat., illus. ($75). Discusses Linnell's engraving "The Journey to Emmaus," published in 1839.

"Thomas Robert Malthus," portrait of. Mezzotint, 1834. CW, 15 July, #224, illus. (not sold; estimate £150-250).

PALMER, SAMUEL

Drawings, paintings, and manuscripts. With the exception of *A View of Redhill*, the attributions to Palmer of drawings sold at EW on 23 June are questionable.

Back of the Post Office, Trevenna, Cornwall. Pencil, 7.0 x 15.0 cm., dated "Sep. 1875". EW, 23 June, #2012, with a drawing "depicting Egloshayle Church," also dated "1875" and attributed to Palmer, 4.2 x 16.2 cm., both illus. (£650).

Lynton. Charcoal drawing, 17.0 x 25.5 cm., inscribed with the title and dated "September 17th 1850", verso study of a bridge, pencil. EW, 23 June, #2032, both illus. (£780).

A View of Redhill. Pencil, 10.0 x 20.0 cm., inscribed "Redhill" and dated "June 24th 1872". EW, 23 June, #2033, illus. (£2470). Illus. in Carlos Peacock, *Samuel Palmer: Shoreham and After* (London: John Baker, 1968) 67.

A Watermill. Watercolor, 11.0 x 19.0 cm. EW, 23 June, #2024, with *View of a Stream*, pencil and chalk, 16.5 x 25.0 cm., both inscribed "Samuel Palmer" on verso, both illus. (£546).

Palmer, Notebook, 1865–66. EW, 23 June, #2035, "contains extensive diary notes with approximately 12 accompanying graphite drawings," illus. (£3900; estimate £600-800).

Charles Dickens, autograph letter signed to Palmer, 22 April 1846, 1 p. FM, 10 Feb., #60, the body of the letter reads, "If you can spare me the little work containing the published letters I shall be much obliged to you, as I wish to refer to it," illus. (£1632). This brief letter is probably associated with Palmer's work illustrating Dickens's *Pictures from Italy*, 1846.

RICHMOND, GEORGE
Early drawings, paintings, and original graphics

Figures Kneeling over a Child. Pen and ink, 21.0 x 17.8 cm. Parker Fine Art online auction, Farnham, Surrey, 8 Sept., #25, illus. (not sold; estimate £120-180); 15 Dec., #608, illus. (£100). Probably an early drawing.

Portrait Sketch of a Little Girl Standing by a Piano, attributed to Richmond. Pen and ink, 11.0 x 7.0 cm. EW, 23 June, #2034, framed, illus. (£525). I believe that the attribution is correct; possibly an early work.

A Sleeping Wayfarer. Watercolor, 13.2 x 11.4 cm., signed with monogram and dated 1830. DW, 19 Oct., #245, illus. (£11,400).

Appendix: New Information on Blake's Engravings

Listed below are substantive additions or corrections to Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (1983).

P. 106, "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour," impression 2L. For updated provenance information and illus., see under Separate Plates and Plates in Series, above, and illus. 3.

Pp. 134-35, "The Fall of Rosamond," 2nd st. For a previously unrecorded impression, see under Separate Plates and Plates in Series, above.

A R T I C L E

Prophet against Empire? William Blake in Australia

By Alexis Harley, Claire Knowles, and Chris Murray

Alexis Harley (a.harley@latrobe.edu.au) is the author of *Autobiologies: Charles Darwin and the Natural History of the Self*, and lectures in literary studies at La Trobe University. Recent research asks how Romantic aesthetic and literary culture was transformed in the natural-history writing of the nineteenth century and beyond, and how literary aesthetics materially impacted colonial environments.

Claire Knowles (c.knowles@latrobe.edu.au) is a senior lecturer at La Trobe University. She is the author of *Sensibility and Female Poetic Tradition, 1780–1860: The Legacy of Charlotte Smith*, and the editor, with Ingrid Horrocks, of *Charlotte Smith: Major Poetic Works*. She has published widely on the female poets of the Romantic period, and is currently finishing a book on women, Della Cruscan poetry, and the fashionable newspaper in the eighteenth century.

Chris Murray (chris.murray@monash.edu) is senior lecturer in Literary Studies at Monash University. He has published extensively on aspects of transcultural exchange in Romantic literature, including his books *Tragic Coleridge* (2013) and *China from the Ruins of Athens and Rome* (2020). He has also published a memoir, *Crippled Immortals* (2018).

1 SINCE the posthumous revival of William Blake (beginning in the 1860s, consolidated in the twentieth century), his identification with England, and more particularly with London, has been complicated by his appeal to cultural groups that are themselves ambivalent, at best, in their relationship to empire. While scholarship has increasingly attended to Blake's dialogues with and receptions outside the Anglosphere,[1] the radically countercultural artist and son of a hosier has simultaneously been assimilated into the iconography of mainstream Englishness. This has been nowhere more evident than in England itself, where he is quoted by politicians of all political persuasions and has been made the subject of blockbuster exhibitions in major institutional venues. For example, the trailer for the 2019–20 Tate exhibition projects Blakean imagery onto iconic scenes and sites of contemporary London, updating and appropriating Golgonooza for the age of the London Eye.[2] At the same time, and in ways somewhat truer to his own practices, Blake has been celebrated as a kind of patron saint by London-based small presses and outsider artists and writers. Beyond England, complex and sometimes inapposite ideological allegiances have been contracted on his behalf from the nineteenth century onwards. In this essay, we turn to the reception, reproduction, and revisioning of Blake in the settler colonies of Australia, and we find a Blake whose work, mediated through a range of editorial and curatorial lenses, proves unexpectedly amenable to conflicting Australian desires both to affirm cultural fealty to England and empire and to refuse it.

2 Blake's posthumous allegiances and mésalliances are complicated not only by his fluctuating reputation but also by what England and London themselves signify at any given moment. David Erdman's 1954 study positions him as a *prophet against empire*. Yet for Commonwealth (and before 1931, imperial) subjects outside of England, Blake was, among other things, cartographer of the empire's center, a status that problematizes his self-avowed anti-imperial stance. Many Commonwealth subjects, governed by Anglophone institutions working uphill to naturalize English culture in colonized places, know this revolutionary Romantic outsider-artist because of, and often in terms of, his Englishness. But though the colonies of Australia were under English rule, and its colonial institutions—such as its first universities—participated actively in an ideological program of Anglicization, these colonies were not populated solely by English-born subjects. Far from it: First Peoples outnumbered European colonists until the mid-nineteenth century, by which point forced transportees from Ireland became a substantial minority. They were joined by voluntary migrants from all continents, along with other coerced migrants, like the South Sea Islanders abducted for farm work from the 1860s. By the end of the nineteenth century the most vocal proponents against empire and for Australian nationhood were mostly not English identifying at all. For them, an anti-imperial Blake who could be by any means detached from his Englishness had significant appeal.

1. Significant attention to Blake and the non-English-speaking world is evident, for example, in the range of studies at the 2022 Global Blake conference, <https://globalblake.zoamorphosis.com>, but this attention has a long history (see, for instance, Malmqvist).
2. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7EPXc5K7DA>.

3 The alignment of Blake both with and against empire plays out in the context of Australia's first (long) century as a nation. This is a period in which the entanglement of English and Australian identities was profoundly transformed. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, white inhabitants of the six British colonies in Australia, many of whom were now native born, intensified a movement for federation and nationhood. This movement coincided with the publication of the late-Victorian books that began to bring Blake to a wider audience: William Muir's facsimiles of 1884–90, the second edition of Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake* (1880), and, crucially, Edwin John Ellis and William Butler Yeats's *The Works of William Blake* (1893). It is merely a coincidence that the first positive signs of Blake's canonization took place just as a new nation was doing the initial work of curating its cultural identity, discussing republicanism, reckoning with (which meant largely disavowing) the existence of indigenous landowners, and renegotiating its relationship to empire. Blake was not yet Erdman's prophet against empire, but had been interpreted influentially by Yeats as the arch-symbolist, "content to express every beautiful feeling that came into his head without troubling about its utility or chaining it to any utility" (Yeats 113). Yet the coincidence of Blake's rehabilitation and Australian nation-building meant that the radical figure who also stood for England and "Englishness" became available to "Australians" (a word that only came to be widely used to refer to non-Aboriginal inhabitants in the period of heightened nationalism from the 1880s), and particularly to Australians meditating on their ambivalent feelings about empire and Englishness. Moreover, precisely because of Blake's implication in the very empire that he prophesied against, attempts to deploy him as a token of Englishness—in order to bring about changes in the arts, or to promote an imperial patriotism—tended to produce unexpected consequences.

Toward Federation (1901)

4 With English colonization came English books. Given the number of commercial commissions undertaken by Blake between the 1780s and 1820s, it is not surprising that among these English books were some to which he had contributed engravings. The first of these, indeed, began trickling into the colonies of Australia from as early as the 1830s. By the 1850s, Australia's first public libraries and universities were being established, and Blake's commercial illustrations were finding their way onto publicly accessible shelves. We know, for instance, that the Melbourne Public Library acquired the 1805 edition of John Flaxman's *Iliad of Homer*, including three prints by Blake, and the 1817 edition of Flaxman's *Compositions from the Works Days and Theogony of Hesiod*, with all thirty-seven engravings by Blake (see Gregory).

