

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

**Part III**  
**COMMERCIAL BOOK ENGRAVINGS**<sup>528</sup>  
*Section A*  
**ILLUSTRATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL**  
**AUTHORS**<sup>529</sup>

**ADAMS, Michael**  
*New Royal Geographical Magazine*  
(1793, 1794)

1793 NEW LOCATIONS: British Library, Cambridge, Dalhousie, Union Theological Seminary

1794 NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge (in 48 parts; also reproduced in Primary Source Microfilms), Leeds

**ALLEN, Charles**  
*A New and Improved History of England*  
(1797)

**TITLE:** A NEW AND IMPROVED | HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND, | FROM | THE INVASION OF JULIUS  
CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE | THIRTY-SEVENTH

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<sup>528</sup> Many of the new locations for books with Blake's commercial engravings after Fuseli below, particularly those in Swiss libraries, derive from the admirable details in David Weinglass, *Prints ... After Fuseli* (1994).

<sup>529</sup> In 2010 for the first time I record contemporary references to separately issued prints by Blake. After 2015, I no longer record post-1863 sales of unremarkable copies of books with Blake's commercial engravings. For voluminous records of these, see Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace", *Blake*, (2016 ff.)

YEAR OF THE REIGN | OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD  
[i.e., 1797]. | - | *By CHARLES ALLEN, A.M.* | AUTHOR OF  
THE ROMAN HISTORY &c. | - | THE SECOND EDITION,  
| EMBELLISHED WITH FOUR COPPER PLATES, AND A  
CHRONOLO- | GICAL CHART OF THE REVOLUTIONS  
IN GREAT BRITAIN. | - | Concluding with a short but  
comprehensive Historical View | of Europe, from the abolition  
of the Monarchical form of | government in France; the  
military and naval operations, | with the conquests and  
revolutions in Italy to the | peace of Udina. The changes and  
revolutions in the | political state of the French Republic, and a  
more parti- | cular detail of the British History during that  
period. | = | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, NO.  
72, ST. PAUL'S | CHURCH-YARD. | - | 1798

This differs from the record in *BB* 521-22 in **(1)** the line-end after "parti-", **(2)** the double-rule before "LONDON", and **(3)** "1798" rather than "1797".

NEW LOCATIONS: Agence bibliographique de l'enseignement supérieur (Monpellier, France), Auburn (Montgomery), Auckland, Basel, Berne, Brandeis, Carleton (Ottawa), Cleveland Public Library, Davison College, Dickinson College, European University Institute (Istituto Universitaire Europeo [Fiesole, Italy]), Florida Southern College, Groningen, Hastings College of the Law, Kansas State, Kent State, Leiden, Macquarie, Massachusetts (Boston), Mississippi, Monash, Muhlenberg College, New Brunswick (Frederickton, St John), Oregon, Sarah Lawrence College, Simon Fraser, South Florida, Victoria (British Columbia), Virginia Commonwealth, Western Carolina, Wright State

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The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

In some copies (e.g., Victoria University in the University of Toronto) is a leaf with an advertisement (perhaps set from standing type of the title page) for Allen's *Roman History* "EMBELLISHED WITH FOUR COPPER PLATES" [engraved by Blake] (1798) "FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS" at 4s.

In at least one copy,<sup>530</sup> two words ("or Britain") in a nonsensical phrase ("the southern part of the island, or Britain,") in the "REMARKS on the use of the Chronological Chart annexed to this work" (p. [522]) have been deleted, and in other copies (e.g., Victoria University in the University of Toronto) four lines were reset to eliminate the solecism.

NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Edinburgh, Michigan, Mitchell Library (Glasgow), Mount Holyoke College, National Library of Ireland, National Library of Scotland, Pittsburgh, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), West Sussex Record Office

Pl. 2 "King John Absolved by Pandulph". The true-size drawing for it, acquired by R.N. Essick, "bears all the hallmarks of a work by Fuseli, including the characteristic left-hand hatching strokes". This is perhaps the clearest evidence to support the long-held belief that the designs to Allen's books are by Fuseli. The drawing was calked and

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<sup>530</sup> It bears the signature of Ruthven Todd (11 xii 1945) and the bookplate of Pamela and Raymond Lister and was generously shown me by the distinguished bookseller John Windle.

counterproofed, presumably by Blake, onto the copperplate for engraving.<sup>531</sup>

**ALLEN, Charles**  
***Roman History***  
**(1797)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Boston, British Library, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Mount Holyoke College, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)  
Pl. 1 A “pre-publication proof” of pl. 1, with Blake’s signature but lacking the title and “P. 2.”, was acquired from John Windle by Robert N. Essick.

**Anon.**  
***Maria: A Novel***  
**(London: T. Cadell, 1785)**

See [Blower, Elizabeth], *Maria: A Novel* (London: T. Cadell, 1785).

***Archaeologia***  
**Vol. II (1773) <BBS>**  
NEW LOCATION: South Carolina

**ARIOSTO, Lodovico**  
***Orlando Furioso***  
**(1783, 1785, 1791, 1799)**

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<sup>531</sup> R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace, 2004”, *Blake*, XXXVIII (2005).

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1783 NEW LOCATIONS: Edinburgh, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1785 NEW LOCATIONS: Glasgow, National Library of Scotland, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (2 copies, Bentley collection)

1791 NEW LOCATIONS: Oxford (Taylorian), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (2 copies, Bentley collection)

1799 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Arkansas (Fayetteville), Augusta State, Bard College, Boston Athenaeum, British Columbia, Bryn Mawr College, California (Los Angeles), Cape Town, Cincinnati, City College (N.Y.), Clark, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library, Drake, Duke, Florida State, George Mason, Hobart & William Smith College, Illinois, Ireland (Maynooth), Johns Hopkins, Kent State, London, London Library, Louisiana State, Michigan State, Middlebury College, Monroe Community College, National Library of Wales, Nazareth College (Rochester, N.Y.), New Mexico, New York State Library, North Carolina, Northern Illinois, Pratt Institute, Queen's (Belfast), Rochester, Rochester Public Library, St John Fisher College, St Louis, Seton Hall, Stanford, Texas Tech, Trinity College (Dublin), Trinity College (Hartford, Connecticut), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), U.S. Air Force Academy, Victoria (British Columbia), Victoria & Albert Museum, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wabash College, Wales (Lampeter)

A copy of Blake's print in the Essick Collection has a plate-mark of 14.8 x 24.5 cm, whereas in the published version it is c. 13.5 x 19.0 cm.

***Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine***  
**I (1793)**

NEW LOCATION: Northwestern

The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

Primary Source Microfilms reproduced it in microfilm in their Eighteenth Century Collection series (by 2005).

See *The Cabinet of the Arts* (1799) in which Blake's engraving of "F. Revolution" is reprinted.

EDITION

*Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* (Gale Ecco Print Editions, 2010) 90 pp.; ISBN: 9781170817551 A digitized version

**BIBLE**

**NEW ENGRAVING**

**Diamond Bible**

**(1832-34; 1836-37; 1840)**

**Engraved title page:** DIAMOND | BIBLE | WITH | NOTES,  
| BY THE | REV. H. STEBBING | M.A.M.R.S.L. &c | London:  
| ALLAN BELL & CO. WARWICK SQUARE: | AND  
SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS COURT. **1833.**  
[An elaborate wide border with Egyptian motifs separates the title from the imprint. The New Testament has a separate engraved title page with the same imprint but different lineation.]

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**Typeset title page:** THE | HOLY BIBLE, | CONTAINING |  
THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, | ACCORDING TO  
THE AUTHORIZED VERSION. | - | WITH NOTES, |  
PRACTICAL AND EXPLANATORY, BY THE | REV.  
HENRY STEBBING, A.M. | MEMBER OF THE ROYAL  
SOCIETY OF LITERATURE. | IN TWO VOLUMES. | VOL.  
I. | LONDON: | ALLAN BELL & CO. WARWICK SQUARE,  
| AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS' COURT; |  
W. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN; AND OLIVER | AND  
BOYD, EDINBURGH. | MDCCCXXXIV [1834].

Vol. I consists of the Old Testament through Job; Vol. II is the rest of the Old Testament plus the New Testament. There are separate title pages for Psalms (Vol. I) and the New Testament (Vol. II).

**B. Engraved title page:** DIAMOND | BIBLE. | - | WITH |  
NOTES, | BY THE | REV. H. STEBBING | M.A. M.R.S.L.  
&C | LONDON | ALLAN BELL & CO. WARWICK  
SQUARE. | AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS  
COURT. | 1834 [i.e., the lettering is the same as in the first  
version but the date is altered from 1833 to 1834]

*Typeset title page:* THE | HOLY BIBLE, | CONTAINING |  
THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, | ACCORDING TO  
THE AUTHORIZED VERSION. | WITH NOTES, |  
PRACTICAL AND EXPLANATORY, | BY THE | REV.  
HENRY STEBBING, A.M. | MEMBER OF THE ROYAL  
SOCIETY OF LITETRATURE. | LONDON: | ALLAN BELL  
& CO. AND SHEPHERD & SUTTON; | AND FRASER &  
CO. EDINBURGH. | MDCCCXXXVI [1836]. [i.e., like the  
1834 typeset title page except for the imprint: LONDON: |

ALLAN BELL & CO. WARWICK SQUARE, | AND  
SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS' COURT; | W.  
CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN; AND OLIVER | AND  
BOYD, EDINBURGH. | MDCCCXXXIV [1834].]

C. §(Glasgow: D.A. Borrenstein, 1840)<sup>532</sup>

1832-34 LOCATIONS: British Library (1066.b.7-8 [reported here] and C.150.b.3 [lacks New Testament])

1834-36 LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (with additional title pages for the *Diamond New Testament* [engraved, n.d.; typeset, 1836] *Diamond Book of Psalms* [London: Allan Bell and Co, and Simpkin and Marshall, 1834], for *The Psalms of David*[engraved, 1836; typeset: 1834])

1836-37 LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Glasgow, National Library of Scotland, St Andrews

1840 LOCATIONS: British Library, Glasgow

DATE: An advertisement in *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* for **30 April 1834**, p. 40 <Stanford> says that the Diamond Bible was being re-issued in monthly Numbers with two steel engravings each. Since it identifies 56 prints (there were eventually 60), this implies that, if they appeared regularly, the first Number appeared in January 1832 and the last in June 1834. If the prints appeared in the order in which they are numbered, Blake's Job print was published with the Fifteenth monthly Number in March 1833.

PLATES: There are 60 steel-plate illustrations 11.5 x 6.5 cm

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<sup>532</sup> The details for 1836-37 and 1840 come from T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of The English Bible 1525-1961*, rev. A.S. Herbert (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society; N.Y.: The American Bible Society, 1968), No. 1801.

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engraved by W.H. Lizars after Great Masters. No. 30 is Blake's "Job and His Family".

At Vol. I, p. 632 is an engraving with "BLAKE." at the top, "JOB AND HIS FAMILY." below the design within a framing-line and, below the framing-line: "Lizars sc. | Drawn & Engraved for Allan Bell & C.<sup>o</sup> Warwick Square, London, **1833**." Lizars altered the shape of Blake's Job pl. "1" (Job in prosperity) from portrait to landscape, shortening it vertically (replacing sheep at the bottom with a little foliage) and extending it horizontally (with additional sleeping sheep). The sky at the right has been altered from black to daylight, with the consequent loss of a star.

This is the first time any of Blake's Job plates were copied by another engraver. Lizars' engraving is copied in *The English Version of the Polyglott Bible* (**1836**) (see the reproduction in Blake, XXXVIII [2005], 137).

William Hone Lizars of Edinburgh subscribed for sets of Job in June 1831 and August 1832 (the last "for a friend" (*BR* (2) 545, 551, 793, 804).

There was also *The Devotional Diamond Bible*, ed. Wm Gurney (London, 1821), illustrated, and *Diamond Bible* (Greenfield [Massachusetts]: W. and H. Merriam, 1842).

REVIEWS, Puffs, &c.

An advertisement<sup>533</sup> for Allan, Bell and Co.'s Books  
(**1833**) includes "The Diamond Bible ... each

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<sup>533</sup> At the end of Sir William Jardine, *Naturalist's Library Mammalia I Monkeys* (Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars and Stirling and Kenney; London: Longman and Co.; Dublin: W. Curry Junr, **1833**) <Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent>.

Number comprising 48 pages letterpress, and two beautiful Steel Plates from Drawings of the *Great Masters*.” Also a Diamond New Testament and Diamond Book of Common Prayer. They also advertise *The Illustrated Family Bible*, ed. Henry Stebbins with “Plates ... coloured in a very superior manner, by MR LIZARS”, folio

*Literary Gazette*, XVIII, 892 (**22 February 1834**), 136 (Vol. I is “An extremely neat volume; appropriately illustrated by engravings after celebrated pictures”)

*Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, No. 5 (**30 April 1834**), 40 <Stanford> (an advertisement for “Re-Issue, In Monthly Parts at One Shilling, and in Numbers at Six Pence, of the Diamond Bible and Book of Common Prayer ... [ed.] Rev. H. Stebbing ... Each Number to comprise Forty-eight pages letter-press and Two Steel Engravings.” The list of Illustrations to the Diamond Bible includes “30 Job and his Family. *Blake*”. It quotes reviews in the *Weekly Times*, *Literary Gazette*, and *Evangelical Register*. The prayer book has seven designs after “Stoddard” or “Stoddart”, i.e., Stothard)

*Analyst* [London], I (**August 1834**), 70 <Michigan> (under “New Publications, From June 7 to July 15, 1834” is “Stebbing’s Diamond Bible, 12mo. 16s. 6d.”)

An integral advertisement in Sir William Jardine, *The Naturalist’s Library: Ornithology Vol. III Gallinaceous Birds* (London, **1834**) <Bodley> recommends The Diamond Pocket Bible, ed.

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Stebbings, with “Sixty Illustrations”

***The English Version of the Polyglott Bible***  
**(1836)**

The anonymous engraving for “Job and His Family” derives from the engraving by Lizars in *The Diamond Bible* (1832-34).

***The Protestants Family Bible***  
**(1780-81)**

NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

***The Royal Universal Family Bible***  
**(1781-82; 1781, 1784, 1785)**

Vol. I (1780 [i.e., 1781]), Vol. II (1781 [i.e., 82])

NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wormsley Library (bound by Samuel Hazard of Bath)

Vol. I (1781), Vol. II Old Testament (1784), New Testament (1785) NEW LOCATION: Wittenberg

**אוב בַּפֶּךְ *Illustrations of The Book of Job***  
**(1826, 1874)**

1826 NEW LOCATIONS: Art Gallery of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia), Brooklyn Museum, California Legion of Honor Museum (San Francisco) (“Proofs”), Cincinnati Art Museum (india paper plus another plus pre-publication of

proofs numbered 6-7 plus “Plates 3, 8, 17 (numbered ‘6,’ ‘7,’ ‘16’)”, Duke, Felsted School (Felsted, Essex) (reproduced in the 1996 February 2-April 7 catalogue of the Fundación "la Caixa" in Madrid, plates 64a-x), Glasgow (Hunterian Museum of Art Gallery), Indianapolis Museum of Art, Kanagawa Kindai Bijutsukan [Kanagawa Modern Fine Art Museum, Japan], Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), National Library of Australia, New Art Gallery (Walsall), North Carolina (Greensboro), Royal Academy, Santa Barbara Museum, Tennyson Research Centre (Lincolnshire Archives, signed on the flyleaf “Alfred Tennyson, Farringford Freshwater I.W. [Isle of Wight]”,<sup>534</sup> prints reproduced online via [www.lincstothe past.com](http://www.lincstothe past.com)), Trinity College (Oxford, given in 1899), Wesleyan, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

COPIES OF UNRECORDED DATE NEW LOCATIONS:  
Albertina Museum (Vienna, Austria), Art Gallery of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia), Auckland City Art Gallery, Fogg Museum (Harvard University), Indianapolis Museum of Art, Mount Holyoke College, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (Williamstown [Massachusetts])

According to Rosenbach's acquisition card, a copy in "original boards, with label, having on it an Ms. note: '---'s copy of proofs presented to G. Wyther, Esqr. by John Linnell, Dec. 2 1863", "Horns" [\$125.00], sale price "260.<sup>00</sup>", was "Sold to Mrs Landon K Thorne 2|25|63".

Another copy was recorded on the Rosenbach acquisition

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<sup>534</sup> Tennyson kept “Book of Job” “On the Round Table in the Drawing Room” at Farringford, according to his list of books (reproduced in *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 July 2013, p. 3).

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card as "21 plates. Folio, green morocco. Inscribed on fly 'Milton Riviere. This book came to me at my Father's death in 1876. He had it from Blake, having subscribed for it on its publication.'" "[fr. P. Hofer, on exchg.]"

PROOFS: "Illustrations to the Book of Job; 22 plates, artist's proofs on india paper, large paper, with MS. draft of the binder's label in the autograph of John Linnell, Senr. (the friend of Blake), with a note to the effect that 'These plates are engraved by Mr. Blake with the graver only (that is without the aid of aqua fortis),' bds. From the Collection of the late John Linnell, Junr. Fol. Published by the author, 1825", were sold by Hodgson and Co., 28-30 April 1908, lot 574 [£11.5.0].

"Illustrations of the Book of Job; 22 plates, a set of artist's proofs before the imprint, showing several interesting points of difference when compared with the finished proofs in the preceding, cut down lot to sm. 4to size, hf. russ. From the Collection of J. Linnell, Senr. 1825" were sold in the same Hodgson catalogue, lot 575 [£2.0.0].

The set of pl. 1-2, 4-11 in the Fogg Museum (Harvard University) is reproduced online.

The sets in Tate Britain (1874) and the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

**NEWLY RECORDED**

Thirteen "*excessively rare*" "EARLY Proof Impressions" of *Job* plates numbered 1-3, 6-8, 11, 14, 16-17, 19-21 were offered in Quaritch *Rough List 73* (November 1885), lot 55 (£10.0.0) and are now untraced.

Working proofs for *Job* are reproduced in the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) online catalogue.

Dimensions of the Copperplates<sup>535</sup> in Centimetres

Plate	Width	Height	Thickness
1 Title page	16.5	21.3	0.143
2 pl. "1"	16.6	20.0	0.114
3 pl. "2"	17.1	21.8	0.149
4 pl. "3"	17.1	22.0	0.145
5 pl. "4"	17.1	21.9	0.159
6 pl. "5"	17.1	22.0	0.152
7 pl. "6"	17.2	21.9	0.153
8 pl. "7"	17.2	22.0	0.149
9 pl. "8"	17.0	21.9	0.160
10 pl. "9"	17.1	22.0	0.155
11 pl. "10"	17.2	21.9	0.146
12 pl. "11"	17.1	21.8	0.147
13 pl. "12"	17.0	22.0	0.150
14 pl. "13"	17.0	21.9	0.153
15 pl. "14"	16.6	20.8	0.100
16 pl. "15"	17.1	21.9	0.160
17 pl. "16"	16.6	20.2	0.106
18 pl. "17"	17.1	22.1	0.152
19 pl. "18"	17.2	22.0	0.146

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<sup>535</sup> The surface dimensions of the copperplates in the British Museum Print Room were measured by GEB on the versos; the thickness was recorded by Jenny Bescoby, Conservator at the British Museum Print Room, in *Print Quarterly*, XXI (2004), 26 n22.

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20 pl. "19"	17.1	21.9	0.156
21 pl. "20"	17.1	22.0	0.154
22 pl. "21"	17.1	21.9	0.155

Plates with significantly different thickness cannot have been cut from the same sheet of copper.

Pl. "1" For an adaptation of the design, see Bible (1836) below.

Under the terms of the "Memorandum of Agreement between William Blake and John Linnell. March 25<sup>th</sup> 1823", "J.L. [was to] find Copper Plates" (*BR* [2] 386). According to his "Account of Expenses of the Book of Job", Linnell paid for three lots each of "6 copper Plates for Job" in "1823" at £1.0.0, £1.2.0, and £1.3.7 and for two more in 1825 [by 3 March] at 6s (*BR* (2) 804).

The 18 *Job* copperplates acquired in 1823 were almost certainly the 18 plates (pl. 3-14, 16, 18-22) of uniform width (17.0 to 17.2 cm), height (21.8 to 22.1 cm), and thickness (0.145 to 0.160 cm), all bearing the same copperplate-maker's mark slanting down from the top left corner: R PONTIFEX & C | 22 LISLE STREET | SOHO LONDON. Crossing marks on the versos of these copperplates show that they were cut from three large sheets of copper which already bore these crossing marks.<sup>536</sup> The cost of the 18 copperplates was at the rate of 11.6 g for a penny.

The two copperplates acquired early in 1825 are almost certainly pl. 15 and 17 which are on the versos of copperplates

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<sup>536</sup> Mei-Ying Sung, "Technical and Material Studies of William Blake's Engraved *Illustrations of The Book of Job* (1826)", Nottingham Trent University Ph.D. (2005), 148-51, generously sent to me.

originally used for Pl. II-III of Henri Louis Duhamel du Monceau, *A Practical Treatise of Husbandry* [tr. John Mills] (1762); these differ significantly from the first 18 copperplates in width (16.6 cm), height (20.8 and 20.2 cm), and thickness (0.100 and 0.106). The cost of the Duhamel plates was at the rate of 8.6 g for a penny.

The two copperplates not represented in Linnell's "Account of Expenses of the Book of Job" are apparently pl. 1-2, the title page and the first design, which are narrower (16.5 and 16.6 cm), shorter (21.3 and 20.0 cm), and thinner (0.143 and 0.114 cm) than the first 18 plates purchased. Pl. 1 verso bears vertically at the bottom right corner the copperplate-maker's mark of G HARRIS | N<sup>o</sup> 31<sup>537</sup> | SHOE LANE | LONDON (part of the first line cut off), and pl. 2 has the PONTIFEX mark. At least the second of them, pl. 2, must have been acquired before 1825, for at Samuel Palmer's "never-to-be forgotten first interview" with Blake, "the copper of the first plate – 'Thus did Job continually' [Job pl. 2] – was lying on the table where he had been working at it" (*BR*(2) 391); the date must be before 9 October 1824 when Palmer called on Blake with Linnell (*BR*(2) 400). At the rate of the other PONTIFEX plates (11.6 g for a penny), the cost would have been 5s 8d.

Linnell drafted a description of the work:<sup>538</sup>

Blake's Illustrations  
of the  
Book of Job.

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<sup>537</sup> Not "No 3", as in *BB* 518.

<sup>538</sup> Essick Collection: Watermark: JOHN HALL.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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Consisting of 22 Plates engraved by himself upon  
Copper from his own Designs

Price to Subscribers -- -- --	[£]3.3. -
Proof on India paper	<u>5.5 -</u>
Subscription --	1.—

received by the Author W<sup>m</sup> Blake 3 Fountain Court,  
Strand

or M<sup>r</sup>. J. Linnell 6. Cirencester Place Fitzroy sq.<sup>r</sup> -- These  
Plates are engraved entirely by Mr Blake with the graver  
only (that is without the aid of Aqua fortis).<sup>539</sup>

However, no printed version of this description is known.  
As Linnell wrote to Colnaghi in January 1830, "The work has  
never yet been advertized".

The printed label is similar in substance except that **(1)**  
there are said to be 21 plates (omitting the title page); **(2)** Blake  
is described as "Author of Designs to 'Blair's Grave,' 'Young's  
Night Thoughts, &c.'"; **(3)** The prices are given only in  
manuscript with India paper proofs at £6.6.; **(4)** The date is  
added ("March 1826"); and **(5)** The last sentence of the draft is  
omitted.

T.H. Cromek wrote that about 1863

I lunched at Mr Monckton Milnes'. I had a great  
treat looking at his fine collection of Blake's

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<sup>539</sup> The manuscript is with a copy of the 1808 quarto India paper  
proofs offered in John Windle Catalogue 46 (2009), lot 8; Mr Windle generously  
sent me a reproduction of the MS.

drawings and his printed works – Of the latter he has a [coloured] copy [A] of Young’s ‘Night Thoughts’ – and ‘Job’, coloured by Blake. At the beginning of one of these he has inserted Phillips’ portrait of Blake a watercolour drawing, the same size as Schiavonetti’s engraving. He is in a pale blue coat. This drawing belonged to my father.<sup>540</sup>

No coloured set of the Job engravings is known, and I do not know where the Phillips watercolour portrait of Blake is.

#### REVIEW

**Anon.**, “Mr. William Blake ...”, *Star Chamber*, No. 4 (Wednesday, **3 May 1826**), 73 (admiring reference to the publication of Blake’s *Job*)

#### EDITIONS OF THE ENGRAVINGS

*\*Illustrations of the Book of Job Invented and Engraved by William Blake 1825[.] Reduced in Facsimile by Alfred Dawson 1880.*

Phillips's portrait of Blake as engraved by Schiavonetti and the 22 Job prints, all reduced in size, are reproduced as "photo-intaglios" by the Typographic Etching Co. as in the Second Edition of Gilchrist (1880) <BB>, where the method and the company are identified. (The portrait of Blake was added in 1880, and different versions of the Job prints appeared in the first edition of 1863.) The only text is the title above on the blue upper cover. The 23 India-paper prints (on rectos of laid paper backing leaves 32.5 x 24.5 cm, much larger than in

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<sup>540</sup> T.H. Cromeck, “Recollections of conversations with Mr. John Pye”, 1863-64, Volume Six in the Cromeck Archive, quoted in the 2008 Catalogue p. [45].

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Gilchrist) are loose in the folder. The only copy known to me is in the collection of Professor Robert N. Essick.

*Illustrations of the Book of Job* Invented and Engraved by William Blake. A New Edition (London: Methuen, 1903) The Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books <BB> **B.** (N.Y.: D. Appleton and Company, 1903) **C.** (London: Methuen, 1904)

The 1903 edition is in Small and Large (100) Paper copies.

REVIEW

**Anon.**, “Blake’s Plates of Job”, *New York Times*, **21 February 1903**

*Illustrations of the Book of Job*, ed. **Laurence Binyon** (1906) <BB>

REVIEW

§**Anon.**, “William Blake”, *Times Literary Supplement*, **11 January 1907** (with 3 others)

\***Coutts, Francis.** *The Heresy of Job: with the Inventions of William Blake* (London and N.Y., 1907) <BB #427> **B.** §([Whitefish, Montana]: Kessinger Publishing, 2010) 196 pp.; ISBN: 9781120888432

*Illustrations of The Book of Job Invented & Engraved by William Blake 1825* (London: Frederick Hollyer, 1923). <BB>

Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

According to a prospectus (?1923), 225 copies were produced at £3.3.0.

*The Book of Job* (1927) <BB>

REVIEW

§**Anon.**, *Times Literary Supplement*, **15 September 1927**  
(with another)

§*The Story of Stories: The Book of Job* with an Introduction by **Lawrence Montague Lande** (Montréal: [L. Lande], 1946) [10], 157 pp.

It includes reproductions of all Blake's Job prints.

*Blake's Job: William Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job*, ed. **S. Foster Damon** (1966, 1967, 1969, 1972) <BB>

REVIEWS

**John E. Grant**, *Philological Quarterly*, XLVI, 3 (July 1967), 328-29

**Jeffry Spencer**, *Blake*, XII, 2 (Fall 1978)

§\**The Book of Job Translated in Rhyme by J.H. Schwarz with William Blake's Illustrations* (Peoria, Illinois: Rev. J.H. Schwarz, 1974)

It includes reproductions of “proof” impressions of all Blake's prints save the title page.<sup>541</sup>

*William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job: The Engravings and related material*, ed. **David Bindman** and

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<sup>541</sup> The information derives from R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace 2010”, *Blake*, XLIV (2011), 131.

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*Illustrations of the Book of Job: Plates*, ed. **Bo Lindberg** (1987) The William Blake Trust <BBS> – see under Art

\**Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 4<sup>o</sup>, pp. iv, 60; ISBN: 0486287653 **B.** §(2007) ISBN: 97804896287652

All 21 engravings are reproduced in Samuel Terrien, *The Iconography of Job Through the Centuries* (1996).

§\**El Libro de Job*. Tr. **Fray Luis de Leon** [1527-91]. *Ilustraciones de William Blake*. Introducción de **Jorge Luis Borges** (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2000) El Manantial Oculito 24 cm, 186 pp. In Spanish

§*Jobs bog* (2009) ISBN: 9788750524371 In Danish

§\**William Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job*. With a Commentary by Dr Udo Szekulics (Vienna: Dr Udo Szekulics, 2010) 64 pp.; ISBN: 97832000171382

Includes full-size reproductions of Blake's 22 engravings.

§\**Illustrations of the Book of Job* ([Charleston, South Carolina]: Nabu Press, 2010) 52 pp.; ISBN: 9781176714991

All 22 prints are reproduced in John Windle, *Pictorial Blake* (2011).

\**William Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job* (e-artnow, 2013) ISBN: 978807484425

Probably from a copy in the Library of Congress -- see *The Complete Illustrated Books of William Blake*.

\**Ilustraciones al Libro de Job*. Tr. **Raquel Duato** (Madrid: La Fulguera Editores, 2014) Colección Artefactos. 8°, 128 pp.; ISBN: 9788494218736, with reproductions of all the prints Spanish translations of inscriptions facing each print

"Nota de los editores" (pp. 11-12)

**Javier Calvo**, "Prólogo: Satanás contra la imaginación" (pp. 13-27), mostly paraphrasing **Kathleen Raine**

"Nota de la traductora" (pp. 31-32)

§\**Illustrations of the Book of Job* (Bookpubber, 2014) 64 pp., with reproductions of 22 engravings. [No edition identified, no ISBN given.]

### **Diamond Bible**

**(1832-34; 1836-37; 1840)**

A (1832-34) NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto

### **Bible**

**(1836)**

THE | ENGLISH VERSION | OF THE | POLYGLOTT  
BIBLE: | CONTAINING THE | Old and New Testaments, |  
TOGETHER WITH | A COPIOUS AND ORIGINAL  
SELECTION OF REFERENCES, | TO PARALLEL AND  
ILLUSTRATIVE PASSAGES. | EXHIBITED IN A  
MANNER HITHERTO UNATTEMPTED. | - |

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

NORTHAMPTON [Massachusetts]—J.H. BUTLER. |  
BUFFALO [New York]—T. AND M. BUTLER. | 1836.  
[Within a double frame of rules.] 6.8 x 11.0 cm <*R.N. Essick  
Collection*>

An engraving labelled “Job and His Family” (“Blake”-Anon.), image c. 5.8 x 9.0 cm, derives from Blake’s *Job* pl. “1” (16.5 x 21.3 cm). In it the foreground sheep are omitted, two are moved to the flocks at the left and right, and a band of foliage is added. This is apparently the earliest repetition of Blake’s *Job* designs.

This tiny Bible, of a “convenient size for the Pocket”, with a Preface signed “T.C.” as “the Editor”, may be rare; at any rate it, the Butlers, Northampton, and Buffalo do not appear in *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of The English Bible 1525-1961 Revised and Expanded from the Edition of T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule 1903* by A.S. Herbert (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society; N.Y.: The American Bible Society, 1968).

The *Polyglott* in the title is justified only in the work from which the Butler edition was indirectly pirated: *The English Version of the Polyglott Bible... With a ... selection of references to parallel and illustrative passages* (London: Samuel Bagster, [1815,] 1816), with a Preface signed “T.C.” for Thomas Chevalier; this *English Version* appeared with separately-issued versions of the Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, and Spanish (D&M #1628). Bagster’s *English Version* was reprinted in 1819, 1825, 1826, 1828, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1838 [1840?], [1844] (3 varieties)

(D&M #1628) and in U.S. editions of 1825 [Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle, D&M #1748], 1831 [Philadelphia: Key and Meikle, D&M #1785], 1837, 1841, 1842, and 1844 a total of “well over a hundred [U.S. versions of Bagster’s *Polyglott*] reprinted within fifty years” (D&M #1628, 1785). Plainly the English text of Bagster’s *Polyglott* was freely pirated and frequently reprinted; apparently the only remarkable feature of the 1836 edition is in the illustrations.

**BLAIR, Robert**

***The Grave***

**(1808, 1813, 1847, 1858, [1870], 1879)**

1808 Quarto NEW LOCATIONS: Adelphi, Auckland Public Library, Baylor, Boston, Boston Athenaeum, Brown, Bryn Mawr College, California (Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz), Cape Town, Carnegie Mellon, Chicago, Cincinnati Art Museum, City College, Claremont College, Cleveland Museum of Art, Dayton, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard (Villa i Tatti), Hoffstra, Hong Kong, Kanagawa Kindai Bijutsukan [Kanagawa Modern Fine Art Museum, Japan], Kansas, Johns Hopkins, Kennesaw State, Lafayette College, Manitoba, Nebraska (Lincoln), North Carolina (Chapel Hill), North Texas, Northern Illinois, Northwestern, Ohio State, Providence Public Library, Rochester, Rutgers, St Joseph’s, Temple, Texas Christian, Victoria & Albert Museum, University Art Museum (Kyoto City University of Arts), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 4 copies, plus Northrop Frye's copy), Wake Forest (grey stiff paper wrappers), Washington (Seattle), Washington State, Wesleyan (Connecticut), Western Ontario, Williams College, Wisconsin (Milwaukee), York (Toronto)

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1808 A-B NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Birmingham, Brooklyn Museum, Cincinnati Art Museum, Glasgow, King's College (Cambridge), Leeds, Manchester, National Library of Wales, Newcastle, Sheffield, Trevelyn Library (Wallington Hall, Northumberland, property of The National Trust), Trinity College (Dublin), University Art Museum (Kyoto City University of Arts)

1813 Folio NEW LOCATIONS: Liverpool Public Library, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1813 [i.e., 1870] THE | GRAVE, |[Gothic:] A Poem | *Illustrated by twelve Etchings* | Executed | BY | LOUIS SCHIAVONETTI | *from the Original* | Inventions | OF | WILLIAM BLAKE. | 1808 [Ackermann imprint 1813 (i.e., Camden Hotten, 1870)]

NEW LOCATIONS: Brown, California (San Diego), Queen Mary (University of London), Skidmore, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), York (Toronto)

1813 COPIES OF UNRECORDED FORMAT NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Kent (Canterbury), Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), Mount Holyoke College, Pembroke College (Cambridge), Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), St John's College (Cambridge), Southampton, Trinity College (Cambridge), Victoria & Albert Museum (2 copies)

1847 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1858 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1879 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1879 *The Grave, A Poem* (N.Y.: James Miller, 779 Broadway [c. 1879]) <BBS>

The 1808 engravings in the copy in the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

The copy in Victoria University in the University of Toronto is a portfolio of engravings only, no text, in a cover blind-stamped with designs identical to those on the Victoria University in the University of Toronto copy of the Hotten 1870 facsimile, the prints with the same variants of lettering [replacing the Spanish of 1826] as in 1870, e.g., “Tis” [lacking the apostrophe] in the quotation for pl. 7, “The descent of Man”).

#### Working Proof

A working proof of "Death's Door" (pl. 11) etched by Schiavonetti was acquired in 2014 through Sotheran's by VICTORIA UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

LEAF SIZE: 21.5 x 32 cm

WATERMARK: None

PLATE SIZE: 17.3 x 29.2 (as in 1808)

INSCRIPTIONS: "*Drawn by W. Blake*", "*Etched by L. Schiavonetti*", "*London Published May 1.<sup>st</sup> 1806 by Cadell & Davies Strand*" (the version in 1808 adds at the top right "P. 32", below the title adds "*Tis but a Night, a long and moonless Night, | We make the Grave our Bed, and then are gone!*", and the year is changed to "1808"). (Another copy of this proof is in the *Biblioteca la Solana*.)

