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Gastronomy at the Clark

A special invitational seminar on the history of gastronomy, concentrating on the Restoration and eighteenth century, will be held at the Clark Library on 20 May.

Opening the seminar on a literary note, Ronald W. Tobin, Professor of French at the University of California, Santa Barbara, will speak on "a bad case of malnutrition" in one of Molière's funniest comedies, *The Miser*. Tobin's approach will be complemented by that of Michael Wild and Carol Brendlinger, who own the Bay Wolf, an Oakland restaurant renowned not only for its fine contemporary cuisine but also for menus based on recipes drawn

from the period 1660–1800. In a presentation combining the perspectives of scholar and chef, Wild, a former English professor, and Brendlinger will address the questions of authenticity and adaptation as they discuss the research they do to find early recipes suitable to a modern restaurant. Marilyn Harris, writer, cooking teacher, radio and television personality, will then demonstrate the preparation of two popular eighteenth-century dishes, salmagundi and floating islands. And since lunch is to feature the dishes demonstrated, seminar participants will be able to sample eighteenth-century fare. The event will conclude with a talk on the history of wine in the period by one of America's most distinguished enologists, Darrell Corti.

Medieval, Renaissance, or Georgian dishes will surely not become a part of anyone's regular diet again, but recent research has established their historical interest and modern relevance. The subject of food is now recognized as important to a wide range of disciplines, including anthropology, biology and nutrition, bibliography, literature, and history. Cookbooks and domestic account books, and even poems and novels describing ordinary things like lunch, provide a great deal of information about how our ancestors regarded food, how much money they spent on it, who cooked it, whom they hired to cook it, how they lived.

The seminar on gastronomy, under the joint sponsorship of the Clark and the Center, is being planned by Simon Varey, Lecturer in English at UCLA. Attendance is to be by invitation only. A donation of \$75 per person or \$125 per couple is requested.

Female Quacks in the Consumer Society

During the "long eighteenth century," the period from the Restoration to the Regency, England was undoubtedly becoming more of a "consumer society." One of the things being consumed in ever larger quantities was medicine, in the form both of pharmaceutical products and of medical services. Amongst the problems that have intrigued me recently is how far *women* plied the medical trade, followed medicine for gain, at this time. Were there such "doctresses"? If so, how different were they from male practitioners? And did they target their services largely at women patients?

Orthodoxy says that women were essentially excluded till the mid-nineteenth century from such occupations. In her justly famous book *Working Life of Women in the*



Frontispiece to Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Domesticum* (1736).

Seventeenth Century, published seventy years ago, Alice Clark argued that the transition from the traditional to the industrial economy disastrously undermined the independence of the working woman. In the premodern, family-oriented, domestic-industry economy, Clark contended, women were central as providers of goods and services in such fields as medicine and education because of their age-old role at the hub of the "family circle" and their "natural affinity for the care of suffering humanity." The rise of market-oriented capitalism (she argued) eroded the family as the unit of production and introduced new sexual and economic divisions of labor which reduced women to mere factory hands or bourgeois ornaments. The logic of capitalism entailed the "separate spheres" ideology, which excluded women from satisfying careers—a view that many feminist historians today argue is the key to understanding gender transformations in modern times. The implication is that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the withdrawal of women from the practice of medicine.

Yet the facts tell otherwise. For all the signs are that the high noon of commercial capitalism—the flourishing, from the mid-seventeenth century onward, of a thriving, even perhaps "mass," market in manufactures and services—did not destroy the female healer but rather expanded her trade. Not, it is true, within the thin ranks of the orthodox physicians. But certainly amongst the hordes of the irregulars, those whom I shall henceforth label quacks, using that term purely descriptively to denote those healers whose practices depended upon the techniques of the market: publicity, advertising, the arts of persuasion and salesmanship, the invention of brand name products, the pioneering of nationwide mass production. The triumph of marketplace medicine did not kill off "petticoat doctors," for they too were able to capitalize on its opportunities.*

A few Georgian female quacks are, of course, famous, or notorious: Sally Mapp, the Epsom bone-manipulator, or Mrs. Joanna Stephens, who developed an extremely lucrative medicine for use against the stone. But I wish to turn attention to common, or garden, female quacks, whose practices have left record in handbills and in newspaper advertisements, such as the quack cancer curer named Mrs. Plunkett Edgcumbe, who (so Bath newspapers reveal) practiced by Walcot Church, in Bath, printed long lists of satisfied customers, both male and female, and promised skeptics a sight of all their tumors preserved in spirits.