5 Blake does not seem to have become much recognized in Australia as an artist in his own right until later in the century, in a trend consistent with his revival in England. But once his reputation was in full bud, around the 1890s, he was conscripted into discussions underscored by anxiety about national identity. The motives behind these appropriations of Blake's name can be elusive. In May 1897, a review reprinted in the literature-focused "Red Page" of the *Bulletin*, then a highly influential nationalist journal, wended its way to the idea of Edward Gibbon as a visionary architect of history by throwing out this casual and apparently superfluous allusion to Blake: "Among the visionary persons who presented themselves to William Blake was the man who built the Pyramids" (Dowden). While it seems highly unlikely that any Australian reader would have seen *The Man Who Built the Pyramids*, one of the drawings from the Visionary Heads series, quite a number would have encountered the reproduction in Gilchrist's *Life* (300), the 1880 edition of which was by now lodged in public institutions including the library of the University of Sydney, the Public Library of New South Wales (now State Library of New South Wales), and the Melbourne Public Library (now State Library Victoria).

6 By 1897, the *Bulletin* had reached a particularly heady point in what was essentially a "debate about the nature of Australia and the role of literature in shaping a colonial society" (Nesbitt). On 27 February, storywriter and bush poet Henry Lawson had published an untitled column in the Red Page attacking other Australian writers for their failure to render realistically the hellscapes of the so-called "Out-Back," a failure that he felt retarded the development of a national identity. Lawson, who by March had given up on Australia and moved to New Zealand, had fired a shot that would see the Red Page overrun by responses for months. The aforementioned review by Edward Dowden of new editions of Gibbon's autobiography and letters, which begins with the reference to the English Blake, took up precious column inches in what seems at first a pointed diversion from the Red Page's all-dominating debate about the emerging nation and its homegrown literature. Readers about to divest themselves of British colonial government may well have perceived an allegorical edge to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Gibbon could be read—as Blake later would be—as a prophet, if not against empire, then certainly warning of its vulnerabilities. The review was perhaps not so entirely off topic for an avowedly nationalist periodical just four years before federation. Nor was its web of connections to countercultural English figures (with Blake foregrounded in the first sentence) irrelevant to the *Bulletin*'s advocacy of an Australianism at the center of which was a population of antiauthoritarian ex-Britons and Irish (see Moore).

7 Blake was a topic of considerable interest in post-federation Australia. Discussion of the artist and his works often accorded with trends in his reception elsewhere in the English-speaking world at that time. Texts from *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* were reprinted frequently in Australian newspapers, journals, and magazines in the early twentieth century. His supposed madness was the subject of much debate in the papers, with the wonderfully named *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers' Advocate* devoting a paragraph to the topic "Was Blake Eccentric?" in 1907. "The reasons put forward for considering William Blake, poet, painter, and engraver, a literary eccentric," it concludes, "do not appear to us so well founded." Commentators expounded upon William and Catherine Blake's happy relationship. The *Maitland Daily Mercury* followed the Victorian adoption of the Blakes as a paradigm of domestic harmony when it claimed that Catherine "was capable of so ardent a worship for her husband that all the longings of her warm nature seemed to become fused at once into a desire for his good." Public lectures on the poet also seem to have been popular. William Mitchell, for example, adopted a Yeatsian perspective in a lecture on Blake's "symbolic style which taxed the understanding of the keenest intellect" to a large (and, it seems, rather bemused) audience at Glen's Hall in Melbourne on 26 November 1908 ("The Mystical Blake"). A defrocked Church of England priest, Douglas Price, offered a lecture on "Blake and Other Visionaries" to the Modernist Society of Brisbane in 1916. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Blake was in the air and in the libraries of Australia, and in 1918 he would make his way to one of the wealthiest art galleries in the world, more than ten thousand miles from London.

The Felton Bequest

8 In 1989, the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) acquired what might seem a rather obscure piece of Blakeana, a colored copy of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797).[3] According to Michael J. Tolley, these engravings were probably the first Blake work to be brought to the colony of New South Wales, when their owner, the jurist William à Beckett, arrived in 1837. à Beckett later became the chief justice of Victoria, and his copy of *Night Thoughts* accompanied him to Melbourne, where it remained when he returned to England. Its next recorded owner was Alfred Felton (1831–1904), from whose estate it was sold to another private interest (see Tolley for further details). Meanwhile, Felton had done something that would profoundly transform the relationship between Blake and the Melbourne public.

9 A pharmaceutical mogul, Felton left a will that dedicated £383,163 "to art and charity, with half of the interest earned to be used in perpetuity to buy works for the National Gallery of Victoria."[4] The Felton Bequest "transformed the NGV into one of the most lavishly endowed public galleries in the British Empire with greater funds at its disposal than London's National Gallery and the Tate combined" (Mangan). The immensely wealthy NGV was thus armed to make the first major attempt to bring Blake to Australia, in 1918.

10 Felton's bequest was motivated, allegedly, by his desire to bring culture to a rapidly growing British outpost: "He believed Australians had more than their share of material comforts; what they lacked, in his opinion, were the refining influences of the Old World. In his lifetime there was not one great masterpiece in the whole country" (Flowers 8). Much of the NGV's impressive collection of Australian and international art is a direct result of the generosity of the bequest; the Blake purchases in 1918 included thirty-six of 102 watercolors illustrating the *Divine Comedy*, two watercolors illustrating Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the set of twenty-two engravings to the book of Job, and three prints from Blake's prophetic books. The purchase in 1989 of *Night Thoughts*, and, the previous year, of a copy of *Songs of Innocence*, reaffirmed the commitment to Blake.

11 As detailed in a useful essay by Irena Zdanowicz, the NGV's first Blake purchase was a cooperative venture. The wartime economy meant that no British bidder could afford the entire Dante set, part of the Blake holdings being sold by Christie's on behalf of the Linnell family. Melbourne was considered to be an acceptable destination for some of the watercolors, at the expense of American bidders. It is striking that the collector Charles Ricketts equated the purchases for the Tate and the NGV when he wrote, shortly after the sale, that "it would have been a scandal and a disaster had the set left the country" (quoted in Zdanowicz 13). Krzysztof Cieszkowski's article on the dispersal of the illustrations emphasizes Herbert Linnell's anxiety about the loss of the Linnell collection to America, in particular (166). Yet Ricketts was also agitated about the possibility that some of the Dante series might make its way to Liverpool, which had, he wrote ambiguously, "behaved badly" (quoted in Cieszkowski 167). Hence the NGV was able to purchase twelve of the thirty shares in the set, and the Felton Bequest's agent, Robert Ross, had first pick of the drawings

3. See G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 273 (copy Y).

4. Fittingly, funds from the bequest contributed to the purchase eighty-five years later of the copy of *Night Thoughts* owned by à Beckett and Felton.

(most of the remainder went to the National Gallery of British Art—later the Tate—the British Museum, and galleries at Birmingham and Oxford), a total purchase of 7300 guineas. The division of the set indicates Melbourne's wealth (built up in the nineteenth-century gold rush) and its significance to the empire at the turn of the century; it was the capital of Australia until 1927. One Blake scholar congratulated Charles Aitken of the Tate on the outcome of the dispersal, which would benefit "the Nation—and Empire" (quoted in Cieszkowski 169). The Blake purchases heralded the NGV's entrance on the scene as a gallery of world-class significance, with Melburnians able to study the artist's illustrations in all of their deeply saturated beauty just as they might have done in London. No longer did you need to be at the center of the empire to have direct access to its treasures.

Blake's Twentieth-Century Acolytes

12 While the NGV's major purchases can be read as statements that asserted Melbourne's cultural significance on the international scene, Ann Galbally notes that they also served a domestic purpose: there was in Australia

> a general recognition that public museums, libraries and art galleries formed cornerstones of civic endeavour and were active conductors of sound civic values. No 19th-century city of reasonable size could be considered worthy of the name unless it had these institutions and through them was seen to be an active patron of science and the liberal arts. (10)

Felton's original intentions for the bequest accord with such a philosophy of cultural influence. Twentieth-century commentators explicitly identified the educative possibilities of the Blake collection with the propagation of a recognizably British form of art in Australia. In a 1941 essay, Daryl Lindsay (1889–1976)—then a curator at the NGV—emphasizes Blake's nationality as if it was his most important characteristic. "He [Blake] is essentially English," he writes, "and I doubt if any other country could have produced him" (44). The same year, the NGV loaned forty of its Blake works to the National Art Gallery of New South Wales, as it was then called, enabling the collection to exert an influence beyond Melbourne.

13 In her recent comments on Blake's European reception, Sibylle Erle introduces a discussion of the translations and of types of individual creative responses that occur when an aspect of the original work resonates with a foreign culture. From Lindsay's assessment of Blake's essential Englishness and the NGV's strategy as outlined by Galbally, one might infer that the NGV hoped that the Blake collection would perpetuate a particular kind of art in Australia. Felton himself, as noted, appears to have wanted a ventriloquism of English art to occur in Australian art. It is unclear how he supposed this influence would manifest itself: whether a set of Australian works would arise that encoded imperial identity, celebrated English themes, or perpetuated a recognizably English aesthetic; or whether he felt simply that a display of critically acclaimed art would inspire the production of more critically acclaimed art.