The frontispiece portrait of Blake (T. Phillips-L. Schiavonetti) exists in a recently discovered "pre-publication proof lacking all letters and before considerable finishing work

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in the design, India paper laid on heavy wove paper without watermark, leaf trimmed inside the platemark to 33.6 x 24.3 cm" (*Biblioteca La Solana*). "The Blake portrait is in the same early st. as the proof, on heavy laid paper" in the FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM. Perhaps these are the two "unfinished" proofs of the portrait of Blake for Blair's Grave offered at Christie's, 22-23 July 1814, lot 250.

The "Proof" of the title page "from the very rare folio proof edition" (1808) "colored, clearly by a contemporary hand ... [with] a very strong connection to Blake's and Mrs. Blake's palette", was offered in John Windle *Catalogue Forty-Two* (2006), No. 5 (reproduced vastly reduced in size and in black and white, Price on Request). According to Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2006", *Blake*, XL (2007), 131,

The hand coloring shows some skill on the descending figure, but amateurish carelessness in the coloring of the flames. This colorist would not seem to be the same as the artist who coloured all the Blake pls. in a copy of the 1808 quarto issue now in the Huntington Library.

For the History of the drawings, see above under Art.

An 1808 quarto copy in "Original dark gray boards, printed paper label on upper cover", is offered in John Windle *Catalogue 46* (2009), lot 48.

The Blair engravings (1808) and the separate print of "Death's Door" engraved by Blake were added to the William Blake Archive in 2003.

Cromek may also have issued a suite of prints from the 1808 folio issue (marked "Proof Copy") without the text save for the four-leaf description "Of the Designs" and the integral prospectus for Stothard's *Canterbury Pilgrims* (with the signature F as in the quarto), as in the copy acquired in 1995 by R.N. Essick (see his "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995", *Blake*, XXIX [1996]).

B.H. Malkin's important letter of 4 January 1806 (*BR* (2) 561-72), showing the variety of Blake's talents (like the "Advertisement" to *Poetical Sketches* [1783]) and praising Blake's watercolours for Blair's *Grave* and Fuseli's encomium of them printed in the two prospectuses for it of November 1805 (*BR* (2) 211, 215), which is of such tenuous relevance as printed in Malkin's *Father's Memoirs of His Child* (1806), may have been drafted as the "Preface ... by BENJAMIN HEATH MALKIN" advertised in the November 1805 Prospectus to *The Grave*. The part of the "Preface Containing an Explanation of the Artist's View in the Designs" (November 1805) probably became the essay "Of the Designs" in *The Grave* (1808), 33-36.

The copy of the 1808 quarto for which Robert Scott of Edinburgh subscribed (its effect upon him is described in *Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott*, ed. William Minto [1892], I, 21-22), with (1) a description of "1844" by his son David Scott (quoted somewhat approximately in Gilchrist, 377 [*BR* (2) 257]), (2) The bookplate and signature of his other son William Bell Scott ("5 March 1849"), and (3) a sonnet by W. B. Scott<sup>542</sup> was

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<sup>542</sup> Quoted in Scott's *Autobiographical Notes* [1892], I, 23-24, and in George Goyder, "An Unpublished [sic] Poem about Blake by William Bell Scott, 'On seeing again after many years William Blake's designs for "the Grave"'"', *Blake*

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(4)acquired by George Goyder and sold with his library at Christie's, 26 November 1997, lot 103, to (5)Dr. A.E.K.L.B. Bentley for G. E. Bentley, Jr; they gave it in 2006 to (6)VICTORIA UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

A copy of the 1808 quarto bound in "calf, extra, gilt edges [by Edwards of Halifax]", was offered in Dulaw and Company, Ltd Catalogue 182, *Rare Books* ([London]: 32 Old Bond Street, [?1931]), lot 182, £120, and has not since been traced.

A slip mounted in a copy of the 1808 large quarto is inscribed "Mr. Cromek begs Mr. Bromley's acceptance of this Book. July 20. 1808";<sup>543</sup> the engraver "William Bromley, Hammersmith" had subscribed for the work. On 14 August 1808 Cromek had written similarly to George Cumberland implying that he was sending as a gift the copy for which the recipient had subscribed (*BR* (2) 262-63).

**NEWLY DISCOVERED WORKING PROOFS**

**Frontispiece:** A proof lacking the imprint but with the other lettering was offered on the eBay electronic auction of April 2002, according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2002", *Blake*, XXXVI (2003).

Plate 1: The title page lacking the imprint and the "Proof Copy" inscription was sold with all 13 prints with the collection of Joseph Holland and Vincent Newton by John

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*Newsletter*, X [1976], 125.

<sup>543</sup> Maggs Bros Ltd Catalogue 1286, *Private Press, Illustrated, Typographical and Fine Printed Books* (2000), lot 39; this copy bears ownership marks of Harold P. Mellor, R.A., and Douglas Cleverdon.

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Windle Catalogue 26 (December 1995), lot 7, Price on Enquiry [\$375 to R.N. Essick].

Plate 4: "The Counsellor, King, Warrior, Mother & Child in the Tomb", on a leaf without watermark 23.4 x 14.6 x 0.22 cm thick, was acquired by Essick in 2013. It lacks some hatching strokes but has "a small patch of hatching on the central extension of the counsellor's beard" not present in later states; it was "probably burnished off the pl."<sup>544</sup>

Plate 11 Proof (1806), inscribed "DEATH'S DOOR. | Tis but a Night, a long and Moonless Night. | We make the Grave our Bed, & then are gone. | London Published by R.H. Cromek Feb<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1806", "Drawn by W<sup>m</sup> Blake", "Etched by L. Schiavonetti." (offered online in May 2012 for £220 by Grosvenor Prints [London], bought by John Windle and sold immediately to Victoria University in the University of Toronto).

This makes three known copies of the 1806 proof:<sup>545</sup>

R.N. ESSICK copy

LEAF SIZE: 24.8 x 39.2 cm

PLATE MARK: 20.3 x 35.7 cm

WATERMARK: Laid paper without watermark.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
TORONTO copy

LEAF SIZE: 20.3 x 31.4 cm. Top and bottom edges deckled,  
bottom torn with ragged edges

PLATE MARK: None visible (N.B. The leaf size is smaller  
than the plate-mark in the Essick copy)

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<sup>544</sup> R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2013", *Blake*, XLVII, 3 (Winter 2013-2014), gives a detailed description of the unique features of the proof.

<sup>545</sup> Much of this information derives from an E-mail from Robert N. Essick to me of 30 Nov 2012.

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**WATERMARK:** Laid paper (faint horizontal chain-lines [as in a quarto] 3 cm apart) of indifferent quality (there are thin places where droplets of water from the vat fell on it); two-thirds of the way up the left margin of the printed side is a rectangular shape (4.5 cm high, 3 cm wide, cut off by the margin) which must be from a watermark, and the bottom margin has very faint regular rectangular shapes for which I cannot account

**Untraced:** Recorded in A.G.B. Russell, *The Engravings of William Blake* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 130, then in the collection of F.W. Bourdillon

**WATERMARK:** "J. Whatman, 1806"; the watermark distinguishes it from the Essick and Victoria University copies. The first published state in the folio edition (1808) reads "*Drawn by W Blake*" (not "*W<sup>m</sup> Blake*" as in the 1806 proof here), "*Death's Door*" (not "*DEATH'S DOOR*" as in the 1806 proof), and omits the verse and imprint below "*DEATH'S DOOR*".

Kathryn Barush reports nine previously unrecorded loose copies of Blair prints in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> They are not listed in the published catalogue of the Douce bequest to the Bodleian Library (1840).

Their discovery is reported by Kathryn Barusch, "Visions of Mortality: The vast collection of antiquarian Francis Douce incorporated a wide range of images of death and their afterlife. These included a set of William Blake's designs for *The Grave*, now in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum, resonant Romantic additions to an age-old pictorial tradition", *Apollo*, No. 605 (2013), 56-62, which reproduces No. 1, 3, 5, 8-9 on a greatly reduced scale, but not the proof of No. 10 (the Good Old Man). Another proof of No. 10 is in the collection of Robert N. Essick.

consisting of

- 1 Title page, proof, with the Douce Collection stamp<sup>547</sup>
- 3 "*The Meeting of a Family in Heaven*" with the Douce Collection stamp
- 4 "*The Counciller, King, Warrior, Mother & Child in the Tomb*"
- 5 "*Death of the Strong Wicked Man*" with the Douce Collection stamp
- 7 "*The Descent of Man into the Vale of Death*"
- 8 "*The Day of Judgment*" with the Douce Collection stamp
- 9 "*The Soul exploring the recesses of the Grave*"
- 10 "*The Death of The Good Old Man*", "an untitled proof copy, before the final lettering"
- 11 "*Death's Door*"

The Ashmolean print of the Blair title page displays, at the bottom right corner, the etched legend "*Proof Copy R.H.C. 5..5..0*" (as in the Large Paper copies of 1813 in Harvard and Princeton).

#### William Thane's Copy of *The Grave*

The extra-illustrated copy of Blair's *Grave* (1813) in the Library of Congress consists of the text of the 1813 Blair – 1813 title page (Image 15), "To the Queen" (Image 17), list of subscribers (Images 19-26), Cromek's "Advertisement" [pp. xi-xii] (Images 28-29), Fuseli's appreciation [pp. xiii-xiv] (Image 30), Blair pp. xv-liv (Images 31-71), pp. 1-42 (Images 75-88, 91-94, 97-100, 103-4, 109-16, 119-20, 123-24, 131-

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The presence of pencil prices of "2/" on No. 2 and "3/6" on No. 5, 8 and the facts that "The matting, quality, and size of the prints vary, suggest ... that they were assembled separately" (p. 60).

<sup>547</sup> "Douce Collection, Uni[versity] Ox[ford]".

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36)<sup>548</sup> plus all thirteen Blair engravings.<sup>549</sup>

To this were added 60 images cut from 36 leaves of *Night Thoughts* (omitting pp. 8, 16, 25, 37, 41, 75, 86, 88).

The *Night Thoughts* prints are slightly larger than those in Blair's *Grave*, and therefore the full-page designs were trimmed in both dimensions, including the imprint.

Occasionally an attempt is made to repeat motifs in the illustrations to Blair's *Grave* with facing prints from *Night Thoughts*. For example, the engraved title page to *The Grave* is echoed in *Night Thoughts* in Image 12. Occasionally it is difficult to perceive a controlling method.

**Image**                      ***Night Thoughts* Designs**  
   **in Blair's *Grave* Designs**

5 (1)    p. 65 (Christ ascending for "The Christian Triumph)

6 (4) p. 70 (hunter crying on hound to throat of fallen man) + p. 9 (head) + p. 54 (walker) + p. 35 (woman on cloud)

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<sup>548</sup> N.B. Odd numbered Images are rectos, even numbered ones versos. Images 4, 9-10, 14, 71, 90, 102, 106-7, 118, 122, 126, 128-29, 148, 149 (except for Library of Congress inscriptions) are blank.

<sup>549</sup> Phillips's portrait of Blake (Image 11), the 1808 title page (Image 13), "Christ Descending" (Image 72), "Death of the Wicked Man" (Image 89), "Soul Departing" (Image 95), "The Soul Exploring" (Image 101), "Descent of Man" (Image 105), "Counsellor, King ..." (Image 108), "Day of Judgment" (Image 117), "Death of the Good Old Man" (Image 121), "Reunion of Body and Soul" (Image 125), "Meeting of a Family in Heaven" (Image 127), and "Death's Door" (Image 130).

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- 7 (3) p. 55 (bald head at top + flying figure re-oriented from vertical to horizontal in middle + crouching figure at bottom)
- 8 (2) p. 19 (terrible god speaking to cowering man) + p. 90 (in text box, Christ and fallen man)
- 12 (3) p. 80 (trumpeter plunging to skeleton) + p. 46 (nude woman gesturing) + p. 43 (woman with stars in her hair)
- 16 (3) p. 93 (all figures) + p. 13 (at left, Death with a dart) + p. 24 (at right, Death with a sickle)
- 18 (4) p. 35 (bottom) + p. 4 (middle, rising man + falling man [reversed to rising] + at top, Christ with Samaritan)
- 26 (1) p. 4 (angels carrying a soul upward)
- 27 (2) p. 26 (at left, crowd to right of scyther's right foot + at right, revellers to its left)
- 28 (1) p. 92 (woman looking up)
- 29 (1) p. 7 (at top, reveller and Death's bell)
- 45 (1) p. 33 (at bottom, reveller and warner)
- 46 (3) p. 12 (at top, family with snake) + p. 49 (middle, couple looking up) + p. 15 (bottom, bramble-wrapped reader)
- 60 (1) p. 57 (revellers)
- 70 (2) p. 1 (shepherd and angel) + p. 54 (above them, faces in river)
- 73 (3) p. 73 (Christ in flames) + p. 72 (in the text box, crouching figure) + p. 13 (mother and baby)
- 74 (2) p. 10 (sleeping shepherd and plunging angel) + p. 7 (head and knee of bell-toller)
- 131 (1) p. 23 (man measuring infant with hand-span)
- 132 (6) p. 87 (in centre, Christ with children) + p. 31 (at

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- right, man in chair beneath floating woman) + p. 4 (on left, man in woods) + p. 49 (above him, head of curly-headed man) + p. 15 (above him, floating figure, re-oriented from almost vertical to horizontal) + untraced (at top right, vague shapes)
- 137 (3) p. 27 (bottom left, drinker + at right, woman writing) + p. 92 (woman with scales)
- 138 (5) p. 72 (bottom left, naked man and woman in doorway) + title page (above and to right, bearded man with nude woman on his palm) + p. 31 (top middle, falling figure re-oriented to almost vertical)
- 139 (2) p. 40 (sideways, death bed, mourner, plunging figures) + p. 17 (at right, not re-oriented, bearded old man)
- 140 (2) p. 63 (bearded man with Hebrew scroll) + p. 17 (at top left, wreathed old man – Time – and two small figures)
- 141 (1) p. 43 (at top left, part of ouroboros and title: “Night the Third, Narcissa”)
- 142 (1) p. 49 (heavy shading pointing left, re-oriented to point down)
- 143 (1) p. 49 (sideways, cut off)
- 144 (1) p. 50 (sideways, text only)
- 146 (1) p. 4 (sideways, sleeper at bottom)
- 147 (2) p. 26 (scythe and left leg) + title page (left foot and robe of bearded man)

**BINDING:** Originally in blue paper wrappers (only the back one survives, Image 145); bound (post 1929) in modern red

morocco (Images 1, 152) with marbled end-papers at front and back (Image 2-3, 150-51).

HISTORY: **(1)** Assembled by William Thane – the back blue paper cover is inscribed "This book was given to me by M.<sup>r</sup> W.<sup>m</sup> Thane the picture restorer with the additional slips pasted in--just as it is--M.<sup>r</sup> Thane knew Blake--"; **(2)** Blair, *The Grave* (1813), said to have been given to Blake by William Thane, was sold in *The Library of John Quinn*, Anderson Galleries, 12-14 November 1923, lot 716 [for \$95]; **(3)** bought 3 May 1929 from Rosenbach for \$1,200 by Lessing J. Rosenwald; **(4)** given to the Library of Congress.<sup>550</sup>

Blake's design for "Death's Door" was silently copied to accompany **Anon.**, untitled essay beginning "Nous ne penson pas assez habituellement à notre immortalité", *Magasin pittoresque* [Paris], XXI<sup>e</sup> Année (**Février 1853**), 41 (woodcut), 42 (text). The essay ends: "regardez làbas, plus près de nous, voici, après la porte sombre, la porte de délivrance, voici le sentier aérien, le rayon d'or qui nous transportera dans notre empire céleste."<sup>551</sup>

The subject of the essay in *Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art* (**1852**) ("Death and Immortality") is very like that in *Magasin pittoresque* (**1853**) ("notre immortalité") and suggests that the *Illustrated Exhibitor* (**1852**) is the source for *Magasin pittoresque* (**1853**).

### **"Death's Door" reproductions 19th Century<sup>552</sup>**

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<sup>550</sup> Library of Congress: PR3318.B7A7 1813, Rosenwald Collection.

<sup>551</sup> "look there, closer to us, here, after the dark doorway, the door of deliverance, here is the airy way, the ray of gold which will transport us to our celestial empire."

<sup>552</sup> Omitting the prints, reduced to about a quarter of the original size, signed

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**1805**

Blake's experimental white-line etching (plate-size 11.7 x 18.6 cm), never published, one copy known; the old man moves to the right and the young man looks up to the left

**1806**

Louis Schiavonetti's conventional engraving (plate-size 17.5 x 29.7 cm) for Blair's *Grave* (1808, 1813, etc.); the directions are reversed.

**1852**

W.J. Linton, "Death's Door", *The Ladies' Drawing Room Book* (N.Y. [1852]) and Anon., "Death and Immortality", *Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art*, I (12 June 1852), 369-71, signed on the threshold with a WJL monogram, design-size of each 13.7 x 21.9 cm; the old man moves to the right.

**1853**

Anonymous wood engraving (framing line 14.3 x 22.5 cm with rounded upper corners) entitled "Mourir, c'est Renaître" in Anon., untitled essay beginning "Nous ne penson pas assez habituellement à notre immortalité", *Le magasin pittoresque* [Paris], XXIe Année (Février 1853), 41 (woodcut), 42 (text); there is much more cross-hatching in the French print than in Linton's; Schiavonetti's print is reversed; on the threshold is the same monogram as in 1852, now worn. The woodcut reverses the design as it appears in Blair's *Grave*.

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by A.L. Dick, and reproduced in New York editions of 1847, 1858, and ?1879. I am deeply grateful to Robert N. Essick for crucial suggestions and facts about the newly-recorded French print.

### 1860

W.J. Linton, *Thirty Pictures by Deceased British Artists* (1860) (design-size 12.05 x 20.8 cm), reprinted in John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, Second Edition (1861) (design-size 12.05 x 20.8 cm) and in the New Edition [?1881]. The old man faces left. This version is different from that printed in 1852

### 1863

A wood engraving of "Death's Door" (design-size 11.3 x 17.4 cm), signed "L. Chapon" (i.e., Léon Louis Chapon [1836-1918]), printed in M.W. Burger, [i.e., J. Thoré], *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: école anglaise* (Paris, 1863) It is reprinted on the front page of *Allgemeine Familien Zeitung*, No. 36 (1873), signed "F. Bocourt" (probably Marie Firmin Bocourt) and "L. Chapon".<sup>553</sup>

For six lithographs after Schiavonetti's copperplates (via Mora's *Meditaciones Poeticas* [1826]), see *Diario de los niños* (1839-40).

### COPPERPLATES

HISTORY: (1) The thirteen copperplates engraved by Schiavonetti after Blake's twelve designs plus the frontispiece portrait of Blake by Thomas Phillips passed at the death in March 1812 of the original publisher Robert Hartley Cromek to (2) His widow Elizabeth; according to an undated letter from Thomas Stothard, "M<sup>rs</sup> Cromack has ... sold blayrs grave for one hundred & twenty pounds" (*BR* (2) 315) to (3) Rudolph Ackermann (1754-1834) who printed them with Blair's *Grave* (1813; the imprint on the plates altered to 1813)

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<sup>553</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2013", *Blake*, XLVII, 4 (Spring 2014).

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and with Jose Joaquin de Mora's *Meditaciones Poeticas* (1826; the titles and imprints on the plates altered to Spanish); **(4)** The copperplates were acquired by John Camden Hotten who printed them (1813 [i.e., 1870], the imprints on the plates restored to the versions of 1813); **(5)** They were bought apparently by H. Buxton Forman, in whose posthumous sale at Anderson Galleries 15 March 1920 appeared lot 50: "The ORIGINAL TWELVE COPPER PLATES ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM BLAKE, for 'The Book of Job'" [?i.e., engraved by Schiavonetti for Blair's *Grave*, which has twelve plates; the 22 plates for *Job* were then still in the Linnell family]; **(6)** The copperplates were offered in Rosenbach's Catalogue (November-December 1921), p. 4, no price named; **(7)** Acquired by George C. Smith, who had them "Printed from the Original Plates in the Possession of an [anonymous] American Collector" (N.Y., 1926), listed them in his anonymous catalogue: *William Blake: The Description of a Small Collection of His Works In the Library of a New York Collector* [unnamed] (1927), lot 52, and sold them posthumously with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2-3 December 1938, lot 38 [\$750]; **(8)** Acquired by Lessing J. Rosenwald, who lent them to the exhibition at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1939), lot 119, and gave them to **(9)** The U.S. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

A coloured copy was offered at the William H. Woodin sale at Parke-Bernet Galleries, 6-7 January 1942 and in Parke-Bernet, 23-24 November 1943, lot 51.

A copy of Blair's *Grave* said to have been Flaxman's was offered in the sale of Mrs Henry D. Hughes at Anderson Art Association auction (25-26 January 1934), lot 59.

A copy of the first Prospectus of November 1805, which names Blake as the proposed engraver, is in the collection of Robert N. Essick.

REVIEWS &c  
1808

**R.H. Cromek**, Prospectus with "FIFTEEN PRINTS FROM DESIGNS INVENTED AND TO BE ENGRAVED BY *WILLIAM BLAKE*..." ("Nov 1805") <BB 527>

**R.H. Cromek**, Prospectus with "TWELVE VERY SPIRITED ENGRAVINGS BY *LOUIS SCHIAVONETTI*" ("Nov 1805") <BB 527>

Aris's *Birmingham Gazette*, 28 July 1806, announcement with a Prospectus "*advert in this page*" <BB 199>

*Commercial Herald* [Birmingham], 28 July 1806, announcement with a Prospectus ("*Vide advert*"), virtually identical to those in the *Gazette* <BB 199>

**Anon.**, "Modern Discourses, and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, and Literature; With Notices respecting Men of Letters, Artists, and Works in Hand, &c. &c.", *Universal Magazine*, NS, VI (July 1806),<sup>554</sup> 46-52 <California (Berkeley)>:

Mr. Cromek intends to publish in the course of the ensuing winter a series of 12 Engravings, etched in

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<sup>554</sup> The similarity of the wording in the 1806 puffs, and in particular the information about the changing numbers of subscribers, indicates that the source of the information is Cromek.

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a very superior style of excellence by Louis Schiavonetti, from the original inventions of William Blake, illustrative of Blair's popular Poem "The Grave." In consequence of the originality of the designs and their vigorous expression, the work has been honoured with the patronage of the principal members of the Royal Academy, and the first professors of art in the metropolis, and by the subscriptions of upwards of 300 of the most distinguished amateurs [pp. 47-48].

**Anon.**, "Intelligence. Great-Britain", *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review* [Boston, Massachusetts], III, 10 (**October 1806**), 559 <Michigan> (exactly as in the *Monthly Magazine*)

**Anon.**, "Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts", <Harvard>:

Mr. Cromek intends to publish in the course of the ensuing winter a series of twelve engravings, etched in a very superior style of excellence, by Louis Schiavonetti, from the original inventions of William Blake, illustrative of Blair's popular poem "The Grave." In consequence of the originality of the designs, and the vigorous expression, the work has been honoured with the patronage of the first professors of art in the metropolis, and by the subscriptions of upwards of 250 of the most distinguished amateurs.

*The Artist* (**1 August 1807**), p. 6 (announcement) <BB 28>

- Monthly Literary Advertiser*, Thursday **10 September 1807**, p. 7<sup>555</sup>  
**Anon.**, *Monthly Literary Recreations*, III (**September 1807**), 239 (a puff) <BB 528>  
**Anon.**, *Literary Annual Register*, I (**October 1807**), 437 <BB 527>  
**Anon.**, *Monthly Literary Recreations*, III (**October 1807**), 437 (a puff) <BB 527>  
*Literary Panorama* (**November 1807**), column 304 (announcement) <BB 528>  
*Cowdray's Gazette and Public Advertiser* [Manchester], **7 November 1807**  
*Star and West-Riding Advertiser* [Wakefield], **27 May 1808** (announcement specifying "printing ... by BENSLEY" with a Prospectus listing the 12 plates) <BB 199>  
**Anon.**, "Varieties, Literary and Philosophical", *Monthly Magazine*, XXV (**1 June 1808**), 353 ("Mr. Cromek will very shortly present to the public Mr. William Blake's Illustrations of Blair's Grave, etched by Mr. Louis Schiavonetti") <BB #1041>  
*Gazette and Public Advertiser* [Bristol], **9 June 1808** (announcement) <BB 200>

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<sup>555</sup> My only reference to *Monthly Literary Advertiser* and *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser* are in newspaperarchive online, which is so heavily corrupted as to be illegible.

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**Anon.**, "Literary and Miscellaneous Information",  
*Athenaeum Magazine*, III (**June 1808**), 567 ("Mr.  
Cromek will very shortly present to the public Mr.  
Wm. Blake's celebrated Illustrations of Blair's  
Grave, etched by Mr. Louis Schiavonetti") <BB  
#A969, p. 528>

*Gazette* [Bristol], **30 June 1808** (announcement) <BB  
200>

*Leeds Mercury*, **4 June 1808** <Leeds Central Library>:  
BLAIR'S GRAVE

MR. CROMEK begs to inform the Subscribers  
at Wakefield and its Vicinity to the New and  
Splendid Edition of this POEM, that it will be  
published in London, on the First Day of July next,  
and that it will be delivered to them with all  
possible Speed.

Gentlemen who wish to possess this valuable  
Work, are respectfully apprised that on the Day of  
its Publication, its Price will be advanced from 2l 2s  
to 2l 12s 6d. Mr. CROMEK will receive Names till  
the First of July at the Original Subscription Price.  
No. 64, Newman-street, Oxford-row, London.

The Work is printing in the most elegant Style  
by BENSLEY, in Imperial Quarto, and illustrated by  
13 Engravings, executed from the original Designs  
of WILLIAM BLAKE.

*Monthly Literary Advertiser* (**9 July 1808**)  
(announcement) <BB 528>

- R.H. [Robert Hunt]**, “Blake’s Edition of Blair’s Grave”, *Examiner*, **7 August 1808**, pp. 509-50 (a violent attack on Blake; it was announced in the issue for **31 July 1808** [p. 494]) <BB>
- [Robert Hunt]**, “Blake’s Edition of Blair’s Grave”, *Examiner*, **7 August 1808**, pp. 509-10 (mocking) <BB #1512>
- Anon.**, “Monthly List of New Publications”, *Athenaeum Magazine*, IV (**September 1808**), 253 (listing with price) <BB #992>
- Anon.**, “*The Grave, a Poem, illustrated by twelve Etchings, executed by Louis Schiavonetti, from Original Inventions of William Blake.* 4to. Pp. 50. £2. 12s. 6d. 1808, Cromek. Cadell and Davis”, *Antijacobin Review and Magazine*, XXXI (**November 1808**), 225-34 (a long, slashing review which excoriates Blake’s designs as “absurd effusions”, the “offspring of a morbid fancy”, which “totally failed” to achieve their purpose, and suggests that the next time Blake turns his hand to poetry, “his friends would do well to restrain his wanderings by the strait waistcoat”) <BB #952>
- Anon.**, “II. The Grave, a Poem; by Robert Blair: Illustrated by twelve Engravings, from Original Designs, by William Blake; engraved by Schiavonetti. 4to. 2l. 12s. Boards”, *Scots Magazine, and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXX (**November 1808**), 839-40 (“We do not recollect to have any where seen so much genius united with so much eccentricity”) <BBS 345>

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**Anon.**, “The Grave; a Poem by Blair, illustrated by twelve Etchings, executed by Louis Schiavonetti, from the original Inventions of William Blake. 1808”, *Monthly Magazine*, XXVI (1 December 1808), 458(a brief review which remarks on the “correctness” of the drawing and the “wildness” of design in Blake’s work) <BB #951>

“BLAKE’S ILLUSTRATIONS OF BLAIR. – Just published” (prospectus with the titles of the engravings), bound with *Reliques of Robert Burns* (1808) <BB 528>

Prospectus: “A few copies remain unsold, printed on large Elephant Quarto paper, with Proof Impressions of the Plates, on French Paper. *Price Four Guineas*“ (1808) <BB 528>

The Procession of Chaucer’s Pilgrims to Canterbury:  
Proposals for Publishing by Subscription a Print, from the Well-Known Cabinet Pictures, Painted from this Subject by Thomas Stothard, Esq., R.A. To Be Engraved in the Line Manner by Louis Schiavonetti, Esq. V.A. ([1808]) <Bodley> Added at the end of Robert Burns, *Reliques*, ed. R.H. Cromek (1808) <California (Berkeley)><sup>556</sup> (On the last leaf is “Just published by Messrs. Cadell and Davies ... The Grave, a Poem, by Robert Blair. Illustrated ... by Louis Schiavonetti, from the Original Inventions of William Blake.”)

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<sup>556</sup> See BB 528 and BR (2) 217-218, 280.

*Edinburgh Review* (**January 1809**), p. 500  
(announcement) <BB 528>

**1813**

**Ackermann** list (**1815**) (“Blair’s Grave, illustrated ... by W. Blake; with Biographical Accounts of Blair, Schiavonetti, and Cromek [i.e., 1813] *First Edition, with proof Impressions of the Plates, Atlas*. 4to. Boards ... 3 13 6 N.B. *A few Copies only left of this Edition*. Ditto, (Second Edition) Elephant 4to. Boards ... 2 12 6”) <BB 533>

Prospectus (**n.d.**) for “SECOND EDITION OF ... BLAIR’S GRAVE, Illustrated by Mr. Blake ... Printed on large Elephant Quarto, price 2l. 12s. 6d. Extra boards.— a few copies on Quarto Atlas, price 3l. 13s. 6d. Boards” <BB 533>

### SALES &c 1808-1830<sup>557</sup>

**1808**

**Anon.**, “New Works published in Edinburgh”, *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXX, Part 2 (**September 1808**), 683

**Anon.**, “List of Works Recently Published”, under Poetry, *Eclectic Review*, IV, Part II (**October 1808**), 950 <Harvard>

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<sup>557</sup> The sale records specify Blake, 12 or 13 engravings or etchings, Schiavonetti, quarto, and £2.12.6 for both 1808 and 1813 editions unless otherwise noted. The quarto is sometimes qualified as “Royal” (*Eclectic Review, Edinburgh Review*), “atlas” (Ackermann 1815, 1816, 1818, 1828), “elephant” (Ackermann 1815, 1816, Eastburn 1818, 1822, M. Carey 1818, Ackermann 1821-1822, 1824), or large elephant (Ackermann 1818). These sale records were omitted from *Blake* (2010) for lack of space.

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**Anon.**, “Quarterly List of New Publications”, *Edinburgh Review*, XIII (**January 1809**), 500, 508, under “Arts, Fine” and “Poetry”

*A Catalogue of the ... Library of John Leigh Phillips, Esq. deceased ... Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Winstanley & Taylor 17 October 1814 + 8 days (Manchester, 1814) <Harvard>, lot 1400 (1808, £1.18.0 to Brook)*

*Catalogue of Books for 1815 (R. Ackermann, 1815)* listed 1808 “proof impressions of the plates, atlas 4to, £3.13.6 – A few copies only left of this edition”

*A Catalogue of a Miscellaneous Collection of Books, New and Second Hand, on Sale, at the Prices Affixed, by John and Arthur Arch, No. 61, Cornhill, London, 1815 <Bodley>*

*Thomas Edwards Catalogue (1815)* lots 218, 527 (1808) “Mr. Ackermann Begs Leave to solicit the Attention ...”  
 ,  
 list of publications added to William Warden, *Letters Written on Board His Majesty’s Ship the Northumberland, and at Saint Helena; in which The Conduct and Conversations of Napoleon Buonaparte, and His Suite, during the Voyage, and the First Months of his Residence in That Island, Are Faithfully Described and Related. Third Edition (London: Published for the Author by R. Ackermann, 1816) <Michigan> (“First Edition, with proof Impressions of the plates. Atlas 4to. Boards, 3l. 13s. 6d. N.B. A few Copies only left*

of this Edition.”)<sup>558</sup>

*A General Catalogue of Books, Now on Sale, by  
Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, & Jones,  
Part II (1817)* <British Library>, lot 9916 (1808)

*Catalogue of Old Books*, Longman (1817), lot 4902  
(1808, £1.10.0)

*Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, and Jones's  
General Catalogue of Old Books ... For the Year  
1819* <Bodley, British Library, Harvard>, lot 183  
(1808, “gilt leaves”)

*Catalogue of Books for 1821* (R. Ackermann, 1821), as  
in his 1815 catalogue

[Thomas] *Edwards's Catalogue* (Halifax, 1821)  
<Bodley>, lot 314 (1808, £3.3.0) <BBS 284>

*Catalogue of the Valuable Library of Benjamin Heath  
Malkin, Esq. LL.D., sold By Mr Evans, 22 March  
1828 + 6 days* <British Library>, lot 237 (1808  
sold for 7s 6d)

### 1813

Ackermann prospectus (?1813),<sup>559</sup> "Elephant Quarto"

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<sup>558</sup> *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*, XLI (Paris: L.G. Michaud 1825), 1124, in the entry on Schiavonetti lists Blair's *Grave* (1813), and *Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie*, ed. Julius Sillig (Dresden und Leipzig: Arnoldischer Buchhandlung, 1836), 503 footnote <Michigan> describes three scenes in the “Zeichner Blake in seiner Kupfern zur Blairs Grave (... 1813)”.

Note that Ackermann had plainly purchased not only the copperplates and copyright but the remainder of the copies of the 1808 edition.

<sup>559</sup> British Library: 11902 bbb 23, Vol. I, f. 246<sup>f</sup> (BB 533).

The title given in the Ackermann List (1815) for the “*First Edition*” (1808)--“with Biographical Accounts of Blair, Schiavonetti, and Cromek”--is in fact that of the 1813 second edition (“TO WHICH IS ADDED A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR”), and BB 533 mistakenly associated the advertisement with the first edition.

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£2.12.6, "Quarto Atlas" £3.13.6

Messrs. Winstanley and Taylor, *A Catalogue of ... John Leigh Phillips*, **11 November 1814** <Harvard>, lot 709 is 3 prints including "Wm. Blake, Engraver, by Schiavonetti, India paper, proof"<sup>560</sup> [Ford, 15s]

*Catalogue of Books for 1815* (R. Ackermann, **1815**) listed Second Edition (1813), elephant 4to, £2.12.6)

Ackermann's advertisement in Warden's book (**1816**) *Books Published by R. Ackermann* added at the end of Frederick Shoberl, *A Historical Account ... of the House of Saxony ...* (London: R. Ackermann, **1816**) <Michigan>

*A Catalogue of a Very Extensive and Valuable Miscellaneous Collection of Books from the North of England* [Edwards of Halifax] sold by auction by Mr Saunders, **30 March 1818 + 15 days** <Harvard>, lots 949-50 (£1.5.0 and £1.6.0)

*A Catalogue of Books for 1818 on sale by James Eastburn & Co* (N.Y., **May 1818**), 10 <New York Public Library> ("with proof impressions of the plates", \$15)

"Works of Art, Published by R. Ackermann" added to Frederick Accum, *A Practical Treatise on Gas-Light*, Fourth Edition (London: R. Ackermann,

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<sup>560</sup> A copy with "proofs on India paper, russia" was listed in the *Catalogue of the Splendid, Choice, and Curious Library of P.H. Hanrott, Esq. ...* Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans, 16 July 1833+ 11 days <British Library>, lot 630 [to "Anh[?]" for £2.6.0].