In London toward the close of the seventeenth century there were, according to a hostile witness, David Irish, a "crowd of Woman Doctors," trading mainly around the western outskirts of the city—Smithfield, Chancery Lane, Covent Garden, and St. Martin's Lane. Thus "Agnodice: The Woman Physician, dwelling at the Hand and Urinal," boasted that she had Italian washes and Spanish rolls good for the "Scotch Disease, or the Itch," alongside multitudes of dentifrices and remedies for children's diseases; her bill

*I have tried to reinterpret the wider history of quackery in this period in *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming ca. June 1989), which contains specific documentation for the British Library collections of handbills quoted in this article.

listed no fewer than twenty different nostrums "and many more Remedies, too tedious to relate." Or there was a "Gentlewoman on the corner of Coventry Court in the Hay Market" who sold an "excellent paste for the shaking and trembling of the hands after hard drinking," and another female quack who vended a "golden unction" which cured "ancient running ulcers," scabs and spots, ringworm and itch. Such practitioners made much of their credentials, boasting their foreign travels, their extensive practice, and above all their experience. Foreign origins obviously carried cachet (many came from Holland). They typically claimed special skills or unique ownership of remedies elsewhere unavailable, as, for instance, the preparation exclusive to a quack doctress operating from Racket Court, near Fleet Bridge, and obtained from a "great Lady at Paris, now dead"; this doctress also claimed to cure cataract. Isabella Inglish insisted that, imitators and pirates notwithstanding, she was the only authentic manufacturer of Anderson's Scotch Pills, rather as Mrs. Garway, of the

Dr Anderson's, for the famous Scotch Pills, are by her Majesty's Authority faithfully prepared, only by Mrs Isabella Inglish from Edinburgh, now living at the Golden Unicorn over against the May Pole in the Strand, London. And to prevent Counterfeits from Scotland as well as in and about London, you are desired to take notice that the True Pills have their Boxes seal'd on the top with black Wax, with a Lion Rampant and 3 Mullers Argent, Dr Andersons Head betwixt I. I. with his name round it, and Isabella Inglish underneath the Sheild in a Scroll, they are of excellent use to be taken with Epfom, Tunbridge or other Waters, beware of Counterfeits, especially one in Holbourn.

Royal Exchange, Cornhill, claimed to be the sole vendor of the nonpareil teething necklaces for infants developed by the unfortunately named Major Choke. But alongside these specialties, female quacks also announced their capacity to overcome all manner of diseases, not least consumptions, the ague, and scurvy. Many claimed that their own remedies were especially safe and gentle (e.g., that they would cure venereal disorders without mercury). All boasted tremendous success rates; all abominated quackery.

In each of these facets, the female quack was indistinguishable from the male. Yet female quacks were also angling to win, or to create, a distinctive market of their own, to gain the trade of female customers. One such area they especially cultivated was "cosmetics"—a term that had a far wider application than it does today, including the general pursuit of body hygiene and grooming. A sex appeal message was involved. A female quack at Coventry Court, Piccadilly, advised women to buy her beauty preparations so that their husbands "might not be offended at their deformities and turn into other Women's chambers." Yet, as Margaret Pelling has emphasized, in an age of smallpox, scurvy, and scrofula, of sores and ulcers slow to heal, cosmetics did not simply pander to vanity or glamour but helped enable otherwise quite disfigured people to put on a good face in public.

Certain male quacks dealt in cosmetics, above all Stephen Draper, the man midwife, whose bill addressed itself to "Beloved Women, the Admirable Creatures that God

The Fam'd Beautifying Secret of 20 years
 experience, for making the Face and Skin surprizingly white, soft and smooth, taking away Freckles, Wrinkles, Marks of the Small Pox, Spots, Pimples, Redness, Tanning, Morpew, Scurf, &c. rendering those that have used it even the wonder of the World for the exquisite Beauty and Fairness it hath given them, no Cosmetick, Wash Water, Powder, &c. being ever known to come near it, it makes the Breath sweet, Teeth white and fast, Cures the Scurvy in the Gums, and Tooth-ach, strengthens the Sight, comforts the Brain, eases pains in the Ears, helps Deafness, loss of Memory, heals Chapped Lips and Hands, &c. (evident signs of its being free from Mercury, which is known to blacken and rot the Teeth and Gums, spoils the Sight, &c. makes the Hair grow thick, prevents its shedding, and (which is admirable) changes Red Hair in time into a light brown, and yet is as clear and as harmless as fair Water) of a pleasing Scent, being no deceit but a real Beautifier, as attested under the hands of divers persons of note. To be had only of Mr Verenne, Bookseller, at Senecas Head near Somerset House in the Strand, pr. 1 s. the Bottle with Directions.