14 But the critical acclaim of Blake was not universal in the early twentieth century and—long prior to the NGV's acquisition of its first Blake holdings—some Australian commentators opined that he was ill suited to instrumentalist purposes. A 1902 essay in the *Bulletin* queries how he would have viewed the new century: "What [would Blake behold] in England and throughout the British Empire, but a recrudescence of all the throne-worship and consequent tyrannous suppression of human right and national spirit which bore him down, too, in his own time?" (F. M.) Implying that dissent is the true Blakean inheritance, the author discusses Walt Whitman as Blake's "soul son and heir [*sic*]." In a 1929 article, Ethel Anderson implies that any attempt to use Blake as a model for imitation—particularly with jingoistic undertones—is inevitably self-defeating because of his oblique relation to subject matter. She may have Felton in mind when she distinguishes between the minds of "an artist … able to give material being to the unconscious" and "an art-patron … without the creative faculty." If the patron is to influence Australian art, she writes, it cannot result in innovation, but can only "keep art in familiar and merely national grooves." Hence, Anderson complains that Australian art has become "*a dialect*" of English art rather than "*a language*" of its own. Response to Blake within the NGV was ambivalent too. As Zdanowicz notes, the gallery declined to purchase more of Blake's work when Sotheby's sold the Macgeorge collection in 1924. Amid the early mixed critical reception of the Blake collection, a contingent of NGV trustees regretted the freedom afforded to their agent, Ross, in London in 1918 (Zdanowicz 14-15). Coinciding with Lindsay's curatorship and then directorship of the NGV, opinion on the Blake collection became more consistently favorable during the 1940s, both in Australia generally and within the gallery itself.

15 Diverse kinds of Blakean influence are evident in Australian art, many examples of which appear to defy the hopes of the Felton Bequest to inculcate the conservative values of the Old World. Such artists often respond instead to Blake's spirituality and radicalism. For example, Margaret Preston (1875–1963) introduces her monotypes as influenced by Blake's printing procedure, but not by any other elements of his work: "The Monotypes … do not presume to have any relation to his work; it is the principle in the method that is the connection." She explains that she has used her Blakean

method to portray subjects derived from "a general study of Australian Aboriginal Art" (10). Perhaps inevitably, Blakean tropes occur in Preston's work, despite her suggestion to the contrary here. In *The Expulsion* (1952) (illus. 1), for example, a white angel clutching a scourge in one hand and a sword in the other oversees the dismissal of two Aboriginal figures, an image that alludes to the expulsion scene from *Paradise Lost*. Preston's "Adam" and "Eve" (smiling lovingly at her nursing baby) have been cast out of a padlocked enclosure. Interestingly, the image more closely resembles Blake's *Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve* (illus. 2), one of the illustrations to *Paradise Lost* housed in the NGV's Blake collection, than it does his *Expulsion*, not part of the NGV's collection. Blake's presiding white-winged angel is the antinomian Satan, who inhabits a similar position of oversight in relation to Blake's Adam and Eve figures as Preston's authoritarian angel does to the two people driven from their traditional home.

16 Michael Griffith identifies Arthur Boyd (1920–99) as Blakean in "daring to connect religious themes to contemporary social realities" (81). Boyd, like Blake, frequently adopts Old Testament subjects in relation to his social critiques. His painting titled *The Expulsion* (1947–48) (illus. 3) portrays the disruption of domestic privacy under the tyranny of a looming authoritarian figure, with Adam and Eve's expulsion from Eden typically read as an image of family life lost during World War II. Peter Otto identifies more specific dialogues with Blake in Boyd's series of Nebuchadnezzar illustrations. Here Boyd responds to portrayals of Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 642–562 BCE) in Blake's Notebook, the large color print, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *There is No Natural Religion*, and the *Night Thoughts* illustrations. As a Western presence on a recognizably Australian landscape, Boyd's Nebuchadnezzar evokes the intent—both of British colonialism and of America's war in Vietnam—to order the other. Otto reminds us that the conventional tropes of an enlightened Europe and a sensuous Orient could represent, respectively, the opposition of mind and body; he finds that, "for both Blake and Boyd, escape from the cycle that enslaves Nebuchadnezzar and that holds the West in agonistic struggle with its imagined others involves embrace rather than division" (270). Other Australian artists are comparably syncretic rather than singular in their responses to Blake.

17 Like Boyd's work, the William Ricketts Sanctuary exemplifies the assimilation of Blakean influence into an eclectic—and eccentric—vision. An appraisal from 1949 is appreciative of the sculpture garden that Ricketts (1898–1993) established in rural Victoria:

> He combines … mythical figures with reproductions of aborigines …, and displays them in their natural bushland settings. … All his works are in white clay and are kiln-dried in his own furnace. Although he is self-taught, Ricketts' art has obviously been strongly influenced by the English mystic and artist William Blake. There is poesy in his creations. ("Art Gallery" 22)

The writer portrays Ricketts as a crusader who wishes to save the environment and its indigenous peoples: "He thinks these fast-diminishing people could be induced to settle there and encouraged to perpetuate their native crafts and culture" (22). Later critiques intimate misdirected Blakean influences in Ricketts's derivation of a philosophy—one centered on Romantic preoccupations of nature, childhood, and the noble savage paradigm—that he projected onto a generalized vision of Aboriginal peoples. Marcia Langton and Bruno David argue that "Ricketts' vision of a world at peace and in balance with Nature is presented allegorically as an imagined world of variously, the Pitjantjatjara, Luritja and 'Arunta' [a term for the Arrernte peoples], conflating, appropriating and denying Aboriginality in the process." At heart, they write, his is a "highly personal religious statement" (153). Comparably, Mitchell Rolls, lamenting Ricketts's condescending attitudes and sense of heroism while acknowledging his well-intentioned advocacy for Aboriginal peoples, paints a picture of a Blakean persona who spent most of his life as a solitary artist, only tenuously connected to contemporary debate on art.

18 Such artists implicitly reject the imperial ideologies behind the NGV's Blake acquisitions; Englishness is objectionable in such works. It is clear that few artists were interested in Blake's national identity and more found interest in his social critiques, his spirituality, and his artistic method. This understanding of Blake as somehow transcending national identity seems to persist in the Blake Prize for Religious Art, founded in Sydney in 1949 by Richard Morley, a Jewish migrant, lawyer, artist, and art dealer, and Michael Scott, a Jesuit priest, theologian, and then principal of a preparatory school. In an Australia in which Catholicism was still associated with Irishness and Protestantism with Englishness, the founders' religious affiliations suggest a distinct lack of concern for Blake's connection with England, their ecumenicism perhaps invigorated by a reading of *All Religions are One*, which places Judaism and Christianity (apparently in all its guises) on an even footing. In offering an account of religion as poetic genius, *All Religions are One* supplies the rationale for a religious art revival. According to Rosemary Crumlin, the founding committee of the Blake Prize located their model for such a revival in the little church of Notre-Dame de Toute Grâce at Assy in the French Alps, where artists "disparate in style and religious allegiance" offered a welcome alternative to the kitsch,

1. Margaret Preston, *The Expulsion* (1952). Color stencil, gouache on thin black card with gouache hand coloring, 60.5 x 48.5 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, gift of Mr. W. G. Preston, 1967. Image © Art Gallery of New South Wales. DA64.1967. © Copyright Agency. Licensed by Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York, 2023.

2. William Blake, *Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve* (1822). Pen and ink and watercolor over traces of black chalk, with gum and stippling and sponging, 52.8 × 39.0 cm. (sheet). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest, 1920. 1025-3. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

3. Arthur Boyd, *The Expulsion* (1947–48). Oil on hardboard, 101.6 x 122.0 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, purchased 1986. Image © Art Gallery of New South Wales. 38.1986. Arthur Boyd's work reproduced with the permission of Bundanon Trust, <https://www.bundanon.com.au>.

mass-produced "art of Saint Sulpice" that had come to dominate churches of all denominations in Australia (3).

19 Quite what constituted "religious art" proved a source of tension from the prize's first iteration, in 1951. Few of the entrants, as Crumlin notes, "created their entries to function either as adjuncts to liturgical worship or as devotional objects even in the years when they hoped for sales and commissions in the churches" (4). In 2009, the socially conservative Cardinal George Pell attacked the prize, describing individual entries as "kitsch," "anti-religious," "gross," and "only vestigially connected with religious understanding" (Schwartzkoff). Zoe Alderton notes that although Blake should be well known as a critic of religious institutions, "many outraged respondents to the Blake Prize's contentious entries complain that incendiary imagery is offensive to Blake and his legacy" (68n8). She quotes a commenter named "Marg" who weighed in on a Catholic news site's account of 2011's batch of "offensive" entries; Marg mourned that "Blake must be turning in his grave over and over again" at the association of his name with depictions of queer Christ figures.