**1818**) (“Printed on large Elephant Quarto. 1l. 12s. 6d. extra boards. – A few Copies on Quarto Atlas, 3l. 13s. 6d.”)

*Catalogue of an Extensive Collection of Books in Every Department of Ancient and Modern Literature*, for Sale by M. Carey and Son ... (Philadelphia, **1818**) <New York Public Library> (\*3 “Elephant 4to. with proofs \$15”)

*London Catalogue* (**1818, 1831**) lists Murray as publisher <BB 533>

Friedrich Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Vol. I (A-N) (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, **1821**) <Taylor Institution, Oxford> <BB #535> No. 2454 (£2.12.6)

Ackermann’s List of Works added at the end of *Edinburgh Review*, XXXVI (**October 1821-February 1822**) <Stanford>

*A Catalogue of Books, ... Now on Sale, for Cash, ... by James Eastburn* (N.Y., **May 1822**), lot 17 <Harvard> (“with proof impressions of the plates, elephant, boards, \$15”)

*Books, &c. Published by R. Ackermann* added at the end of Dr F.A. Krummacher, *Parables*, tr. From the German by Frederic Shoberl (London: R. Ackermann, **1824**) and of William Combe, *Letters Between Amelia in London and Her Mother in the Country* (London: R. Ackermann, **1824**) <Princeton>

*A Catalogue of Books... by Rivington and Cochran* (**1824**), lots 292, 11795) <BB #536>

Christie sale of William Sharp, **18-19 February 1825**

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<BMPR> lot 16 (with *Portraits of British Poets*  
No. 1, £1.13.0)

*A Catalogue of the ... Library of the late Henry Fuseli,*  
Sotheby, **22-25 July 1825** <British Library, British  
Museum Print Room, Royal Academy>, lot 123  
("rare, proofs", 9s 6d)

"New Works Published by R. Ackermann" added to  
*Asiatic Costumes, A Series of Forty-Four Coloured*  
*Engravings, from Designs Taken from Life*  
(London: R. Ackermann, **1828**) <Bodley> (£2.2.0)

*Catalogue of the Library of David Constable ... Which*  
*Will Be Sold by Auction, by D. Speare ... on*  
*Wednesday Nov 19 and Twenty-one following*  
*lawful Days* (Edinburgh, **1828**), 75, lot 1370

*Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser*, **10 July 1844**, p. 9  
(price reduced from 12s 6d to 11s)

*Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser*, **11 December 1844**,  
p. 13

EDITIONS

*Blake's Grave: A Prophetic Book: Being William Blake's*  
*illustrations for Robert Blair's THE GRAVE, arranged as Blake*  
*directed*, ed. **S. Foster Damon** (1963) <BB>

REVIEWS

§**Anon.**, *Times*[London], **13 September 1963**

**John E. Grant**, "Blake Original and New", *Modern*  
*Language Quarterly*, XXV, 3 (**September 1964**),  
356-64 (with 2 others)

**Blair, Robert**, *The Grave* (Wildwood House reprint, 1973)  
<BB>

REVIEW

§**Anon.**, “The Processes of William Blake”, *Times Literary Supplement*, **15 February 1974** (with 6 others)

*Robert Blair’s THEGRAVE Illustrated by William Blake*, ed. **Robert N. Essick and Morton D. Paley** (1982)

REVIEWS

§**D.A.N. Jones**, “Everybody’s Grave”, *Listener*, **25 March 1982**

§**D.J. Enright**, *Observer*, **5 April 1982**

§**Anon.**, *Books and Bookmen*, **May 1982**

§**Raymond Lister**, “Prophecies of Progression”, *Times Literary Supplement*, **11 June 1982**

§**Anon.** [**Daniel Traister?**], *American Book Collector*, III, 5 (**September-October 1982**)

§**Anon.**, *Choice*, XX, 2 (**October 1982**), 254

§**Zachary Leader**, *Art Book Review*, I, 3 (**Autumn 1982**) (with another)

§**Anthony Payne**, *Book World* [*Washington Post*], I, 16 (**1982**)

§**Anon.**, *Burlington Magazine*, CXXV (**1983**), 777

**I.H. C[hayes]**, *Romantic Movement ... Bibliography for 1982* (**1983**), 85

**Andrew Wilton**, *Blake*, XVIII, 1 (**Summer 1984**), 54-56

§**Jonathan Wordsworth**, *Review of English Studies*, XXXV, 140 (**November 1984**), 547-48

§**David Fuller**, *Durham University Journal*, LXXVII (**December 1984**), 119-23

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§**Claudia Corti**, *Revista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate*, XXXVIII, 1 (February-March 1985), 97-100, in Italian

§*The Grave a Poem by Robert Blair Illustrated by William Blake.* ([Tokyo?], 2000) Small 4°, 112 pp.; ISBN: 4657001027

Japanese translation of Blair's text with reproductions of the 13 prints in the 1808 edition.

*Grave: A Poem Illustrated by Twelve Etchings (1808)* [picture of pierced heart] *William Blake: Louis Schiavonetti.* ([Whitefish, Montana:] Kessinger Publishing Rare Mystical Reprints [?2003]) 4°, plus 42 blank leaves

There is no title page or text of Blair, but it includes reproductions of the engravings, "To the Queen" and "Of the Designs".

§*The Grave, a Poem, Illustrated by Twelve Etchings Executed by Louis Schiavonetti, from the Original Inventions of William Blake.* ([Charleston, South Carolina]: Nabu Press, 2010) 86 pp.; ISBN: 9781176652071

§*The Grave: A Poem Illustrated by Twelve Etchings.* ([Whitefish, Montana]: Kessinger Publishing, 2010) 26 pp.; ISBN: 9781161364095

\*Robert Blair. *The Grave (Illuminated Manuscript [sic] with the Original Illustrations of William Blake).* (e-artnow, 2013)

ISBN: 9788074844128

Probably reproduced from a copy in the Library of Congress -- see *The Complete Illustrated Books of William Blake*.

The cover reproduces "Oberon, Titania, and Puck with Fairies Dancing" <#161>.

§[Robert Blair] *The Grave: A Poem Illustrated by Twelve Etchings* [1808]. ([Whitefish [Montana]: Literary Licensing LLC, 2014) 24 pp.; ISBN: 9781497911321

All 13 prints (1813) are reproduced in John Windle, *Pictorial Blake* (2011).

**NEW TITLE**  
**BLOWER, Elizabeth**  
*Maria: A Novel*  
(1785)

[**Blower, Elizabeth.**] MARIA: A NOVEL. | IN TWO VOLUMES. | BY THE AUTHOR OF | GEORGE BATEMAN. | VOL. I[-II]. | - | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND, | M.DCC.LXXXV [1785].

LOCATIONS: Bodley [250 g 196], Bristol, British Library (lacking the print and subscription list), Brooklyn Public Library (with the bookplate of Charles James Fox), Harvard, National Library of Scotland, Princeton, Virginia.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> According to the Eighteenth-Century Catalogue online, a copy is reproduced on microfiche in *The Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, Connecticut: CT Research Publications, 1986), Reel 6996 No. 01.

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PLATE: There is only one print, the frontispiece to Vol. I, representing a woman in a forest embracing a bust. The print has no plate-mark or imprint; the design size (omitting signatures) is 8.1 x 12.9 cm. The plate is signed "*Stothard d.*", "*Blake sc.*", and is quite characteristic of the work of each man. Apparently the book had not heretofore been recorded as associated with either Blake or Stothard.<sup>562</sup>

However, among "Book Illustrations Known only through Separate Impressions", Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), records (pp. 242-43), and reproduces (Figure 110) the scene of "A Lady Embracing a Bust". He records two copies of a first state before imprint (Huntington, Royal Academy), and two more after the inscriptions were added (American Blake Foundation, British Museum Print Room).

Blake had worked for Cadell before only when Cadell was a member of a congery (Ariosto, 1783). However, he had frequently copied Stothard's designs: for Enfield (1780), Bonnycastle (1782), Kimpton (1782), *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* (1782), *Novelist's Magazine*, VIII-

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<sup>562</sup> The chief authorities for Stothard prints are A.C. Coxhead, *Thomas Stothard, R.A.* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1906); Shelley M. Bennett, *Thomas Stothard: The Mechanisms of Art Patronage in England circa 1800* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988); and R.N. Essick in his annual surveys of "Blake in the Marketplace" in *Blake*.

Coxhead, p. 213, refers to *Maria, A Tale* (Wright, n.d. given) with an illustration which "depicts the hero and heroine planting two 'trees'", but this is clearly not E.B.'s *Maria*.

XI (1782-83), Ritson (1782), John Scott (1782), Ariosto (1783), Chaucer (1783), "Fall of Rosamund" (1783), *Wit's Magazine* (1784), "Zephyrus and Flora" (1784), and Fenning and Collyer (1784-85). This plate for *Maria* may therefore be the last one he engraved after Stothard.

The novel has no author's name on the title page, but the dedication from St James's Place "To the Honourable Mrs Ward" is signed "E.B." The author of *Maria* (1785) is identified in [John Watkins and Frederick Shoberl], *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Henry Colburn, 1816) as Miss Eliza Blower who was "born at Worcester, 1763; daughter of a gentleman distinguished by his steady attachment to an unsuccessful candidate for her native city. Her literary exertions, which began at a very early age, were made with a view to benefit her family." She may be related to Mr Richard Blower who appears in the subscription list. At the age of 22 when the novel was published, she was only a little older than her heroine (19). She was also apparently an actress, in Ireland for five years and in London in 1787-88.<sup>563</sup>

The "List of Subscribers" includes a surprising number of persons connected with the arts who were or might have been known to Blake at the time, including Mr [Richard] Cosway [miniaturist], Mrs [Maria] Cosway [artist], Mr John Flaxman [sculptor], William Hayley, Esq. [author and patron], Mr J[ohn] Hawkins [patron of Blake], Ozias Humphry [painter], Jeremiah Meyer [miniaturist], "Mrs. Mathew | Miss

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<sup>563</sup> *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Virginia Blain, Patience Clements, Isobel Grundy (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1990).

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Mathew | Mr. F. Mathew", Sir Joshua Reynolds [painter], "Mr. [?George] Romney [artist], 6 copies", R.B. Sheridan [dramatist and politician], 6 copies, Mr [Thomas] Stothard [book illustrator], and Josiah Wedgwood [pottery manufacturer].

Elizabeth Blower's novel was not only subscribed to by Flaxman and Romney (6 copies), but Flaxman wrote to his wife that he intended "to introduce Miss Blower" to Romney and Mr Long.<sup>564</sup>

The novel is sentimental and even Gothic to a degree. The author says that

my leading aim has been to pourtray, in the simple but impassioned colouring of nature, the operation of a mind unacquainted with the world--young, artless, sensible, and refined--under the impulse of a lively and insuperable attachment; and to inculcate the principle of *Active Benevolence*, by displaying its beneficial effects [Vol. I, p. ii].

The heroine, Maria Mordaunt, is 19, and already for her "My books and my music are my chief, almost my only amusement, Sir" (Vol. I, p. 5).

*Her understanding was of the first rate; her disposition soft, delicate, and flexible; her eyes*

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<sup>564</sup> Quoted from a reproduction of a letter from John Flaxman to his wife dated merely "Sunday" from Wardour Street, where they lived 1782-94; it is in an album formed by or for Sir Arthur Denman (b. 1857) (no known relation to the family of Flaxman's wife Ann Denman) kindly reproduced for me in 1985 by its owner Dr William Baker of Sutton Coldfield.

were blue and beautifully formed; her other features were soft, lively, and engaging. ... [And she has] a figure that blended dignity with all the sprightly grace and easy negligence which poets ascribe to nymphs of sylvan race ... [Vol. I, pp. 11-12].

The novel was widely reviewed: *Critical Review*, LX (September 1785), 233-34 (the young author "is by no means deficient in many of the requisites which should occupy her task"); *English Review*, VI (1785), 232 ("In the execution it is not altogether defective ... and few of the present run of novels deserve so much praise"); *European Magazine*, VIII (1785), 394; *Monthly Review*, LXXIII (1785), 392; and *Town and Country Magazine*, XVII (November 1785), 658 ("above the common run of novels").

*Maria* was reprinted once without a print (Dublin: James Moore, 1787) and translated once (*Maria: eine Geschichte in zwei Bänder Aus dem Englische ubersetzt* [Berlin: J.F. Uner (n.d.)]).

The same author published

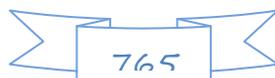
*The Parsonage House: A Novel By a Young Lady In a Series of Letters In Three Volumes* (Dublin: S. Colbert, 1781)

*George Bateman: A Novel in Three Volumes* (London: J. Dodsley, 1782)

*Features from Life; or, A Summer Visit.* By the Author of George Bateman and Maria (Dublin, 1788), translated as *La Visite d'Eté* (Paris, 1788)

None of these works has an illustration.

**BONNYCASTLE, John**  
*An Introduction to Mensuration*



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**(1782, 1787, 1791, 1794, 1798)**

1782 NEW LOCATION: British Library, Huntington, Trinity College (Cambridge), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1794 NEW LOCATION: Colorado

1798 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

**BOYDELL, John**

*Boydell's Graphic Illustrations of ... Shakspeare*

([?1803])

NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Tulsa (gift of Roger Eason), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

**BROWN, John**

*Elements of Medicine*

(1795)

NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Cambridge, Chicago, Cleveland Health Science Library, Georgetown, Georgetown Medical Center, Missouri (Columbia, 2), North Carolina (Chapel Hill), Northwestern, State University of New York (Binghamton), Tufts, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Vol. I only, with Blake's frontispiece, title page inscribed in old brown ink "W M<sup>c</sup>Millan M.D."), Virginia Commonwealth, Wellcome Library, William and Mary

The copy with Coleridge's initials on the half-title of Vol. I was sold with the H.B. Forman collection at Anderson Galleries, 15-17 March 1920, lot 39 [\$80 to Rosenbach] and

offered by him at \$150 (according to his acquisition card).

**BRYANT, Jacob**

*A New System, or An Analysis of Ancient Mythology*

(1774, 1776; 1775, 1776)

1774, 1776 NEW LOCATIONS: Sir John Soane Museum (London), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1775-1776 Second Edition NEW LOCATIONS: South Carolina, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

EDITION

§(N.Y.: Garland, 1979)

**BÜRGER, Gottfried Augustus**

*Leonora*, tr. J.T. Stanley

(1796)

NEW LOCATIONS: Adelaide, Alabama, Arizona State, Birkbeck College (London), Boston Athenaeum, Boston College, British Library, Brooklyn Public Library, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, California (Los Angeles, San Diego), Cambridge (3 from Keynes Collection), Chicago, Cleveland Public Library, Colorado (Boulder), Colorado State, Connecticut College, Cornell, Dalhousie, Emory, Essex, Georgetown, Holy Cross, Illinois, Indiana, Institute of German Studies, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Kenyon College, Library of Congress (2), Liverpool Public Library, London (Institute of German Studies), McMaster, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York Public Library, New York, Newberry, North Carolina, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State,

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Puget Sound, Rice, San Diego State, Seattle Public Library, Simon Fraser, Southern California, Stanford, State University of New York (Stony Brook), Texas, Temple, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria & Albert, Virginia, Wake Forest, Waseda (Tokyo), Western Ontario, William and Mary

The tailpiece of a soldier running to a woman on a couch is signed "*Blake inv*" and "*Perry. sc*". However, Blake's watercolour for the tailpiece is inscribed lightly in pencil "*Blake del & sc*",<sup>565</sup> indicating that he expected to engrave it.

REVIEWS referring to Blake

**Anon.**, "Translations of Burger's *Leonora*", *British Critic*, VIII (**September 1796**), 277 (the critic pauses in the midst of a brief review of four translations of *Leonora* to execrate the "detestable taste" shown in Blake's design for J.T. Stanley's second version) <BB #1037>

**Anon.**, "Art. XI. *Leonora: A Tale, translated from the German of Gottfried Augustus Bürger*. By J.T. Stanley, Esq. F.R.S. &c. A new Edition. 4to. 16 pages, with a Frontispiece and two Vignettes, by Blake. Price 7s. 6d. Sewed. Miller. 1796", *Analytical Review*, XXIV (**November 1796**), 472 (a one-paragraph review which concludes: "This edition is embellished with a frontispiece, in which the painter has endeavoured to exhibit to the eye the wild conceptions of the poet, but with so little

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<sup>565</sup> R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2013", *Blake*, XLVII, 4 (Spring 2014).

success, as to produce an effect perfectly ludicrous, instead of terrific”) <BB #831>

*Lenore Ballade von Bürger in Drei Englische Übersetzungen* [ed. Johann Joachim Eschenburg] (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterisch, 1797), 5-6 In German (describes Blake’s designs)

There were also reviews in (1) §*Critical Review*, NS XVII (1796), 303-7, (2) §*English Review*, XXVIII (1796), 80-84, (3) *Monthly Magazine & British Register*, III (January 1797), 46, (4) *Monthly Mirror*, I (1795-96), 293-95, and (5) *Monthly Review*, NS XX (August 1796), 322-25.

#### EDITION

§Bürger, Gottfried Augustus. *Leonora 1796 translated by J.T. Stanley. A reproduction of the 1796 edition with Blake’s illustrations.* Introduction by J.W. [Jonathan Wordsworth]. (Otley, West Yorkshire, and Washington, D.C.: Woodstock Books, 2000) 4°, [1-5], xi, 12 pp.; ISBN: 1854772325

#### NEW TITLE

##### *The Cabinet of the Arts (1799)*

**Title page 1:** THE | CABINET of the ARTS. | - | A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS, | BY | *English Artists*, | FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS, | BY | *Stothard, Burney, Harding, Corbould, Van Assen, Potter* [sic], | *Cosway, Paul Sandby, Mather Brown, Catton, &c.* | = | [Vignette: London: Published by Castildine & Dunn, Copper-Plate Printers, N.<sup>o</sup> 9, Bagnio Court, Newgate Street, February 3. 1796<sup>566</sup>] | =

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<sup>566</sup> The vignette is assigned to Stothard by A.C. Coxhead, *Thomas Stothard*

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| London, | M.DCC.XCIX [1799]. | PRICE FIVE  
GUINEAS, BOUND.

**Title page 2:** THE | CABINET | OF THE | *ARTS*. | = | A  
SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS; | BY |

STOTHARD,	BURNEY,
HARDING,	CORBOULD,
VAN ASSEN,	PORTER [sic],
COSWAY,	PAUL SANDBY,
MATHER BROWN, CATTON,	

&c. &c. &c. | - | London, | M.DCC.XCIX. [1799] | PRICE  
FIVE GUINEAS.

The first title page was printed first with the typeset text in black and then with the engraving in brown.

LOCATIONS: Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, with 95 prints), British Library (shelfmark 1401 i 25, with 94 prints), Dartmouth, *Essick* (with 64 prints), Princeton (Copy 1 [GAX 2006-3128N] with 112 prints; Copy 2 [Ex item 5987716] with 134 prints),<sup>567</sup> Yale Center for British Art (2, 1 with 117 engravings printed on rectos, 1 with 160 prints on 117 leaves, including duplicates of some portraits)

SIZE: 24.5 x 17.1 cm, varying slightly (*Essick* copy); Princeton copy 2 is 23 cm high

PAPER: Uniform off-white wove paper with watermarks (in the *Essick* copy) of 1794 | J WHATMAN<sup>568</sup> (fragments on ff.

(1906), 38.

<sup>567</sup> It was offered in Alex Fotheringham, Catalogue 78 (March 2011), lot 76 (£650).

<sup>568</sup> Princeton Copies 1-2 are on laid and (mostly) wove paper, the latter with

9, 16, 25, 49, 52, 55-56, 63, 66), and widely spaced “5” and “6” (f. 4, apparently a single, inserted leaf). Many leaves show three deckled edges, indicating that these leaves have not been cut or trimmed and that they are halves of a small sheet, though only a few leaves are visibly conjugate. (The size alone would have suggested that it was a quarto.)

**CONTENTS:** The prints bear no number or indication of where they should be placed, and the only description of the contents is on the two title pages – prints designed by Mather Brown, Burney, Catton, Corbould, Cosway, Harding, Potter or Porter, Paul Sandby, Stothard, Van Assen, “&c.” However, the Essick copy has no print with the name of Burney, Corbould, Cosway, Harding, or Paul Sandby, and two-thirds of the prints are by others: Anon. (19, some of which could be by the named artists), G. Bickham, Jr (2), C.H. Coypel (1), Isaac Cruikshank (3), Gillot (2), Sir Joshua Reynolds (1), Charles Reuben Ryley (2, including one engraved by Blake), Tassie (1), I. Taylor (2), and W. Turner (10).

**SOURCES OF THE PRINTS:** The prints with dates or which have been traced to dated works appeared in *Bellamy’s Picturesque Magazine* (London: T. Bellamy and T. Evans, 1793), *Harrison’s British Magazine* (1782-83), Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas* (London: E. and S. Harding, 1796), Thomas Townshend, *Poems* (London: E. and S. Harding, 1796) (8 Stothard prints), and 1797 (f. 42), [Robert Ridell's faux old Scottish ballad] *The Bedesman of Nidsyde* (S. Hooper, 1790), *Lady’s Pocket Magazine*, IV (Harrison and Co, 1 August 1795).

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fragments of WHATMAN watermark.



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Half the prints in the Essick copy (31) seem to come from three books: Townshend (8), a book on the English royal family (10), and a book on English places (13).

Note that the prints identified were originally commissioned by several different booksellers – T. Bellamy and T. Evans, Castildine and Dunn, E. and S. Harding, Harrison, and S. Hooper. Apparently an anonymous bookseller – none is named on the two title pages – acquired a miscellaneous collection of copperplates originally commissioned by various different booksellers and had them printed on sheets of uniform paper, two prints per sheet as in a small folio.

The prints in *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* (1793) are on soft wove paper 28.2 x 22.5 cm; those in *The Cabinet of the Arts* (1799) are on paper 24.5 x 17.1 cm watermarked "J WHA | 17" (other fragments of the watermark elsewhere in the volume indicate that it was "J WHATMAN | 1794"). The prints in *The Cabinet of the Arts* are therefore not remainders from *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* but new printings.

DESCRIPTION: The work consists of two title pages (the first on a verso) plus 64 prints on rectos only (in the Essick copy).

All the prints probably appeared in previous publications; another print of the French Revolution (C.R. Ryle-Charles Grignon) appeared in *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* (1793), and 8 of the Stothard prints previously appeared in Thomas Townshend, *Poems* (1796). *The Cabinet of the Arts* (1799) seems to be a nonce collection, a pair of title pages followed by prints chosen irregularly without much

regard for the artists named on the title pages. Copies vary disconcertingly after the title pages, with 64, 94, 95, 112, 117, 134, and 160 prints. Only three of the eight known copies include Blake's print of "F: Revolution" for *Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* (1793).

Blake's connection with the work was first identified in the copy acquired by R.N. Essick at the eBay auction of July 2005 (£88) and reported in his "Blake in the Marketplace", *Blake*, XXXIX (2006), 158-60, with reproductions of the first title page and the Blake print.

LOCATION	NUMBER OF PRINTS	"F. Revolution"
Bibliothèque nationale (Paris)	95	No
British Library	94	No
Dartmouth 99		Yes
<i>Essick</i> 64		Yes
Princeton Copy 1 <sup>569</sup> 112		Yes
Princeton Copy 2 134		No
Yale Center for British Art #1	117 <sup>570</sup>	No
Yale Center for British Art #2 161 <sup>571</sup>	No	

It seems plain that *The Cabinet of the Arts* (1799) is a nonce publication in which prints of 1777-1797 issued by different book-sellers were printed more or less ad libitum. Even in the two Yale copies compared in detail, only 33 prints

<sup>569</sup> The Princeton Copy 1 lacks the engraved title page.

<sup>570</sup> 28 engravings in Yale copy 1 reappear in copy 2, and of these 23 are also duplicated in copy 1. This information is based on wonderfully detailed notes on these two copies generously sent to me by Maria Ross and Marissa Grunes of the Yale Center. One additional image appears twice in Copy 2.

<sup>571</sup> Yale copy 2 ff. 48-84 has 45 plates printed (not pasted) *side-by-side* with *different dates* and *different publishers*.

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appear in both copies; 83 images appear only in copy 1 and 127 images appear only in copy 2.

The “F. Revolution” plate engraved by Blake for *Bellamy’s Picturesque Magazine* (1793) appears in only three copies of *The Cabinet of the Arts* (Dartmouth, Essick, Princeton). As only three copies of *Bellamy’s Picturesque Magazine*, I (1793) have been traced (Harvard, Huntington, Pennsylvania), there are as many copies of “F. Revolution” traced in *The Cabinet of the Arts* (1799) as in *Bellamy’s Picturesque Magazine* (1793) in which it originated.

**NEW ENTRY**  
**Carfax Conduit Oxford**  
**([1787?], 1810)**

COPIES: *Essick*,<sup>572</sup> Victoria University in the University of Oxford

"CARFAX CONDUIT, OXFORD" signed at lower right "Blake Sc", no artist identified and no imprint.

A copy was acquired in March 2015 by VICTORIA UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO (wove paper without watermark 22.0 x 28.2 cm; the platemark in the Essick copy is 26.4 x 35.8 cm). The paper was trimmed (probably to make it fit into an album) at the top, eliminating the top of the spire and its weathervane, and at the bottom, eliminating the

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<sup>572</sup> See R.N. Essick, “A ‘New’ William Blake Engraving?”, *Print Quarterly*, II (1985), 42-47. The print is reproduced also in *Blake*, XIX, 1 (Summer 1985), pl. 7, where Essick suggests that it may have been etched about 1780. The only previously-recorded reference to Blake and the Carfax Conduit was in Thomas Dodd’s manuscript biography of Blake (c. 1832) (*BR* (2) 255 footnote).

title below the design. It is pasted to a somewhat larger leaf (with a frame drawn round the printed leaf) slightly uneven on the right margin. The printed title is replaced in pencil by "Carfax Conduit Oxford".<sup>573</sup>

The Carfax Conduit was erected at the chief crossroad of Oxford in 1610 at the initiative and expense of Otho Nicholson of Christ Church (which was visible from the Conduit) by John Clark, a Yorkshire stone-carver, "with three several cocks fayerly set out to run water three several ways". The whole structure is 40' high, and the water tank is 18-20' high (judging by the woman and man shown beside it).

The woman is wearing a huge hat in the style of the 1780s, and the man is in mortarboard and academic gown. He is clearly explaining the structure to her. Notice that the shadows of the man and woman added to the image from the *Gentleman's Magazine* are at a different angle from those of the Conduit itself. On the shadowed side water the runs onto the ground.<sup>574</sup>

An elaborate but undated "*Account of Carfax Conduit, in Oxford; was taken from a MS. Paper in the Possession of a Gentleman of the University*" and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLI (Dec 1771), 533-34, along with an engraving of the conduit which is remarkably like the one Blake

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<sup>573</sup> The first reference to the Carfax Conduit and William Blake is in Thomas Dodd's manuscript account of Blake (c. 1832): Blake "engraved ... View of Carfax conduit Oxford" (*BR* (2) 255 fn). The basic details of the print are given in Robert N. Essick, "A 'New' William Blake Engraving", *Print Quarterly*, II (March 1985), 42-47. Much of the description of the monument and its context is new here. I am grateful for advice from Bob Essick and Carmen Socknat.

<sup>574</sup> This seems unlikely; surely the water flowed into a trough. No receptacle is evident in the description or the 1775 and 1850 paintings. The cistern also served several colleges.

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engraved<sup>575</sup> <Illus. 3>. I have used the Account to identify features of the engravings.<sup>576</sup> Some of the details of the Account which are not visible in the engravings may have disappeared by 1771 when the *Gentleman's Magazine* engraving was made, and the artist did not read the Account.

Near the top of the cistern are three escutcheons on each side. According to the Account, they represent "the arms of the University, City, and the founder", but no attempt was made in the engraving to represent the arms.

Above the cistern is a cubic sun-dial at each corner and between them the letters "O N O N" (the initials of the founder), the "O" and the "N" separated by a bare-breasted mermaid, and between the "N" and the "O" is a sunburst face ("the *Sun* in its glory" representing the "son" of Nicholson), the whole forming "a rebus on the name of the founder". The mermaids are holding "combs and looking-glasses" which are scarcely identifiable in the engravings.

Below the mermaids are "well wrought pedestals, on which are imbossed the royal badges of four kingdoms, viz. the Rose for England; the Thistle for Scotland; Fleur de lis for France; and the Harp for Ireland", but in the engraving these

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<sup>575</sup> The *Gentleman's Magazine* print is pointed out in Essick's essay. It is smaller than Blake's engraving (17.5 x 31.1 cm vs 26.4 x 35.8 cm).

<sup>576</sup> The Account is not dated; its details seem to be from the 17th century but its orthography from the 18th century. It describes all four sides of the tank, though only two sides can be seen in the engravings and paintings

Some details in the description could not be represented in a mere engraving, such as colouring on the monument for gold crowns, silver wires, and blue escutcheons even if they were still present in 1771.

are transformed into a human head above an animal head. Perhaps the originals had been worn away and were replaced.<sup>577</sup>

Above the letters are "figures of boys, obelisks, flowers, and fruitage, interchangeably transposed".

The animals at the corners representing "the supporters of the royal arms of Henry the VIIIth" are an antelope at the north-east corner, a dragon at the south-west corner, a lion at the south-east, and a unicorn at the north-west. This does not correspond with the engraving, where the lion and unicorn are in adjacent corners (not opposite ones). The figure at the left that looks like a dog with wings is little like either an antelope or a dragon.

The animals hold staffs with banners with "the several quarterings of the royal arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland", but these quarterings are merely diagonal lines in Blake's engraving.

In the centre, behind the heraldic animals, is an ox ridden by a crowned figure representing "Queen Maud (the Emperor's sister)" (Matilda or Maude [d. 1167], daughter of Henry I). According to a description of 1686, the water flowed

into the body of the carved ox ... issuing from his pizzle, which continually pisses into the cistern underneath from whence proceeds a leaden pipe out of which runs wine on extraordinary days of rejoicing

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<sup>577</sup> Of course the Conduit had to be taken apart when it was moved in 1787, and some details in subsequent representations of it differ from the Account and the engravings. Today the unicorn lacks his horn, there is no staff or banner, the figure at the top is not two-faced Janus but a bearded man facing south and a person facing north, and there is no weather-vane or cross.

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such as the restoration of the monarch in 1660. The bull's pizzle is not visible in the engraving and probably could not be seen from ground level.

The figures on plinths represent "the four Cardinal Virtues". Behind the lion is "Fortitude, holding a broken pillar in her right arm, and in her left the capital thereof, of the Corinthian order". Behind what looks like a winged dog is "Prudence, holding in her left hand a serpent in a circular form [it is not circular in the engraving], signifying the revolution of Time". Behind the unicorn is "Temperance, pouring out wine from a large Vessel into a small one as a proper emblem of the same". Behind the antelope, not visible in the engraving, is "Justice, holding a sword in her right hand; and a pair of balances in her left, her eyes covered over, signifying her impartial administration of justice".

"Over these ornaments arise four curved groins arched, supporting an octangular building having niches in which are stone statues of eight worthies" bearing elaborately decorated shields (except for Godfree of Bullion) representing (1) King David, (2) Alexander the Great, (3) "Godfree of Bullion, crowned with thorns", (4) "Atticus the Grecian", (5) Charlemagne, (6) James the First, (7) Hector of Troy, and (8) Julius Caesar. They are so vaguely represented in the engraving that I can identify none of them.

Between the Worthies are mermaids above "well wrought pedestals, on which are imposed the royal badges of four kingdoms, viz. the Rose for England; the Thistle for Scotland; Fleur de lis for France; and the Harp for Ireland", but in Blake's engraving these are transformed into a human head

above an animal head. Perhaps the originals had been worn away and were replaced.

"Above these worthies are curious figures to represent some liberal arts and sciences. Here is Orpheus with his harp, several youths as if singing, accompanied with different sorts of musical instruments, as trumpets, lutes, violins, and music-books, some wide open, others shut."

"At the top of all this rich structure stands old Janus, with his aged visage to the west; the back part of his head is female-faced, looking to the east". However, in the engraving the figure is so vague that I cannot tell whether it represents the male head with a shield or the female head with a sceptre.

Above the stone-work is a weather-vane, "and at the top of that a cross directed to the four cardinal points of the compass", but these are indecipherable to me. Apparently they were later lost,<sup>578</sup> for an anonymous painting of 1775 <cross-reference to Oxfordhistory.org.uk> and a painting by Percy Roberts of about 1850 <cross-reference to Oxfordhistory.org.uk> show in their place the figure of a standing man.

The conduit formed an interruption to traffic (the 1775 painting tactfully shows only people and dogs in the street beside it), and the Mileways act of 1771 proposed its removal. In 1787 the Conduit was transported about six miles to Nuneham Courtney,<sup>579</sup> and it now stands in the Oxford

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<sup>578</sup> The facts that the weathervane is replaced in the painting of 1775 but not in the Blake print of 1787 or later suggests that the artist of Blake's design was copying the 1771 print rather than the monument itself.

<sup>579</sup> Goldsmith visited Earl Harcourt's estate at what is now Nuneham Courtney, and his *Deserted Village* (1770) may be in part about Harcourt's destruction of a number of villages and farms to create a vast garden.

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Botanical Gardens there <Cross-reference to Wikipedia, see Carfax>.

The decorated top resembles the Eleanor Crosses erected in the 13th century by Edward I in memory of his wife, Eleanor of Castile. It has a distinct similarity to the Martyr's Memorial in Oxford designed by Gilbert Scott in 1843 with effigies of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.<sup>580</sup>

A copy was offered in the online catalogue of Sanders of Oxford (August 2014).

REVIEWS, Puffs, Notices

**Anon.**, “Quarterly List of New Publications From February to May, 1810”, *Edinburgh Review*, XVI, xxxi (**April 1810**), 253-54 <Harvard> (“A View of Carfax Conduits, Oxford. Drawn and engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.” [p. 253])

**Anon.**, “Arts, Fine”, *Quarterly Review*, III (**May 1810**), 518 (“A View of Carfax Conduits, Oxford, drawn and engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.”)

*Edinburgh Review*, XVI (**April-August 1810**), 253 at 1/6  
*Quarterly Review* (**1810**) at 1/6

*Monthly Repertory of English Literature* XIII (Paris, **1811**), 381, at 1/6

**Anon.**, “Fine Arts”, *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1810, III, Part the Second (**1812**), cviii <California (Berkeley)> (“A View of Carfax Conduit, Oxford. Drawn and Engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.”)

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<sup>580</sup> The Martyrs' Memorial was famous in my time for the temptation it offered to undergraduates to climb it illegally.

*Quarterly Review* (1818), at 1/6

A copy was offered in the online catalogue of Sanders of Oxford (August 2014).

**CATULLUS, Caius Valerius**

*The Poems*

(1795)

NEW LOCATIONS: Brigham Young, California (Berkeley), Cambridge, Cape Cod Community College, Connecticut College, Delaware, Emory, Harvard (Harvard College), Lehigh, Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Academy of Medicine, Northern Illinois, Northwestern, St Johns College (Maryland), Texas Tech, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Yale

**Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims**

(1810)

NEWLY RECORDED COPY: Cincinnati Art Museum

**CHAUCER, Geoffrey**

*Poetical Works*

Volume XIII

(1782 [i.e., 1783])

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle, South Carolina, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 2 sets)

A proof before all letters of Blake's plate in Bell's Edition of the Poets of Great Britain is in Vol. X of the extra-illustrated set of Mrs Bray's *Life of Thomas Stothard* (1851) acquired in December 2008 by Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

**CHAUCER, Geoffrey**  
*The Prologue and Characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims*  
(1812)

NEW LOCATIONS: Boston Athenaeum, Carnegie Mellon, Pierpont Morgan Library

The work is reproduced in colour online in "William Blake Digital Materials from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection" in the Library of Congress.

REVIEW, Notice, &c.

**Anon.**, "Monthly List of Publications", *British Critic*, XXXIX (February 1812), 211 <Harvard> ("The Prologue and Characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims, with a frontispiece representing Part of the Group setting out from the Talbot Inn, Southwark. By Mr. William Bake [sic]. 2s 6d.")