Ever Created under the Canopy of Heaven," whose preparations were guaranteed to remove "Scurf, Morpew, Tan," and whose boast was that "you may have Hair taken from the Forehead, Lips, Chin, or any other Part." But the evidence of handbills suggests that it was women who specialized in creams to hide blotches, washes to remove suntan, lotions to raise or lower the hairline or hide scars and marks; in masks, lip salves, dentifrices, and so forth—while also selling cancer cures and physic pills. Sarah Cornelius de Heusde announced that she could "make the hair fall out, where it is too much, and make it grow, where it is too little." Another claimed that her unique pomatum "plumps the Skin, and makes the Aged appear youthful to a wonder," besides working other miracles too numerous to recite ("a summer's day is too short to demonstrate the full Virtues of both these"). Though this was rarely said in so many words, many of these preparations were clearly intended to mask the ravages of venereal infections. Indeed, certain female quacks promised cures for the pox: "if *Venus* should unfortunately be Wounded . . . by tampering with *Mars*," claimed Agnodice, she could cure the problem "without fluxing."

And then, female quacks also specialized in women's complaints ("things relating to the Female Sex," as one female quack, practicing from St. Martin's Court, at the sign of the Golden Heart, put it). Many appealed to women suffering from supposedly womb-related disorders, such as the suffocation of the mother, or hysteria; the greensickness, chlorosis, that distemper of pubescent girls; and, above all, disfunctions of the reproductive system. Thus a female quack in Exeter Street had a powder, at sixpence a paper, which was a "most certain and speedy cure for the Green-sickness, Melancholly and Spleen, and helps Stoppages and Obstructions in Women."

Scores of handbills from female empirics undertook to "remove obstructions," "restore the courses," "induce the menses," and so forth. It is, of course, highly tempting to read between the lines and assume that the true message of these bills was to restore menstruation through procuring abortion. This is probable. But before we identify all these female quacks as abortionists, a certain doubt must be registered. For might there not have been at least as many women genuinely wishing to resume menstruation as eager to dispose of unwanted fetuses? Indeed, many doctresses publicized medicines whose explicit purpose was to overcome barrenness. The lady trading from Racket Court, near Fleet Bridge, thus had "an excellent Remedy

for Barrenness in Women," and a woman practicing from Dean's Court claimed, "with God's assistance," to cure barrenness.

Did such doctresses succeed because female patients did not want to be treated by men? That was at least sometimes so. Isabella Duke, for instance, wrote to John Locke, seeking his medical advice and stating that, failing his assistance, she would go to "some Quack Doctress," "for I will never apply myself to any of your sex, if you do not help me."

Hence it is not surprising that female quacks directed their sales pitch to such feelings. Thus the handbill of "The Doctors Wife in Dean's Court," a woman of "thirty years' experience" throughout Europe, noted that "many women . . . through Modesty, are unwilling to let a Common Physician know their distempers"; such paragons of virtue "may come to her for a Private, Speedy, and Certain Cure."

As this bill hints, male and female quacks commonly operated in partnership. A quack bill, signed by a male empiric, would often invite those female patients who would prefer such an arrangement to consult with his wife, mother, or sister. Abraham Souburg, for example, informed his female readers that if they did not want to consult with him, they could see his sister, who had been "brought up all her Life in the knowledge of Physick, and hath cured many Hundred of Women in this City, of all Manner of Diseases incident to the Bodies of Women or Maids."

Margaret Searl, Wife to the late Samuel Searl, Famous for Relieving and Curing Deafness, depending on any external Obstruction of the Organ of the Ear; who had practised this Art above 38 years past, and communicated the Secret to me only, who practis'd it with him, in his Life time, for many years after the same way and method. Still living in Pye-corner, near the Bear Tavern by West-Smithfield, London; (though it is reported that I was dead, by some pretences to deceive the World) where I am ready upon any occasion of that Nature to serve such apply themselves to me: Being the Survivor of my Father Edmund Searl, and late Husband Samuel Searl. My Husband not as yet never did instruct any Servant whatsoever.

These are to give notice,
That Mary Kirleus, Widow of John Kirleus, Son of Dr Tho. Kirleus, a Collegiate Physician of London, and Sworn Physician in ordinary to K. Charles the 1st. cures all Ulcers, Sores, Scabs, Fists, Scars, Scurreys, Leprosies, and other Distempers cur'd by her late Husband, who imparted his secret to her alone, and to no body else. She gives her opinion for nothing to all that will come to her. She is removed from the Ship Lashorn in Plough-yard, to the Golden Ball in Hand Court in Holbourn, one end being over against Great Turnstile, and the other over against Bedford-row.