The New Jerusalem

20 For many white Australians, as for many in England, the most common access point to Blake for the first half of the twentieth century was "Jerusalem," Hubert Parry's anthem of 1916, which transformed two little-known verses from Blake's *Milton a Poem* into a staple of hymnals. Regardless of Parry's intentions (he was, Jim Drury claims, both anti-war and "a left-leaning liberal humanist"), and certainly regardless of Blake's intentions, "Jerusalem" was rapidly co-opted to do ideological work for Englishness and English institutions—both politically progressive (after it was sung at a women's suffrage demonstration concert in 1918, Parry agreed that it could become the anthem of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; see Dibble 485) and less so (it keeps company at the BBC Proms, annually aired by ABC—the Australian national broadcaster—with "Rule, Britannia!," "Land of Hope and Glory," and the British national anthem). If Parry's version of Blake's verses was eventually reclaimed to its radical origins by Billy Bragg's immensely popular 1990 cover, its association with this Essex-born activist musician, with his distinctive, rough-around-the-edges London accent, does nothing to detach it from the idea of England and Englishness. Indeed, for Bragg, Blake is one of England's radical glories, standing alongside "Thomas Paine, George Orwell and the Sex Pistols" (quoted in Hargreaves 16). Jason Whittaker observes that, in the twenty-first century, "Jerusalem" is still being used for political purposes, whether these be "spectacular and liberal," as in the case of the London Olympics opening ceremony, or "private and reactionary," as in some of the responses "seen on social media following the EU referendum" (382).

21 Blake's demand that we not rest "till we have built Jerusalem, / In Englands green & pleasant Land" might be heard as a call to arms against labor exploitation in the "dark Satanic Mills" of the Industrial Revolution, and it undoubtedly draws on the distinctive connotations of the "New Jerusalem" for Swedenborgians. But it is also, despite some of the uses to which Parry's hymn has been put, entirely apiece with Blake's anti-imperialism. The New Jerusalem was a recurring trope among English colonists. The Puritan figuring of "New England" as the New Jerusalem (see Richmann), from the seventeenth century on, gave a kind of theological imprimatur to English appropriation of Algonquin lands, an appropriation that would eventually lead to the production of slave-grown cotton to feed the mills of England. To build Jerusalem in England, on the other hand, meant sparing the existing Jerusalem, then under Ottoman rule. It also meant not taking charge of America (the British colonization of which Blake attacks repeatedly in his work), or indeed of the nascent colony of New South Wales.

22 The often violent dispossession of indigenous people in New South Wales does not figure in Blake's work (unlike the plight of enslaved and indigenous people in America). However, his engraving of four Aboriginal people—"A Family of New South Wales," based on a sketch by Philip Gidley King, the lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Island, and published in John Hunter's *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (1793)—portrays them sympathetically. Cathy Leahy notes that Blake "introduced a number of changes in his engraving" of King's sketch, "altering the positioning and gait of the figures to create a more harmonious design and reworking the figural and facial features of the group, classicising them according to the eighteenth-century ideal of the 'noble savage'" (12-13).

23 White Australians' disavowal of Aboriginal sovereignty over the land they came to claim as their own was further entrenched in the early decades of federation. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 (later the White Australia policy), coinciding with the year of federation, officially obtained until 1958. Aboriginal people were excluded from the national census until 1971, and not until 1984 were indigenous Australians required to enroll to vote and vote in elections, signifying full Australian citizenship (voting is mandatory in Australia). The White Australia policy was, as the name indicates, a system of institutional racism that denied citizenship to indigenous people and excluded migrants on the basis of race. It was strenuously supported by labor activists, partly in response to the use of low-wage (and often bonded) Pacific Islanders to undercut working conditions in Queensland.

24 By the middle of the twentieth century, this kind of white nationalism was increasingly irrelevant to the national agenda, and the Immigration Restriction Act was accordingly repealed. The *Bulletin* took a few years to catch up. Its banner, initially "Australia for Australians," had been changed in 1907 to "Australia for the White Man," and it would not be ditched until 1961. In 1957, the bicentenary of Blake's birth, the *Bulletin* published a poem by Noel Macainsh, "William Blake in Australia."[5] Macainsh was a young returned soldier and engineer, then en route to his doctorate in Germanic literature at the University of Melbourne. He had perhaps just seen the NGV's Blake collection, brought out of storage for the bicentennial exhibition (see Hoff); this would certainly account for his alertness to the visuality of Blake's work.

5. See the National Library of Australia's digitized version of the 27 November 1957 issue of the *Bulletin*, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-681770678/view?sectionId=nla.obj-697691711∂Id=nla.obj-681906743#page/n1/mode/1up>, for the poem in full.

25 The poem seems to gesture to the popular association of Blake—via "green & pleasant Land"—with a pastoral picturesque. Macainsh catalogues the riches of this colonized landscape—its "broad-hewn valley," hills, and "lakes / Of shade"—and effects a visionary sensibility in which he can perceive (as Blake would, he suggests) "the ranks of God on every hill," the "angels slowly moving" across the sky (casting what more prosaic minds would see as cloud shadows), the blazing light of the eastern sun as Uriel (the angel from book 3 of *Paradise Lost*), and, in all this, the transcendence of "Immense Albion, a world's vast glory." The vast glory of Albion, as manifested in Australia, is picked up again in the image of the "Prince of Glory / Hung upon His [Australian] bough." Those of "dull imagination" would see Christ's hair only as "the sad and sun-graced mistletoe," probably *Muellerina eucalyptoides*, a semiparasitic canopy dweller endemic to mainland southeastern Australia, and, confusingly for this poem's allegory, surprisingly adept at colonizing exotic trees as well as its traditional eucalypt hosts. The "nimble cherubim there [above the Christ-hair/ mistletoe] piping / Bird-sweet hosannahs" perhaps recall the many indigenous birds that take advantage of mistletoe's flowering in periods of nectar dearth. They are, surely, about to lose their food source as "the axeman" above whom they sing makes progress, "Bending his way in a nimb of Glory." The conflation of Albion, Christ, and axeman (all manifestations of a supposedly Blakean "glory") reveals a fairly blatant conscription of Blake for the cause of empire, Christianity, and extractive colonialism in the form of timber-getting. Macainsh's poem looks to England for its cultural reference points, a gesture remarkably of a piece with the local mood. The previous year, when Melbourne had been required to host an Olympic Arts Festival along with the Olympic Games, the governor of Victoria had stood in the NGV, which, as we have seen, housed one of the richest Blake collections in the world, and offered an embarrassed apology for Australian culture: "Australia is only a young country and we are very proud of our achievements. But we are also fully conscious of our shortcomings. So we hope you will find something to enjoy and admire in the exhibitions and we all look forward to learning something from your friendly criticism" (Dallas Brooks, quoted in Richardson).

Hippie Blake in the 1970s and 1980s

26 Australia shook off the shackles of some twenty-two years of Liberal-Country party coalition government in 1972 with the swearing-in of Labor leader Gough Whitlam as prime minister. The social revolutions of the 1960s did not reach Australia until the 1970s. In the shadow of the immensely unpopular Vietnam War, in which Australians were conscripted to fight alongside their American allies, and the rise of hippie youth culture all over the world, the time was ripe for a reengagement with the radical Blake. In 1971, John Edwards, writing in *Tharunka*, the student newspaper of the University of New South Wales, noted,

> The appeal of Blake to the young mind is couched in his revolutionary attitudes towards social tyrannies, in his championship of sex as a "gateway to paradise," in his impatience with legalism and strategies, but, most of all, in his most important trait—a red-blooded advocacy of the instinctual in life.

This is the same Blake celebrated by poets and musicians such as Jim Morrison, Allen Ginsberg, and Patti Smith as a radical, a revolutionary, a challenger of laws and conventions; pretty much the antithesis of the Blake celebrated in "William Blake in Australia." Around the same time (March 1971), the New Theatre in Sydney was celebrating radical thinkers with its production of *Tom Paine*, complete with quotations from Blake (see Zubrycki), and in March 1982 an education and English student, Grant Hehir, wrote and directed a biographical comedy, *Blake, a Play*, at the Adelaide Fringe Festival. The publicity characterized Blake as "poet, artist, rebel and dreamer," and as a contemporary of "Coleridge, Wordsworth, Wollstonecraft and George III." A fellow student, Bruce Stewart, composed an accompanying suite, mostly settings to poems from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*; the composer had intended the score to be performed by a string quartet, but the musicians couldn't be recruited and he was pressed into service on the Fender Rhodes electric piano instead. The fact that such a play flourished for an eleven-night run at the Fringe suggests that the radical Blake remained a popular topic well into the 1980s.

27 Much as Thomas Frank—in *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*—finds that countercultural impulses preceded the youth culture of 1960s America, Blake had been a source and influence for Australian writers since as early as the 1930s. A young James McAuley (1917–76), for one, declared in a University of Sydney student newspaper of 1937 that Blake was "'centuries ahead of his time,' anticipating Freud, Bertrand Russell, A. S. Neill, Aldous Huxley, and the Surrealists." Blake, he continued, "took as his subject the human soul and entered into regions which no man before him had explored" (quoted in Coleman 5). In 1943, McAuley co-authored what has been described as "*the* literary hoax of the twentieth century" (Hughes xvii) with Harold Stewart (1916–95). Stewart and McAuley penned sixteen poems (plus a prose preface) that they attributed to a fictitious mechanic, Ern Malley, who had purportedly died at the age of twenty-five. The poems were a tissue of misquotation and "false allusions," calculated to be "bad verse," as their authors later wrote, that would expose the inability of Aus-

tralia's avant-garde litterateurs to discriminate between "humorless nonsense" and "great poetry" (McAuley and Stewart 378). These surrealist poems are heavy with slantwise references to canonical writers, Blake among them. "Sweet William," for instance, borrows vocabulary from *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*.[6] Its allusions are, characteristically, opaque, but the reader might find Theotormon's and Bromion's opposing incarnations of sexual violence in the description of how, "in a shuddering embrace / My toppling opposites commit / The obscene, the unforgivable rape." In the final lines, in which tearing cries give way to a "white swan of quietness" that "lies / Sanctified on my black swan's breast," a reader might see Oothoon's appeal to the eagles to "Rend away this defiled bosom."