**"Christ Trampling Satan"**  
(William Blake-Thomas Butts)

The copperplate was given in 2002 by Gertrude W. Dennis<sup>581</sup> to the Pierpont Morgan Library (B3C11404L).

SIZE: 16.6 x 31.2 cm

COPPERPLATE-MAKER'S MARK on the verso: WILL<sup>m</sup> & BUSS | PONTIFEX & COMP<sup>ny</sup> | Nos. 46, 47 & 48 | SHOE LANE, LONDON

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<sup>581</sup> The book- and print-shop of Mrs Dennis's father E. Weyhe regularly had copies of the print for sale and repeatedly denied to GEB that they knew where the copperplate was or whether it survived.

**COMMINS, Thomas**  
*An Elegy Set to Music*  
(1786)

NEW LOCATION: *Robert N. Essick.*

Two leaves with drawings for the frontispiece were acquired by Professor R.N. Essick, one with wash on one side and pencil on the other, the other with wash on both sides.

A copy of Blake's print was given in 1998 by Charles Ryskamp to the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>582</sup>

**CUMBERLAND, George**  
*An Attempt to Describe Hafod*  
(1796)

NEW LOCATIONS: Barr Smith Library (Adelaide, Australia), British Library (2--BB records 1), Cambridge, Glasgow, Huntington (495603), McGill, Monash, National Library of Scotland, Princeton, Sheffield, Southampton, Trinity College (Dublin), Wales (Lampeter), Westminster Libraries

It is reproduced online at [www.manfamily.org/cumberland\\_familyhtm](http://www.manfamily.org/cumberland_familyhtm)

REVIEWS

*Monthly Magazine* (**March 1796**), 138 (listed at 2s under "New Publications this Month")

*Monthly Review* (**August 1796**), 479 (brief)

*Critical Review*, XX (**June 1797**), 236-37 (mostly quotations)

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<sup>582</sup> R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2005", *Blake*, XXXIX(2006), 181.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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*British Critic* (1798), 440-41 (at 2/6)

EDITION

*An Attempt to Describe Hafod by George Cumberland. A Bicentenary Edition Edited and Introduced by Jennifer Macve & Andrew Sclater, Illustrated with Drawings from a sketchbook of Thomas Jones of Pencerrig* introduced by Donald Moore (Aberystwyth: Ymddiriedolaeth Yr Hafod – Hafod Trust, 1996) 8<sup>o</sup>; ISBN: 0952794101

This is a facsimile of the copy in the National Library of Wales, with Jennifer Macve and Andrew Sclater, "Introduction" (pp. 1-10, 15-16), and Donald Moore, "The artist Thomas Jones at Hafod" (pp. 11-14, 16). A section on "Hafod in 1795 and Blake's Map" (pp. 9-10) concludes that "One must ... keep an open mind" as to what part Blake had in the map.

**CUMBERLAND, George**

**Card**

**(1827)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Cincinnati Art Museum, *William St Clair*<sup>583</sup>

Copies were offered in James Tregaskis Caxton Head

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<sup>583</sup> Pasted in a copy of the catalogue of *English Poetry* (Hayward, 1947) inscribed in the hand of Geoffrey Keynes (with his initials) in his characteristic reddish brown ink to the poet Skelton; Acquired some years ago at a Toronto[!] bookshop by **William St Clair**. It is not listed in Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plate of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), with other copies owned by Keynes (N-Q, Z).

Catalogue (20 January 1919), lot 3 (£14), Catalogue 815 (23 June 1919), lot 5 (£14), James Tregaskis and Son Caxton Head Catalogue 830 (September 1920), lot 45 (£14), Tregaskis Bulletin 8 (February 1934), lot 22 (£3).

An impression (collection of Robert N. Essick) was reproduced by the *William Blake Archive* in 2013.

**CUMBERLAND, George**  
***Outlines from the Antients***  
**(1829)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Brown, John Carter Brown Library, California (Santa Barbara), Cambridge, Chicago, Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, Columbia, Edinburgh, Huntington Library, Kent State, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Den Haag [Netherlands], Lehigh, Manchester, Missouri (Columbia), Princeton, Tennessee State Library, Toronto, Tulsa (gift of Roger Eason), Victoria & Albert Museum (2 copies), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wisconsin Historical Society

The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

Appendix [?1820] MS (Victoria University in the University of Toronto) <BB 542> Published by 2009 as an E-book.

"Mr. GEORGE CUMBERLAND, of Bristol ... is ... preparing for publication a work with sixty plates, on the Principles of Composition of the Ancients", *Monthly Magazine* (1 May 1810), 363-64; the identical paragraph is given in *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine and Review*, I (May 1810), 62. Perhaps this became *Outlines from the Antients* (1829) with four Blake prints.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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**CUMBERLAND, George**  
*Thoughts on Outline*  
(1796)

NEW LOCATIONS: Alberta, Arizona, Auckland, Belfast Central Library, Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Birmingham Central Libraries, Brandeis, Brigham Young, Brown (with notes by "W[alter] S[avage] L[andor]"), California State Library, Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Chetham's Library (Manchester, England), Clark (Sterling and Francine) Art Institute (Williamstown, Massachusetts), Cornell, Davidson College, Delaware, Durham (Durham [New Hampshire]), Edinburgh, Exeter, Fordham, Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), Harvard, Iowa, Longleat House (Warminster, England), Manchester, McGill, National Gallery (London), National Library of Wales, New Brunswick, North Texas, Northwestern, Pennsylvania (2 – *BB* gives 1), Old Dominion, Oxford (Department of History of Art), Pierpont Morgan Library, Royal Academy (London), State Library of South Australia (Adelaide), Texas (Tyler), University College (Lampeter, Wales), Victoria (Wellington [New Zealand]), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Washington (Seattle), Yeshiva

The Harvard copy is reproduced online and another copy is reproduced at [www.manfamily.org/cumberland\\_family.htm](http://www.manfamily.org/cumberland_family.htm)

A copy in "Original blue boards ... inscribed at front 'From the Author'" was offered in John Windle Catalogue 46 (2009), lot 64.

*Thoughts on Outline* (Robinson) was offered at 15s in boards in *Monthly Magazine*, II (1796), 649.

**DANTE**

***Blake's Illustrations of Dante***  
**(1838, 1892, 1955, 1968)**

1838 NEW LOCATIONS: Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Fogg Museum (Harvard University), London

1968 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

COPIES OF UNIDENTIFIED DATE: City Art Museum of St Louis (see *BB* #890), Kanagawa Kindai Bijutsukan [Kanagawa Modern Fine Art Museum, Japan], National Gallery of Canada, Northwestern

The copies in the Fogg Museum (Harvard University) and Tate Britain are reproduced online.

All the prints (1838) are reproduced in *Los dibujos para la DIVINA COMEDIA de Dante*. Ed. **Sebastian Schütze** and **Maria Antonietta Terzoli**.

Reproductions of Blake's engravings (Essick set) were added to the William Blake Archive.

**DIMENSIONS OF THE COPPERPLATES<sup>584</sup>**  
**IN CENTIMETRES**

<b>Plate</b>	<b>Width</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>Thickness</b>	
1	27.9	35.4	0.146	(0.153)
2	27.8	34.5	0.195	(0.192)
3	28.0	35.3	0.204	(0.205)

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<sup>584</sup> The surface dimensions of the copperplates now in the U.S. National Gallery of Art were measured by GEB; the thickness was recorded by Shelley Fletcher, Head, Paper Conservation, at the U.S. National Gallery (first at the cover, then at the middle edge) in *Print Quarterly*, XXI (2004), 27 n23.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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4	28.0	35.3	0.165	(0.155)
5	28.0	35.2	0.199	(0.198)
6	27.6	35.2	0.188	(0.195)
7	27.5	35.1	0.187	(0.171)

**DARWIN, Erasmus**

*Botanic Garden*

**(1791, 1791, 1795, 1799)**

A 1791 FIRST EDITION NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Fribourg, Switzerland) (ANT 589), Birmingham, Bodley (Vet A 5 d 44), Cambridge (3 copies: CCA 24 61 [Charles Darwin's copy]; Syn 4 79 6; Syn 4 79 xq821 D25b 1791 a [Sir Geoffrey Keynes's copy]), Glasgow, King's College (London), National Library of Wales, Sheffield, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Library

Part I, FIRST EDITION (1791), Part II, Second Edition (1790) NEW LOCATIONS: Academy of Natural Science (Pennsylvania), Alberta, American Museum of Natural History, Arizona, Atlanta Historical Center, Benedictine College (Atchison, Kansas), Bodley, Bowling Green State, Brooklyn Botanic Garden, Bryn Mawr College, California (Irvine, San Diego, Santa Barbara), Chicago Botanic Garden, Cincinnati, Claremont College, Colorado State, Columbia, Connecticut, Dartmouth College, Detroit Public Library, Depauw, Duke, Georgetown, Georgia, Hunt Institute for Botanical Doc, Illinois, Illinois State, Johns Hopkins Kansas State, Lamar, Linda Hall Library (Missouri), Lloyd Public

Library and Museum (Ohio), Los Angeles Public Library, Michigan, Missouri (Kansas City), Museum Boerhaave (Leiden), New Hampshire, New York Botanical Garden, New York Public Library, Oak Spring Garden Library, Oklahoma State, Purdue, Richmond, Royal Botanical Gardens (Kew), Royal College of Art (London), San Francisco, Smithsonian Institution, South Carolina, Southern California, Southern Methodist, State University of New York (Buffalo), Stony Brook, Toronto Public Library, University Club, Utrecht, Valentine Richmond Historical Center, Vanderbilt, Vermont, Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Tech, Washington (Seattle), Wayne State, Weber State, Wellcome Library, Wellesley, Wesleyan (Connecticut), Western Ontario  
Part I, FIRST EDITION (1791), Part II, Third Edition(1791)  
NEW LOCATIONS: Brown, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, California (Davis; Santa Cruz), Harvard (Medical School), Iowa, Kenyon College, Montreal, National Agricultural Library (U.S.), New York Public Library, Ohio State, Rutgers, Smithsonian Institution, Tulsa, Windsor, Wisconsin (Madison), Yale (Medical Library)

Part I, SECOND EDITION (1791), Part II, Third Edition (1791) NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Cambridge, Essex, Queen's Belfast (Science Library), Sir John Soane Museum (London), Wellcome Library

Part I, SECOND EDITION (1791), Part II, Fourth Edition (1794) NEW LOCATIONS: Atlanta Historical Center, National Library of Wales, New York Academy of Medicine, Victoria (British Columbia), Wales (Lampeter), Wellcome Library

C 1795 THIRD EDITION NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Durham, Edinburgh, Folger (PR3396 B6

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1791a), Glasgow, National Library of Wales, Newcastle, Sir John Soane Museum (London), Ushaw College (Durham), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Library D 1799 FOURTH EDITION NEW LOCATIONS Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Fribourg, Switzerland: ANT 9847), Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Lausanne: 1M 2727)), Iowa (5815D22 b), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

The Harvard copy of 1794 is reproduced online.

A-B 1791 FIRST and SECOND Editions Large Paper copies of the First and Second Editions are on heavy wove paper with the watermark "E & P", while ordinary paper copies are on a lighter unwatermarked paper with a distinctive checkered pattern, according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995", *Blake*, XXIX (1996).

C 1795 THIRD Edition

A proof of Pl. 6 (Fuseli's "Tornado" added to the 1795 edition) with all letters but lacking some finishing work was offered by N.W. Lott in 1995 (according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995", *Blake*, XXIX [1996]).

Pl. 1, "The Fertilization of Egypt": A new sketch (of the sistrum only) on the verso of the previously-known one was reported and reproduced by Robert N. Essick and Rosamond A. Paice, "Newly Uncovered Blake Drawings in the British Museum", *Blake*, XXXVII (2003-4), 84-100.

The Harvard copy of 1794 is reproduced online.

REVIEWS of Part I (1791)

§*Critical Review*, NS VI (1792), 162-71

§*English Review*, XX (1792), 161-71

*Analytical Review*, XV (1793), 287-93

§*Monthly Review*, NS xi (1793), 182-87

REVIEW of the Third Edition (1795)

§*English Review*, XXVII (1796), 271-73.

**DARWIN, Erasmus,**  
***The Poetical Works of Erasmus Darwin***  
**(1806)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Agnes Scott College, Alberta, “Bibliomation, Inc”, Birmingham, Bodley, Boston College, Botanical Research Institute of Texas, Inc, Bridgeport [Connecticut] Public Library, Brown, California (Berkeley; Los Angeles; San Diego; Santa Barbara), Cleveland Health Sciences Library, Columbia, Dallas, Dayton Metropolitan Library, Denver, Desert Botanical Garden of Arizona, Edinburgh, Hamilton College, Hiram College, Johns Hopkins, Lakeland (Michigan) Library Coop, London, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, McGill, McMaster, Mississippi, Missouri Botanical Gardens, National Library of Ireland, Nebraska (Lincoln), New York Academy of Medicine, Niedersächsische Staats-und-Universität Bibliothek (Germany), North Carolina (Chapel Hill), Notre Dame, Nottingham, Oakland, Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State, Princeton, Queen’s (Belfast – Science Library), Rochester, San Francisco Public Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, Washington (St Louis), Wellcome Library, Dr Williams's Library (1110 H 9), Wisconsin (Madison), Yale

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

EDITION

§*The Poetical Works of Erasmus Darwin*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Hon-No-Tomosha, 1997)

NEW TITLE

**Diario de los Niños**  
**(1839-1840)**

**Vol. I, No. 1, Engraved title page:** DIARIO | DE LOS | NIÑOS | LITERATURA, ENTRETENIMIENTO | é | INSTRUCCION. | N<sup>o</sup>. 1 | MEJICO 1839. | IMPRESO POR MIGUEL GONZALEZ. [in an elaborate floral border] <New York Public Library>

- 5 “La Caverna” at II, 361 (design size: 11.6 x 21.8 cm)  
 (“The Soul Exploring the Recesses of the Grave”)
- 6 “La Resurreccion” at II, 409 (design size: 13.7 x 21.7 cm)  
 (“The Reunion of the Soul & the Body”)

The titles follow those in Mora pl. 2-3, 7-10 [pl. 2, 4, 11, 7, 9, 12 in the 1808 *Grave*] (except for No. 2 which is untitled). “The lithographs are very accurate reproductions of Schiavonetti’s etchings/engravings” and are “close in size to the engravings” (except “for the elimination of small areas of the designs along the top and bottom margins of ‘La Puerta de la Muerte’ and ‘La Caverna,’ and on all 4 sides of ‘La Resurreccion’”), a faithfulness perhaps achieved by tracing, according to R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace, 2009”, *Blake*, XLIII (2010), 132; Essick is the source of all the information about the Essick copy; John Windle was the discoverer of Blake’s connection with the work.

Four of Mora's poems illustrated in the *Meditaciones Poeticas* (1826) are included here without prints: "La Muerte del Impio" ("Death of the Strong Wicked Man") (II, 119-20), "La Muerte del Justo" ("The Death of The Good Old Man") (II, 167-68), "La Separacion" ("The Soul hovering over the Body reluctantly parting with Life") (II, 190-92), "El Juicio" ("The Day of Judgment"), and "La Reunion" ("The Reunion of the Soul & the Body") (II, 415-16). The title page for *Meditaciones Poeticas* is omitted (it has no poem by Mora).

**DONNE, John**  
***Poetical Works***  
**(1779)**

The unpublished proof for Bell's Edition of The Poets of Great Britain representing a winged figure flying from the viewer is tentatively ascribed in *BB* #A1450 to Bell's edition of Donne's *Poetical Works* and in Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake* (1983), 236-37, Figure 105, to Bell's edition of *Paradise Lost*.

There are two copies of the print in the British Museum Print Room, Professor Essick has acquired a copy, and another is in John Windle's *List Twenty-Nine* (1998), No. 73.

**EARLE, James**  
***Practical Observations on the Operation for the Stone***  
**(1793, 1796, 1803)**

1793 NEW LOCATIONS: Bodley, British Library, Cambridge, King's College (London), Leeds, Liverpool, Royal College of Surgeons (London), Thüringen, Victoria University in the University of Toronto

The Harvard copy of 1793 is reproduced online.

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1796 NEW LOCATIONS: King's College (London), Wellcome Library; ... Appendix (J. Jonson, 1796): *Biblioteca La Solana*

1803 NEW LOCATIONS: *Biblioteca La Solana*, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Wellcome Library

Pl. 3 The attribution to Blake of the new, unsigned fold-out plate in the 1796 and 1803 editions marked "*To face P. 8, Appendix*", "are in Blake's hand. The letter forms, particularly the 'g,' are characteristic of his engraved lettering--compare his inscriptions in George Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline*, 1796."

**“Edmund Pitts, Esq<sup>r</sup>”**  
**after Earle**

Copies were offered in James Tregaskis Caxton Head Catalogue (19 July 1909), lot 62 (£1.5.0) and Catalogue 689 (18 July 1910), lot 251 (£1.5.0).

An Album of Blakiana, acquired in 1980 by the Pierpont Morgan Library (E.18.4), has 28 items, including drawings, engravings, and 50 drawings on tracing paper "possibly attributable to Linnell after designs by Blake", inscribed on the inside front cover "Tracings | from Blake books" and, in another hand, "Tracings by Blake's friend, Linnell | of 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell' | 27 sheet, plus portrait of Edmund Pitts [Essick 2G] and Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) pp. 7-8. See §*Nineteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978-1980*, ed. Charles Ryskamp (N.Y.: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981), 178.

Copy 2E (second state) in the Library of Congress was reproduced online.

**EMLYN, Henry**

***A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture***

**(1781, 1784, 1797)**

1781 LOCATIONS (cumulation): Bodley, Canadian Centre for Architecture (Montreal), Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (Williamsburg [Virginia]), Library of Congress, Melbourne, Royal Academy (London), Sir John Soane Museum (London), William and Mary (?imperfect), Yale Center for British Art

1784 NEW LOCATION: Royal Academy (London), Victoria & Albert

1797 NEW LOCATIONS: Pennsylvania, State University of New York (Stony Brook)

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**ENFIELD, William**

***The Speaker***

**(1774 [i.e., 1780]; 1781, 1785, 1795, 1797, 1799, 1800)**

1774 [i.e., 1780] NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, National Library of Wales, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson)

1781 NEW LOCATIONS: California (Santa Barbara), Chicago, Illinois, Library Company of Philadelphia, Louisiana State (Shreveport), Morrab Library (Penzance, England), Paxston House (Scotland), Trinity College (Cambridge), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1785 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 2 copies)

1795 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the

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University of Toronto (with an inscription of "May 8.<sup>th</sup> 1797" and pressed flowers)

1797 NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Liverpool

1799 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1800 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

At the end of the Victoria University copy is an eight-page catalogue of Joseph Johnson publications, including Bonnycastle, *Mensuration* ("Price 3s. bound"), Salzmann, *Elements of Morality* with 50 plates, "Price 10s.6d. bound", and Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life*, "Price 2s.6d. with Cuts bound, or 2s. without Cuts".

On 24 August 1796, Joseph Johnson, the publisher of the hugely-successful *Speaker* (which included a Blake print), wrote to the Philadelphia bookseller Thomas Dobson:

By the next vessel you shall have some Enfield's *Speaker* & a few other articles, the elegant plates which accompany this work give it so decided a preference, independant of the accuracy with which it is printed over every other edition which has been printed upon me that you cannot fail having a large demand for it[.]<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Quoted, like the other Joseph Johnson correspondence here, from office transcripts in the newly-discovered Joseph Johnson Letter-Book now in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, by whose permission they are quoted here. The Letter-Book was copied in approximately chronological order.

And six weeks later, on 10 October, he wrote again:

When the drawback is deducted the price of Enfield's Speaker & Exercises is reduced to 2/4 which I apprehend they would cost you, without the plates, if you were to print & bind them yourself indeed my profit is small but I do expect a considerable demand for them from you; these books are universally used in schools here, of the Exercises we use about one half of what we sell of the Speaker.

**EULER, Leonard**  
***Elements of Algebra***  
**(1797)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Birmingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leicester, McGill, Michigan (Dearborn), New York, Newcastle, Oklahoma, Santa Fe Institute, Strathclyde, Wisconsin (Madison)

Blake was probably referring to his engraving (c. 6.8 x 11.0 cm) for Euler's *Elements of Algebra* when he told the Revd Dr Trusler on 23 August 1799: "I had Twelve [Guineas] for the [small engraved] Head I sent you".<sup>586</sup>

**NEW TITLE**

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<sup>586</sup> He could alternatively but less plausibly be referring to his engraving of the head of John Brown (c. 11 x 13 cm) for Brown's *Elements of Medicine* (1795) or to one of the heads of Catullus and Cornelius Nepos (each c. 10 x 17 cm) for *Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus* (1795).

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***European Magazine***  
**(1803)**

§*The European Magazine, and London Review*, xliii (**April 1803**).

The oval frontispiece of “GEORGE ROMNEY, ESQ.<sup>R</sup>,” engraved by William Ridley of Romney’s self-portrait probably derives from Blake’s miniature copied from it for Hayley, not from Romney’s original (then belonging to Hayley, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London). The evidence is persuasively laid out by Mark Crosby and Robert N. Essick, “‘the fiends of Commerce’: Blake’s Letter to William Hayley, 7 August 1804”, *Blake*, XLIV, 2 (Fall 2010), 52-72.

**“Evening Amusement”**  
**(Watteau-Blake)**  
**(1782)**

**NOTICES, &c**

**Anon.**, “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der fryen Künste*, XXVII (**1782**), 123-88, in German <Harvard>

Zwey angenehme Blätter, nach Watteau, aus der Sammlung, des Hrn A. Maskin; Morning Amusement und Evening Amusement, von W. Blake in Röthel, Ovale, zu 9 Zoll 4 Linien Höhe, und 11 Zoll 3 Linien Breite, kosten zusammen 15 Schillinge. [P. 162]

**“The Fall of Rosamond”  
(Stothard-Blake)  
(Macklin, 1 October 1783)  
REVIEW, &c**

**Anon.**, “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, XXX, 2 (Leipzig: Dyckischer Buchhandlung, 1785), 317-68, in German <Harvard> (“The Fall of Rosamond ... von Blake, in eben der Manier, gleichen Maasse und Preises” [p. 342])

**FENNING, D., and J. COLLYER  
*A New System of Geography*  
(2 vols., J. Johnson, 1785-86; 1787)  
John Payne**

***Universal Geography Formed into a New and Entire System*  
(London: J. Johnson and C. Stalker, 1791)**

1785-86 NEW LOCATIONS: *R.N. Essick*, Tasmania (Morris Miller Library)

1787: Hennepin County Library (Minnetonka, Minnesota)

Payne LOCATIONS: British Library, Edinburgh

The British Library copies (1785-86, 1803) are reproduced in Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

Pl. 1 The date of "*June 6.<sup>th</sup> 1784*" in the British Library copy of 1785-86 was altered in the Essick and Tasmania copies of 1785-86 to "*July 16.<sup>th</sup> 1785*".

Pl. 2 The imprint-date of "*April 16.<sup>th</sup> 1787*" (as in the 1787 edition) is found in the Essick copy of 1785-86.

**NEW EDITION**

"Payne's text is simply a reprint of the Fenning and Collyer text, with identical pagination. The inscription [of pl. 2, 'A MAN [and A WOMAN] of PRINCE WILLIAM'S

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SOUND', 'POULAHO KING of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS', and 'A MAN [and] A WOMAN] OF VAN DIEMAN'S LAND'] top center has been replaced with '*Engraved for PAYNE'S Universal Geography*'. The number bottom right has been erased; the imprint [Publish'd April 16.<sup>th</sup> 1785 by G. & T. Wilkie, S.<sup>t</sup> Pauls Church Yard'] has been replaced with '*Publish'd March 1<sup>st</sup>. 1791 by C. Stalker. Stationers Court.*' The design, the inscription within it, and Blake's signature lower right remain unaltered."

The frontispiece to Vol. I (1785), probably engraved by Blake, is replaced in 1803 by another plate not related to Blake.

**FLAXMAN, John**

***Compositions from the Works Days and Theogony of Hesiod***  
**(1817, 1870)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Art Gallery of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia), Art Institute (Chicago), Auburn (Montgomery [Alabama]), Birmingham, Detroit Mercy, Duke, Edinburgh, Essex, Georgia, Guildhall Library (London – 2 copies), Harvard (Fine Arts Library, Harvard College, Houghton), Indianapolis Museum of Art, Iowa State, Johns Hopkins, Kansas State, Kentucky, Kiel, Lafayette College, London, Louisiana (Lafayette), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Melbourne Public Library, Michigan, Middle Temple (Honourable Society of the, London), Minnesota, Minuteman Library Network (Natick [Massachusetts]), National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, New York

Public Library (2), North Carolina (Chapel Hill), Northwestern, Oberlin College, Ohio State, Pennsylvania State, Pierpont Morgan Library, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), Rochester, St John's College (Annapolis), South Carolina, State University of New York (Cortland), Syracuse, Temple, Thüringen (Jena [Germany]), Toledo-Lucas County Public Library, Trinity Lutheran Seminary (Columbus, Ohio), Vanderbilt, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 3 copies), Virginia, Wake Forest, Washington (Seattle)

The 1817 edition was reproduced in the William Blake Archive in 2012.

**DRAWINGS:** The pencil and gray ink drawings, 22.7 x 30.5 cm and slightly smaller, 5 leaves with 1809 and 1813 watermarks, “possibly the preliminary drawings for the Hesiod designs<sup>587</sup> ... or possibly a set created by Flaxman independent of the production of the engravings”, bound in a blue morocco album of the “1860s” by M.M. Holloway<sup>588</sup> in 1970 in the possession of the dealer H.D. Lyon <BB 556-57>, were offered at Christie's (London), 7 June 2001, lot 78 (6 designs and the binding reproduced), ESTIMATE: £80,000-£120,000 [not sold]; as R.N. Essick suggests (“Blake in the Marketplace, 2001”, *Blake*, XXXV [2002], 120), “Perhaps no potential purchaser could overcome the suspicion that these may be early copies after the plates by a skilled hand other than Flaxman's”; they were offered on consignment to Maggs

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<sup>587</sup> They are neither the original compositions, which are in the British Museum Print Room, nor tracings from the prints.

<sup>588</sup> John Windle Catalogue 46 (2009), lot 1048.

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from the estate of H.D. Lyon at \$125,000.<sup>589</sup> They were offered again by Maggs (Price on Application) in John Windle Catalogue 46 (2009), lot 1048: “We feel safe in concluding ... that the drawings are not copied by a third party.” They were sold by Maggs in 2011 for £35,000 to an unidentified collection, according to R.N. Essick.

Pl. 21 (“Theogony” fly-title) A proof before all letters on paper watermarked 1812 is “now [2004] in a private British collection”.<sup>590</sup>

REVIEWS, Puffs, Advertisements,<sup>591</sup> &c

**Anon.**, “Literary Intelligence”, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, LXXXIV, Part 2 (**December 1814**), 550-52  
(Hesiod is p. 551)

**Anon.**, *New Monthly Magazine*, II (**1 Jan 1815**), 537  
(engraved by “J. Blake”).

**Anon.**, “Literary Intelligence”, *European Magazine*, LXVIII (**November 1815**), 469-70 (Hesiod is on p. 470) <Bodley>

**Anon.**, “Select Literary Information”, *Eclectic Review*, N.S., IV (**December 1815**), 622-26 (“Messrs. Longman and Co will shortly” publish Flaxman’s Hesiod “Engraved by J. Blake” [pp. 623-24])

“Messrs. Longman and Co. are about to Publish”

Flaxman’s Hesiod (at the end of *The Remains of*

<sup>589</sup> R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace, 2008”, *Blake*, XLII (2009), 133.

<sup>590</sup> R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace, 2004”, *Blake*, XXXVIII (2005).

<sup>591</sup> I report advertisements only when they specify (as most do) that the plates were “Engraved by J. Blake”.

*Hesiod* ... ed. Charles Abraham Elton, Second Edition, (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, **1815**) <Harvard>

**Anon.**, “Literary Intelligence”, *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXXVIII (**May 1816**), 373-74

“New Works Preparing for Publication, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown” (**July 1816**), 2 (bound with *Demosthenes Orationes de Republica duodecem*, ed. Guglielmo Allen (Oxonii [no publisher], 1812) <Bodley>

Announcement dated **February 1817** identifying (like all the rest) the engraver as “J. Blake” <BBS 214> *Edinburgh Review*, XVII, **March 1817**, 261 (announcement) <BBS 214>

**Anon.**, “Literary Register”, *Literary Panorama and National Register*, NS V, 30 (**March 1817**), Columns 951-60 (notice in Col. 953) <Harvard>

**Anon.**, “New London Publications”, *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, III, 16 (**April 1817**), 393-94 (notice on p. 394)

**Anon.**, “New Publications in February and March, with Critical Remarks”, *New Monthly Magazine*, VII, 39 (**April 1817**), 240 <BB 560, BBS 214>

**Anon.**, “Monthly List of New Publications”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, I, 1 (**April 1817**), 90-95 (notice on p. 90)

“New Works Preparing for Publication, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown ... Many of Which Will Appear in the Course of the present Season” (**April 1817**), p. 3, bound at the end of G[eorge]

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Dyer, *Four Lectures on the English Constitution*  
... Third Edition (London: Longman ..., **1817**)  
<Princeton>

Announcement (undated) inserted in a copy of Hesiod in  
original boards with watermarks of 1812 (pl. 35)  
and 1814 (flyleaf) belonging to Detlef Dörrbecker  
<BBS 214>

**Anon.**, “New Publications from March 1816 to March  
1817”, *Edinburgh Annual Register* [for 1816], IX,  
Part 2 (**1820**), cccxxvii-cccl (notice on p. cccxxxiv)

**FLAXMAN, John**  
*The Iliad of Homer*  
(**1805**)

NEW LOCATIONS: Alabama, American Academy (Rome),  
Art Institute (Chicago), Birmingham, Bodley, Boston  
Athenaeum, Boston College, Brazenose College (Oxford),  
Bristol, Brown, Bryn Mawr College, California (Berkeley;  
Davis), California State Library, Cambridge, Cape Town,  
Carleton College, Carnegie Mellon, Chicago, Cincinnati,  
Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, Claremont  
Colleges, Clearwater Christian College, Cleveland Museum,  
Cleveland Public Library, Colorado (Boulder), Columbus  
College, Cornell, Corporation of London Libraries, Creighton,  
Denver Public Library, DePaul, Duke, Detroit Mercy,  
Edinburgh, Florida State, Getty Research Institute (Los  
Angeles), Glasgow, Glasgow School of Art, Guildhall Library  
(London), Hamilton College, Harvard, Hennepin County  
Library (Minnetonka, Minnesota), Houston, Indiana State,

Iowa State, Kentucky, Konigelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), Lafayette College, Liverpool, Manchester, McGill, McMaster, Melbourne Public Library, Metropolitan Museum (N.Y.), Michigan, Minnesota (2), Newcastle, Ohio Wesleyan, Old Dominion, Oregon, Pierpont Morgan, New York Public Library, New York University, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State, Pittsburgh, Queen's College (Oxford), Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), Rochester, St Bride Library (London), St John's College (Annapolis [Maryland]), Smith College, State Library of New South Wales, Texas (Austin), Tulsa, Ushaw College (Durham), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 4 copies), Wake Forest, Washington (St Louis), Wayne State, Western Michigan, Witwatersrand, Yale

"The price I receive for engraving Flaxman's [3] outlines of *Homer* [*The Iliad* (1805)] is five guineas each", according to Blake's letter of 4 May 1804.

Pl. 1 ("Homer Invoking the Muse"): A variant drawing with large decorative panels left and right containing heraldic spears and armour was offered (but not sold) at Sotheby's (London), 31 March 1999, No. 26, reproduced, according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII (2000).

#### EDITION

*Composition of John Flaxman, Sculptor: Being Designs in Illustration of the Iliad of Homer.* (Nabu Press, 2014) 380 pp.; ISBN: 9781294911548

**FLAXMAN, John**

*A Letter to the Committee for Raising the Naval Pillar*  
(1799)



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NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Royal Academy (London)

EDITION

Ecco: Eighteenth Century Collections Online Print Edition, published by Gale [2010] [digitized version of the British Library copy]

Six drawings on one leaf by Flaxman are reproduced in colour online in "William Blake Digital Materials from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection" in the Library of Congress and may be freely printed.

**FUSELI, John Henry**  
*Lectures on Painting*  
(1801)

NEW LOCATIONS: Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (Zurich: A146), Illinois (x740 f9861), Leeds, Library Company of Philadelphia (IS Fues 9032), Liverpool, National Library of Switzerland, New York Public Library (MC 1801), Northwestern, Pierpont Morgan Library (E2 66E), Royal Academy (London), Sir John Soane Museum (London), South Carolina, University College (London [2 copies: 310 (Quartos) C10 FUE and R310 MG 19 [R] FÜ]), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Warburg Institute, Yale Center for British Art (ND1150 +F9)

EDITION

§“*Lectures on Painting*”: *Model der Antike und die Moderne Machahmung*. Ed. **Gisela Baumgarten**. 2 vols. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2005) Berliner Schriften zur Kunst.

The text is in English, the notes in German. It was originally a Berlin dissertation.

**GAY, John**

*Fables*

(1793, [1811])

1793 NEW LOCATIONS: John Carter Brown Library, Carnegie-Mellon, Indiana, Liverpool Public Library, Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Rhode Island, Rochester, Syracuse, Toronto Public Library (Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Ushaw College (Durham), Victoria & Albert, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, royal 8<sup>o</sup>), Westminster City Library, Wormsley Library (bound in Etruscan calf perhaps by Edwards of Halifax)

1793 [1811] NEW LOCATIONS: Durham, Indiana, Manchester, Northwestern, South Carolina, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Waddesdon Manor, Washington (St Louis)<sup>592</sup>

COPIES OF UNRECORDED DATE: NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Birmingham, Detroit Public Library, Durham, Edinburgh, Leeds, London, Nottingham, Sheffield

A proof before title of “The Tame Stag” is in the Fogg

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<sup>592</sup> *BBS* reported two “Copies of unrecorded date” in Washington (St Louis), but there is only one copy, of [1811].

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Museum, Harvard, reproduced online.

Blake's engravings may have been copied not from the first printings of these designs, Vol. I in 1727 and Vol. II in 1738 (as implied by Keynes, *BB*, Essick, *Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* [1991] et al), but from the designs re-engraved by Gerard Van Der Gucht (London: C. Hitch, L. Hawes, et al, 1757). The evidence for this conclusion is chiefly that, compared to the original versions, the 1757 designs reverse right and left and the format is vertical (portrait) rather than horizontal (landscape) as in Blake's plates. The 1762 and 1767 editions revert to the earliest formats. See R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1997", *Blake*, XXXI (1998).

REVIEW &c

Prospectus, **1 December 1792**, issued with the *Monthly Review*, IX (December 1792) (Göttingen) announcing the publication of Stockdale's "SPLENDID EDITION OF GAY'S FABLES" "On the 10th Inst." 1792 (not 1793, as on the title page) printed "on a superfine, wove Elephant Octavo [paper] (11 Inches by 7)" with "*Seventy Copper-Plates* [eventually there were 71], Engraved by Mr. HALL, GRAINGER, AUDINET, BLAKE, MAZELL, LOVEGROVE, WILSON, BROWN, SKELTON, COOKE, &c. [three of whom signed no plate] Price to subscribers 1l. 11s. 6d.—in BOARDS", "with silver paper betwixt each plate and the letter-press" <*BBS* 216-17>

**[GOUGH, Richard]**  
***Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain,***  
**Part I (1786)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Cambridge, Inner Temple (Honourable Society of the), Leicester Academy, London Library, New York Public Library, Newberry, Newcastle, Royal Academy, St Mary of the Lake, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson)

Pl. 9 A proof before letters of Blake's print<sup>593</sup> of the third state of Queen Philippa on a leaf 38.5 x 49.5 cm, formerly in the collection of Raymond Lister and subsequently in a "private collection, London", was offered in March 2004 by Christopher Edwards (for £2,750 [sic]) and acquired by Robert Newman Essick. The proof is especially interesting because of the inscriptions, in the hand Gough used on other proofs now in Bodley, giving directions to the writing engraver: *Above the image but within the plate-mark*: "pl. xlix p. 125"; *below the image but within the plate-mark*: "Portrait of ^Queen^ Phillippa [~~Queen of Edward III~~] from her monument | Basire In & sc"; *at the bottom of the page*: "[~~Put under d portrait of Q Eleanor Pl xxiii\*~~]". The print as published is inscribed: "Pl. XLVIII, p. 123." "Monument of Philippa Queen of Edward III. 1369" and "Basire del & sc".