Likewise Cornelius à Tilbourg addressed himself to any woman with a condition, such as "Obstructions" or a "Rupture or any foul *Venereal Distemper*," which she "is ashamed to discover . . . to me," by informing her that she can "speak to my Wife," who will "relieve [her] very secretly." Similarly, the proprietor of the "Herculeon Antidote against the Pox" told women too bashful to consult with him to see his wife, rather as a German doctor and surgeon at the Vine Tavern in Long Acre advertised that "if any woman be unwilling to speak to me, they may have the conveniency of speaking to my wife, who is expert in all women's distempers."

We should not, then, underestimate the number of women making a living out of medicine in England during the long eighteenth century. Probably Alice Clark was right to suggest that "many of the services" traditionally "thought to be specially suited to the genius of women" were increasingly appropriated by male professionals. But medicine flourished in the marketplace as well as in the colleges, and the market afforded—perhaps increasingly so—opportunities for female practitioners. Such female healers necessarily had a good business nose and a feel for the market. Attention to their aims and claims may prove a good window upon women's consciousness of sickness, suffering, and medicine in the period.

ROY PORTER
Clark Professor, 1988–89

Research Reports, VII — Job, Epitaphs, and Blake's Illustrations

[Jonathan Lamb, senior lecturer at the University of Auckland, was a Short-Term Fellow at the Clark in the autumn of 1988. He has published articles on eighteenth-century literature in a variety of journals, most recently "The Fragmentation of Originals and *Clarissa*" in *Studies in English Literature* 28 (1988): 443–59. His book *Sterne's Fiction and the Double Principle* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 1989. He is currently at work on a study of readings of the Book of Job in the eighteenth century.]

Henry Fuseli introduces Blake's illustrations of Robert Blair's *The Grave* to the public like this: "In an age of equal refinement and corruption of manners, when systems of education and seduction go hand in hand, . . . in such an age, every exertion confers a benefit on society which tends to impress man with his destiny, to hold the mirror up to life, less indeed to discriminate its characters, than those situations which shew what we are all born for, what all ought to act for, and what all must inevitably come to." Fuseli's simultaneous denial and assertion of the value of instructive art is a double gesture typical of the eighteenth century, when edifying discourse was often set the task of undoing the effects of edification. Pope makes the same gesture when he dips himself in sinful ink to blot out the dirty work of other scribblers. In *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift lists as clichés the complaints he really wants to make, aware that nothing stands as a greater impediment to instruction than the clear enunciation of its basic precepts. The deep uncertainty about education affects the novel as well as satire. A set piece of comic fiction is the scene of failed instruction, where the lessons of moral economy (particularly the maxims of consolation) bring the pupil to an excess of exasperation. It is possible to characterize the development of literary forms in this period as successive attempts to domesticate, or "bring home," the language of preceptual address, both by narrowing and specifying its scope and by variegating and intensifying its rhetorical appeal. The formal admonitions of satire

are personalized into the graveyard reverie, the sentimental novel, the sublime ode, or the Gothic romance—all of which can be construed as subgenres of satire. *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, for instance, is a precise attunement of the purposes of satire to the idiom of epitaph. The career of Edward Young is exemplary in this respect, shifting from "instructive satire," the "shining supplement of public laws" (Satire 1), to the more immediate elegiac and epitaphic styles of *Night Thoughts*, which, as Fuseli notes of its imitation by Blair, spreads "a familiar and domestic atmosphere round the most important of all subjects."

Young's exemplary status is further delineated by his paraphrasing of the Book of Job. All stages in the privatization of the language of public instruction are marked by interpretations and imitations of Job, from *Peri Bathous* to *Clarissa*, from Burke's *Enquiry* to *Tristram Shandy*. The Book of Job receives this attention because it is impelled by exactly the same anxieties about the efficacy of wise admonishment that disturb the aims of instructive literature. Job's comforters squander their last reserves of maxims and proverbs in an effort to persuade Job that he has nothing to complain about. For his part, Job is astounded by their remorseless piety and refuses to be the example of it. As one bitter outburst succeeds another, the disputants are driven to experiment with new modes of complaint, moving from proverb to sarcasm, from mockery to elegy, and ultimately to a sort of grand narrative of rebuke called parable. Each shift in register is accompanied by ever sharper critiques on both sides, until Job begins to understand that he is the victim of a preceptual discourse which cannot reach his misery without mockery—that is, without assigning it exemplary status. This is when he desiderates an order of words fit for his case: "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever! For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God" (19:23–26).