28 McAuley's co-orchestration of the Ern Malley hoax positioned him as both the author of some of Australia's most experimental verse *and* as an arch-literary conservative. The conservatism would only become more entrenched, as he aligned himself with Australia's CIA-funded cultural affairs publication, *Quadrant*. By the 1960s, and now at the University of Tasmania, McAuley "equivocat[ed] over Blake," according to a former student (Pierce 23). In "Soundings" (1969), he dismisses the Blakean visionary impulse as childish: as a sixteen-year-old, he wondered, "Could I have visions, like William Blake?" He recalls how "At dusk I lingered in the yard," as the chickens went up to their roosts, "Pressing my five senses hard / For revelation self-induced"—*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in a prosaic suburban Sydney backyard (McAuley, *Surprises* 9).

29 While McAuley retreated from his undergraduate enthusiasm for Blake, for radical poets of the so-called "generation of '68," Blake was a crucial figure. John Tranter canonized this generation in *The New Australian Poetry* (1979) and produced a poetic genealogy that saw the Australian hippie poets inspired not only by the Americans—William Carlos Williams, Robert Duncan, Frank O'Hara, John Ashbery, Ginsberg, the Beats—but also by Blake and Percy Shelley, and finally by a trio of European *symbolistes*, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and Mallarmé. The poems in *New Australian Poetry* evidence these influences. Bruce Beaver's "Letters to Live Poets (XII)," for instance, recalls "the day I walked on hands and knees / like Blake's Nebuchadnezzar, scenting the pit" (Tranter 5).

30 Robert Adamson (1943–2022) elegized poet Michael Dransfield, dead at the age of twenty-four in 1973 of a possible heroin overdose:

> Beautiful, ineffectual rebels of an imagined sky,
> We searched among the long dead for the living:
> Shelley, Blake: they were the harder stuff.
> That idea of ourselves as poets was an addiction
> more terminal than any opiate the chemists could refine.
> ("For Michael Dransfield")

Adamson's description of Shelley and Blake as "harder stuff" implies not only their heady addictiveness, but perhaps also their lawlessness: these were idols for an age of rebellion.

31 The extent of Blake's influence on the generation of '68 might be measured by his presence in the later writing of its key poets. In 2015, Adamson published "Poem Beginning with a Line from William Blake" (*Net Needle* 45). Beginning "I was in a Printing house in Hell & saw the method in which knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation," the poem ventures into a series of nine tercets (Gig Ryan has suggested that these resemble the nine levels of Hell). Also in 2015, Joe Dolce (not one of Tranter's poets of '68, but a scion of a parallel American counterculture, migrating to Australia in 1978), who is famous for his paean to/parody of suburban multicultural identity, "Shaddap You Face," published "The Tyger." This rumination on the extinct marsupial thylacine, or "Tasmanian Tiger," references Blake's "The Tyger" in both its diction and its trochaic tetrameter.

Conclusion

32 In 1927, 100 years after Blake's death, Australian-born Leslie Holdsworth Allen gave a lecture on his "mind and myth" to the Australian English Association in Sydney. The English Association had been founded in 1923, primarily (as the editor of its magazine, *Southerly*, would declare) "to maintain the [English] language in Australia and encourage its right use," and it was therefore "the servant and assistant of all who speak the language and read or contribute to the literature" (Howarth 3). Although it professed to be free from "propaganda" and "politics," the group was part of a systematic project of cultural Anglicization that had been at work in the colonies of Australia—and now the nation of Australia—since at least the 1880s. Allen was a prominent member, a sometime war poet and lecturer in English at the Royal Military College, Duntroon. His lecture, published as a thirty-eight-page booklet, *William Blake: A Centenary Address*, was followed in 1928 by a similar lecture on "English qualities in Shakespeare." The appreciation of Blake and other English-born authors that Allen practiced and propagated had become one of the modes via which "cultural good relations between the mother and daughter countries" (as Howarth put it) could be maintained. But while Blake was being put to these ultimately

6. "Sweet William" and the other poems can be viewed in their entirety at <http://jacketmagazine.com/17/ern-poems.html>.

imperialist and fundamentally conservative purposes, he was also standing in the Australian imagination for political radicalism. For example, while Daryl Lindsay wrote that Blake "is essentially English," his nationality was an indifferent matter to Lindsay's nephew Jack Lindsay, who in 1927 published *William Blake: Creative Will and the Poetic Image* and contributed an essay to an edition of *Poetical Sketches*. For Jack Lindsay, Blake was attractive precisely because of his "political radicalism, his heretical antinomianism, his prophetical revolutionarism, his imaginative humanism, his pre-Marxian dialectics and the strong … materialistic element in his thought" (Lindberg 164). These profound differences in how Blake was received in Australia are not localizable to any particular moment in national history. As we have shown in this essay, for more than a century, Blake's work has prompted wildly conflicting responses and interpretations among Australian audiences. In part this is a result of Blake's own complex relation to English patriotism, but in larger part it reflects the complex lines of the artist and poet's transmission to a new setting in which feelings about England are anything but agreed upon.

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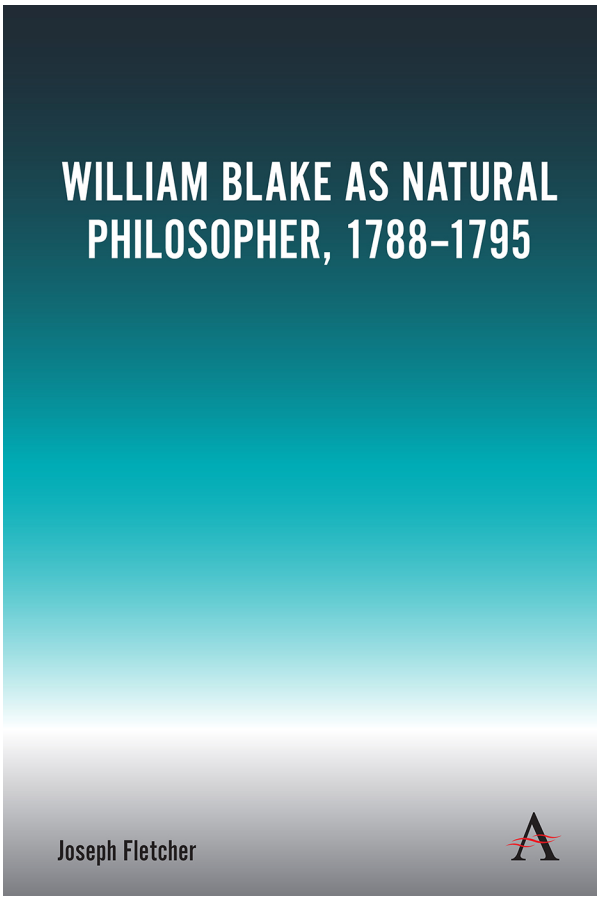

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1 JOSEPH Fletcher's *William Blake as Natural Philosopher, 1788–1795* dedicates itself to the task of defining Blake's position on a variety of questions asked by eighteenth-century natural science, which in contemporary terms consisted of a mixture of philosophy of science, philosophy of nature, and empirical study. Because Blake wrote poetry that at times appears simple while being very complex, and that at other times drops all pretenses to simplicity, I believe that this task is doomed to fail. Apart from the inherent difficulties of translating literature into philosophy or science, Blake often presents the added difficulty of juxtaposing a number of highly developed, varying subjectivities and points of view within the same work, so that it's nearly impossible to identify any one point of view with the author's own. Does he adopt any one character's point of view as his own, or does he occupy a third position located outside the text, only observing the interplay of these characters and their ideas, perhaps agreeing with some characters' ideas but not others? Additionally, Blake writes in a mythological mode. Are his characters even human? Are they anthropomorphic representations of social or psychological forces? Something else? How would we define the natural philosophy of a mythological figure, and what kind of evidence could we present to align that view with Blake's own?

2 However difficult or even impossible the task, attempting it helps us more fully understand Blake. An exposition of his relationship to eighteenth-century natural philosophy can (and certainly does in Fletcher's work) illuminate representations of the natural world in his works as well as larger questions about the nature and existence of God and the relationship of God to the material universe. It's possible that one of the greatest insights into Blake that Fletcher offers is the interrelatedness of these two questions: What was Blake's religion or theology? Where did he stand in terms of the natural philosophy of his day? Fletcher's monograph therefore yields significant insights, particularly in terms of the breadth of figures in natural philosophy that he covers and his care in reading them closely. He also mitigates some of the pitfalls inherent to analyzing a moving target such as Blake by using two strategies. First, he deliberately limits the time frame of his study to a seven-year period, 1788 to 1795, which seems necessary both to the level of detail of his argument and to the fact that even within that limited time frame, according to Fletcher's argument,

Blake's position continually evolves. Presenting an evolving Blake is Fletcher's second mitigating strategy: it keeps him from bluntly imposing a single thesis on his material as he registers changes in Blake's ideas over time, leading to some reversals by the end of the period under consideration.