Gough wrote in pencil on the proof: "Mr Ashley your people have made a mistake which appears very extraordinary as it is very clearly wrote with only one 1 – Philippa".<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> Blake's responsibility for the drawing is plausibly asserted by Malkin (*BR* (2)563), and his responsibility for the engraving is a generally accepted hypothesis.

<sup>594</sup> The inscription is reported by Christopher Edwards but is invisible to me from his reproduction. This inscription is not given in R.N. Essick, *William Blake's*

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Presumably “Mr Ashley” is the writing engraver, but there is no Ashley in *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, ed. D.F. McKenzie (1978), or in William B. Todd, *Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (1972), and the only Ashley in Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (1977), 6, is John, a music publisher.

pl. 10      "Portrait of Queen Phillipa from her Monument."  
A proof before letters was sold at Cheffins, Grain, and Comins (Cambridge, England), 28 October 1999, No. 98 (reproduced as pl. 10).

See Jerome Bertram, *Gough’s Sepulchral Monuments: Being a Catalogue of Material Relating to Sepulchral Monuments in the Gough Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: J. Bertram, 2004), 241 pp.

**HAMILTON, G.**  
***The English School***  
**(1831-32, 1837, 1839)**

1831-32      NEW LOCATIONS:      Aberdeen, Arizona, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Lausanne: AVA 3356), Boston Athenaeum, Brigham Young, British Library (7812 a 19 and 1422 a 25), Brooklyn Public Library, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, California (San Diego, Santa Barbara), Cambridge, Delaware, Edinburgh, Fordham,

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*Commercial Book Illustration* (1991), 119, who cites this proof and reproduces the final state with printed inscriptions (Pl. 291).

Georgia Institute of Technology, Harvard (Fine Arts Library), Kentucky, Kunsthaus (Zurich), Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York Historical Association, New York Public Library (3-MCT 1831), Pennsylvania State, Smithsonian Institution, Villanova, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Virginia, Washington (St Louis), Wellesley, Yale Center for British Art (N6764.H35)

1837 NEW LOCATIONS: British Library (1267 a 19), Schweizerische Landesbibliothek [Berne], New York Public Library (3-MAMR 1837)

1839 NEW LOCATIONS: Folger (Art Vol. e 50), Schweizerische Landesbibliothek (Berne: Littr Li 3162)

*N.B.* The 72 prints of Hamilton's *Select Specimens of British Artists: Chef-d'Oeuvre des Artistes Anglais* (Paris, Baudry, 1837) chosen from his *Gallery of British Artists* (1831 &c) and listed in D.H. Weinglass, *Prints and Engraved Illustrations By and After Henry Fuseli* (1994), 150-51, do not (as I am told by Professor Weinglass) include the two prints after Blake's designs for Blair's *Grave* which had been in the original work.

**HARTLEY, David**  
***Observations on Man***  
**(1791)**

Two versions NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, John Carter Brown Library, Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Institute (London)

A proof of Blake's frontispiece before signature, on wove paper, was acquired by Professor R.N. Essick in 1998.

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According to Herman Andrew Pistorius, *Notes and Additions to Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man ... Translated from the German Original MDCCXXII [1772] ... The Third Edition ...* (London: J. Johnson, 1801) <Bodley>, "\*\*\* A Print of the author, engraved by Blake, in quarto, may be had of the publisher, price two shillings and six pence" (p. iii).

**HAYLEY, William**

*Ballads*

**(1805)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Arizona, Auckland, Bryn Mawr, California (Berkeley), California Legion of Honor Museum (San Francisco), California Lutheran, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland Marshall College of Law (Cleveland [Ohio]), Cleveland State, Colorado (Boulder), Cornell, Dayton, Fogg Museum (Harvard University), Free Library of Philadelphia, Hertfordshire, Iowa, Kentucky, Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool (2), London Metropolitan, Massachusetts (Amherst), Memorial (St John's [Newfoundland]), Michigan, Michigan State, Missouri, Mount Holyoke College, National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, New York Public Library, Northwestern, Ohio, Ohio State, Pennsylvania State, Pepperdine, Phoenix Public Library, Portland State (Portland [Oregon]), St Mary's (Halifax [Nova Scotia]), Simon Fraser, Simpson, Skidmore, Stanford, Temple, State Library of Ohio, Tennessee (Chattanooga), Texas, Texas A&M (San Antonio), Toledo, Tulsa, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Virginia Military Institute, Washington

(St Louis), Wayne State, Xavier (Cincinnati [Ohio]), Yale Center for British Art, Yeshiva

According to my friend Random Cloud, G7 is a cancel in some copies (e.g., in Victoria University in the University of Toronto), with "Lo! his" on p. 109 and "boy who" on p. 110, which replace the version in some copies (e.g., McMaster), with "Lo his" on p. 109 and "boy, who" on p. 110.

Pl. 5 ("*The Horse*"): The "proof before signature ... in the collection of Mr. Raymond Lister" <BB> is "in fact a lightly inked impression showing fragments of the signature and evidence of having been removed from a copy of the book", according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII (2000).

Blake wrote to Hayley on 22 January 1805 that, according to Phillips, the publisher of the *Ballads*, "one thousand copies should be the first edition".

An examination of the probable costs, sales, and profits or losses of the publication of Hayley's *Ballads* (1805) may help to elucidate the obscurity of this crucial period of Blake's life.

For each of Blake's 5 "highly finishd" plates for Hayley's *Ballads* (1805), Blake said he was to have was to have £21 each, according to his letter of 25 March 1805.

The expenses of the volume would have been:

COSTS OF TEXT

Copyright--30 copies given to Hayley in lieu  
of royalties<sup>595</sup> £ 7. 2. 6

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<sup>595</sup> Hayley to Phillips, 28 Feb 1805 (*BR* (2) 200-201). The cost-per-copy is the total manufacturing cost (£238.4.6) divided by the number of copies printed (1,000) = 4s 9d.

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Setting 216 8° pp. (13 3/4 sheets) of text by Seagrave at £7.12.0 per sheet <sup>596</sup>	£ 104.10. 0
<b>TOTAL COST OF TEXT</b> <sup>597</sup>	<b>£ 111.12. 6</b>

COSTS OF ENGRAVING

Engraving 5 designs at £21 each <sup>598</sup>	£ 105. 0. 0
1½ reams of unwatermarked paper at £4.8.0 <sup>599</sup> for 1,000 copies of 5 8° plates	£ 6.12. 0
Printing 1,000 copies of 5 plates at 6s per 100 <sup>600</sup>	£ 15. 0. 0
<b>TOTAL COST OF ENGRAVINGS</b>	<b>£ 126.12. 0</b>

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<sup>596</sup> In 1799, Bensley estimated that for Du Roveray's *Gray*, 1,000 ordinary + 250 Large Paper copies in 8° would cost £12.12.0 per sheet, and 1,250 + 250 Large Paper copies would cost £14.10.0 (MS in the Huntington; see G.E. Bentley, Jr, "F.J. Du Roveray, Illustrated-Book Publisher 1798-1806: II: The Amateur and the Trade", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, XII [1990], 69); therefore 250 ordinary copies would cost £1.18.0 (£14.0.0 less £12.12.0), and 1,000 would cost £7.12.0 (4 times £1.18.0) per sheet. I presume that this cost includes setting the text, paper (27½ reams at £2.10.0 per ream), printing, labels, hotpressing, and sewing and boarding. The cost of paper derives from that in Malkin's *Memoirs* (Jan 1806) (*BB* 595).

In correspondence with Phillips, Seagrave insisted that he should be paid at the rates of London Printers.

<sup>597</sup> All expenses for 1,000 duodecimo copies of the 21 sheets of George Cumberland's *Original Tales* (1810), including 19 advertisements, came to £147.18.9 (British Library Add. MSS 36,503, ff. 240-241; see G.E. Bentley, Jr, *A Bibliography of George Cumberland (1754-1848)* [N.Y. and London: Garland Publishing, 1975], 27).

<sup>598</sup> Blake's letter of 22 March 1805. The costs of the copyright of the designs, copper, captions, and corrections were presumably included in Blake's fee.

<sup>599</sup> As in Flaxman's *Iliad* (April 1805) (*BB* 561). More prints could be pulled as needed.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.* Note that the cost of printing 8° plates may have been substantially less than for the folio plates in Flaxman's *Iliad*.

### COST OF DISTRIBUTION

Advertising <sup>601</sup> including 20 review copies <sup>602</sup>	£ 14.18. 7
10 copies to Blake at cost <sup>603</sup>	£ 2.17. 6
<b>TOTAL DISTRIBUTION COSTS</b>	<b>£ 17.16. 1</b>

On the publication in June 1805 of Hayley's *Ballads* (1805), Blake became liable for his share (c. £23<sup>604</sup>) of the publication-costs, and, though he expected to receive half the proceeds from the sales,<sup>605</sup> this was slow in coming in and probably never equalled his investment in cash and kind. To pay his debt to Phillips, Blake may have had to borrow money, and the sacrifices he had to make to repay his debt may well have reduced him to living on a pittance. Perhaps after all Cromek was right that in the autumn of 1805 the Blakes "were

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<sup>601</sup> As in Malkin's *Memoirs* (Jan 1806) (*BB* 595). There were puffs and ads for Hayley's *Ballads* in (1-2) Phillips' *Monthly Magazine* (1 April, 1 July 1805), (3) *Edinburgh Review*, VI (July 1805), 495, (4) Bent's *Monthly Literary Advertiser* (Aug 1805), and (5) a Phillips Short List (n.d.).

<sup>602</sup> It was reviewed in (1) *Critical Review*, 3 S, V (Aug 1805), 439, (2) *Literary Journal*, V (Aug 1805), 884, (3) *Guardian of Education*, IV (Sept 1805), 416426, (4) *Monthly Mirror*, XX (Sept 1805), 184-85, (5) *British Critic*, XXVI (Nov 1805), 563-64, (6) *Eclectic Review* (Dec 1805), 923, (7) *Flowers of Literature*, IV (1805), 417, (8) *New Annual Register*, XXVI (1805), 355, (9) *Annual Review*, IV (1806), 576-77, (10) Phillips' *Monthly Magazine*, XX Supplement (31 Jan 1806), 614-15, and (11) *Poetical Register* for 1805, V (1807), 489.

<sup>603</sup> Blake is known to have given copies of the *Ballads* (1805) to Mr Weller and to Lady Hesketh (*BR* (2) 204, 203), and doubtless there were more which cannot now be identified.

<sup>604</sup> Blake's share was half the total publication cost (£256.0.7) minus the £105 credit for his engravings.

<sup>605</sup> The price given in the *Eclectic Review* I (Dec 1805), 923, as 10s 6d. (Phillips' *Monthly Magazine* [1 July 1805], 583, must be in error in giving the price as 6s.) Of this 10s 6d, the bookseller's discount was 16 2/3% (1s 9d), leaving 8s 9d for the publishers.

Sixty copies, given to Hayley (30), to Blake (10), and for review (20), were not available for sale.

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reduced so low as to be obliged to live on half-a-guinea a week!"

We can only guess how many copies of Hayley's *Ballads* (1805) were sold--probably not many. Had the number been large, Phillips would surely have published another edition.

Profit and Loss Related to Copies Sold

In order to make a profit, 564 copies of the *Ballads* had to be sold, and almost certainly the total sales were fewer than this.

<b>Copies Sold</b>	<b>Costs</b> <sup>606</sup>	<b>Receipts</b>	<b>Profit or Loss</b>
200	£238.16. 2	£ 87.10.0	-£151. 6. 2
400	£243. 2. 3	£175. 0.0	-£ 68. 2. 3
564	£246.10. 7	£246.15.0	+£ 4. 5
600	£247. 8. 4	£262.10.0	+£ 15. 1. 8
800	£251.14. 5	£350. 0.0	+£ 98. 5. 7
940	£256. 0. 7	£395.10.6	+£139. 9.11

It seems very likely that Blake received no profit from the sales of the *Ballads*, though he did receive credit for £105 for his engravings--from which, of course, he had to deduct the 10s for the copper.

The text of Hayley's ballad of the horse was apparently omitted by Phillips in the proofs, and Blake, in ignorance of this, made an engraving for it. He discovered his mistake when Phillips happened to send Blake in London a proof of

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<sup>606</sup> Prints could be pulled and copies boarded as they were called for, but the other costs are constant.

“the last sheet” to be forwarded to the printer Joseph Seagrave in Chichester. In his letter of 4 June 1805, Blake wrote to Hayley: “I write to entreat that you would contrive so as that my plate would come into the work” (presumably including the text of “The Horse” in the *Ballads*), so that Blake would not have to omit “ten guineas from my next demand on Phillips.”<sup>607</sup>

A copy inscribed on the Preface "Eliza Martha Cumberland | The gift of Geo. Cumberland | Culver Street | Bristol" and signed by her in a childish hand on the half-title "Miss E M Cumberland" was offered privately by John Windle in April 2000. Cumberland's daughter was born in 1798.

A copy with contemporary colouring<sup>608</sup> is or may well be by Blake or his wife (according to David Bindman, Frances Carey, Robert N. Essick, and John Windle). The palette is significantly similar to that in the coloured copy of the *Canterbury Pilgrims* (Fitzwilliam Museum). More significantly, it is similar to the tempera of the same subject.<sup>609</sup> In both coloured engraving and tempera, the mother has the same auburn hair and blue dress and cap (darker blue in the engraving) with white frills at the top. In each, the sky is shades of blue and the clouds pink (both more vivid in the engraving).

There are also some significant differences. The frightened little girl's dress is pink in the engraving, muted

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<sup>607</sup> The problem was pointed out to me by my friend Morton Paley and published in his “William Blake, Richard Phillips, and the Monthly Magazine”, *Studies in Romanticism*.

<sup>608</sup> Reproduced in *The Stranger from Paradise* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), Illus. 97.

<sup>609</sup> The tempera is described and reproduced in Butlin, #366, Illus. 347.

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yellow in the tempera, and her hair is auburn (like her mother's) in the engraving, an indeterminate brown in the tempera; the bottom of the design is blue water in the engraving, while the same area in the tempera is an indeterminate brown; the ground by the upper tree is yellowish brown in the engraving, soft greenish brown in the tempera; the bank above the horse is a curious dull blue in the engraving and brown in the tempera; the clouds are pink in the engraving, vaguely white in the tempera.

These differences demonstrate that the colourer of the engraving was not simply copying the tempera--such servile copying would be very unlike Blake. But the manner, tact, and delicacy of the colouring, a good deal beyond what might be expected of a professional tinter, suggest that the hand which held the brush was that of William Blake.

A copy in "Original dark gray boards, printed paper label" is listed in John Windle Catalogue 46 (November 2009), lot 34.

**HISTORY:** (1) It was acquired c. 1920 by Clarence Bement of Philadelphia whose bookplate it bears; (2) This may be the copy acquired by S. Foster Damon which, in the opinion of Sir Geoffrey Keynes and the owner, was coloured by Blake <BB>, (3) Sold at Butterfield Auction House (Los Angeles) 26 September 2000, No. 9047, for \$1,200 to the dealer John Windle, who sold it in 2000 to (4) **Maurice Sendak**.

REVIEWS referring to Blake

*Monthly Magazine* (1**April 1805**), 261 (advertisement; it is "in the press") <BB 571>

**W. Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser (August 1805),**  
26 (advertisement) <BB 571>

**Phillips Short List (n.d.) (advertisement)** <BB 571>

**Anon., British Critic, XXVI (November 1805),** 563-64  
<Harvard> (“A worse work, we believe, was never  
produced by a man of literary fame. ... The  
engravings are worthy of the verses” [p. 564])

**[Samuel Greatheed], “Art. VIII. Ballads; by William**  
Hayley, Esq. Founded on Anecdotes relating to  
Animals, with Prints designed and engraved by  
William Blake. Small 8vo. Pp. 216. Price 10s.  
6d. Phillips. 1805”, *Eclectic Review*, I (**December**  
**1805**), 923 (a brief appreciation of the engravings;  
Greatheed was one of the editors of the *Eclectic*  
*Review* and is known to have received and tried to  
sell Hayley’s *Ballads* for Blake [BR (2) 142-43])  
<BB #1736>

**[Robert Southey], “Art. XVII – Ballads. By William**  
Hayley, Esq. Founded on Anecdotes relating to  
Animals, with Prints, designed and engraved by  
William Blake. 8vo. Pp. 212”, *Annual Review,*  
*and History of Literature; for 1805*, IV (**1806**), 575  
(the review bitingly mocks both artist and poet)  
<BB #2729>

**Anon., “Ballads, by William Hayley, Esq. Founded on**  
Anecdotes Relating to Animals, with Prints,  
designed and engraved by William Blake. Small  
8vo. Pp. 212”, *Poetical Register for 1805*  
(London, **1807**) (Blake is mentioned only in the  
title and not in the 54-word review) <BB #840>

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**SALE RECORDS**

*Useful and Valuable Books Recently Published or in Course of Publication by Richard Phillips,*<sup>610</sup> p. 11  
*Useful and Valuable Books Recently published, or in course of publication, by Richard Phillips,*<sup>611</sup> not paginated (“Ballads, chiefly intended to illustrate certain facts in the History of Animals. By William Hayley, Esq. With Engravings, by Mr. Blake, 6s. in boards”. [The printed title page reads: “Founded on Anecdotes Relating to Animals”])

EDITIONS

§**Hayley, William.** *Ballads Founded on Anecdotes of Animals.* ([No place given:] Gardners Books, 2007)

**William Hayley,** *Ballads* (n.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014) 56 pp.; ISBN: 9781499539301

**HAYLEY, William**  
*Designs to a Series of Ballads*  
(1802)

NEW LOCATIONS: Harvard, Library of Congress, National Library of Wales (52 pp.), Northwestern (the Bentley-Essick

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<sup>610</sup> Appended to Anon. [“An English Gentleman”], *Sketch of the Present State of France* (London: Richard Phillips, 1805).

<sup>611</sup> Appended to Miss Owenson, *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland*, Vol. II (London: Richard Phillips, 1807) <New York Public Library>

copy), "Union Psce", Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, Ballads 1-2), Dr Williams's Library (London: 10470 t 1, Ballad 1)

All four Ballads are reproduced in colour online in "William Blake Digital Materials from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection" in the Library of Congress and may be freely printed.

A copy of Parts 1-2 "in I vol., 4to., old paper boards, backed with vellum at a later date ... entirely uncut, some edges browned with age, and a little frayed in places" ("Winchester" [i.e., Chichester], 1802) was offered in James Rimell and Son, *No. 288 Illustrated Catalogue of Rare Books* (London, 1933), lot 63, for £21.

### Drawings

The sketches on the verso of "The Resurrection of the Dead" [c. 1780-85] [Butlin #79 (verso not recorded), Essick Collection (2011)] include the head of an eagle for Ballad 2, "The Eagle", and the man's legs for Ballad 4, "The Dog".

A leaf of sketches including some for Hayley's *Designs* (Butlin #617, **untraced** since 1922) was acquired in October 2011 by the Metropolitan Museum (N.Y.) (No. 2011.448).<sup>612</sup>

Another leaf of sketches for Hayley's *Designs*, "Drawn by William Blake / Vouched by Fred.<sup>k</sup> Tatham" (Butlin #79) was acquired in 2011 by Robert N. Essick.<sup>613</sup>

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<sup>612</sup> See R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2011", *Blake*, XLV, 4 (Spring 2012), 110.

<sup>613</sup> See R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2011", *Blake*, XLV, 4 (Spring 2012), 110.

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**Weight and Cost of Copperplates**

The 14 copperplates for Hayley's *Designs* must have weighed 2,464.6 g (5½ pounds) and cost £3.13.1½.<sup>614</sup>

The copperplates do not correspond closely in size to any of Blake's prints in Illuminated Printing.

R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII (2000) gives a census of sets with all four ballads:

**Cambridge** <BB> (formerly Keynes [not the Fitzwilliam Museum as Keynes promised])

**Robert N. Essick** (acquired 1999; formerly 4th Earl of Bosford, sold 1884 to Frederick Locker Lampson)<sup>615</sup>

**Huntington** <BB> (formerly Frank T. Sabin, Frederick R. Halsey [1903], Henry E. Huntington [1915])

**Huntington** <BBS> (formerly Swinburne)<sup>616</sup>

**Library of Congress** <BB> (formerly J. Parker and Lessing J. Rosenwald)

**Princeton** <BB> (formerly M.C.D. Borden, Herschel V. Jones, A.E. Newton, Grace Lansing Lambert)

**Trinity College** (Hartford, Connecticut) <BB> (formerly Allan R. Brown)

**Untraced**, in parts in original blue wrappers (formerly

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<sup>614</sup> G.E. Bentley, Jr, "Blake's Heavy Metal: The History, Weight, Uses, Cost, and Makers of His Copper Plates", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXVI (2007), 740.

<sup>615</sup> Essick's copy in green morocco, all edges gilt, maybe the one in "green morocco extra, g.e." from the Library of George Dew-Smith sold at Sotheby's, 29-30 Jan 1878, lot 197 [£9 to Jones]

<sup>616</sup> One of the Huntington copies was reproduced in 2009 in the William Blake Archive.

B.B. Macgeorge, sold Sotheby, 1 July 1924, lot 120; W.E. Moss, sold 1937 to Maggs); **William Hayley's** copy, sold by Mr Evans, 13 February 1821 ff., lot 1636, "4 Numbers" (4s to Smith); **Archdeacon Francis Wrangham** (acquaintance of Hayley), sale of his Library at Sotheby's, 29 November-9 December 1843, lot 557 (30 Nov), "4 parts" [13s to Evans]

The set in 3 parts in the National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth) may be the one from Hayley's Library sold by Mr Evans, 13 February 1821 ff., lot 1637 [3s 6d to Rivington].<sup>617</sup>

**DRAWINGS:** The newly-rediscovered drawing of "The Resurrection" (Butlin #610, **untraced** since 1863) (mid-1780s) has on the verso pencil "studies of eyes, the head of an eagle, a human face, and a lion", some of which "are related to Blake's 1802 *Designs to a Series of Ballads*", according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2002", *Blake*, XXXVI (2003); both recto and verso are reproduced in the Sotheby catalogue of 5 July 2002, lot 183; it was offered in Agnew's 130<sup>th</sup> *Annual Exhibition of Watercolours & Drawings*, 5-28 March 2003, lot 17, for £260,000, according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2003", *Blake*, XXXVII (2004), 119.

### **The Publication of the *Designs* (1802)**

Hayley's *Designs to a Series of Ballads* were from the first a commercial undertaking. Hayley said that they were

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<sup>617</sup>All this new information about the *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802) comes from R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2010", *Blake*, XLIV (2011), 142.



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intended “for the Emolument of Mr Blake the artist”,<sup>618</sup> and he actively engaged his friends to become Ballad Mongers. The work was published at Blake's expense and for his benefit.

**Debits and Credits**

The chief cash costs were for (1) copperplates for the 6 large and 8 small engravings, (2) paper for text (watermarked "1802") including separate printed blue covers and large prints, and (3) paper and printing the 10¼ sheets of text and the covers by Joseph Seagrave in Chichester (the Blakes printed the engravings in Felpham). There was no cost for advertising (except in review-copies), and no payment to the author, the designer, the engraver, and the plate-printers except in possible profit from sales. There was no profit.

The text consisted of 37 quarto leaves, with prints on pp. iv, 1, 9, 11, 26, 27, 39, 41:

Title page		1 leaf	}	
Preface	pp. i-iv	2 leaves	}	2½ sheets
Ballad 1 The Elephant	pp. 1-10	5 leaves	}	
Blue paper covers		2 leaves	}	
Ballad 2 The Eagle	pp. 11-26	8 leaves	}	2½ sheets
Blue paper covers		2 leaves	}	
Ballad 3 The Lion	pp. 27-40	7 leaves	}	2¼ sheets
Blue paper covers		2 leaves	}	
Ballad 4 The Dog	pp. 41-52	6 leaves	}	2 sheets
Blue paper covers		2 leaves	}	
<b>Total</b>				<b>9¼ sheets</b>

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<sup>618</sup> Hayley's autobiography is quoted in *BR* (2) 123.

In addition, there are 6 leaves (1½ quarto sheets) with full-page prints for Preliminaries (1 print) and Ballad 1 (1), Ballad 2 (1), Ballad 3 (1), and Ballad 4 (2). Each complete set of the *Designs*, all four Parts, used 43 leaves, 10¾ quarto sheets.

The text must have been printed by Seagrave in four print-runs, one in late May 1802 for the Preliminaries and Ballad 1, one in late June for Ballad 2, one in late July for Ballad 3, and one in early September for Ballad 4. The engravings, however, were only printed as they were called for--“we have Sold all that we have had time to print” (Blake’s letter of 30 January 1803)--and they weren't called for very much.

For paper for the full-page prints in the *Designs*, “Blake has ... [arranged] for his Ballads to deal with his own stationer in London, & send it down as He thought proper”, according to Hayley's letter of 6 July 1802.

We do not know how many copies of the *Designs* were printed<sup>619</sup> or what Seagrave's charges were for printing and paper, but we may make educated estimates based on Blake's statement in his letter of 28 December 1804 that he paid Seagrave “30 Pounds ... in part of his account”<sup>620</sup> and on contemporary printing prices. On 10 October 1800 Thomas Bensley estimated that the cost of paper, printing, and hot-

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<sup>619</sup> Known sales were Part 1 (56 copies), Part 2 (26), Part 3 (7), and Part 4 (13), plus 15 unidentified Parts sold by Evans. This is echoed by copies traced today: Part 1 (17), 2 (13), 3 (11), 4 (8).

<sup>620</sup> Hayley wrote on 3 April 1803 that Blake “has paid a Bill of 30£for paper” [and printing] for the *Designs*.

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pressing 1,000 quarto copies of Thomson's *Seasons* (5 sheets each) for F.J. Du Roveray would be £15.15.0 per sheet (£78.15 in all).<sup>621</sup> Perhaps Blake's provincial printer Joseph Seagrave charged him £15 for paper and printing per thousand quarto sheets.

It is a mere informed guess that the print-run for Ballad 1 was 250 copies and that this was continued for Ballad 2 when the first sales for Ballad 1 at first seemed promising. When the sales for Ballad 2 proved disastrous, Blake must have reduced his print-order, perhaps to 150 copies, for Ballads 3-4.

The expenses of printing and paper might have been as follows:

<b>Cost of 250 Copies of Ballads 1-2</b>	
Printing 1250 sheets (250 x 5 sheets) at £15 per	
1,000 sheets <sup>622</sup>	£18.15.0
187.5 sheets for 250 copies of 3 full-page quarto	
prints (quarter sheets) at £5 per ream of 500	
sheets	<u>£1.17.3</u>
	£20. 2.3

**Cost of 150 Copies of Ballads 3-4**

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<sup>621</sup> Quoted from the MS in the Huntington Library; see G.E. Bentley, Jr, "F.J. Du Roveray, Illustrated-Book Publisher 1798-1806: The Amateur and the Trade", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, XII (1988), 70.

<sup>622</sup> The medium plate paper for Flaxman's *Iliad* (1805) cost £4.8.0 per ream in 1805 and £5 in 1808 (*BB* 561-62). The cheap blue paper for the covers (400 sheets for Ballads 1-2, 200 sheets for Ballads 3-4) would have cost a good deal less than the fine white paper.

Printing 637.5 sheets (150 x 4¼ sheets) at £15 per	
1,000 sheets	£ 9.11.3
112.5 sheets for 150 copies of 3 full-page quarto	
prints (quarter sheets) at £5 per ream of 500	
sheets	<u>£ 1. 2.6</u>
	£10.13.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>£30.16.0</b>

Presumably Seagrave printed copies of each Ballad in Chichester and sent them to Blake in Felpham; Blake and his wife then printed engravings on text plates plus the full-page plates--but they printed them only as the need arose, not all at once.

The printing of the engravings was done by the Blakes. Hayley wrote to Lady Hesketh on 10 June 1802: "He & his excellent Wife (a true Help-mate!) pass the plates thro' a rolling press in their own cottage together; & of course it is a work of some Time to collect a Number of Impressions."<sup>623</sup>

When there proved to be demand for only a few score copies,<sup>624</sup> Blake was left with many copies of the printed text of the *Designs* which were of no commercial value. Blake cannily kept these printed sheets, even taking them back to London with him in 1803, at considerable trouble, and he made drawings on them for the rest of his life, including designs for Blair's *Grave* (1805), Malkin's *Memoirs* (1806),

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<sup>623</sup> Hayley repeats this in his letter to R.H. Evans on 3 April 1803: "He and his good industrious Wife together take all the Impressions from the various Engravings in their own domestic Press".

<sup>624</sup> There are records of country sales of 115 copies for which Blake received £15.15.0 (*BR* (2) 153). In London, according to Blake's letter of 26 Oct 1803, "Mr Evans ... says he has sold but fifteen numbers at the most".

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Job and Dante (c. 1824).<sup>625</sup>

**Sales**

The first reports of sales were encouraging. On 29 June 1802 Hayley wrote that Ballad 1 is “marching triumphantly on the road of prosperity”, and as late as 30 January 1803 Blake wrote to his brother: “These Ballads are likely to be Profitable for we have Sold all we have had time to print. Evans the Bookseller in Pallmall says they go off very well”.

However, Hayley told R.H. Evans on 3 April 1803: “He [Blake] has paid a Bill of 30 £ for paper & the copies He has disposed of in the country have not produced more than half that sum<sup>626</sup> to reimburse Him”. The £30 for Seagrave was apparently partly advanced by Hayley, for on 28 December 1804 Blake thanked Hayley for “the Twelve Guineas which you Lent Me when I made up 30 Pounds to pay our Worthy Seagrave in part of his Account”.

Blake wrote on 26 October 1803: “Mr. Evans ... gives

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<sup>625</sup> *BB 574-75* and *BBS 221-222* record 47 leaves from the *Designs* used as scrap paper but none for finished engravings. (The “Riddle Manuscript” is on the verso of a proof before letters from the *Designs*.) There are 9 leaves used as scrap from Part 1, 24 from Part 2, 8 from Part 3, and 6 from Part 4. This might suggest that Part 2 provided most unvendible copies. A disproportionate number of scraps are on leaves which would have had prints on them: pp. 9 (5), 11 (1), 26 (6), 27 (1), 41 (2). Since the “Pickering Manuscript” consists of 11 leaves of the same unwatermarked paper, and since leaf 8 is from Hayley’s *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802) p. 20 (l. 10<sup>v</sup>), therefore the “Pickering Manuscript” probably consists of *Designs* ll. 3-13 (pp. 5-26). No print from the *Designs* is known to have been re-used.

<sup>626</sup> £15 would have paid for 120 individual Ballads at 2s 6d each. However, we know that Lady Hesketh paid £5.5.0 for 10 copies and Flaxman £1.17.6 for 4, leaving only £7.17.6 (£15 - £7.2.6) or 63 copies.

small hopes of our ballads; he says he has sold but fifteen numbers at the most, and that going on would be a certain loss of almost all the expenses”, and on 22 January 1805 he wrote that the London bookseller Thomas Phillips advised that “we must consider all that has been printed as lost, and begin anew”.

The *Designs to a Series of Ballads* were printed by J. Seagrave in Chichester and sold by him and P. Humphry and R.H. Evans in London “for W. BLAKE, Felpham”. We do not know how many copies Seagrave sold – perhaps he only provided the copy for the reviewer in the *Sussex Chronicle & Chichester Advertiser* (2 June 1802), which he printed – but we have good information about how many were sold by Evans in London (15, worth £1.17.6)<sup>627</sup> and how many were disposed of by friends of Blake and Hayley (120, worth £15),<sup>628</sup> mostly in the country.

#### The Known Distribution of the *Designs*

#1 **Anon.**, reviewer for *Sussex Chronicle & Chichester Advertiser* (2 June 1802), 172

#1 **Charlotte Collins**, 9 copies (2 of which were to replace damaged copies), 1 of which went to **Mr Spilsbury** (28 June 1802)

#1 **John Flaxman**’s 5 copies went to **Mr [John] Hawkins** (2 copies), **Mr [William] Long**, **Mr [Samuel] Rogers**;

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<sup>627</sup> The sales by Evans included Ballads 1-3 for Anna Seward and Ballads 3-4 for Lady Heskth and some of her friends; Evans would have deducted his commission from these sales. We have no information about London sales by P. Humphry.

<sup>628</sup> We can account for sales of 62 copies of Ballad 1, 19 of Ballad 2, 10 of Ballad 3, and 12 of Ballad 4 = 103 copies in all. Only 53 numbers have been traced today.

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- Flaxman** paid “for the whole of my copy” [i.e., £1.17.6 for 15 Numbers at 2s 6d each] (27 June 1802)
- #1 **Samuel Greatheed** received 6, but he sold none (**Mr Courtney** was sent a copy but it was “returned unpurchased”) (1 September 1802); he referred to them in his review of Hayley’s *Ballads* in the *Eclectic Review* (1 December 1805)
- #1 **Harriet Lady Hesketh** was sent “a Bundle of Ballads” from Hayley, which she disposed of to 3 **Bath libraries, Lord [William] and Lady [Mary] Harcourt, Richard Hurd, Dr Randolph** (2 copies, 1 to show to **Lord Spencer**), and “My Sist<sup>r</sup> [Theodora]”, and she kept one; she paid £5.5.0 for them all (*BR* (2) 129, 132, 135-36, 146), though by her own figures she only owed £1.5.0; Lady Hesketh received from Blake “two packets of ballads” [5 in each] (15 October 1802)
- #1 **Johnny Johnson** was sent 20 copies and disposed of “several copies” (6 June, 7 July 1802)
- #1 **E.G. Marsh** (“I hope to contribute my little assistance to the payment” (20 June 1802)
- #1 **Mrs Throckmorton** of Bath was sent it by **Conder**, bookseller of Bucklesbury, but we don’t know if she bought it (3 September 1802)
- #1-2 **Anon.**, reviewer for the *European Magazine* (August 1802), 125-26
- #1-2 **Isaac Reed** (*BR* (2) 856) perhaps from Nancy Flaxman, who gave him *Poetical Sketches* (F) in 1784
- #1-3 **Anon.**, reviewer for *Poetical Register* (1803), 410 (*BR* (2) 143 footnote)

- #1-3 Offered in **R.H. Evans** catalogue (1804), lot 1001, no price (*BR* (2) 143 footnote)
- #1-3 **William Hayley** (*BR* (2) 153)
- #1-3 **Anna Seward** from the booksellers (3 March 1803)
- #1-4 **Thomas Butts**, for **Mr [John] Birch** (Blake's letter of 25 April 1803); Blake also sent "some Ballads" with his letter of 22 November 1802, perhaps the "4 N<sup>os</sup> of Hayleys Ballads" in his receipt of 3 March 1806 (*BR* (2) 764); in his letter to Butts of 25 April 1803, Blake said "I now send the 4 Numbers for M<sup>r</sup> Birch"; in the 1806 account with Butts is also a record of 3 Numbers to Mr Birch (7s 6d)
- #1-4 **R.H. Evans**, the book's London publisher, sold 15 numbers "at the most" (Blake's letter of 26 October 1803)<sup>629</sup>
- #1-4 **Hayley** (*BR* (2) 153)
- #1-4 "**James Parker**", copy in the Library of Congress
- #1-4? **Charlotte Smith's daughter** from Hayley<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>629</sup> The 15 Numbers of Hayley's *Designs* sold by Evans must have included all the copies sold through the booksellers: 5 copies each (**10 in all**) of #3-4 for Lady Hesketh, "my Sistr [Theodora] and some other friends" (*BR* (2) 146) (probably Lord and Lady Harcourt, Richard Hurd, and Dr Randolph who took #1 through her (*BR* (2) 132), 1 set of #1-3 (**3 in all**) which Anna Seward took through the booksellers (*BR* (2) 150), and **1 copy** of #1 through Conder's in Bucklesbury (*BR* (2) 145-46). This means that Evans may have sold only one copy or none through the three Bath libraries which displayed copies or from the "long list of *Cowpers*" whom Lady Hesketh had directed to subscribe (*BR* (2) 132, 135).