It is not simplifying too much to say that these verses form the crux of all eighteenth-century interpretations of Job. Those readers who see him as an impatient man, unwisely rejecting consolation and scorning the dispensations of providence, interpret them as a kind of dramatic irony prophetic of God's manifestation before Job as a voice from the whirlwind, breathing a set of stunning ostensive questions that will answer and silence the clamorous patriarch. This is how William Warburton reads them, to whose school Young belongs. Those who take Job to be a man justifiably angry at friends so willing to sacrifice him to the savagery of an exemplary torment understand him to be asking for something like an epitaph on a gravestone. Richard Grey, in *An Answer to Mr Warburton's Remarks on . . . the Book of Job*, supposes these verses to be "an *Epitaph*, which he wishes might be engraved in the *Rock* for ever . . . as a standing Monument of his Appeal to God, for the Truth of that Innocence." Charles Peters believes Job is referring to the inscriptions on way-side pillars, which anciently preserved the memory of the dead by addressing passersby. Thomas Sherlock reads the verses as a message that will survive until the day of judg-

ment, when Job will rise up in his proper person to be vindicated. To those interpreting the Book of Job as a defense of its impatient hero rather than as a justification of an equal providence, the relation between this supposed epitaph and the printed book before them is bound to seem strangely intimate, for Job is heard to describe what they are reading.

I will risk another generalization and assert that the experiments in the literature of instruction fall into two groups corresponding to this division in the critical response to Job. On the one side are those who adopt the idiom of his comforters, justifying with an assumed clairvoyance providence and the moral economy of faith and patience; on the other are modern Jobs, whose excessive uncertainty about suffering is soothed only by a reliance on the virtue of written and engraved words.

Rather than trace in more detail the complex of opinions that divide God-oriented readings from Jobian ones, I will now outline how Blake's illustration of these important verses is responsive to the work he did on two poems—*Night Thoughts* and *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*—which are eminently representative of the two sides of the debate. Blake completed his illustrations for *Night Thoughts* in 1797, and three years later he finished his designs for Gray's *Elegy*. In Young he found a poet using

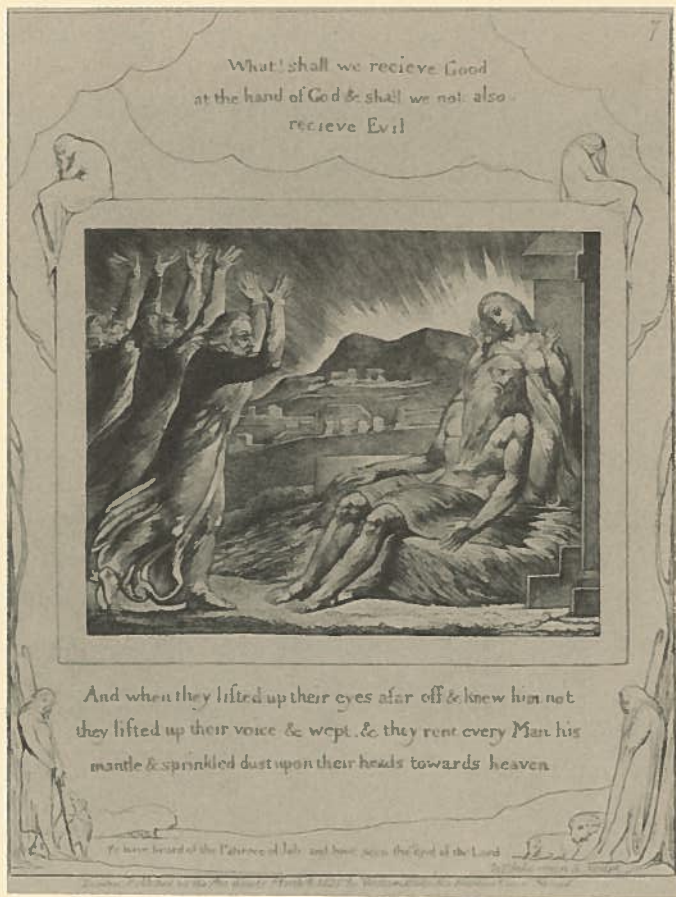
the commanding tones of one who vindicates the ways of God to man and defeats death with "Balsamic Truths, and healing Sentiments" ("This King of Terrors is the Prince of Peace").* In Gray he met a much more hesitant individual who views the grave not so much as the gateway to eternity as the writer's last chance to put something down. There is no doubt that Blake preferred the drift of Young's theodicy, where "*boundless Mind affects a boundless Space*" (9.51), to the hints of bleak materialism that disturb Gray's poet. The contrast, anticipated by Young, is carefully reinforced by Blake's images. Midnight, whether personified as a black-clad female or dramatized as a carouse around the "Midnight Bowl" (9.98; 5.50), threatens the soul with the darkness of an "unrefunding Tomb" and the hopeless "monumental Sigh" of its epitaph (7.41). But when the mighty dramatist descends