3 Fletcher follows the evolution of Blake's natural philosophy in four chapters, followed by a coda, that pair Blake's works with European natural philosophers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, each chapter focused on a different area of natural philosophy. Chapter 1 juxtaposes *All Religions are One* and *There is No Natural Religion* against Locke's "natural religion or deism" from a point of view close to Leibniz's "anti-Lockean, anti-Newtonian panpsychism," aligning Blake with panpsychism and a view of nature that is "dynamic" and "transformative" (15). In the process, Fletcher strengthens his case for sympathy between Blake and Leibniz by contrasting Blake's views with Berkeley's. For example, he distinguishes Blake from Berkeley on the concept of "vision," which for Blake is a matter of insight provided by "the innate Poetic Genius" (23), while for Berkeley vision is associated only with sensory organs. Later in the chapter, he draws upon Hume to better define Blake's critique of natural religion, and he ends with a discussion of how Blake's designs reinforce his claims. The position on which Fletcher settles is that Blake's and Leibniz's "material universe is infinite and ensouled" (41). In this account, Blake's God is coextensive with the material universe, animating it and giving it mind (panpsychism), so that God and the material universe are in a state of continual and mutual becoming. If this reading is valid, then Blake is a significant predecessor of process theology.

4 Chapter 2, "Soul Matter: *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and Monist Pantheism," "focuses on three sets of philosophical 'contraries' introduced in *The Marriage*: soul/body, God/material world[,] and imagination (Poetic Genius)/sensory perception" (45), reinforcing Blake's emphasis on the mutuality and interdependence of these contraries. This long, complex chapter integrates discussion of multiple figures, from Plato to the eighteenth century, which is simultaneously its weakness and its strength. The close reading of these figures (and others throughout) by itself justifies the existence of the book and draws out a number of suggestive possibilities for future readings of Blake. According to Fletcher, Blake's goal is the "dissolution of dualistic metaphysics—a marriage of contraries—and a proclamation of monism" (45). He observes how early in *Marriage* "the body is indistinguishable from the soul," citing Aristotle's conception of the soul in *De anima* and other works "describing soul-body interfusion by Plato, the Neoplatonists and Stoic and Epicurean philosophers" (46) as background to Blake. Fletcher's history of ideas proceeds through Hobbes, Descartes, Locke, and Newton, leading up to Priestley. He then ends with a discussion of Blake's epistemology related to this subject, asking *how* we know what we know about the soul to draw attention to Blake's emphasis on imagination over the senses. Fletcher associates Blake with a "Platonically derived pantheism" (49), so that Blake identifies God not only with humanity but with the entire material universe. He associates Blake's identification of soul and body with "Aristotelian hylomorphism" (53), which asserts that all of nature consists of a compound of matter and form, so that all beings are composite in nature. Overall, Blake's position here locates "God solely in material beings" (95), so that we live in a "pantheistic universe of motile, energized bodies that, as hylomorphic entities, are themselves—humans, animals, plants and all nonorganic forms—inextricably infused with soul, or divinity" (100); Fletcher elaborates later that this is a Spinozan (monist), panpsychist pantheism (101).

5 So far, Fletcher's first two chapters have described a transition in Blake's thought from "panpsychist panentheism to monist pantheism" (113). Chapter 3, "Breathing Dust: Erasmus Darwin and Blake's Regenerative Materialism," backgrounds Blake's monist pantheism (while still asserting it) to focus more on his critique of dualism, seeing that critique in Darwin's *The Botanic Garden* and the early tractates, *Marriage*, and then *Thel*, *Europe*, and *The Song of Los*. Regarding Darwin, Fletcher claims that his "poetic equating of plant and human sexual behavior in *The Loves of the Plants* is an early instance of the concept of flat ontology in his work" (116), a concept held contra the Great Chain of Being. He draws interesting parallels between Darwin and Blake, associating Darwin's note on "Central Fires" and his ideas about "the sun's fire as a vital principle inherent in matter: both poets draw on ancient ideas concerning this material celestial flame"; he even identifies Darwin's "second sun at the center of the earth" with Blake's title-page illustration for *Marriage* (120). Blake and Darwin similarly personify flora (127). Fletcher's reading of the character of Thel is that ultimately "her flight marks a failure to embrace the monist panpsychist/pantheist philosophy that is described in *The Botanic Garden* and *The Marriage*, and which is shared by *Thel*'s nonhuman characters" (143). He presents a *Europe* that "illustrates, on a broader scale than does *Thel*, the multiple ways in which a dualist metaphysics that removes divinity from the material world constitutes a binding of the infinite and the implementation of hierarchical power structures and the forms of oppression that follow therefrom" (166). Similarly, *The Song of Los* "demonstrates affinities with Darwin's vital materialism," and "Blake makes his monist, pantheist argument in the poem's conclusion, which, unlike the endings of *Thel* and *Europe*, conveys a hylozoist image of material regeneration" (167). Chapter 3, overall, presents a view of Blake's natural philosophy that has not evolved from the one described in chap-

ter 2—Blake is still a "monist pantheist"—but rather that shows Blake's elaboration on the implications of that position.

6 In chapter 4, "'Horrible Forms of Deformity': The Urizen Cycle and Vitalist Materialism," Fletcher pits "vitalist natural philosophies," on the one hand, and Newtonian science, on the other, against Blake's own position as articulated in the Urizen books: *The* [*First*] *Book of Urizen*, *The Book of Ahania*, and *The Book of Los*. Both vitalism and Newtonian science, though opposed to one another, in Fletcher's opinion occlude "the living, intelligent, energetic flames that comprise the infinite, divine universe" (179). The Urizen books in fact dramatize the opposition between vitalist natural philosophies and Newtonian science and, additionally, mark Blake's "turn away from [his] early poetic and visual expressions of pantheistic monism" (180). In Fletcher's reading, when Blake opposes "Eternity and Urizenic creation" he is not pitting immaterialism against materialism but "divisive, self-contemplating isolation" against "community and interdependence" (189). Fletcher engages Newton's *Principia* in this chapter as well as Voltaire's popularization of Newton. He likens the imagery associated with Urizen's creation to the creation "of the earth and astral bodies in [Plato's] *Timaeus*" (192), and curiously asserts that "the Eternals, including Urizen and Los, are material," so that Blake is drawing from "Epicurean metaphysics, which likewise does not posit a creator god, but rather argues that matter has always existed" (200).

7 Fletcher builds upon previous work comparing Blake's ideas in the Urizen books to William Harvey's *On Animal Generation* and John Hunter's *Treatise on the Blood* to affirm that "Blake … believed life not to depend on organization but rather to be a property of the globules of blood themselves" (202). He proposes a vitalism "not dependent upon a dualist metaphysics" (203). He casts his net wide in this chapter, examining the opinions of a variety of near contemporaries of Blake's, including La Mettrie, Pierre-Louis de Maupertuis, Diderot, John Needham, Georges-Louis Leclerc (comte de Buffon)—as translated by J. S. Barr in 1792—and Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia* in the areas of vitalism and panpsychism and their relationship. Most of these figures, however, are (or would be) unsatisfactory to Blake because they either posit "a remote, deistic God" or "were explicitly atheistic" (219). It's worth noting that Fletcher argues that the Urizen books dramatize debates among many of these figures as well. He asserts, most importantly, that "Blake does not want a double vision, but rather a monist one: there is no spiritual world"; Blake instead "conveys the flat ontology of his divine material monism" (225). Flat ontology is the assertion that all beings exist equally: there are no gradations in "beingness," even though beings have different degrees of influence in the world. The trajectory of the Urizen cycle, Fletcher argues in the book's final section, "Coda: The Ghost of Pantheism," mutes Blake's monist materialism to the point that it is "eventually abandoned by the end of the Urizen cycle" (229). If at any time Fletcher has sounded contradictory in some readings of Blake, it's often because he's describing a transformation of philosophical commitments over the course of these works.

8 From this point, I'm going to address some shortcomings in Fletcher's argument that illuminate the general work that needs to be done when literary works are used to establish an author's scientific or philosophical position. In chapter 1, he settles on specific positions implied or asserted by Blake's tractates. He also asserts, however, that in *There is No Natural Religion* Blake is not "interested in constructing unassailable propositional proofs. Rather, Blake uses numbered premises and philosophical subheadings for satirical effect" (39). This claim seems to undo his argument: if Blake is writing satire, what is left of Fletcher's claims about Blake, which are dependent upon readings of Blake that take him at face value? He says that the tractates "point to a metaphysical system and an intellectual tradition that other philosophers have elaborated in more rational detail" (39), but he doesn't incorporate satirical intent into his close readings of Blake to arrive at this conclusion. How do we account for Blake's satire, then? I believe that this facet of Fletcher's argument reflects the primary inherent difficulty of ascribing a scientific position to an author based on a literary work: scientific language requires specificity, ideally to the point of one term having one and only one meaning in any context. Literary works are more often the opposite, capitalizing on polysemy and the playfulness and misdirection of genres such as satire. Fletcher attempts to derive a natural philosophy from a satirical work. He may have set himself an impossible task, so he cannot be faulted for failing in this attempt. I think he could only be successful if the point of Blake's satire was to support a different natural philosophy.