The list of sales by Evans does not include the free review copies for the *European Magazine* (1802) (#1-2), *Poetical Register* (1803) (#1-3), or the copy still unsold in his 1804 catalogue.

<sup>630</sup> Letter of 16 Dec 1802 in *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), 503, Hayley's "publication about animals".

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- #2 **Lady Hesketh** received 5 (Ballads 3-4 were to come from her Bath bookseller), "as well as those I take in for my Sist<sup>f</sup> [**Theodora Cowper**] and some other friends", sent Blake £5.5.0 (28 June, 15 October 1802)
- #2 **Charlotte Collins** was ready to take 7 (28 June 1802)
- #3 **Greatheed** expected to receive copies (3 September 1802)
- #3 **Johnny Johnson**, some to be sent by Hayley (6 August 1802)
- #4 **Mrs Flaxman**, 5 copies sent via James Blake (Blake's letter of 30 January 1803)
- #4 **James Blake**, 5 copies, 2 of them for **Mrs [Penelope Carleton] Chetwynd** (Blake's letter of 30 January 1803) and apparently 3 to Butts ("3 Hayleys Ballads + Brother", account with Butts of 3 March 1806)
- various **Friends** took 22 copies<sup>631</sup>

Blake's probable expenses for the *Designs* were therefore for paper and printing (£30.16.0), copper (£3.13.1½), and advertising (15s for 6 review-copies) or £34.18.1½ in all, and his probable receipts (£16.7.6) left him considerably out of pocket. Hayley's generous gesture had been a disaster for Blake, not only in losing money but also in wasting his creative genius.

*Designs* Paper Used for Scrap Paper

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<sup>631</sup> Hayley wrote to R.H. Evans on 3 April 1803 that sales "in the country" (i.e., through friends of Hayley and Blake) came to about £15, the price of 120 copies. We can account for sales through friends of 98 copies, suggesting that they sold 22 copies of which we have no other record.

Pp. 5-26 (B2<sup>r</sup>-E4<sup>v</sup>) were used for 'The Pickering [Ballads] MS (Morgan).

For reproduction and discussion of sketches on the verso of "The Last Trumpet" (c. 1785), see Martin Butlin, "A Blake Drawing Rediscovered and Dated", *Blake*, XXXIV (2000), 23-24.

#### REVIEWS referring to Blake

**Anon.**, "*Sussex and Adjacencies. Chichester*", *Sussex Chronicle & Chichester Advertiser*, No. 22 (**2 June 1802**), 172 (a notice of "the first number of Mr. Hayley's ... Ballads, to the engravings of Mr. Blake") <BB #1033>

**Anon.**, "*Designs to a Series of Ballads, written by William Hayley, Esq. And founded on Anecdotes relating to Animals, drawn, engraved, and published, by William Blake. With the ballads annexed by the Author's Permission. Two Numbers. 4to. Printed at Chichester*", *European Magazine*, XLII (**August 1802**), 125-26 ("The artist has executed his share of the undertaking much to his credit ....") <BB #A916>

#### SALES

##### SALES OF ALL FOUR *BALLADS*<sup>632</sup>

Evans, sale of Hayley's Library, **13 February 1821 and 12 following days**, lot 1636, "Hayley's Ballads, with Blake's Designs, 4 Numbers, 1802), 4s 6d to "Smith" and lot 1637, 3 Numbers (Rivington, 3s 6d), perhaps the copy in the National Library of Wales, "the

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<sup>632</sup> The information derives from R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace 2010", *Blake*, XLIV (2011), 142.



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only traced copy with 3 ballads”.

Sotheby, **29 November-9 December 1843**, “second portion” of the library of Archdeacon Francis Wrangham, lot 557, on 30 November, “Blake (W.) Designs to a series of Ballad written by W. Hayley, plates, 4 parts Chichester, 1802” (Evans, 13s).

Sotheby, sale of the library of Albert George Dew-Smith (collector and photographer, 1848-1902), 29 January 1878, lot 197: “Blake (W.) Designs to a Series of Ballads written by W. Hayley, with the Ballads annexed, fine impression of the plates, green morocco extra, g.e. Chichester, 1802” (£9 to Jones); perhaps this is the Essick copy in green morocco, all edges gilt.

*Bibliotheca Reediana*, auction by **King & Lochee, 5 December 1807** <Harvard>, lot 8936 includes Designs “2 No. 1802”)

**HAYLEY, William**  
*Essay on Sculpture*  
(1800)

NEW LOCATIONS: Adelaide, Agence bibliographique de l'enseignements supérieur (Montpellier, France), Alabama (Birmingham), Alberta, Andrews (Berrrian Springs [Michigan]), Arizona, Auburn (Montgomery [Alabama]), Auckland, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München [Germany]), Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Birmingham, Boston Athenaeum, John Carter Brown Library, Brandeis, Brigham Young, British Museum Print Room (Nancy Flaxman's copy),

Brown, Bryn Mawr College, California (Berkeley, San Diego), Claremont Colleges, Cornell, Dalhousie, Davidson College, Delaware, Edinburgh, Florida Southern, Fordham, Hastings College of the Law, Istituto Universitario Europea (Fiesole [Italy]), Johns Hopkins, Kansas State (Manhattan), Kent State, Kentucky, King's College University (Halifax [Nova Scotia]), King's College (London), King's College (University of, Halifax [Nova Scotia]), La Trobe (Bundoora [Victoria, Australia]), Landesbibliothek Oldenburg (Germany), London, London Metropolitan University, Macquarie (Australia), Maryland State, McMaster, Medical Faculty, Melbourne, Minnesota (Duluth, Morris), Mississippi, Missouri (Columbia), Monash, Mount Saint Vincent (Halifax [Nova Scotia]), Muhlenberg College, Murdoch (Australia), National Library of Medicine (Bethesda [Maryland]), New Brunswick (Fredericton [New Brunswick]), New Hampshire, Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Niedersächsische Staats-und-Universität Bibliothek, Oklahoma, Old Dominion, Otago, Pennsylvania, Principia College, St John's (N.Y.), San Diego, Sarah Lawrence College, Simpson, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, State Library of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia), Sydney (Australia), Texas (Austin, Tyler), Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek sechsen-Anhalt (Halle [Germany]), University College (Cork [Ireland]), University College (Dublin), Victoria (Victoria [British Columbia]), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Virginia Commonwealth, Warburg Institute, Western Australia, Western Carolina (Cullowhee [North Carolina]), Wisconsin (Milwaukee), Wright State, Yeshiva

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Blake's plates (collection of Robert N. Essick) were reproduced by the William Blake Archive in 2013.

A drawing for "The Death of Demosthenes" engraved by Blake was acquired in 1994 by Professor **Robert Essick**. As the legend on the printed design is "*T.H.* [i.e., Thomas Hayley] *invenit*", it is very striking that the style of the drawing is that of Flaxman, who taught William Hayley's illegitimate son Tom to be a sculptor.

It was reviewed in (1) §*British Critic*, XVI (1800), 679-80, (2) §*Critical Review*, NS XXXI (1801), 48-53, (3) §*Monthly Mirror*, X (1800), 156-57, (4) §*Monthly Review*, XXXVI (1801), 113-21, and (5) §*New Annual Register*, XXI, 3 (1800).

ADVERTISEMENT

An announcement of its publication appeared in the *Morning Post* for **1 May 1800**.<sup>633</sup>

**HAYLEY, William**  
*The Life ... of William Cowper, Esqr.*  
**Three Volumes (1803-1804)**

1803-4 NEW LOCATIONS: Adelphi, Alberta, Allen County Public Library (Indiana), Arizona State, Athenaeum (Philadelphia), Auckland Public Library, Boston, Boston College, Brandeis, Brown, Bryn Athyn College, British Columbia, Bryn Mawr College, California (Berkeley; Irvine; Los Angeles; Santa Barbara; Santa Cruz), Central Connecticut

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<sup>633</sup> Mark Crosby, "Blake and the Banknote Crises of 1797, 1800, and 1818", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXX (2011), 829.

State, Chicago, Clark, Connecticut, Cornell, Cowper and Newton Museum (Olney, Buckinghamshire), Delaware, Edinburgh, Essex, Harvard, Houston, Howard, Illinois (Chicago), Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Houston, Leeds, Lehigh, Leicester, Library of Congress, Louisiana, Loyola (Chicago), Manchester, Marquette, McMaster, Michigan, Michigan State, Middle Temple (London), Mills College, Minnesota (Minneapolis), Missouri (Kansas City), Mount Holyoke College, National Gallery (Washington, D.C.), National Library of Ireland, National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, Nebraska (Lincoln), New York, New York Public Library, Newberry Library, Newcastle, Northwestern, Ohio, Pennsylvania State, Principia College, Queen's (Belfast), San Francisco Public Library, Southern California, Southern Illinois, Stanford, State University of New York (Albany; Stony Brook), Texas (Austin), Trinity College (Hartford, Connecticut), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Vanderbilt, Vassar College, Victoria & Albert Museum, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 2 sets), Virginia, Wake Forest, Wales (Lampeter), Washington State, Wayne State, Wellesley College, Wesleyan (Connecticut), Williams College, Wisconsin (Milwaukee)

1803 Second Edition of Vol. I-II NEW LOCATIONS:  
Aberdeen, Cambridge (Keynes Collection), Glasgow, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

For a letter from the bookseller Joseph Johnson to William Hayley concerning payment to Blake for his engravings for Hayley's *Cowper*, see Claire Tomalin under Joseph Johnson below.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

A 1803-4 NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Athenaeum (Philadelphia), Brown, California (Berkeley, Santa Barbara), Cornell, Cowper and Newton Museum (Olney, Buckinghamshire), Edinburgh, Iowa, Library of Congress, Michigan, Mills College, Minnesota, Mount Holyoke College, National Gallery (Washington, D.C.), National Library of Scotland, New York Public Library, Northwestern, Pennsylvania State, Southern California, Stanford, State University of New York (Stony Brook), Wayne State

B Second Edition (1804): NEW LOCATIONS: Kentucky, Rochester

Blake wrote that

My Wife has undertaken to Print the whole number of the Plates for [the first two volumes of] Cowpers work which She does to admiration & being under my own eye the prints are as fine as the French prints & please every one. ... The Publishers are already indebted to My Wife Twenty Guineas for work deliverd [letter of 30 January 1803.]

However, after the Blakes had printed 12 proof sets of the two plates for Vol. III of *Cowper*, Blake had to "send the Plates to [Joseph] Johnson who wants them to set the Printer to work upon" (letter of 31 March 1804). R.N. Essick remarks that

The plates for vols. 1-2 are much more clearly and darkly printed in the second edition .... One hesitates to blame Mrs Blake for the poor impressions of the first states, but that may indeed

be the case [*William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991)].

**NEW ENTRY**  
**HAYLEY, William**  
***The Life ... of William Cowper***  
**(N.Y., 1803)**

1803 New York NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

A set was inscribed "From the Author" to "Penelope Chetwynd", and "This Copy of Cowper's Life is presented to Mrs William Chetwynd by the author as a memorial of Friendship. 1803".<sup>634</sup>

Blake's plates (collection of Robert N. Essick) were reproduced by the William Blake Archive in 2013.

The wood-engraving in William Hayley, *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (N.Y.: T. and J. Swords, 1803), Vol. II, at p. 245, of "The Weather-house" and "Cowper's Tame Hares" (8.3 x 11 cm) signed Alexander "Anderson F[ecit]" was copied from the design signed "Blake d & sc" in the edition of London: J. Johnson, 1803, as R.N. Essick was the first to point out in "Blake in the Marketplace, 1996", *Blake*, XXX (1997), Illus. 8. The plates engraved by Peter Maverick of Cowper and of Cowper's mother (Vol. I, frontispiece and at p. 3) are copied from Blake's engravings after George Romney and D. Heins.

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<sup>634</sup> Quaritch catalogue (Jan 2012), lot 73, £1,250, cited by R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2012", *Blake* (2013). Mrs Chetwynd was also a friend of Blake; see Angus Whitehead, "M<sup>rs</sup> Chetwynd & her Brother' and 'M.<sup>r</sup> Chetwynd'", *Blake*, XLII, 2 (Fall 2008), 75-79.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

**HAYLEY, William**  
*The Life of George Romney*  
(1809)

NEW LOCATIONS: Alberta, Albright Knox Art Gallery (Buffalo), Arizona, Arizona State, Art Institute (Chicago), Bibliothèque d'Art & d'Archaeologie (France), Birmingham, Boston Athenaeum, Bowdoin, Boston College, Boston Museum, British Columbia, Brown, Bryn Mawr College, California (Berkeley [2]; Davis; Los Angeles; Riverside; Santa Barbara; Santa Cruz), Chicago, Chrysler Museum, Clarke, Columbia, Connecticut College, Cornell, Dartmouth College, Delaware, Edinburgh, Emory, Florida, Folger Library, Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), Glasgow, Harvard (Fine Arts; Houghton), Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Kansas, Kentucky, Kimbell Art Museum, King's College (London), Lehigh, Library of Virginia, London Library, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Manchester, McGill, McMaster, Metropolitan Museum (N.Y.), Michigan, Minnesota (Minneapolis, 2), National Library of Canada, Nelson Atkins Museum, New Brunswick, Northwestern, Ohio State, Pennsylvania State, Queen's College (N.Y.), Queen's College (Oxford), Rice, Ringling Museum of Art, Royal Academy (London), San Francisco, San Francisco Public Library, Stanford, Strathclyde, Texas (Austin), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Utah, Utrecht, Victoria (British Columbia), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (2, Bentley Collection, one lacking prints), Victoria & Albert Museum, Virginia, Virginia Historical Society, Wake Forest, Wales

(Lampeter), Washington (St Louis), Waterloo, Wisconsin (Green Bay, Madison, Milwaukee, Parkside), Yale

Large Paper copies are on heavy paper watermarked “1807” and include an advertisement for “Epistles to Romney”, while small paper copies are watermarked “Rye Mill 1807” and lack the advertisement (John Windle Catalogue 46 [2009], lot 79).

Ordinary copies of Hayley’s *Romney* (1809) have a printed spine-label reading “LIFE | OF | G. ROMNEY | - | HAYLEY” <Essick Collection>, but the one on large-paper copies reads: “HAYLEY’S | *LIFE* | of | ROMNEY | Illustrated | WITH | TWELVE PLATES | BY | CAROLINE WATSON.” <Essick Collection>, though she engraved only 7 of them.

#### **NEWLY RECORDED ENGRAVING AFTER BLAKE**

In Caroline Watson’s frontispiece of three self-portraits of Romney, the small oval one at bottom representing Romney wearing a hat is probably copied from Blake’s lost miniature.<sup>635</sup>

For Hayley’s *Romney* (1809), Blake asked £31.10.0 for “finishd” quarto plates and £15.15.0 for the “less Finishd”, according to his letter of 22 June 1804. Blake engraved two finished plates but one was not used.

Blake referred to his engraving of the self-portrait of Romney designed as the frontispiece<sup>636</sup> in his letters of 7, 26 October, 13 December 1803, 27 January, 23 February, 16 March, 4 May, 22 June, 28 September, 23 October, and 18

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<sup>635</sup> See Mark Crosby and Robert N. Essick, “‘the fiends of Commerce’: Blake’s Letter to William Hayley, 7 August 1804”, *Blake*, XLIV (2010), 64.

<sup>636</sup> It is described as the frontispiece in the directions to the binder.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

and 28 December 1804. Blake asked £42 for it, according to Hayley's letter of 7 August 1803,<sup>637</sup> and he referred in his letter of 18 September 1804 to "the Head of Romney for which I am already paid". In his letter of 4 May 1804 he wrote that the daughter of Romney's friend Walker thought "my print of Romney ... *very like indeed*", in that of 22 June 1804 he said that the engraver James "Parker commends it highly". On 18 December 1804 he sent a proof to Hayley and wrote that Nancy Flaxman "has given her warm approbation ... to the plate of the *Portrait*, though not yet in so high finished a state". "I am very far from shewing the Portrait of Romney as a finished proof ... I hope to make it a *Supernaculum*" (28 December 1804).

The print was reproduced by the William Blake Archive in 2013, as was the published print (collection of Robert N. Essick).

Three copies (one from the collection of Robert N. Essick and two from the Fitzwilliam Museum) were reproduced by the William Blake Archive in 2013.

**HAYLEY, William**  
*Little Tom the Sailor*  
(1800)

NEW LOCATION: Glasgow (Hunterian Museum of Art Gallery)

The watermarked "HAYES | 17"<sup>638</sup> coloured copy in an

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<sup>637</sup> *BR* (2) 157).

<sup>638</sup> Blake's letters of 11 Sept 1801, 22 Nov 1802, and 16 Aug 1803 are on

anonymous collection <BBS> was acquired by **Maurice Sendak**, exhibited (p. 27) and reproduced (cover-flap) in Vincent Giroud and Maurice Sendak, *Sendak at the Rosenbach: An exhibition held at the Rosenbach Museum & Library April 28-October 30, 1995* ([Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum, 1995]).

Of the 4 pewter plates, which Blake presumably retained, the first one (11 x 16 cm) seems to correspond in size to *Milton* pl. 12 and 21 (11.1 x 16.0 cm).

Two of the four plates which make up *Little Tom the Sailor*, presumably the headpiece and the tailpiece, with "colouring ... very weird and striking, ... possibly executed under Blake's own supervision", belonged in 1929 to John Hodgkin (see John Hodgkin, "Blake and Hayley", *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 November 1917).

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paper watermarked "F HAYES | 1798".

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Joseph Holland had the head-piece and tail-piece of his copy (printed in black) "photographed on [metal] plates and printed [in brown] on excellent Japanese paper made by Kochi, intended for a Christmas card for special friends" (as he wrote to GEB on 19 June 1969); the result is very persuasive.

*Little Tom the Sailor*, "2 very characteristic coloured engravings, the entire poem likewise composed and engraved by Blake, RARE, £1.2s." was offered in Willis and Sotheran Catalogue (**25 June 1862**), lot 118, perhaps from the library of John Flaxman. Only three coloured copies of Hayley's *Little Tom the Sailor* (1800) have been traced in public collections.

EDITION

*Little Tom the Sailor* (London: Richard C. Jackson, 1917)  
<BB>

REVIEWS

§*Times Literary Supplement*, **22 November 1917**  
**John Hodgkin**, "Blake and Hayley", *Times Literary Supplement*, **29 November 1917** (pace the review, a reproduction of *Little Tom the Sailor* appeared in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* [1886], and "I possess the two Blake engravings, which unfortunately have been cut off from the Broadsheet. The colouring is very weird and striking, and was possibly executed under Blake's own supervision.")

**HAYLEY, William**

***The Triumphs of Temper***  
**(1803, 1807)**

THE | TRIUMPHS OF TEMPER [not THE | TRIUMPHS |  
OF | TEMPER as [in *BB*]

1803 NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Brown, California (Berkeley), Cornell, Emory (Theology), Iowa, Leeds, Library of Congress, Manchester, Michigan, Mills College, Minnesota, Mount Holyoke College, National Library of Wales, New York Public Library, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, State University of New York (Buffalo), Trinity College (University of Toronto), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria & Albert Museum, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 2 copies)

1807 NEW LOCATIONS: Brown, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

Blake's plates (collection of Robert N. Essick) were reproduced by the William Blake Archive in 2013.

"I am to have 10 Guineas each" for "a little work of M<sup>r</sup> H's", Hayley's *Triumphs of Temper*, according to Blake's letter of 30 January 1803.

In a copy of the work inscribed "From the Author", the prints are coloured (*BB* 579); John Windle and Dr E.B. Bentley do not think the colouring Blake-like, though George Goyder did. The book was sold from Goyder's library at Christie's, 26 November 1997, lot 101 (£3,500).

**HENRY, Thomas**  
***Memoirs of Albert de Haller***  
**(1783)**

NEW LOCATIONS: California (Berkeley), Cheshire

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Libraries, Huntington Library, Imperial College, Leeds, London Library, London Metropolitan University, McGill (2 – *BB* gives 1), Medical Society of London, National Library of Wales, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State, Royal College of Physicians (London), Science Museum (London), Simpson, Sorbonne, Texas (Dallas), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Institute Library, Williams (Dr) Library

The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

**HOARE, Prince**  
*Academic Correspondence*  
(1804)

NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Sir John Soane Museum (London)

REVIEW

**S.Q.**, “*Academic Correspondence ...*”, *Literary Journal*, III (1 February 1804), 93-95 (“Surely the Royal Academy of England might have offered an engraving worthy of the subject, and of the country” [pp. 94-95]) <*BB* #2467>

**HOARE, Prince**  
*An Inquiry into the ... State of the Arts*  
*of Design in England*  
(1806)

NEW LOCATIONS: Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), Royal Academy (London), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson Gift),

Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

**HOGARTH, William**

*Works*

**(1795-1838)**

1795 NEW LOCATIONS: Ashmolean Museum, London

1822 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

The copperplate in Houghton Library is 45 cm wide, 58 cm high, and 0.3 to 0.5 cm thick and is stamped on the verso on the centre and lower left with the name of the copperplate maker: JONES N<sup>o</sup> 48 | SHOE LANE LONDON.<sup>639</sup>

A copy of Blake's plate was offered in James Tregaskis and Son Caxton Head Catalogue 830 (September 1920), lot 48A (£5.10.0).

1795? A copy was offered at §Sotheby's (London), 15 July 2014, lot 518 with an 1809 watermark.

A previously unrecorded copy of the etched "Proof" (probably published) with the two kneeling actresses and some other individuals left largely blank was acquired from John Windle in June 2014 by Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

**HUNTER, William**

*Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson,  
and Norfolk Island*

**(1793)**

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<sup>639</sup> As I am told by Caroline Duroselle-Melish, Assistant Curator, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

NEW LOCATIONS (quarto and octavo merged): Aberdeen, Arizona State, Auckland Public Library, Australian Museum Research Library (Townsville [Queensland]), Bodley, Boston Athenaeum, British Museum (Ethnography), California (Santa Cruz), California State, Canberra, Detroit Public Library, Essex Museum, Glasgow, Harvard (Botany), Johns Hopkins, King's College (London), La Trobe, Leeds, Lehigh, Library Company of Philadelphia (imperfect), London, London (Corporation of), London Library, Mariner's Museum, Monash, Nagoya (Information Center, Aichi-Ken, Japan), National Library of Scotland, New York Public Library, Newark Public Library, Newcastle (New South Wales), Peabody Institute, Queensland Museum (South Bank, Australia), San Francisco Public Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, South Australian Early Imprints Project (Adelaide), State Library of New South Wales (Sydney), State Library of Tasmania (Hobart), State Library of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia), Texas Tech, Trinity College (Hartford, Connecticut), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Virginia, Wayne State, Wellcome Library

**"Idle Laundress"**  
**after George Morland**

A copy was offered in James Tregaskis, Caxton Head Catalogue 673 (19 July 1909), lot 59 (with "The Industrious Cottager" (£52.10.0))

**"The Industrious Apprentice"  
after George Morland**

A copy was offered in James Tregaskis, Caxton Head Catalogue 673 (19 July 1909), lot 59 (with "The Idle Laundress"), lot 59 (£2.10.0)

**"Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion"  
(1773, c. 1810-20)**

COPY D

HISTORY: (1) Offered at £2.2.0 in Quaritch Catalogue *No. 62* (June 1893), and *Miscellaneous Catalogue* (November 1893), both "10 in. by 5½ in."

COPY F

It is reproduced online in the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.).<sup>640</sup>

COPY J

It is reproduced online by the Pierpont Morgan Library.

COPY 2J

Acquired at auction in 1949 through Agnew's by Brandon Meredith Rhys-Williams (1927-88) and inherited in 1988 by his son.<sup>641</sup>

**JOSEPHUS, Flavius**  
***Genuine and Complete Works***  
**([1785-1787?] [?1795] [?1799] [?1800])**

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<sup>640</sup> "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" [F] is erroneously traced to the Library of Congress in *BB* p. 266.

<sup>641</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2014", *Blake*, XLVIII, 4 (Spring 2015), [36].

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A cumulation of *BB*, *BBS*, *Blake* (1994 ff) and Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake: Book Illustrator: A Bibliography and Catalogue of the Commercial Engravings, Volume II: Plates Designed or Engraved by Blake 1774-1796* (Memphis, Tennessee: The American Blake Foundation, 1979), 21-26,<sup>642</sup> and Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2004", *Blake*, XXXVIII [2005]).

***The Genuine and Complete Works,***  
**ed. George Henry Maynard**

**(London: J. Cooke [?1785-86])** A <BB> LOCATIONS: Bodley, British Library, British Museum Print Room, Houston Public Library, Leeds, National Library of Canada (imperfect), National Library of Wales, Newberry, Southampton, Union Theological Seminary (N.Y.), University College (London), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

The Victoria University copy of A has Directions to the Binder for 60 prints.

REVIEW &c

Prospectus issued with the *Universal Magazine* in **October 1785** (Johnson Collection [Bodley] No. 313): beginning on Saturday **5 November 1785** Maynard's Josephus will be published (like Kimpton's *History of the Bible*) by J. Cooke in 60

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<sup>642</sup> Easson and Essick describe A as First Issue, B as Second Issue, C as Third Issue, Ca as Fourth Issue, D as Fifth Issue, and E as Sixth Issue.

[weekly] folio six-penny Numbers with three sheets each,

Beautifully printed in new Type cast on Purpose for the Work, and on superfine Paper, every Number of which will be enriched and embellished with one or more grand and masterly Copper Plates, engraved by the best Masters from capital Paintings and original Drawings by the most ingenious and universally admired Artists <BBS 228>

A two-leaf list of works published by J. Cooke, including the first Number of Dr Southwell's *Universal Family Bible* which "will be published" "on SATURDAY, February 4, 1786", includes the "Genuine and Complete" edition of Josephus, edited by Kimpton, "An entire New Work", "newly translated" (Bentley copy in Victoria University Library) <BBS 228-29>

### NEW EDITION

THE GENUINE AND COMPLETE | WORKS | OF |  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, | The celebrated Warlike, Learned  
and Authentic | JEWISH HISTORIAN. | CONTAINING |  
[Two columns separated by two vertical rules; Column 1:] I.  
The Antiquities of the Jews in Twenty Books; with | their  
Wars, memorable Transactions, authentic and | remarkable  
Occurrences, their various Turns of | Glory and Misery, of  
Prosperity and Adversity, &c. | from the Creation of the  
World. | II. The Wars of the Jews with the Romans, from  
their | Commencement to the final destruction of Jeru- |  
salem by Titus in the Reign of Vespasian. In Seven | Books.  
| [Column 2:] III. The Book of Josephus against Apion, in

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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Defence | of the Jewish Antiquities. In Two Parts. | IV. The Martyrdoms of the Maccabees. | V. The Embassy of Philo from the Jews of Alex- | andria to the Emperor Caius Caligula. | VI. The Life of Flavius Josephus, written by himself. | VII. The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Our | Blessed Saviour, St. John the Baptist, &c. clearly | vindicated. | [End of columns.] The Whole translated from the Original in the Greek Language, and diligently revised and compared with the Writings of | cotemporary Authors of different Nations on the Subject; all tending to prove the Authenticity of the Work. | To which will be now *first* added, | A CONTINUATION of the HISTORY of the JEWS, | From *Josephus* down to the present Time, including a Period of more than 1700 Years. | Containing an Account of their Dispersion into the various Parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, their different | Persecutions, Transactions, various Occurrences, and present State throughout the known World. | ALSO | Various Useful INDEXES, particularly of the Countries, Cities, Towns, Villages, Seas, | Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, &c. | Likewise TABLES of the Jewish Coins, Weights, Measures, &c. used in the time of the AUTHOR. | With a great Variety of other interesting and authentic Particulars never given in any Work of the Kind | either in the English or any other Language. | - | By GEORGE HENRY MAYNARD, LL.D. | Illustrated with MARGINAL REFERENCES, and Notes Historical, Biographical, Classical, Critical, | Geographical and Explanatory, | By the Rev.

EDWARD KIMPTON, Vicar of *Rogate* in *Sussex*, | And Author of the Compleat UNIVERSAL HISTORY of the HOLY BIBLE. | - | Embellished with a great Number of beautiful Copper Plates, descriptive of the most distinguished Transactions related in the Work, from | original Drawings of the ingenious Messrs. *Metz*, *Stothard*, and *Corbould*, Members of the Royal Academy, and other eminent Artists. | The Whole engraved by the most capital Performers, particularly *Grignion*, *Collier*, *Heath*, *Tookey*, *Taylor*, &c. | = | LONDON: Printed for J. COOKE, No. 17, *Pater-noster-Row* [?1785-87].

LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto  
The New edition title-page differs from that called A in *BB*:

- 1 It is partly in columns;
- 2 It gives "Various Useful INDEXES" for "Various Copious INDEXES"
- 3 It omits the phrase "Together with Marginal References to the various important Occurrences, recorded in the Work. | Also Notes Historical, Biographical, Critical, Geographical and Explanatory; and every other | striking Matter recorded in the Works of the celebrated Josephus", though it adds its substance (see below)
- 4 The line ends after "of the like Kind" (not after "English")
- 5 It adds after "LL.D.": " | Illustrated with MARGINAL REFERENCES, and Notes Historical, Biographical, Classical, Critical, | Geographical and Explanatory, | By the Rev. EDWARD KIMPTON, Vicar of *Rogate* in

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

*Sussex*, | And Author of the Compleat UNIVERSAL  
HISTORY of the HOLY BIBLE. |"

6 It does not have the line end after "Misery, of".

The *New* edition should probably come *after* A because it mentions Kimpton, as A does not and all the others do, and the wording and lineation of the rest of the title page are (with minor exceptions) far more like B-E than like A; it should come *before* B-E because it does not have the adjective "*Whole*" as they do; and *before* D-E because it is published by J. Cooke rather than by his successor C. Cooke (as D-E are). Its early state is indicated also by the integral advertisement (p. 499) for Southwell's *Universal Family Bible* (?1786), the first number of which was advertised for 4 February 1786.  
<BBS>

In this *New* edition are also a print (No. 3, at p. 29) with a previously unremarked imprint of 5 November 1785 and a subscription-list with about a thousand names (though it is said to omit "near one half" of the total).

Blake's prints appear at pp. 13, 64, 76, as instructed in the Directions to the Binder.

***The Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke [?1787-88])**

"Useful" *substituted* for "Copious", *omits* "Together with Time of the AUTHOR", *adds* "Illustrated with MARGINAL REFERENCES ... to the HOLY BIBLE"

C <BB> NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke [?1788-89])**

***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke [?1789-90])**

substitutes “Useful” for “Copious”, ends “And sold by all other Booksellers in *Great Britain*”

B <BB> LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, BL (2, both imperfect), Cambridge, Durham Cathedral, Leeds, Manchester, National Library of Scotland (2), Nottingham, Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary

***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke [?1789-90])**

[Gothic:] By the King's Royal License and Authority. | - |  
THE WHOLE GENUINE AND COMPLETE WORKS | OF |  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, | ... | To which is now *first* added, |  
A CONTINUATION of the HISTORY of the JEWS, | ... |  
LONDON: Printed for J COOKE, No. 17, *Pater-noster-Row*. |  
And sold by all other Booksellers in *Great Britain* [?1789-90].  
LOCATION: *D.W. Dörrbecker*

The new edition (identified by R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995", *Blake*, XXIX [1996]; GEB compared a xerox of the title page with *BB*) is like B except that it (1) Adds the first line (as in C); (2) Gives the contents (I-VII) in double columns separated by two vertical rules;<sup>643</sup> and (3)

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<sup>643</sup> There should be no vertical rule in the "Containing" section I after "Glory and Misery, of".

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Alters "To which will now be *first* added" to "To which is now *first* added".

**By the King's Royal License and Authority**  
***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke ([?1791-92])**

**C** <BB> LOCATIONS: *BBS* adds under B-C Durham Cathedral, Harvard, Lancaster Theological Seminary (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), New York Public Library, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Virginia, Yale

**By the King's Royal License and Authority**  
***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: J. Cooke [?1792-93])**

“is now *first* added” substituted for “will now be *first* added”; ends “And sold by all other Booksellers in *Great Britain*”  
LOCATION: Cambridge

**By the King's Royal License and Authority**  
***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: C. Cooke [?1799])**

**D** <BB> LOCATIONS: Arizona State (Tempe), British Library, Boston Public Library, Bristol (Wesley College [imperfect]), Dalhousie, Delaware, Library of Congress, Newberry, New York Public Library, North Carolina State, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, 2 copies)

**New Version**

Db Title page as in D, but text as in C rather than reset as in D. Copy acquired in 2013 by R.N. Essick.

***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works***  
**(London: C. Cooke, &c [?1800])**

LOCATIONS: Bodley, Boston Public Library, British Library, British Museum Print Room, Tate, Ushaw College (Durham)

***The Whole Genuine and Complete Works,***  
**ed. Maynard and Kimpton**  
**(London: C. Cooke and ... Ireland, n.d.)**

**E <BB>** NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Bodley ("Date of publication from the Denby Mercury, 1 1792"), Cambridge, Durham, National Library of Scotland, University College (London), Ushaw College (Durham)

N.B. The descriptions of most of these works in COPAC are so vague as to make it very difficult to identify them with editions listed in *BB*.

**NEWLY RECORDED**  
**[KEBLE, John]**  
***The Christian Year***  
**(1875)**

[John Keble]. *The Christian Year* (Boston: Lee and Shepard; N.Y.: Lee, Shepard, and Dillingham, 1875)

LOCATION: *Biblioteca la Solana*

PRINT: At p. 353 is an unsigned wood engraving of "Burial

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of the Dead" (8.5 x 10.4 cm), silently copied from Blake's design of "Death's Door" engraved by Schiavonetti for Blair's *Grave* (1808).

Keble's *Christian Year* was first published in 1827 without illustration.

**KIMPTON, Edward**  
*History of the Holy Bible*  
(1781)

NEW LOCATION: Manchester

REVIEW, &c

A Prospectus issued with the **March 1781** number of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LI (1781) (Gottingen) announced that "On SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1781 will be published" "NUMBER I" of Kimpton's "ENTIRE NEW ELEGANT AND SUPERB" *History of the Holy Bible*, printed on "SUPERFINE PAPER" in "Seventy Numbers" "to be continued Weekly", with a list of subscribers <BBS 231>

A prospectus (**n.d.**) (John Johnson Collection, Bodley), issued after the publication in weekly numbers was completed, specifies "Sixty Weekly Numbers" <BBS 231>

A two-leaf list of works published by J. Cooke (c. **February 1786**) (see Josephus) describes it as

An entire new, elegant and superb Work, printed in Folio, on a new Type and superfine Paper, and embellished with upwards of Sixty beautiful

Copper-plates designed and engraved by the most celebrated Artists ... Containing a clear and concise Account of ... more than Four Thousand Years in sixty six-penny Numbers, “the Whole elegantly bound together in calf, and lettered, Price 1l. 16s.”  
<BBS 231>

**Newly Recorded**  
**KITTON, Fred G.**  
**"William James Linton, Engraver, Poet, and Political Writer"**  
***English Illustrated Magazine***  
**Volume VIII, Number 91**  
**(April 1891)**

Fred G. Kitton. "William James Linton, Engraver, Poet, and Political Writer." *English Illustrated Magazine*, VIII, 91(April 1891), 491-500.