To solve all *Knots*; to strike the *Moral* home;
To throw full Day on darkest Scenes of *Time*,

then Blake can exchange images of fuliginous vapors and vine-bound bowls for arabesques of eternity, in which the cherubim form endless chains of uplifted hands and wings (9.19), and a kneeling figure worships at the intersection of endlessly involved wheels (9.58). This contrast is reflected in an iconography of books and epitaphs that is initiated by Young and carefully developed by Blake. In the seventh night, the frightful discontinuities of the epitaph composed for the tomb of unbelievers ("*Who liv'd in Terror, and in Pangs expir'd! / All gone to rot in Chaos, or, to make / Their happy Transit into Blocks, or Brutes*" [7.42]) are consonant with the fragmented texts that have brought them to this pass ("*Parts, like Half-sentences, confound*" [7.61]). The "*whole Volume*" perused by the faithful, however, advertises the sublime maxims that round off Young's own book in an epitaph for souls assimilated into the vast involutions of heaven. These antithetical visions are accompanied by various book-bearing figures in the illustrations. The heavenly economy of whole volumes is represented by a female figure pointing to the legend in her book, "Immortality decyphers Man" (7.26). Her antitypes are the female shapes who confront infidels with books symbolizing the evil consequences of fragmentary readings: the sybil who makes the king read the tale of his own death (5.25), Conscience, who fills her dread diary with horror (2.19), and the figure of Midnight, a woman with a pencil who disturbs a dying man's last moments by handing him a book of painful memories (5.11).

In the *Elegy*, this ominous female presence is Darkness, who shares her legacy of night with the poet. From the first plate, which shows the poet distractedly writing his book, to the last, where the poet's epitaph is deciphered by a shepherd, this legacy is marked by writing and books. In the second plate, Contemplation bears a book among the tombs; in the fourth, the priest's prayerbook is almost dropping into the grave; in the seventh, the toiling peasant

*See William Blake's *Designs for Edward Young's "Night Thoughts,"* ed. John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David Erdman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), *Night the Third*, pp. 19, 34; references to this edition, given subsequently in the text, are to night and page.



Job's comforters as depicted in plate 7 of Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job, first published in 1825. The Clark copy, one of a hundred made by Linnell in 1874 from the original plates, belonged to sculptor and designer Eric Gill and came to the collection with his library.

is threatened with a legal document; and in the ninth, Contemplation, still with his book, is led by the hoary-headed swain to the poet's graveside. In the scenes where there is no book to mediate between the grave and the life process of the hamlet, death seems to overwhelm even the most active and lively: in the sixth plate, the man with the spade looks like a gravedigger (attended by a moping youth who seems as if he *ought* to have a book); while in the tenth, infancy itself is transformed into a *memento mori* by the mother's outstretched hand, which links the family group with the pallbearers' procession. The eighth and eleventh plates are the most intriguing of all because in them the text is transferred from book to stone; and in both cases the shift causes a version of the reflexive patterning that makes the Book of Job itself the referent of Job's cry for a book. In the eighth plate, as Irene Tayler has noted in *Blake's Illustrations of the Poems of Gray*, the Unlettered Muse is deciphering the rude text of a headstone that bears the motto "Dust Thou Art" and the name "William Blake." In the eleventh plate the text scrutinized by the shepherd is identical with the epitaph in the box of text above it, making him and the reader images of one another. In fact, if his staff is construed as a gigantic pen or a burin, the shepherd represents not just the reader of the plate but also the author of the epitaph ("Gray") and the engraver of the picture—William Blake again.

The genesis of this odd synthesis of text, stone, reader, and engraver is to be found (another of Irene Tayler's valuable insights) in the vine-bound mound or shrouded corpse that Blake first used for *Night Thoughts*. The illustration of the fifteenth page of the first night shows the poet reading a book while briars bind his recumbent form, to the sardonic amusement of a tiny figure in black bombazine perched upon his thigh. What is needed to harmonize this dark observer with the fragmentary text and the earth-bound body is the unrefunding tomb. In the second and ninth plates of the *Elegy* the brier-bound shapes are located directly beneath sarcophagi. These two designs include Contemplation, who seems to be pointing his book simultaneously at the mound and the stone, as if the project demanded of him and his volume were the incorporation of the one into the other—a decent burial, perhaps, but also what Young calls, in his terrific epitaph on unbelievers, the transit from book to block.