9 Problems also arise in chapter 2, as Fletcher navigates through his material figure by figure, attempting to locate Blake's position in relationship to each. The philosophic and early scientific texts that Fletcher engages are extended, usually focused discussions of their subject. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, on the other hand, collects poetry, aphorisms, and apocryphal narrative in a diffuse discussion of a number of subjects, some of which represent the points of view of different characters. Blake's marginalia, also quoted in this chapter, comprise short, direct comments, written at the moment of his reading, in response to different texts. Blake never works out a coherent position about any of the topics engaged in this chapter through an extended, systematic discussion, as Fletcher acknowledges

himself. As a result, interpretations of Blake are consistently plagued with multiple possibilities, a common and even desirable feature of literary texts, but not a feature suitable for clearly establishing a single scientific position. Fletcher presents a number of plausible, intriguing readings, but I'm unsure why a reader would accept his readings over others.

10 For example, he points to the marriage of angel and devil at the end of *Marriage* as well as the text's assertion that man has "no Body distinct from his Soul" as signs of Blake's monism. But by associating Blake both with hylomorphism and with pantheism, especially Spinoza's pantheism, he seems caught in a dilemma: it's not clear how a view of an essentially *compound* nature can be reconciled with a view of nature as different modalities of a *single* substance. The two might be reconcilable, but Fletcher doesn't do this work. Furthermore, the belief that there is no body distinct from the soul is an explicitly Catholic belief, and has been for centuries. The current catechism asserts, citing the 1312 Council of Vienne, that

> the unity of soul and body is so profound that one has to consider the soul to be the "form" of the body: i.e., it is because of its spiritual soul that the body made of matter becomes a living, human body; spirit and matter, in man, are not two natures united, but rather their union forms a single nature.[1]

I'm not asserting that Blake was a Catholic, or that we should prefer Catholic readings of Blake to others, but that the Catholic Church uses almost the same language without holding to Spinoza's monism. Aquinas was Aristotelian and assumed hylomorphism, but he probably would have been appalled at Spinoza. The problem here is not that we ought to choose one reading or another, but that Blake's language can be taken more than one way, and Fletcher can't give us a reason to choose between these irreconcilable readings—which we must if we're going to make claims about Blake's own natural philosophy.

11 An additional difficulty is posed by the word "pantheism" itself, a term whose definition was subject to debate during Blake's lifetime. It's not just that Fletcher's reading of Blake is one of several possible readings, but so is his reading of Spinoza. For example, Schelling's 1809 *Philosophical Investigations into the Essence of Human Freedom and Related Matters*[2] includes an extended discussion of Spinoza that considers a variety of definitions of pantheism. He begins with three: 1) the "immanence of things in God"; 2) "complete identification of God with all things" (222); and 3) a modification of the second definition that in Spinoza's philosophy "the individual object is equal to God" (223). Schelling then goes on to consider pantheism as relating to substance and pantheism as relating to will, an idea that briefly comes up near the end of Fletcher's book in relationship to Maupertuis and Leibniz (Fletcher 207). Without going into further detail, while Schelling departs from Spinoza on some points, he believes that all three of these definitions of pantheism represent misunderstandings of Spinoza. The important idea here is not a preference for one reading of Spinoza over another, but the need to address these different possible readings. Even though Blake certainly did not read Schelling, especially this specific text, during the period under consideration by the book, Fletcher does consider other authors Blake very likely didn't read to establish a milieu, and Schelling represents readings of Spinoza contemporary with Blake's lifetime.

12 I don't believe that I have invalidated Fletcher's thesis, just that additional work needs to be done before he can be said to have supported his argument. A defense of pantheism in Blake is key to Fletcher's claims, as this interpretation appears early in the book, where he refers to Blake's annotations to Lavater: "It is the God in *all* that is our companion & friend. … Every thing on earth is the word of God & in its essence is God" (6). Fletcher emphasizes in this passage that "Blake's stress of '*all*' and 'Every thing' implies a flat ontology whose essence he claims is divinity" (6). However, during this period, it was possible to embrace a flat ontology in which human beings are "instead *among* beings, *entangled* in beings, and *implicated* in other beings" (6, quoting Levi Bryant) without embracing pantheism. Flat ontology in Bryant's (and Fletcher's) terms conforms to Romantic/organic philosophies as opposed to Newtonian/mechanistic philosophies with or without the support of pantheism. Fletcher's reading of Blake as pantheist forms a substantial basis for the early chapters of his book, but it isn't sufficiently defended against other possible readings. The essay by Schelling that I mention above directly addresses different ideas that could be implied by the phrase "in … essence … God," some of which do not support pantheism in Fletcher's sense. Because Fletcher's argument consists of an elaboration of *Blake's* beliefs in the area of *natural philosophy*, any one claim about this topic necessarily excludes other readings rather than stands alongside them. Fletcher's type of argument should reduce polysemy as much as possible. In the process, he should consider alternate readings to dispense with them, especially for such a key concept.

13 Eliminating polysemy to establish a scientific or philosophical position requires special care and attention, especially

1. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd ed., #365 <http://www.scborromeo.org/ccc/p1s2c1p6.htm#II>.

2. All quotations of Schelling are from Ernst Behler, ed., *Philosophy of German Idealism: Fichte, Jacobi, and Schelling*, The German Library, vol. 23 (New York: Continuum, 1987).

when the text itself relies on simultaneously active multiple meanings of even individual words to achieve its literary effect. When discussing the Urizen books, Fletcher is careful to say that his readings do not "discount readings of the Urizen poems as instances of Blake's grotesque satire of the biblical and Miltonic accounts of Genesis" (181). Since Blake wasn't writing scientific or philosophical tractates, Fletcher's work involves isolating scientific and philosophical positions in texts focused on other areas. As he says, "This chapter brackets the scriptural, political and Miltonic approaches to the Urizen poems in order to emphasize their relation to natural-philosophic discussions" (182). That is always the work that books like this must do. However, polysemy needs to be reduced or eliminated in relationship to this emphasis by carefully identifying a variety of scientific and philosophic positions possible and presenting an argument that eliminates all rivals as far as possible. While Fletcher does consider a number of different natural-philosophic positions, his usual strategy is to quote Blake, assert a reading, and then align Blake with a position, but not to quote Blake and then develop an argument for one reading of Blake over another in the area of natural philosophy. He makes similar errors in his reading of scriptural material, saying that Darwin's conclusions are "anti-biblical [and] proto-evolutionary" (215), but scripture itself is also subject to numerous conflicting interpretations from the points of view of different traditions. Perhaps Blake is critical of Anglican theology but more closely aligned with Catholic? I believe that argument can be made in relationship to the Bible itself. Fletcher asserts that "we should not equate the Eternals with Blake's perspective, as I do the Devil" (186), which establishes a position late in the book, but again, he doesn't present an argument to support this reading. Blake's position is very likely that of all the Eternals combined, Urizen included, in an unfallen state. If Blake's perspective is on the side of the devils in *Marriage*, why is the marriage with the angel necessary?

14 I think I have learned that scholarship establishing an author's scientific or philosophical positions from literary works has to accomplish the following tasks:

1. Account for genre;
2. Eliminate polysemy as far as possible in the area under inquiry;
3. Establish authorial position in relationship to the text, supported with evidence.

I don't believe that Fletcher fully performed those tasks, but I don't believe that shortcoming invalidates his readings either. I just believe that more work needs to be carried out in order to fully support them.

R E V I E W

John Higgs. *William Blake Now: Why He Matters More Than Ever*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2019. 80 pp. £6.99, paperback and e-book; £5.99, audiobook.

John Higgs. *William Blake vs. the World*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2021. x + 390 pp. £20.00, hardcover; £10.99, paperback and e-book; £19.99, audiobook.