It "includes an impression of Linton's wood engraving of Blake's 'Death's Door' version with square top 1st published in *Thirty Pictures by Deceased British Artists Engraved Expressly for the Art-Union of London by W.J. Linton, 1860*".<sup>644</sup>

***The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book,***  
**For the Year of our Lord 1783**  
**([1782])**

A copy of Blake's engraving of "A Lady in the full Dress, & another in the most fashionable Undress now worn", [T]S del, W.B. sc, is in an oblong octavo nonce collection of

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<sup>644</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2014", *Blake*, XLVIII, 4 (Spring 2015), [24].

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18th and early 19th Century fashion prints pasted in chronological order on both sides of stiff, unwatermarked paper acquired in 2003 by Professor Robert N. Essick.

A print of "The Morning Amusements of Her Royal Highness [and] A Lady in the Full Dress" is reproduced in the online catalogue of The National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), and a copy was offered in James Tregaskis Caxton Head Catalogue 770 (19 July 1915), lot 94 (£2.2.0).

**LAVATER, J.C.**  
*Aphorisms on Man*  
**(1788, 1789, 1794)**

1788 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Fitzwilliam (P 566 1985), Liverpool Public Library, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Warburg Institute, Wellcome Institute (London)

1789 NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Cambridge (2), Institute of Germanic Studies, Liverpool Public Library, Yale (ZBZ AXZ 6474), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Library

C 1794 NEW LOCATIONS: British Library (8413 aa 26), Cambridge (2), Iowa (xPT 2392 L2A3 1794), National Library of Wales, Schweizerische Landesbibliothek (National Library of Switzerland, Berne: L Theo 3 304), Trinity College (Dublin), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Yale (Hkc 7 280r)

The Harvard copy of 1794 is reproduced online.



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EDITION

**Johann Caspar Lavater**, *Aphorisms on Man (1788)*, ed. **R.J. Shroyer** (1980) <BBS>

REVIEWS

**D.V. E[rdman]**, *Romantic Movement ... Bibliography for 1980* (1981), 82

**Jenijoy La Belle**, *Blake*, XVI, 2 (Fall 1982), 126-28

**LAVATER, J.C.**

*Essays on Physiognomy*

(1789, 1792, 1798; 1792 [perhaps 1810]; 1810 [perhaps 1817])

**LAVATER, John Caspar**

*Essays on Physiognomy*

(1789, 1792, 1798; 1792 [perhaps 1810]; 1810 [perhaps 1817])

1789-98 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Adelphi, American Art Portrait Gallery (Washington, D.C.), Arizona, Art Institute (Chicago), Barr Smith Library (Adelaide, Australia), Belfast Central Library, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (Warsaw), Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Birkenhead Central Library, Birmingham, Bodley (Arch Antiq A I 23), Boston College, Brigham Young, British Columbia (2--1 in *BB*), British Library (3--only 1 in *BB*), California (San Diego, Santa Barbara [2], Southern Region Library Facility [2]), Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Canterbury, Cape Town, Chetham's Library (Manchester), Cincinnati and Hamilton Public Library, Cleveland Museum of Art, Colorado State

(Fort Collins), Columbia (2--*BBS* has 1), Connecticut College, Dallas Public Library, Durham Cathedral, Fordham, Free Library of Philadelphia, Glasgow ("1789-1810"), Harvard (Houghton, 3--*BBS* has 2), Hofstra, Hollins, Indiana, Indiana State (Terra Haute), Institute of Germanic Studies, Johns Hopkins (2), *Mary Lynn Johnson*, Library Company of Philadelphia, Liverpool Public Library, Massachusetts Historical Society (2), McMaster, Metropolitan Museum of Art (N.Y.), Miami (Florida), Michigan (2), Michigan State, Minnesota, Minneapolis Public Library, Monmouth (West Long Branch, N.J.), Multnomah County Library (Portland, Oregon), National Art Library (London; 2 copies of Vol. II), National Library of Australia, National Library of South Africa, National Library of Switzerland, National Library of Wales, New York Academy of Medicine, New York Public Library (YEZA+, Arents Collection<sup>646</sup>), Northern Colorado (Greeley), Pennsylvania State, Pierpont Morgan Library (2--*BBS* records 1), Pittsburgh, Princeton, Queen's College (Oxford), Rhode Island, Rochester (2), Royal College of Physicians (Dublin), Sheffield Central Library, Smith College, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.), South Australian Parliamentary Museum (Adelaide), Southern California (2), St Andrew's, Stanford, State University of New York (Buffalo), Temple, Texas (2, 1 in fascicles; *BB* lists 1), Toronto, Trinity College (Oxford), Tulane, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Union College (Schenectady, N.Y.), University College (Dublin), University of Medicine and Dentistry (Newark, N.J.), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection),

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<sup>646</sup> In *BB*, D.V. Erdman recorded this set in fascicles as in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

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Washington (Seattle), Wesleyan (Middletown, Connecticut), West Virginia, Western Ontario, Welcome Institute (London, with signature and notes of Dawson Turner), Dr Williams' Library (1124 L2 (ILI)), Winterthur Museum (Winterthur, Delaware), Wittenberg (Springfield, Ohio), Yale (4, in Beinecke Library, Lewis Walpole Library, Medical Library, Sterling Library--*BBS* lists 1), Yale Center for British Art (in Parts), Zentralbibliothek [Zurich], Zurich Zentralbibliothek (2)

"1792": NEW LOCATION Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

1810 NEW LOCATIONS: Bradford (Yorkshire), British Library (2--1 has Vol. I only), California (Santa Cruz), Christ Church (Oxford), College of St Elizabeth (Morristown, N.J.), Colorado, Connecticut College, Cornell, Edinburgh, Georgia (2--*BBS* lists 1), Glasgow, Huntington (2--*BBS* lists 1), Iowa, Kalamazoo College, Liverpool (Vol. I-II), London (Warburg Institute), London Institute, Los Angeles Public Library, Lucerne Zentralbibliothek, Manchester, Metropolitan Museum of Art (N.Y.), Mills College, National College of Art and Design (Dublin), National Library of Scotland, New York Academy of Medicine, New York Public Library (Emmet Collection), Newcastle, Pierpont Morgan Library, Princeton, Queen's (Belfast), Rochester, South Carolina, Texas (Austin), Texas (Houston, Medical Branch), Trinity College (Hartford, Connecticut), Tulane, Vermont, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Warburg Institute, Wesleyan (Middleton, Connecticut), Yale Center for British Art, Yale (Medical), Zentralbibliothek [Lucerne] (853 fol)

1792 (i.e., 1817) NEW LOCATIONS: Alfred (Alfred, N.Y.), Boston Athenaeum, Chicago, Christ Church College (Oxford), Connecticut College, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Dillwyn Correctional Center (Dillwyn, Virginia), Duke, Emory, Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), Houston Academy of Medicine, Huntington, Indiana State, Kentucky, Liverpool, London Institute, McGill, National Library of Scotland, *Stewart Naunton*, Newcastle, Oregon State, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Spokane Public Library, Texas (Austin, with watermarks of 1801, 1804, 1806, 1809, 1817, and LEPARD), Virginia, Wake Forest, Wesleyan (Middleton, Connecticut), Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, Ohio), Wistar Institute (Philadelphia), Zurich Zentralbibliothek

Undated or mixed sets NEW LOCATIONS: British Library (P.P.5441.ba), Duke, Edinburgh, Glasgow, *Andrew Greg*, Hamilton College, Liverpool, McGill, Pennsylvania State, Pratt Institute (Brooklyn, N.Y.), Wolverhampton, Yale (2--Beinecke, Sterling), Zurich Zentralbibliothek

157 New Locations here are due to the kindness of Andrew Greg.

The newly recorded copy in Victoria University is dated "1792" on all three title pages, though it includes "The English Translator's Preface" dated "December 24, 1798". This is plainly a fraudulent edition, though the prints are genuine and the text is very handsome. "T. Bensley, Printer, | Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London" is named in the colophon to Vol. II, Part 2. In Vol. I, the Contents leaf has a printed note: "TYPE I. WAYLAND" which seems to appear no where else in this copy or any other which has been recorded. Levi Wayland finished his apprenticeship as a printer in 1789 and is known

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only for works in 1789-1793.

This set is bound in handsome, uniform, contemporary black morocco gilt and blind-stamped. The paste-down of each volume bears the armorial bookplate of "L.E. Holden" (beneath paste-marks suggesting that a previous bookplate has been removed), and each volume is inscribed "Gift of Mrs L.E. Holden. June. 1914". Each title page has a small embossed stamp: "WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY", "1857 | CLEVELAND | 1897", and each fly-leaf verso is inscribed "Plates are not to be

The cover for Part V (Essick Collection), dated 1788, includes Blake's first print: "7. AGED FIGURES, GARDENING."

In some sets, the title pages of Vol. I (1789) and Vol. II (1792) imitate those of the first edition <Toronto>.

The title pages of several sets of Lavater's *Physiognomy* bear false dates. Sets with the three title pages dated 1789, 1792, and 1798 (e.g., Princeton, Toronto, Victoria University in the University of Toronto) are apparently genuine, with laid paper mostly watermarked "17 LEPARD 95". Those with the three title pages dated 1810 (e.g., Princeton, Victoria University in the University of Toronto), with wove paper watermarked "1804" and "1806" also appear to be genuine.

However, all sets with all three title pages dated 1792 (Chicago, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Duke, Emory, Kentucky, Liverpool, McGill, Newcastle, Oregon State, and Princeton) have very mixed lots of paper, invariably including some paper watermarked "1817", and these are patently fraudulent.

Similarly misleading is the set with title pages dated 1789, 1792, and 1810 (Toronto) on paper watermarked "1804" and "1806" throughout.

The edition with title pages dated 1789, 1792, and 1810 is probably the same (except for title pages) as the honestly-titled 1810 edition, and the one with all title pages dated 1792 cannot have been printed earlier than 1817.

This gives us *three* Volume I title pages dated 1789 (one honest, one of 1810, and one of 1817), *three* Volume II title pages dated 1792 (one honest, one of 1810, and one of 1817), and *three* Volume III title pages dated 1798 (honest), 1792 (i.e., 1817), and 1810 (honest).

Stewart Naunton was the first to notice the anomaly of the "1792" edition with "1817" watermarks in his own copy.

Plate 2 ("Democritus") at Vol. I, p. 159: A pull on India paper is in the collection of Professor Saree Makdisi, according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII (2000).

When John Murray, the chief publisher of the first edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789-98), died in 1793, the business was left to his under-age son in partnership with Highly, and the accounts for the Lavater book were left in some disarray.<sup>647</sup> The other partners in the venture clearly asked Joseph Johnson to speak for them, and his office Letter-Book contains numerous letters on the subject, to the engraver Thomas Holloway (23 July 1799), B. Dugdale (Dublin, 13 October 1800), Mr Highly (19 and 31 December 1800), Mr Mayne (Star Office, 28 August 1801), Gentlemen (5

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<sup>647</sup> See "The Physiognomy of Lavater's Essays: False Imprints, '1789' and '1792'", *Blake*, XXIX (1995), 16-23.

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September 1801 for Hen. Hunter [the translator of the work], J. Johnson, and Tho Holloway, apparently "the Proprietors of the English Lavater"), Exec of M<sup>f</sup> Murray (23 September 1801), and B. Dugdale (Dublin, 19 November 1801). These letters deal particularly with monies not yet distributed by Murray to the other Proprietors of the English Lavater<sup>648</sup> and with heavy charges of Thomas Holloway for supervising all the engravings. For instance, Johnson wrote to

Mr Highly

There is, certainly, no provision made for Mr Holloway's extra charges, indeed they could not then have been foreseen. the necessity & difficulty of obtaining facsimilies soon appeared as essential to the work, but elegance only was at first thought of. At our meetings Mr H was continually reminding us of the difficulty he found with all the engravers, and that he could not get a facsimile from any of them, he told us he was obliged to work himself on every plate to make it what it should be, and we certainly were prepared, & in his absence frequently mentioned it, for a large extra demand on this account. After what has passed & our knowing that he devoted all most [sic] of his whole time to the work, & having acquitted himself

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<sup>648</sup> These sums were apparently quite large, for on 23 Sept 1801 Johnson wrote to the Executors of Mr Murray asking for distribution of monies in their hands from Lavater in the proportions £600 to D<sup>r</sup> Hunter, £300 to M<sup>r</sup> Holloway, and "myself 900 pounds, or in such other proportions as may be satisfactory to yourselves".

so well, I think it would be not only illiberal but unjust to bind him to the agreement. How executors may feel, or think themselves empowered to act, is not for me to say. The extra charges are certainly very great. I shall concur in any mode of adjusting this business which shall promise liberal justice to Mr Holloway.

Yr<sup>s</sup> J J Dec<sup>r</sup> 19. 1800

And on 28 August 1801 he wrote to Mr Mayne, Star Office: it appears that a very large proportion of the subscribers have not completed their sets ... a very considerable part of expected profit will be lost if so many numbers are left upon our hands, and it may be fairly presumed that many who have taken three parts would upon a proper application take the remaining fourth.

Plate 4: The plate signed "Blake sculp" below and to the right of the image also has "Blake Sc" "very lightly scratched immediately below, and on the same diagonal as, the line defining the lower margin of the figure's neck" (as was first recorded by R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1996", *Blake*, XXX [1997]).

### THE QUALITY OF THE ENGRAVINGS

According to the engraver Thomas Holloway, who supervised the plates for Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*,

It was not long before TH found that in spite of all his Care & even expostulations with most of the Artists – the work they brought home was distressingly inaccurate – many plates were destroyed totally – and those which were the best

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executed were frequently so errone[o]us both in outline & expression that many parts were obliged to be hammerd out & reproduced – a piece of work this the most painful & the most mortyfying imaginable to TH-- ...

A great number of the plates were necessarily repaired in some instances twice in a few instances 3 times making the plates equal to duplicates – which was the case with the Venus de Medicis & others – without this attention the major part of the Impressions wou[l]d have been weak & the Reputation of the work most materially injured ....

The work executed by TH & others was in its Kind unique .... Without Vanity it is presumed that for Correctness as well as for execution it Stands unequalld--<sup>649</sup>

**PAYMENT FOR THE ENGRAVINGS**

In Holloway's list of "Expenses attending the Engravings of Lavater ... during the years 1787 to 1799" is "Blake ..... [£]39.19.6", a somewhat moderate payment for three small plates and one large one.

Holloway's figures indicate the following prices for Lavater:

COST OF COPPER	£ 88. 4.--
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<sup>649</sup> "Observations Submitted to the Consideration of Doct Hunter M<sup>r</sup> Johnson – two of the proprietors of Lavater – and the Execs of the late M<sup>r</sup> [John] Murray" dated Jan 1802 in the archive of the publisher John Murray, printed here (like the other Murray Archive papers) by permission of Mr John Murray.

ENGRAVING TITLES ON PLATES	£ 26.15.--
TOTAL COST OF ENGRAVINGS <sup>650</sup>	£2,558.17.--
COST OF PRINTING AND HOTPRESSING PLATE	£2,500.--.--

### SALE OF THE COPPERPLATES

The 537 copperplates for Lavater's *Physiognomy* were sold to John Stockdale, who published an edition in 1810. After Stockdale's death (1814), "*the Remaining Stock of the Estate of the Late Mr. John Stockdale*; consisting chiefly of Copper Plates, together with the Copyrights to the Works, to which they belong" was offered for sale at auction by Robert Saunders on 3 January 1818, and the "Five hundred and thirty-seven [copperplates]--Lavater's *Physiognomy*, by Hunter, 4<sup>o</sup>, and *Copyright*" were sold for £210 (according to the marked copy in the British Library; no buyer is listed for any of the lots).

### SILENT REPRINT OF THE BOOK

The plates were subsequently printed on paper watermarked as late as 1817 but dated 1792 on the title pages and bearing the names of the original publishers but not that of the 1817 buyer of the copperplates. Perhaps the new owner discovered belatedly that the copyright he had acquired was for the plates only and did not include the copyright of Dr Henry Hunter's translation of Lavater. He may therefore have

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<sup>650</sup> This is the total given in Holloway's list of what he paid to individual engravers; the total in his list of what he paid year-by-year is £2,683.13.6 [this is mis-added by Holloway; it should be £2,628.13.6].

Of the 37 engravers for Lavater named in Holloway's list, only 24 names are recorded on the engravings themselves (113 plates), "*Holloway Direxit*" is on 156 of them, and 267 are anonymous.

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decided that it was safest to conceal the date and to pretend that this was the original edition.

The sources of the plates signed merely “*Blake Sc*” or “*Blake sculp*” are brilliantly identified by Mary Lynn Johnson, “Blake’s Engravings for Lavater’s *Physiognomy: Overdue Credit to Chodowiecki, Schellenberg, and Lips*”, *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 52-74:

- 1 A vignette of two old men planting trees (Vol. I, p. 127) originally appeared in Gellert’s *Leçons de Morale* (1772) engraved by Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki, and Chodowiecki engraved another version (1772) for the Huguenot Seminaire françois de theologie à Berlin, where it indicates the fostering of young theology students. It was engraved, reversed, by Rudolph Shellenberger for Lavater’s *Essai sur la Physiognomie*, I ([1781]), 127. Blake re-reversed the design and made minor alterations.
- 3 A female arm and hand delicately holding up a candle with moths nearby (Vol. I, p. 206) derives from an engraving (Anon.-Anon.) of a sturdy male arm and hand gripping a candle and being stung by a wasp in *Essai*, I, 213, where its significance is not explained. It derives from a print (Anon.-Anon.) in Lavater’s *Physiognomische Fragmente*, IV (1778) (Vol. IV was never translated) where it represents Lavater’s determination to uphold the light of Truth in the face of the stings of public mockery.
- 4 A profile head of the Lutheran theologian Johann Joachim Spalding, a dear friend of both Lavater and

Fuseli (Vol. I, p. 225), was first printed in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*, III (1778), 4 portraits on one plate after Chodowiecki engraved by Johann Heinrich Lips, and repeated, alone [?by Lips] in *Essai*, I, 232.

REVIEW

[Henry Fuseli], *Analytical Review*, V (December 1789), 454-62, VI (April 1790), 426-31 <BBS 236>

A long and acrimonious exchange of letters between Fuseli and Thomas Holcroft (who published a translation in 1789) appeared in the *Analytical Review*, VI (January 1791), 110-12, VI (April 1791), 471-72 <BBS 236>

LINTON, W.J.

*Thirty Pictures by Deceased British Artists*  
(1860)

NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

For a reprint of "Death's Door", see Fred G. Kitton, "William James Linton, Engraver, Poet, and Political Writer", *English Illustrated Magazine*, VIII, 91 (April 1891).

MALKIN, Benjamin Heath  
*A Father's Memoirs of His Child*  
(1806)

NEW LOCATIONS: Alberta, Baylor, Bilkent (Ankara [Turkey]), Birkbeck College (London), Boston College, Brown, Caen Basse-Normandie, California (Irvine; Los

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Angeles; Santa Cruz), California State (Bernadino), Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), City College (N.Y.), City University of New York, Claremont, Cornell, Davidson College (North Carolina), Delaware, Eichstät (Eichstät [Germany]), Emory, Essex, Florida State, Georgetown, Georgia, Georgia State, Herzogin Anna Amelia Bibliothek (Weimar [Germany]), Hong Kong, Huntington Library, Johns Hopkins, Kansas City Public Library, Kent State, Kentucky (Richard C. Jackson's annotated copy), Kinjo Gakuin (Nagoya [Japan]), Library of Congress (2), Liverpool, London Metropolitan, Loyola (Chicago), Macalester, McGill, Melbourne, Michigan State, Minnesota, Mount Holyoke College, National Library of Wales, New Hampshire, New York Public Library, Newberry, Nihon (Mishima-Shi Shizuoka, Japan), North Texas, Northwestern, Notre Dame, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Providence College (Rhode Island), Puget Sound, Rice, Rutgers, St. Louis, St Mary's (Halifax [Nova Scotia]), St Olaf, Sheffield, Simon Fraser, Simpson, South Carolina, Southern California, Stanford, State Library of New South Wales (Sydney [Australia]), State University of New York (Buffalo), Toronto Public Library (Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books), Trinity College (Dublin), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Vanderbilt, Victoria & Albert, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wake Forest, Washington (Seattle), Western Ontario, Westminster Libraries (London), William and Mary, Wisconsin, Yale Medical Library, York, Youngstown State

For evidence that the prefatory essay on Blake may have originated as the "Preface ... by BENJAMIN HEATH MALKIN" advertised in the November 1805 Prospectus to Blair's *Grave* (1808), see Blair (above).

A "working proof of [Cromek's engraving of] Blake's frontispiece, before all letters and lacking much work in the design", in the same state as the British Museum Print Room proof reproduced in *The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake*, ed. David Bindman (1978), p. 410, on wove paper watermarked 1804 (formerly in the collections of A.E. Newton and Joseph Holland) was acquired by R.N. Essick--see his "Blake in the Marketplace, 1995", *Blake*, XXIX (1996). A proof before letters of Blake's frontispiece was acquired from David Bindman in 2012 by Robert N. Essick.<sup>651</sup>

David Bindman bought in July 2006 from a print-stall in Portobello Road, London, a proof before all letters of the frontispiece in a state between the two previously-known states; "The central portrait medallion corresponds to the image in the 1<sup>st</sup> proof state, but the surrounding design corresponds to the 2<sup>nd</sup> proof state (design finished, but lacking all letters)."<sup>652</sup>

#### REVIEWS referring to Blake

**Anon.**, "Art. II. *A Father's Memoirs of his Child. By Benjamin Heath Malkin ...*", *Literary Journal*, 2 S., II (**July 1806**), 27-35 (quotes Blake's "Laughing Song" as an example of "modern nonsense")  
<BB #823>

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<sup>651</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2012", *Blake* (2013).

<sup>652</sup> Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 2006", *Blake*, XL (2007).  
For reproductions of the 1<sup>st</sup> and published versions, see *BBS* 5-6.

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**Anon.**, "Art. 40. *A Father's Memoirs of his Child*. By Benjamin Heath Malkin, Esq. M.A. F.A.S. Royal 8vo. 172 pp. 10s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1806", *British Critic*, XXVIII (**September 1806**), 339 (about half this rude review is devoted to a denigration of Blake, who "seems chiefly inspired by ... Divine Nonsensia") <BB #836>

**[Christopher Lake Moody]**, "Art. 37. *A Father's Memoirs of his Child*. By Benj. Heath Malkin, Esq. M.A. F.A.S. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. Boards. Longman and Co 1806", *Monthly Review*, NS LI (**October 1806**), 217 ("In the long dedication to Mr. Johnes of Hafod, a biographical notice is inserted of Mr. William Blake the artist, with some selections from his poems, which are highly extolled: but if Watts seldom rose above the level of a mere versifier, in what class must we place Mr. Blake, who is certainly very inferior to Dr. Watts?" The authorship is established by Benjamin Christie Nangle, *The Monthly Review Second Series 1790-1815* [1955], 259, on the basis of the editor's marked copy [now in Bodley] in which this piece is attributed to "Mo[o]dy") <BB #2238>

**Anon.**, "Half-Yearly Retrospect of Domestic Literature", *Monthly Magazine*, Supplementary Number, XXII (**25 January 1807**), 621-464 (Blake's poetry "does not rise above mediocrity") <BB #955>

**Anon.**, “Art. XIV. *A Father’s Memoirs of his Child*, by Benjamin Heath Malkin ...”, *Annual Review ...* for 1806, V (1807), 379-81 (Blake’s “poems are certainly not devoid of merit ...”) <BB #832>

#### EDITION

**Malkin, Benjamin Heath.** *A Father's Memoirs of His Child 1806.* (Poole and Washington, D.C.: Woodstock Books, 1997) 172 pp.; ISBN: 1854772104

J[onathan] W[ordsworth], "Introduction" (7 pp.).

#### **The Man Sweeping the Interpreter’s Parlour**

NEWLY RECORDED COPY: Cincinnati Art Museum  
COPY 20 in Essick, *Separate Plates* acquired at auction C. 1949 by Brandon Meredith Rhys-Williams (1927-88) and inherited in 1988 by his daughter Miranda Rhys-Williams.<sup>653</sup>

#### *Monthly Magazine* (1797)

NEW LOCATIONS: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Yale Center for British Art

Blake apparently copied the portrait of “The late Mr WRIGHT of Derby” (Anon.: Blake: s) from a print on which is written “Wright of Derby: etched by himself” which later belonged to George Cumberland.

Blake's engraving of "The late M.<sup>r</sup> Wright of Derby" for the *Monthly Magazine* (1797) is probably "the Head I sent you as a Specimen" for which "I had Twelve" guineas, according

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<sup>653</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2014", *Blake*, XLVIII, 4 (Spring 2015), [36].

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to his letter to John Trusler on 23 August 1799.

**MORA, José Joaquin de**  
*Meditaciones Poeticas*  
(1826)

NEW LOCATIONS: Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid: R35836 and ER2444), Dibam Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, *Robert N. Essick*, State University of New York (Stony Brook), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

For lithographs after Schiavonetti's copperplates for Blair's *Grave* (via Mora's *Meditaciones Poeticas* [1826]), see *Diario de los Niños* (1839-40).

SALES

R. ACKERMANN, BOOK AND PRINTSELLER, AND SUPERFINE WATER-COLOUR MANUFACTURER TO HIS MAJESTY [1827<sup>654</sup>]; "MEDITACIONES POETICAS, por J.J. DE MORA, con estampas. 1l. 11s. 6d. half-bound"

Literary Advertising List [1828]<sup>655</sup> <copy in the Taylorian>, described as in Ackermann's 1827 list.

*A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books, on Sale By Vincent Salvá [y Pèrez], 124 Regent Street, London. Part II. MDCCCXXIX [1829], lot 3510, £1.11.6*

"Catalogo de Libros Españoles Publicados por los SS.

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<sup>654</sup> It says Ackermann has just moved from 101 Strand to 96 Beaufort Buildings [1827], and this copy (with the stamp of Bibliotheque de la Ville Lyon) is bound with *Edinburgh Review*, No. xci (June 1827).

<sup>655</sup> It is bound with *Foreign Review*, No. 1 (January 1828).

Ackermann y Comp.<sup>a</sup> en su Repositorio de Artes, 96, Strand, Londres” added at the end of [J. de A.], *El Mentor* ... (Londres: Los SS. Ackermann y Comp.<sup>a</sup> [1836]) <New York Public Library> in Spanish (“Meditaciones Poéticas, por J.J. de Mora, con estampas”)

**“Morning Amusement”**

**(Watteau-Blake)**

**(1782)**

**NOTICE**

**Anon.**, “Zwey angenehme Blätter ...”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der fryen Künste*, XXVII (1782), 162, in German <Harvard> (“Zwey angenehme Blätter, nach Watteau, aus der Sammlung, des hrn A. Maskin; Morning Amusement und Evening Amusement [1782], von W. Blake in Röthel, Ovale, zu 9 Zoll 4 inien höhe, und 11 Zoll 3 inien Breite, kosten zusammen 15 Schillinge.”)

**NICHOLSON, William**

***Introduction to Natural Philosophy***

**(1782, 1787, 1790, 1796)**

1782 NEW LOCATIONS: Imperial College, Manchester, National Library of Scotland, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1787 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Cambridge, Imperial College, King’s College (London), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wellcome Library

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***Novelist's Magazine***

**Vol. VIII**

**(1782, 1784, 1792)**

1782 NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Edinburgh, South Carolina, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (3 copies, Bentley Collection)

1792 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

LOCATIONS of indeterminate date in COPAC: Bristol, National Library of Wales

***Novelist's Magazine***

**Vol. IX**

**(1782, 1785, 1793)**

1782 NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Bodley (2), South Carolina, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1785 NEW LOCATION: Edinburgh

***Novelist's Magazine,***

**Vol. X-XI**

**Samuel Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison***

**(1783, 1785, 1793, ?1800, 1811, 1818)**

1783 NEW LOCATIONS: Auckland Public Library, Edinburgh, Liverpool Public Library, South Carolina, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1785 NEW LOCATIONS: Edinburgh, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1811 NEW LOCATION: R.N. Essick (a portrait of Richardson [not by Blake] is watermarked 1814; the prints are in the fourth state as in the 1818 edition, not in the third state as in the set in Victoria University in the University of Toronto),<sup>656</sup> Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

**OLIVIER, [J.]**  
***Fencing Familiarized***  
**(1780)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

**REES, Abraham**  
***Cyclopaedia***  
**(1802-20)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, John Carter Brown Library, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Imperial College, Leeds, Liverpool, London School of Economics, Manchester, Metropolitan Museum (N.Y.), Wellcome Library  
Plate 3, “*GEM Engraving*” “*Engraved by W. Blake & W. Lowry*”, and “*Drawn by Farey*”, representing Jupiter Serapis, was “copied after pl. 2 in Lorenz Natter, *A Treatise on the Ancient Method of Engraving on Precious Stones* (London:

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<sup>656</sup> Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2012", *Blake* (2013).

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for the author, 1754).”<sup>657</sup> The inscription “*Drawn by Farey*” may refer to either John Farey, Jr, or Joseph Farey, who made “Mechanical” drawings for Rees, according to the list of contributors to Rees by Anon. [?Alexander Tilloch], “Notices Respecting New Books”, *Philosophical Journal*, LVI (September 1820), 220.

REVIEW

**Anon.**, *Philosophical Magazine*, LVI (September 1820), 218-24 (gives, apparently authoritatively, a list of the authors and fascicle-dates) <BBS 245>

***Remember Me! 1825***  
**(1824, 1825)**

CUMULATIVE LOCATIONS † = newly recorded

1824	1825
†Boston Public Library	Cambridge copy 3?
Cambridge copies 1-2, 4-6	Essick copy 2
Essick copy 1	Harvard
Huntington	†James Madison University
National Library of Wales copy 1	†Pierpont Morgan Library
New York Public Library	†National Library of Wales
Northwestern	copies 2-3
Princeton	
†Harriet Beacher Stowe Center	
Victoria University in the University of Toronto copies 1-†2	

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<sup>657</sup> The discovery was made by Mark Crosby and recorded in R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace 2010”, *Blake*, XLIV (2011), 142.

## Virginia

The Harvard is reproduced online.

The Northwestern copy, not recorded in Bentley (below), is in "publisher's printed boards with old rebacking in red muslin, custom clamshell box" (according to §Bonhams auction, San Francisco, 2011, lot 2048).

### A Cumulative Table

Location	Cover	Colour of Edges	Colour of Endpapers for Gift Sleeve-case or Diary <sup>a</sup>	Inscription	Colour of
Boston Public Library (1824)	rebound		gilt	No endpaper	None No sleeve-case
Cambridge 1(1824)	green straight-grain morocco <sup>b</sup>		gilt	marbled blue and brown	None No sleeve-case
Cambridge 2(1824)	pink		gilt	slate-grey	Yes pink
Cambridge 3(1825?)	cream		yellow	pink	None bright green
Cambridge 4(1824)	cream		gilt	brown	1 in No sleeve-diary case
Cambridge 5 (1824)	brown		gilt	slate-grey	slate-grey
Cambridge 6 (1824) <sup>c</sup>	bright green		gilt	brown	red
R.N. Essick 1 (1824) <sup>d</sup>	pale green		gilt	orange	red
R.N. Essick 2 (1825)	dark red		gilt	marbled	
<BBS 247>			morocco <sup>e</sup>		
Harvard (1825)	<BBS> rebound <sup>f</sup>			white	S P Warren
Huntington (1824) <sup>g</sup>					
James Madison University (1825)					
Morgan Library (1825?) <sup>h</sup>	green straight-grain morocco		gilt	plain	No sleeve-case
National Library of	purple <sup>i</sup> sprinkled			marbled Francis grey case	No sleeve-
Wales 1(1824)	in red			with blue, pink and orange Fortuny	
National Library of Wales Copy 2 (1825?) <sup>j</sup>	rebound		gilt	plain	None No sleeve-case
National Library of Wales 3 (1825?) <sup>k</sup>	yellow front			green, back white	None orange
New York Public	cream			front yellow	bright green <sup>l</sup>

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Library (1825)					
<BB>			brown; back		
			cream		
Princeton (1824)	<BB> rebound		pink		None
Harriet Becher	rebound		gilt	marbled grey	None No sleeve-case
Stowe Center	leather spine		and cream		
(1824)					
Victoria University	green straight-		gilt marbled		
in the University	grain morocco				
of Toronto 1					
(1824) <sup>m</sup>					
Victoria University	paper white	gilt		green	present
in the University					
of Toronto 2					
(1824)					
Virginia, University					
of (1824)	<BBS>				

<sup>a</sup> What I have called "Diary" is 24 pp. headed "CALENDAR and ALBUM". All after p. 336 (the Diary) is missing from Cambridge Copy 3, Morgan, National Library of Wales Copies 2-3, and New York Public Library, as in the issue of 1825. In addition, the date has been erased from the title page in Cambridge Copy 3 and National Library of Wales copies 2-3, and the engraved title page with the date is missing from the Morgan copy. All these were presumably issued in 1825

<sup>b</sup> Cambridge Copy 1 is bound in light green grained morocco with black tooling round the edges of the boards, gilt tooling on the spine, and a brown title label on the spine with gilt lettering. For the copies now in Cambridge, see *BB* and *BBS*.

<sup>c</sup> In Cambridge Copy 6, the boards and spine are decorated in gilt with a red title label on the spine.

<sup>d</sup> Essick Copy 1, acquired from Douglas Cleverdon, is described in Geoffrey Keynes, *Blake Studies* (Oxford, 1971), 144.

<sup>e</sup> The Essick copy is bound in dark red morocco, with gilt and blind decorations and “REMEMBER | ME” on the spine; Essick is fairly certain that it is a publisher’s binding.

<sup>f</sup> The Harvard (Houghton) copy, reproduced online, shows the cover of dark red pebble grain cloth.

<sup>g</sup> The Huntington copy lacks pp. 153-60..

<sup>h</sup> It is inscribed “W.M. Rossetti from Swinburne 1878”.

<sup>i</sup> With extraordinary generosity, Timothy Cutts of the National Library of Wales Rare Book Unit wrote me that

The copy is sewn on three recessed cords laced into boards with a tight back, covered in full embossed purple skiver [soft thin sheepskin]. The headbands are sewn in blue and white thread. The spine is lettered in gold with four gilded panels, and the borders of the boards are tooled with an ornamental gold fillet line.

<sup>j</sup> National Library of Wales Copy 2 has the date rubbed off the title page, and it has been rebound in a dark green case binding with “1831” tooled in gold on the spine. There are no diary pages, and the copy ends at p. 336. The name W.H. Davey has been scratched on the upper cover.

<sup>k</sup> National Library of Wales Copy 3 comes from the library of Francis William Bourdillon (1852-1921), poet, literary scholar, and bibliographer, of Midhurst, Sussex.

<sup>l</sup> In the copy in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library copy, beneath the green cover of the sleeve case is red paper.

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<sup>m</sup> Victoria University Copy 1 (formerly R.N. Essick's) lacks pp. 73-74 (f. E1).