Once the tomb has accommodated the mound, it ought (according to the Youngian axis of Blake's belief) to refund nothing but the legend of terror and despair recorded in the seventh night. But Blake depicts a more consoling passage from flesh to stone, no doubt because he and his art are involved in it. By inviting Blake to consider the parallel between tombs and bodies as suggestive of a further parallel between superimposed horizontal shapes and the pages of a book, Gray teaches him that the inscribed stone stands in both for the dead and whatever wisdom can moralize of their departure. It breaks the silence of the grave by supplying a surrogate "ample page" without which the dead, including the poet, cannot speak. The voice of nature can cry from the tomb, however, only if there is a mourning reader (or a willing engraver) ready to ventriloquize in front of the epitaph. The poet rehearses

the artless tales of the churchyard and is rewarded by the imagined voice of Contemplation and by the intentness of the shepherd's gaze, which both combine to lift his epitaph from the soundless invisibility of the marble slab and place it in the eye and mouth of the reader. In this circle of substitutive voices, Blake inserts his own epitaph as the last link in the chain of urgent artifices constituting his representation of Gray's poem. His death, like the poet's, is necessary to be supposed if the real dead are to speak to the living.

Blake's illustrations of the *Elegy* explore an alternating circuit of fleshly readings and monumental inscriptions far more complex and a good deal less determinate than Young's transit to stone. They stand him in good stead when, twenty-five years later, he comes to illustrate the crucial verses from Job. In the eleventh plate, Job is shown on a tomb-like couch, tormented by three demons from below, while from above he is oppressed by the furiously energetic composite of God and Satan, who also bears a striking resemblance to Job himself. God-Satan seems scornfully to be offering him a choice between the chain of the moral law, which one of the demons is lifting up in mockery, and the inscribed tablets of the Mosaic law, which form a kind of double headstone at the apex of the picture. The scene dramatizes the frightening inefficacy of cited wisdom, whether as commandment or proverb, for Job turns away in terror from these alternative representations of the Law, and cries out for different words

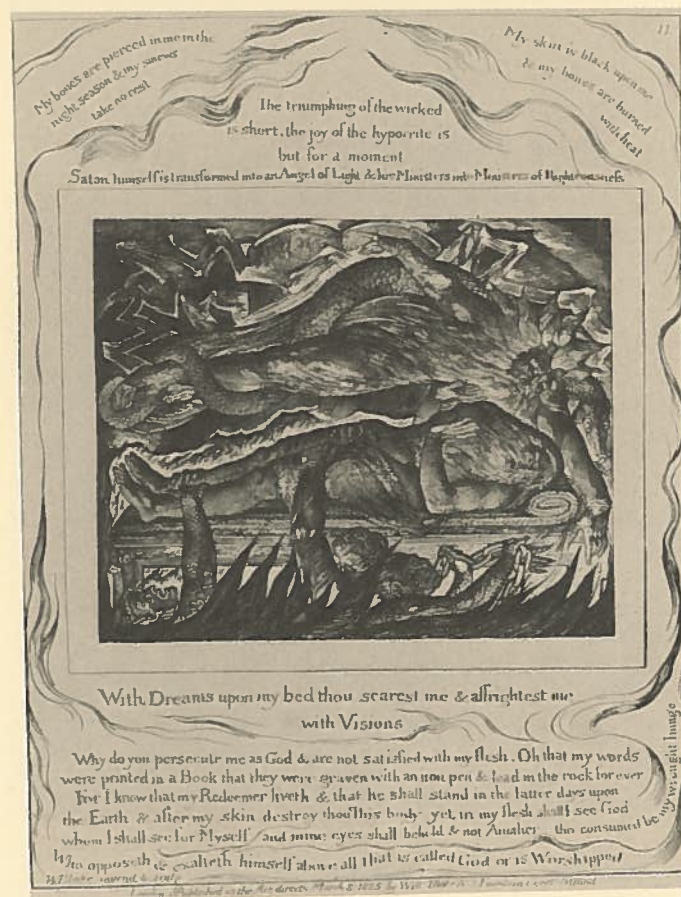


Plate 11 from Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job.

and a different medium. His wish is granted by the artist, who transforms the desperate cry into letters engraved upon a plate, which are then printed beneath the scene of mockery. They take a prominent position among a variety of scriptural fragments which Blake arranges around the border of the picture.