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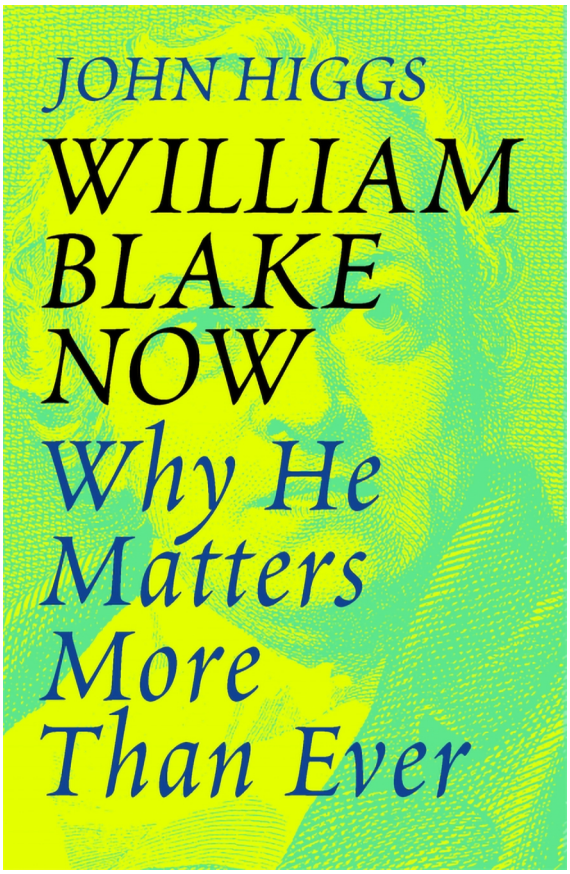
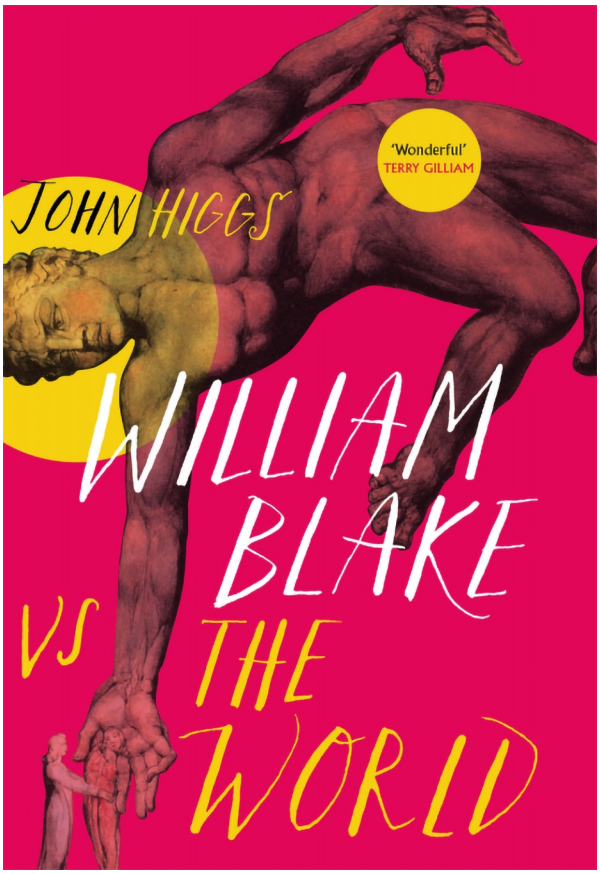


1 JOHN Higgs is a versatile British essayist, television producer, journalist, and novelist (and more) who has written an odd but excellent general introduction to Blake. A few years ago he began working on a big but amorphous (from the sound of it) Blake project; shaken by the Brexit vote and stirred by the size and diversity of the audience at the ceremony dedicating the Blake memorial in Bunhill Fields, Higgs published a short collection of essays considering causes and implications of the huge change in Blake's reputation in his home country since his death. In 2021 Higgs presented a 400-page biographical Blake-buster, part study guide, part self-help book, part manifesto—here and there encompassing pop culture, counterculture, high culture, literary criticism, seventeenth-century theology and poetry, psychology, current and Georgian politics, neuroscience, quantum mechanics, comparative theology, mysticism, and much else.

2 Higgs is a skilled writer, and his earnest enthusiasm for his subject is both evident and contagious. In many respects he might be the ideal reader of Blake—self-assured but not dogmatic, well and widely (but not always deeply) read in many disciplines far outside the usual areas of expertise with which academic critics are prepared, and shifting easily between the sensibilities that accompany current, earlier, and much earlier systems of thought. He is also therefore an appropriate guide for a very wide audience, Blake's envisioned future "Public." He starts from scratch as a reader and thinks for himself while encouraging his readers to do the same, responding to complete actual texts rather than manipulating the same old decontextualized Blake snippets. And when he does use the familiar quotes, he often finds fresh insights in them. He gets important things right that are persistently missed, and though there are many things here with which I disagree, I would say that for every weak or doubtful observation I found two that clarified or changed my mind about something: his take on "Beulah," for instance, is much better than the one in my glossary in the *William Blake Archive*. He is more expert at reading texts than images, but he has taken the trouble to understand the most important technical aspects of Blake's art(s).

3 Several times we return to the familiar question: Was Blake crazy? Higgs offers glimpses of a Blake who more closely resembles the extravagant visionary of early Victorian fantasy than the canny poetic painter who tapped his head when asked where he saw one of his visions. But Higgs is a canny writer himself, starting with the one thing that many in his audience think they know about his subject and then working his way toward a version of the question that interests him more. He makes a case for associating certain of Blake's claims and eccentricities with recognized psychological phenomena, especially "hyperphantasia," the ability to imagine things in exquisite detail, and points out episodes



recognizable as mania, paranoia, and depression. But he also acknowledges that answering this question is not much help in understanding Blake's works, even if one accepts that Blake's extraordinary brain accounts for some features of them. Blake apparently had an unusual ability to control and even to exploit his psychological peculiarities, and diagnosis of his condition does not make it any less interesting to try to figure out what he thought he meant, even if we should also attend to subconscious and unconscious mental phenomena in his head and those of his readers. Higgs is ultimately as interested in what is going on in our brains when we pay attention to Blake's works as he is in what went on in Blake's, while at the same time leading us to think about how Blake's response to his world can help us to respond to ours.

4 Higgs's procedure is to introduce a figure or phenomenon—say Swedenborg or Romanticism or Deism—and then wander informatively around the topic, offering insights into it from various perspectives until an opportunity arises to connect it to some aspect of Blake. Whereas most conventional literary criticism martials the conclusions of subsidiary arguments to make a broader point, piling intellectually inert brick on brick, Higgs usually ties the discussion to a narrative, especially one in which someone discovers something, such as Swedenborg's conversion, or Allen Ginsberg's masturbatory apocalypse.

5 It matters that Blake did not regularly hear supernatural voices "in a finite organical perception," write verse by recording what they said verbatim, or capture images of delusive hallucinations in his art. It is true that he (or his persona) claimed to operate in something like that way, as for example in the page of *Jerusalem* addressed "To the Public." But just because Blake was in charge of what he wrote most of the time does not mean that he always meant what he said, much less what his characters or narrators say. Higgs tries to listen to all Blake's voices, taking all Blake's words seriously, not ignoring one voice to attend to its contrary. But I think irony is a central feature of Blake's form of prophecy, and only rarely do we hear from Blake himself straightforwardly in his works. Higgs presents *Songs of Innocence* as a confection, essentially dismissing "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* as an error needing correction by the contrary song of *Experience*. Superficially, this characterization makes some sense: except for the dreadful rushing carnivores in "Night" there are few explicit signs in *Innocence* of the dark mechanisms that pervade *Experience*. But even in *Innocence* mothers die and winter mornings are cold, and both Blake's sweeps are aware of these realities. Blake may have adjusted his strategy between writing the two books, but he didn't write *Experience* to correct blind spots in *Innocence*.

6 Higgs's imaginative, steady attentiveness pays off impressively in handling the even thornier works that follow. Attending closely to what Blake's voices actually say while suspending the impulse to take sides, he introduces a hodgepodge of other authors' metaphors and metaphorical systems that are variously complementary, contrary, or comparable to Blake's. Readers who expect paratextual tact, as I do, may regard this with suspicion, as I did, but I now profess my conversion. After I submitted an earlier draft of this review I suddenly found myself an invalid with only Higgs's big book and the $1.00 e-book of Blake's illuminated works on my phone, so I decided to take a stab at reading *Jerusalem* in the original format, without notes or editorial assistance other than the very assorted texts and ideas that Higgs adduces as relevant. The result was not quite apocalyptic, but it was impressive. I won't claim that Higgs provides the key to all Blake's mythologies, but his approach brought me greater clarity than more conventional academic criticism.

7 The guest list for this panel discussion is diverse, to say the least. Timothy Leary chats with Lao Tzu and Carl Jung in the green room, and Pythagoras plays fantasy games with Jim Morrison. (I exaggerate.) Higgs manages this unruly crowd deftly, but some figures, especially acquaintances

who knew little about Blake's inner life or works, are allowed to speak for Blake even when they haven't much in the way of credentials. Though he seems to have ignored most academic criticism, and is sometimes gently satirical about it, Higgs might have been better off if he had read even less, sparing himself the influence of the persistent lazy misconceptions that teachers and students love to repeat. He is a good reader because he skips the scholarly introductions, trusting Blake to sell himself to readers who are sympathetic, imaginative, and well read, but not necessarily steeped in esoteric traditions. His contextualized summaries of relevant ideas and controversies, both esoteric and exoteric, together with his lucid restatements of Blakean principles, are good enough that one can imagine an autodidactically inclined reader concocting a serviceable Blakean theory of everything using Higgs's intellectual sketches as a foundation.

8 Some aspects of these books are peculiarly local and ephemeral: in both, for instance, the Brexit vote and the concomitant tension between jingoistic conservatism and leftish globalism appear to be haunting the discussion even when they are not explicitly the topic. In treating the relevance of Blake to contemporary politics and social issues, Higgs is careful to distinguish Blake's ideas from the tribal ideologies that have become attached to him, such as the British Christian nationalism that some find in such works as Parry's setting of "Jerusalem" or the ambiguous heroic portraits of the spiritual forms of Pitt and Nelson. For Higgs, the large and heterogeneous crowds at Blake's memorial or the Tate Britain exhibition of 2019–20 are evidence that his appeal is not only powerful and diverse, but that his work provides a perspective that can transcend orthodoxies within and without his green and pleasant homeland. Wherever it goes, *William Blake vs. the World* will make friends for Blake.