Job's cry is not exactly transcribed from the Authorized Version. The most striking departure from the original comes at the end of the text of plate eleven, where the phrase "though my reins be consumed within me" (19:27) is replaced by "tho consumed be my wrought Image." As if to emphasize their continuity with the scene of torment, these words coil up the margin of the plate, involved in the same flames that are burning beneath Job's tomblike bed. What they promise is the immolation of the scene above, the incineration of the vast figure of sententious mockery and its terrified double, so that the text may supervene as epitaph. This is exactly the sequence accomplished under Contemplation's gaze in the *Elegy*, where two superimposed figures are absorbed finally into a structure that frames "the lay / Grav'd on the stone beneath." The "redeemer" who "stands in" (in Hebrew *goal* means redeemer in the sense of a legal substitute, or stand-in) is "W Blake invent & sculp": the man whose name appears once again on a gravestone. All that is needed is a reader capable of reading the words he has engraved, and the strange recursiveness of text upon text accompanying the breakdown of sententious language in the original is perfectly reproduced in the copy.

JONATHAN LAMB



Bobbie Davis. Photograph taken at the Clark in 1953.

Edna C. Davis, 1919–1988: Requiescat in Libris

When Bobbie Davis retired in 1974 as Associate Head of the Clark Library, Chancellor Charles E. Young noted that the experience she had acquired during thirty-one years of service to the Library was "a powerful resource" for "the world of learning at UCLA." On a somewhat lighter note, Professor Earl Miner, long-time member of the Clark Library Committee, termed her "the memory of the Clark Library." As those who knew Bobbie Davis will attest, the tributes were well deserved.

An alumna of UCLA and a graduate of Berkeley's professional library school, Mrs. Davis joined the Clark staff in 1943, less than a decade after Mr. Clark's death, when title to the Library had passed by deed to UCLA. Over the next three decades, a period of remarkable transformation in the size and scope of the Library's collections and programs, her skilled reference work and generous service to local scholars and to a widening circle of visitors had much to do with enriching the Clark's reputation as a center of scholarly activity. Equally important was her work in building the collections. She personally researched in bibliographies, ordered, and accessioned most of the more than forty thousand titles added during her tenure. It was, indeed, her detailed knowledge of the Clark holdings

that enabled her to provide such superb service to readers.

A book-buying trip that Mrs. Davis undertook in the summer of 1971 was one of the high points of her acquisitions effort. To expedite checking, she took with her a set of the Wing catalogue annotated with Clark holdings from 1641 to 1700 and six large card-file boxes containing descriptions of the later imprints to 1750. Equipped with this bibliographical apparatus, she visited over forty antiquarian bookshops from London to Edinburgh, meticulously searching the shelves for items that would enhance the collection. Her efforts garnered some five hundred books, manuscripts, and maps for the Library.

In 1951, Mrs. Davis became corresponding secretary—in effect the business manager—of the Clark's Augustan Reprint Society, founded in 1946 to publish facsimile editions of scarce Restoration and eighteenth-century imprints. Upon her retirement, the general editors dedicated to her the ARS facsimile of Walter Charleton's *The Ephesian Matron* in recognition of her years of "gracious service."

Here we would like to recognize once more her contributions to the Clark Library, to UCLA, and to the scholarly community.

WILLIAM E. CONWAY
PATRICK MCCLOSKEY
ROBERT VOSPER

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Honors and Awards

Dr. Roy Porter of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, who is Clark Professor for the current academic year, received the Leo Gershoy Award of the American Historical Association for the best book written by a European historian and published in America. *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency*, which first appeared in Britain (London: Athlone Press, 1987), was published in 1988 by Harvard University Press.

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John Bidwell, Reference/Acquisitions Librarian at the Clark, delivered the James Russell Wiggins Lecture at the American Antiquarian Society on 2 November 1988. His talk, entitled "American History in Image and Text," will be published both as a pamphlet in the Wiggins Lecture series, which is devoted to the history of the book in American culture, and in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*.

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Robert Vosper, University Librarian Emeritus and Director Emeritus of the Clark Library, was awarded the UCLA Medal at the June 1988 commencement exercises. This award, the highest honor conferred by UCLA, was established in 1979 to acknowledge distinguished achievement in any academic discipline. The medal was presented by Dr. Franklin Murphy, Chancellor Emeritus, pictured below (left) with Professor Vosper.