<sup>n</sup> This is described in Geoffrey Keynes, *Blake Studies* (1971), 144, but it is not among the Keynes copies that went to Cambridge University Library.

According to G.E. Bentley, Jr, "*Remember Me!: Customs and Costumes of Blake's Gift Book*", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXX (2011), 880-92,

The 24 [now 25] known copies of *Remember Me!* differ from one another in "the pattern of binding, colour of fore-edges, endpapers, and the decorated sleeve-case"; the "paucity of sales may be related to the fact that the publisher John Poole had little experience of book distribution. His speciality was as a maker of Marble Paper and Fancy Pocket-Books, not in selling them" [p. 880].

#### REVIEWS

**Anon.**, *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, IV, cxvi Supplementary Number ([**4 December 1824**]), 413 <New York Public Library> ("This is another of those annual volumes to which Mr Ackerman's work has given rise. ... Remember Me does not rest its claims to support on its superior graphic embellishments or good poetry, but to its botanical embellishments, which to say the truth, are very prettily coloured")

**Anon.**, *Monthly Critical Gazette*, II, 8 (1 January 1825), 187 <Bodley> (“REMEMBER ME' differs very considerably from any of its rival cotemporaries [but it doesn't say how] ... Its engravings, principally of flowers, are very beautiful”)

[RITSON, Joseph, ed.]  
*A Select Collection of English Songs*  
(1783)

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Birmingham, John Carter Brown Library, Cambridge (2 sets, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Edinburgh, Glasgow, Newcastle, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

There is some evidence that the work was published not in 1783, as the title page indicates, but late in 1784, for it was announced as just published in the *St James Chronicle* (11/14 and 14/16 September 1784) "with a great Number of elegant Engravings" at 12s or 15s bound, and "A few Copies are printed on finer Paper"; there were reviews in the *Critical Review*, LVIII (October 1784), 300-4, *Gentleman's Magazine*, LIV, 2 (November 1784), 817-18, and *Monthly Review*, LXXIII (September 1785), 234; and Ritson's text is much quoted in the *European Magazine*, VI (December 1784), 436; VII (January, February 1785), 20-23, 93-96,<sup>658</sup> §*New Annual Register*, V, 3 (1784), 271, and §*New Review*, VI (1784), 79.

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<sup>658</sup> This information derives from Bertrand H. Bronson, *Joseph Ritson: Scholar-at-Arms* (1938), II, 754.

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**“Robin Hood and Clorinda”**

**Meheux-Blake**  
**(Macklin, 1783)**  
**NOTICES, &c**

**Anon.**, “Englische Kupferstiche”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* [Leipzig], XXX, 2 (1785), 332-49, in German (“Robin Hood and Clorinda” after J. Meheux, engraved by “W. Blake, in punktirter Manier”, in the round, 8” in diameter, “4 Schillinge im Preise” [p. 337])

**SALZMANN, C.G.**

*Elements of Morality*

**tr. [Mary Wollstonecraft]**

**(1791, 1792, 1793, 1799, 1805, [1815])**

1791 NEW LOCATIONS: Liverpool Public Library, Pforzheimer Library (New York Public Library), Toronto Public Library (Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (1 with Pamela Lister's book-plate, 1 in the Bentley Collection [Vol. III only])

1792 NEW LOCATIONS: Pforzheimer Library (in the New York Public Library), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1805 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection, Vol. I only)

1815 NEW LOCATION:Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

The 45 anonymous plates, attributed without evidence to Blake by Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, “*Pictor Ignotus*” (1863), I, 91-92, are engraved in a “picturesque” style characterized by “purposeful ruggedness and simplicity”, according to R.N. Essick, *William Blake’s Commercial Book Illustrations: A Catalogue ...* (1991), 50. The plates were altered in the editions of 1792 and 1793, “filling in ... open spaces with hatching and crosshatching and the addition of stipple in hands and faces”, which “would seem to violate the picturesque aesthetic” of the earlier versions; “This care is rather unexpected for unsigned copy engravings in a book for children” (Essick, 50-51).

The paradox is brilliantly resolved by Essick, who suggests that the Salzmann plates, which are “technically quite simple” with “awkward patches”, may reveal the hand of Blake's newly-discovered apprentice Thomas Owen (“Blake in the Marketplace, 2010”, *Blake*, XLIV [2011], 141-42).

To this I would add that the alterations in 1792 and 1793, which are more like Blake’s usual style of engraving, may be by the master correcting the work of his apprentice.

Some of the 1791 designs are competently engraved, reversed, by H. Weston in

ELEMENTS | OF | MORALITY, | FOR THE | USE OF  
CHILDREN; | WITH AN | *INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS TO*  
*PARENTS.* | = | Translated from the GERMAN of the | REV. C.G.  
SALZMANN. | = | *ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY COPPER-*  
*PLATES,* | IN TWO VOLUMES | - | VOL. I.<sup>659</sup> | = |

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<sup>659</sup> The only copy I have seen, in Victoria University in the University of



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PHILADELPHIA: | PRINTED BY J. HOFF & H. KAMMERER,  
JUN. | M,DCC,XCVI [1796].<sup>660</sup>

REVIEW referring to Blake's work

**Anon.**, "Art. XLII. *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents.* Translated from the German of the Rev. C.G. Salzmann. Illustrated with Fifty Copper Plates. In three Volumes. Vol. I. 200 p. and 16 plates. Price 3s. Sewed. Johnson. 1791", *Analytical Review*, IX (January 1791), 101-3: the last paragraph of this short review reads:

The prints are far superior, both with respect to design and engraving, to any we have ever seen in books designed for children; and that prints, judiciously introduced, are particularly calculated to enforce a moral tale, must be obvious to every one who has had any experience in education.

Mary Wollstonecraft is identified as the translator in a footnote, and Volumes II and III are reviewed in Volume XI [October 1791], 217-20) <BB>.

EDITION

§\***Christian Gotthilf Salzmann.** *Elements of Morality, for the Use of Children: with an Introductory Address to Parents.*

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Toronto, consists of Vol. I only. In it pl. 3-4, 6-10 (at pp. 48, 72, 182, 188, 218, 226, 234) copy 1791 pl. 2, 6, 16, 18, 20, 22-23, including the inscriptions.

<sup>660</sup> BB 608 says of the edition of Philadelphia, 1796, "the plates are different". R.N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations: A Catalogue ...* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 51, says: "The 1796 Philadelphia edition contains twenty of the designs re-engraved by another hand."

Volume 3. (Charleston [South Carolina]: BiblioLife, 2014)  
248 pp.; ISBN: 9781295470846 [Volumes I-II are not listed.]

**SALZMANN, C.G.**  
***Gymnastics for Youth***  
**(1800)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Amherst College, Birmingham, California (Los Angeles), Cambridge, Indiana, Kansas, Leicester, McGill, Oberlin College, Paxton House (near Berwick on Tweed), Pennsylvania, Pierpont Morgan Library, Providence Public Library, Toronto Public Library, Washington (St Louis), Wellcome Institute, West Sussex Record Office

The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

**SCOTT, John**  
***Poetical Works***  
**(1782, 1786, 1795)**

1782 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Fordham, Friends House (London), Kent State, Liverpool Public Library, Minnesota, Sheffield, Trinity College, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1786 NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Liverpool, National Library of Scotland, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1795 NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

Quaritch catalogue *No. 539* (1937), lot 432, remarks:

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It has not, we believe, been noted before that two variants exist of the 1782 edition. In Variant A, presumably the earlier, the verso of leaf A<sub>4</sub> is occupied by 15 lines of Errata. In Variant B this leaf is blank and the errata, with one exception, are corrected in the text. Although the setting up of the variants corresponds, page for page, the pagination differs, owing to a fly-title to the Elegies being present in Variant B, but not in A.

The conclusion is summarized in Quaritch Catalogue *No. 979* (1977), lot 50.

REVIEWS

§*British Magazine & Review*, I (1782), 123-26 <BB>

§*Critical Review*, LIV (1782), 47-50 <BB>

**Anon**, *European Magazine*, II (1782), 193-97 (“the plates ... are designed and executed with skill and elegance”) <BB>

§*Gentleman's Magazine*, LII (1782), 489 <BB>

§*Monthly Review*, LXVI (1782), 183-90 <BB>

§*New Annual Register*, III, 3 (1782), 249 <BB>

**SEALLY, John, and Israel LYONS**  
*A Complete Geographical Dictionary*  
(?1784, 1787)

?1784 NEW LOCATIONS: Cambridge, R.N. Essick (Vol. II only, with all the Blake plates), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1787 NEW LOCATION: British Library

**SHAKSPEARE, William**

***Dramatic Works***

**ed. George Steevens**

**9 vols.**

**(Boydell [1791-]1802, 1832)**

1802 NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Durham, Leeds, New College (Oxford), Ushaw College (Durham), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1832 NEW LOCATIONS: British Library, Folger Library, Manchester, Muhlenberg College, St Lawrence, Southern Methodist, Wales

Pl. 1. Blake's pencil sketch for "Queen Katherine's Dream" "with ruled scale lines for engraving" was offered in 1933 with "A Fairy leapt" (q.v.).

A proof of Blake's print for *Romeo and Juliet* "before framing lines and all letters", reproduced (much reduced) in Heritage Book Shop Catalogue 197 (December 1994), p. 14, is in the collection of Professor Robert N. Essick, according to Essick's "Blake in the Marketplace, 1994", *Blake*, XXVIII (1995).

REVIEW

**Anon.**, *Public Advertiser*, **2 July 1789** (Opie's first painting for *Romeo and Juliet* represented many figures [engraved by Blake], but he subsequently repainted the canvas, eliminating many inessential characters) <BBS 254>

EDITION



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§*Boydell's Shakespeare Prints: 90 Engravings.* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2004) 28 cm, i.e., greatly reduced in size

From the 9-volume folio edition of Shakespeare (1805).

**SHAKSPEARE, William**  
***The Plays with Fuseli's designs***  
**ed. Alexander Chalmers**

**(1804-5, 10 vols., 1805, 9 vols., 1805, 1811, 1812)**

In Parts NEW LOCATIONS: British Library (perhaps this is the 10 plays without title page but with a prospectus)

10 Volumes 1805 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Birmingham (1805.5), Bodley (M.Adds.51 d.43/1), Princeton (Ex 3925.1805), Zentralbibliothek (Zurich: AX 481), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson)

9 volumes 1805 NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Kunsthaus (Zurich: GB 38/1), Leeds, National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, Nottingham, Schweizerische Landesbibliothek (National Library of Switzerland, Berne: A16.757), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

9 volumes 1811 NEW LOCATIONS: British Library, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Illinois (822.33 Ich 1811), National Library of Switzerland (3 sets), New York Public Library (\*NCM Chalmers 1811), Nottingham, Sheffield

1839 NEW LOCATION: Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson)

A paper label on the spine reads: SHAKSPEARE'S |  
PLAYS | WITH SELECT NOTES, &C. | BY | A.  
CHALMERS, A.M. | NEW EDITION, | IN NINE

VOLUMES | WITH PLATES | 1812. | £5.8s. | - | VOL I [-IX] | - | [*Contents of each volume*], according to D.H. Weinglass, *Prints ... After Fuseli* (1994), 237.

The expenses of the plates were:

Mr Fuseli for 37 Drawings at £3.3.	116.11.--
Engraving 37 Plates	865. 4.--
d <sup>o</sup> writing on d <sup>o</sup>	13. 6.--
Neagle Repairing	7.17. 6
Richards printing the Plates	182.10.
... Paper for 2 Ream 8½ qu[ire] <sup>s</sup> Super	
Royal for Plates, Req	17.15.--
plates    5 d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup>	23.12.--
14¾ d <sup>o</sup> Demy d <sup>o</sup>	52. 2. 3
... Plates repairing by C. Heath from Fuseli	47.15. 6
Head d <sup>o</sup> by Collier	4.14. 6
Plates printing by Cox & Barnett	50. --. - <sup>661</sup>

As the engravers were paid on the average £23.12 per plate, Blake's payment of £26.5.0 per plate (according to his letter of 22 June 1804) was somewhat above the norm.

David Weinglass, *Prints ... After Fuseli* (1994), 239, summarizes the publisher's records:

Of the 3,250 sets printed, dated 1805, 1,150 were issued in the form of 46,000 numbers! The edition [B above] (all sets in boards) consisted of 1,500 Demy octavo “fine paper” sets in 9 vols. (at

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<sup>661</sup> These extracts from the publisher's archive for Chalmer's Shakspeare in Reading University Library is quoted by D.W. Weinglass, *Prints ... After Fuseli* (1994), 358.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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10s. 6d. per vol. or £4.14s.6d. for the set) and 1,000 on “inferior paper” at 7s. per vol. or £3.3s. the set, together with 500 “Royal octavo” and 250 “Super Royal octavo” sets in 10 vols. [C above] on finest paper, selling at £9.0s. and £10.10s. respectively. The *Times* advertisement specifically mentions copies “without the copper-plates”. The lines in the title referring to Fuseli and the engravings after him are omitted from the title pages of the unillustrated copies of 1805 and 1811, although the appropriate title page is not always correctly assigned.

Total publication costs in 1805 amounted to £8,121. ... Excluding repair of the existing plate of Shakespeare's portrait (£7.17s. 6d.), the overall cost of the 37 plates was £1,246.19s.3d (£873.1s.6d. for engraving, £13.16s. for lettering, £182.10s. for printing, and £77.11s.9d. for paper). ... The 9-volume edition of 1811 [D above] was printed in 2,000 sets--“500 fine with plates, 500 fine without pl. 1000 Comm. no pl”, priced respectively at £5.8s., £4.14s.6d., and £3.12. in boards. Charles Heath was paid £47.15s.6d. to repair the badly worn plates.

REVIEWS, &c

Prospectus (1 December 1802) <BB 618>

*London Catalogue of Books* for 1805 (advertisement: 9 vols. without plates at £3.3.0, with plates at £4.14.6, 10 vols. at £10.10.0) <BB 618>

*Monthly Literary Advertiser* (**December 1810**)  
(announcement: 9 volume edition illustrated and  
unillustrated) <BB 620>

*London Catalogue of Books* for **1811** (advertisement: 9  
vols. without plates at £3.3.0, with plates at  
£4.14.6, 10 vols. at £10.10.0) <BB 618>

*Repository of Arts*, VII (**April 1812**) (announcement:  
published in April 1812 at £5.8.0) <BB 620>

*London Catalogue of Books* for **1814** (advertisement: 9  
vols. without plates at £3.3.0, with plates at  
£4.14.6, 10 vols. at £10.10.0) <BB 618>

*London Catalogue of Books* for **1818** (advertisement: 9 vols.  
without plates at £3.3.0, with plates at £4.14.6, 10  
vols. at £10.10.0) <BB 618>

*London Catalogue of Books* for **1822** (advertisement: 9  
vols. without plates at £3.3.0, with plates at  
£4.14.6, 10 vols. at £10.10.0) <BB 618>

**STEDMAN, J.G.**

*Narrative of a five years' expedition,  
against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam  
(1796, 1806, 1813)  
in French (1799)*

**J.G. Stedman, *Surinam* (1799) in French**

VOYAGE | A SURINAM, | ET DANS L'INTÉREUR | DE  
LA GUIANE, | CONTENANT | LA Relation de cinq Année  
de Courses et d'Observations faites | dans cette Contrée  
intéressante et peu connue; | AVEC des détails sur les Indiens  
de la Guiane et les Nègres; | PAR LE CAPITAINE J.G.  
STEDMAN; | TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS PAR P.F.

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HENRY: | SUIVI du Tableau de la Colonie Française de Cayenne. | = | COLLECTION DE PLANCHES. | = | A PARIS, | Chez F. BUISSON, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Hautefeuille, N<sup>o</sup>. 20. | AN VII DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE [1799]. 4<sup>o</sup>, 44 prints<sup>662</sup>

1796 NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, All Souls College (Oxford), Auckland Public Library, Cambridge, Detroit Public Library, Edinburgh, *R.N. Essick* (coloured), Exeter College (Oxford), Huntington (one of the 2 copies is **coloured**<sup>663</sup>), Imperial College, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Liverpool Public Library, London, Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Rhodes House (Oxford), Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), John Rylands Library (Manchester University, coloured), South Carolina (a second set), Southampton, Stanford, Sveriges [Swedish] Nationalbibliothek, Trinity College (Oxford), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection 2, one coloured), Welcome Institute (prints coloured), Yale Center for British Art

The Harvard copy of 1796 is reproduced online.

A coloured set was offered in Peter Harrington's online catalogue, April 2015, for £15,000.

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<sup>662</sup> This is part of Stedman's *Voyage à Surinam*, 3 vols. in 8<sup>o</sup> (19.6 x 12.2 cm), 1 vol. in 4<sup>o</sup> (29.2 x 21.3 cm).

<sup>663</sup> The coloured Huntington copy of Stedman is reproduced online in the William Blake Archive.

1799 in French: NEW LOCATION: Victoria University in the University of Toronto in original boards with marbled endpapers

1806 NEW LOCATIONS: John Carter Brown Library, Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), Glasgow,<sup>664</sup> Liverpool, Rhodes House (Oxford), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

1813 NEW LOCATIONS: House of Commons Library (coloured copy, on loan to the British Library Department of Manuscripts), Manchester, New College (Oxford)

The numbers on the plates signed by or attributed to Blake are 7, 11, 13, 18-19, 22, 25, 35, 42, 49, 52, 55, 68, 71, 76, 80. They are centred beneath the imprint and are frequently trimmed off. They are omitted in *BB* and *BBS* but faithfully recorded and reproduced in R.N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991).

### NEW ENGRAVING

A previously unknown unwatermarked proof of the oval vignette of 5 ships at sea on both title pages signed "Blake" was offered on 18 June 2014 by Bonhams (London), lot 71 and acquired by Victoria University in the University of Toronto. The proof image is 7.5 x 5.6 cm on a sheet 19.8 x 25 cm. The published version was slightly modified, "an additional flag has been added to the mast of each ship, the clouds have been emended and Blake's signature has been removed" (Bonham catalogue, 12 June 2014, lot 71).

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<sup>664</sup> Prints with fine contemporary colouring in the Glasgow University Library copy are reproduced in the Petit Palais exhibition catalogue of 2 April-29 June 2009.

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"On the flag draped over the top of the oval vignette ... inscribed in drypoint by Blake, not by a writing engraver" is "cuncta mea mecum" (my all is with me), "the Stedman family motto".

The pennants (not flags) on the five ships are unidentifiable and are unchanged in the final version. However, flags, like the one just above the oval, have been added at the stern of the first ship at the left and the second ship from the right. The flags consist of three horizontal stripes; in coloured copies of Stedman (1796) (*Biblioteca La Solana*, Huntington Library [large paper], Victoria University in the University of Toronto) they are coloured, from top to bottom, red, white, and blue, the colours of the Dutch flag. Stedman was a soldier of fortune with the Dutch.

**States of the title page vignette**

Vol. I, First published state (1796): Added "large flags attached to poles or aft masts on the sterns of the ships 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> from the left ... the anchor lower right and the cannon barrel lower left have been recut to eliminate the crosshatching .... A small patch of crosshatching has also been deleted from the right extension of the flag dangling lower left." Image 7.5 x 5.6 cm. "Signed in scratched drypoint letters lower left, just above the cannon barrel, 'Blake'" (*Biblioteca La Solana*); "the signature is worn but still visible under magnification."

Vol. II, First published state (1796): "the rope dangling on the right has been extended upward beyond the lower tip of the flag to touch the outer frame of the vignette. A few crossing strokes have been added to the rope on the left where it hangs

above the cannon. The clouds above the ships have been recut in a very different pattern. Diagonal hatching, apparently representing a cloud, has been cut into the space between the frame of the vignette and the flag upper left, just above and to the left of 'Mea' in the inscription. Many lines have been cut more deeply in the ocean, the ring fastening upper left, the lower tip of the anchor, and the Latin inscription. Blake's signature, lower left, shows considerable wear, but the fragments are still visible under magnification" (*Biblioteca La Solana*).

Vol. II, second published state (1796): "a 2<sup>nd</sup> 'I' was squeezed into the space between the first 'I' in the vol. number and the following ruled line to create the title page for vol. 2 present in both large- and small-paper copies".

Vol. II, third published state (1806): "The vignette is still in its 2<sup>nd</sup> st., but the clouds above the ships are worn and Blake's lightly scratched signature has completely worn away." "'J. Edwards' was replaced with 'Th. Payne' as one of the publishers named in the imprint, and '*Second Edition*' was added below the volume designation."

Vol. II, fourth published state (1813): "only the early, 2-step change in the vignette itself--from the proof to the 1<sup>st</sup> published st., and from the 1<sup>st</sup> published st. to the 2<sup>nd</sup>--involved his [Blake's] work."

According to an advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* for **21 July 1796** (discovered by Angus Whitehead),

In a few days will be published, in two vols. Large quarto, price three Guineas in boards, ornamented with 80 Copper Plates, consisting of Maps and Views, Figures of the Natives, Subjects of Natural

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History and Curiosity, &c. all from Drawings made on the Spot by the Author, and executed by Bartolozzi, Blake, Holloway, Benedetti, &c.

**N**ARRATIVE of an EXPEDITION against the Revolted Negroes in the Colony of Sarinam [i.e., Surinam], in South America; from the Year 1772 to 1777; with some Elucidations of the Natural History of that Country, and a Description of its Productions. Also, an Account of the Indians of Guiana, and the Negroes of Guinea.

By Lieut. Col. STEDMAN, then on actual service in that Colony.

Printed for J. Johnson, in St. Paul's Church Yard.

The advertisement abbreviates and paraphrases the title; to "*drawings made by the Author*" it adds, after "*made*", "*on the Spot*"; the engravers are not named on the title page, but they are so listed in the advertisement in Johnson's *Analytical Review*, XXIV (February 1796). Johnson deposited the statutory nine copies in Stationers' Hall on 25 July 1796 (*BBS* 256), and the book was reviewed in the *Analytical Review*, XXIV (September 1796), 237, suggesting that it was indeed published within "a few days" of 21 July 1796. Stedman was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on 3 May 1796 (*DNB*), too late to alter the engraved title page where he is entitled Captain.

When Stedman's book was going through the press in 1796, its irascible author went to London to interfere in the

printing of the work, and, as he wrote in his Journal for January and February 1796:

I sent besides to London Hansard [the printer, all the preliminaries for the book, index, etc.] ... I charged Hansard not to trust the above papers with Johnson who I would now not save from the gallows[,] with only one of them so cruelly was I treated--and I declare him a Scound[r]ell without he gives me Satisfaction .... Johnson, the demon of hell, again torments me by altering the dedication to the Prince of Wales &c., &c., he being a d-mn'd eternal [infernall?] Jacobin scoundrel.<sup>665</sup>

After Stedman's death in 1797, the Jacobin scoundrel wrote on 25 October 1799 to Stedman's widow in Tiverton, Devon:

Dear Madam

I wish to consult ye executors upon the following proposal[:]

The edition of ye Colonel's book being nearly sold I think there is a prospect of another smaller edn going off at a cheaper price, & if it meet with your approbation & theirs I will print one at my own risque & expense, & share with you whatever profit may arise from it.

J.J.

Mrs Stedman was clearly as suspicious of Johnson as her paranoid husband had been, she thought that Johnson owed money for the book, and she put the matter into the hands of an agent. Nine months later, Johnson wrote to

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<sup>665</sup> BR (2) 69.

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N Dennis Esqr Tiverton

July 9. 1800

I have received, copied I suppose from Mr Stedmans book, a long account between him & me, of which I can make nothing. There can be no account between us but what arose out of y<sup>e</sup> agreement for his Ms. 1 The payment of £300 by me can easily be proved. 2 He was to receive 10/6 every Subn of 21/. which he procured. 3 he procured by his own account 200 for which he owes me 100 gs 3 [i.e., 4] He was to be allowed his own necessary[?] expenses occured [?i.e., incurred] in ye printing of ye work which I understood to be occasional postage & carriage of parcels but he has charged £42 for his stay in Lond[on] which was totally unnecessary & put me to an enormous expense in reprinting part of ye work from mere caprice, & he makes a charge of £3.9.6 for expenses in Setting[?] his Ms--these two charges I object to, his other charges for letters & parcels I agree to, but am ready to settle every difference by arbitr.<sup>n</sup> if you do not acquiesce with my statement.

I am &c

Mrs Stedman seems to have put the matter then in the hands of a London agent, for Johnson then wrote to

S Freeman [?Truman] Esqr Clarges St Augt 3.  
1800

I return Mr Stedman's acc having marked such charges as I admit, ^with X^ amounting to £10.1.6,

~~although some of them I have nothing to do with such as advertising & paying booksellers commission~~ this sum taken from 105£ received by ~~him~~ due to me for 200 Subscript<sup>ns</sup> at a Guinea each which he ~~procured~~ received leave a balance in my favour of £94.18.6[.] I never received anything from him.

It seems fairly plain from Johnson's straightforward account that Stedman's estate owed money to Johnson rather than vice versa. Perhaps the matter was dropped here, for there is no more correspondence about Stedman's *Narrative* in Johnson's Letter-Book. The matter was resolved at least to the extent that new editions were published in 1806 and 1813--and clearly the second edition would have been published much earlier but for the obstreperousness of Mrs Stedman.

In Blake's plate of "The skinning of the Aboma Snake", some work may have been done in the copperplate itself to strengthen the lines defining these trees projecting above the undergrowth on the left side of the plate and just above the head of the man standing lower left, [which] print much more darkly in the 1806 and 1813 ed.<sup>666</sup>

**1813** A copy of the 1813 edition offered at Christie's (N.Y.), 14 June 2005, lot 214, is coloured in the style of the 1796 edition, not the different style of colouring in the 1806 and 1813 editions; perhaps the coloured prints were remainders from the 1796 edition.<sup>667</sup>

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<sup>666</sup> R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2001", *Blake*, XXXV (2002), 130.

<sup>667</sup> According to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace 2005", *Blake*,

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The “second edition ... 4l. 4s. or with coloured plates, 6l. 6d.” is listed in *Eclectic Review*, N.S., I (May 1807), 460. In 2009 booksellers conventionally assume that the colouring in the second edition is modern.

Stedman's designs for the engravings to his book have not been traced, but a watercolour by him of a black groom with a blood horse in Surinam is reproduced in Gordon Ray, *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790 to 1914* (N.Y.: Pierpont Morgan Library; London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 9.

Blake's pl. 2-3,7-8, 10, 12-16 are reproduced (two of them twice), without reference to Stedman's *Narrative* or the text of the novel about the slave revolt of 1733-34 in what is now the Virgin Islands, in John Lorenzo Anderson, *Night of the Silent Drums* (Tortola, Rome, St Thomas [Virgin Islands], 1992) First illustrated Virgin Island edition.<sup>668</sup>

Blake's engraving of “The Skinning of the Aboma Snake” was copied in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World Many of Which Are Now First Translated Into English Digested on a New Plan by John Pinkerton ... Illustrated with Plates*, Vol. XIV (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown and Cadell and Davies, 1813), at p. 257. <Victoria University in the University of Toronto>

Blake's fifth plate of “*The skinning of the Aboma Snake*” is crudely copied in a wood-engraving in Anon., *Travels in*

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XXXIX (2006), 162.

<sup>668</sup> First, unillustrated, edition: N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

*South America* (Dublin: John Jones, 1824) <Essick Collection>.

### **French Edition (1799)**

All the plates are "*Gravé par Tardieu l'ainé*",<sup>669</sup> sometimes with his address, never with an imprint. In general, he copied Blake's plates very carefully.<sup>670</sup> The design sizes of these Blake prints are within 0.1 cm of 18.1 x 13.1 cm (pl. 1 is 17.7 x 13.5 cm, and pl. 2 is 18.0 x 12.9 cm), while the Tardieu French prints are within 0.1 cm of 18.3 x 13.3 cm).

The Tardieu prints are remarkably close to Blake's, probably made by some form of tracing. Notice, for instance, that in Tardieu pl. VI, the knee-laces seem virtually identical to those in Blake's first print.

However, the designs were reversed in Tardieu Pl. IX, XXI, XXV, XXXVII, and clouds have been added or the sky altered in all the Tardieu prints after Blake. Except for the design-reversals and the sky alterations, these Tardieu prints are as closely imitated from Blake as was possible with the technology of the 18th Century.

The Tardieu prints copying Blake's are

Pl. VI	" <i>Chasseur nègre, armé</i> " .
Pl. IX	" <i>Nègre suspendu vivant, par les côtes</i> "
Pl. XIII	" <i>Le Micou, et le Kisi-Kisi</i> "

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<sup>669</sup> "*Tardieu l'ainé*" is "probably Jean Baptiste Pierre Tardieu (1746-1816)" rather than his younger brothers Antoine François Tardieu (1757-1822) or Jean Baptiste Tardieu (1768-1837) who were also engravers (see Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2012", *Blake* (2013)).

<sup>670</sup> Robert N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 72, says that the edition of "Paris, 1798" reproduces "Pls. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8-10, 12, 13, 15" and that the edition of Amsterdam (1790-1800) has the "same plates as Paris 1798" but does not notice how faithful they are to Blake's.

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- Pl. XIV "Le Capitaine Stedman fait écorcher le  
Serpent Aboma après l'avoir blessé"  
Pl. XXI "Esclave Samboe, déchirée de coups de  
Fouet"  
Pl. XXV "Le Coiata et le Saki-winki Singes"  
Pl. XXVII "Planteur de Surinam en habit du matin"  
Pl. XXXII "Marche à travers un Marais de la Guiane"  
Pl. XXXVII "Familles d'Esclaves nègres de Loango"  
Pl. XXXXI [sic] "Le Célèbre Graman Quacy"

REVIEWS

- Anon.**, *Analytical Review*, XXIV (September 1796),  
237 ("The numerous plates ... are neatly engraved  
...") <BB 623>  
**Anon.**, *British Critic*, VIII (November 1796), 536-40  
("The plates are very unequal") <BB 623>  
**Anon.**, *Critical Review*, (January 1797), 52-60 (the  
engravings are "in a style of uncommon elegance")  
<BB 623>  
**Anon.**, *London Review* (January-April 1797), 20-25,  
116-18, 175-80, 253-56 (Blake's fifth plate is "a  
very good print" [p. 118]) <BB 623>  
**R.R.**, *European Magazine*, XXXI (January, February,  
March, April 1797), 20-25, 116-18, 175-80,  
253-56 (the picture of the Aboma snake is "a very  
good print" (February, 118)

EDITIONS

**Stedman, John Gabriel**, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, ed. **Richard Price and Sally Price** (1988) <BBS>

REVIEWS

§**David Brion Davis**, *New York Review of Books*, **30 March 1989**, pp. 29-34

\***G.E. Bentley, Jr.** *Blake*, XXIV, 1 (Summer 1990), 253-59

**M[ark] T. S[mith] & I[rene] H. C[hayes]**, *Romantic Movement ... Bibliography for 1990* (1991), 89

*Narrative of Joanna, an Emancipated Slave of Surinam: From Stedman's NARRATIVE OF A FIVE YEARS' EXPEDITION AGAINST THE REVOLTED NEGROES OF SURINAM.* (Charleston [South Carolina]: BiblioLife, 2014) 92 pp.; ISBN: 9781293527399

**STUART, James, and Nicholas REVETT**

*The Antiquities of Athens*

Vol. III (1794)

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, All Soul's College (Oxford), Ashmolean Museum, Bristol, Bodley, Cambridge, Christ Church (Oxford), Corpus Christi College (Oxford), Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), King's College (London), New College (Oxford), Newcastle, Northwestern, Royal Academy (London), Sheffield, Trinity College (Oxford), Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), University College (London)

Copies of Blake's prints on paper watermarked J WHATMAN 1806 are in the collection of Dr D.W. Dörrbecker, but they did not appear in any of the editions known to me of



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1808-22 (in French), 1825-30, 1829-33 (in German), 1837, 1849, 1881, 1905.

A “re-issue” of Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols., folio, with over 400 prints issued in 80 folio Parts, at 5s. each, was “now in course of Publication” in September 1835. I have not seen this edition<sup>671</sup> and do not know if it included Blake’s 4 prints for The Temple of Theseus.

Notices, &c

“Works Recently Published by John Weale”<sup>672</sup> (a re-issue of *Antiquities of Athens* with 384 prints engraved by “Aliamet, Basire, Baxter, Blake ....” will begin on **1 May** [p. 13]

**Anon.**, “Literary Intelligence”, *Eclectic Review*, XIV (**September 1835**), 254-56 <Harvard> (a “re-issue” of Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens* in 4 folio volumes “is now in course of Publication” with “upwards of Four Hundred Plates, (many engraved expressly for this Edition)” “in “Eighty Parts” at 5s each)

According to the library description of the set in Northwestern University (5 vols., 1762-1830)

Substantial sections of v. 1 and 3 were reprinted

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<sup>671</sup> According to my friend Morton Paley, in the library of the University of California (Berkeley) is a collection of 50 miscellaneous prints 39 cm high from Stuart and Revett, 7 after James Basire, 2 after William Sharp, but none after Blake. The volume has no title page or indication of place or date of publication, but the spine of the library-binding is lettered “Grecian Sculptures” (see below).

<sup>672</sup> Bound at the end of James Hakewell, *An Attempt to Determine the Exact Character of Elizabethan Architecture* (London: John Weale, **1835**) <Harvard>.

with the type reset, using paper with countermarks reading J Whatman 1808. They are (v. 1) t.p.; dedic; p. i-x, 1-4, 9-12, 15-end; and errata leaf; (v. 3) preface; p. xxi-[xxvi]; and errata leaf. The v. 1 errata leaf may not have a corresponding original printing; the other reprintings do.

The following parts of v. 1 and 2 are known in two settings of type, neither of which use 1808 paper: (v. 1) dedication, and list of subscribers; (v. 2) t.p.

To this may be added the fact that Blake's prints in the collection of D.W. Dörrbecker are on paper watermarked J WHATMAN 1806.

Another version<sup>673</sup> of Stuart and Revett was advertised as *Grecian Sculpture; a Series of Engravings of the most celebrated Specimens of Ancient Art ... Originally published in Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, with numerous important Additions ... With Historical, Descriptive and Explanatory Remarks* (London: John Weale and Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, **1835-36**)<sup>674</sup>

It was in imperial quarto, issued in Parts, at 2s. 6d. each, with "nearly two Hundred and Fifty Plates" (November 1835) or "upwards of two hundred and fifty plates" (10 February 1836) "Originally published in Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens", "Engraved by Aliamet, Basire, Baxter, Blake ..." (September 1835) for, inter alia, "the Temple of Theseus at Athens". In addition, there were "a small number of Copies

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<sup>673</sup> Notice that the "reissue" of Stuart and Revett in folio and the separate publication of *Grecian Sculpture* in quarto are listed discretely (but successively) in *Eclectic Review* (Sept 1835), indicating that they were two distinct publications.

<sup>674</sup> This is the title given in the *Eclectic Review*, 3S, XIV (Sept 1835), 254-256.

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on Superfine Paper, in Columbian Quarto, price Four Shillings” (10 February 1836). Blake’s 4 prints are not named in the lists in the *Eclectic Review* and *Bent’s Monthly Literary Advertiser*. It is possible that only Parts I-V (the only ones of which I have evidence) were issued.

**Notices, &c**

**Anon.**, “Literary Intelligence”, *Eclectic Review*, 3S, XIV (**September 1835**), 255-56 <Harvard> (“a Series of Engravings ... Originally published in Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens*, with numerous important additions”, Published in Parts, imperial quarto (London, 1835), Parts I-II)

**Anon.**, *Eclectic Review*, 3S, XIV (**November 1835**), 432-34 <Harvard> (Lists engravings in Parts 1-2)

*Bent’s Monthly Literary Advertiser*, No. 372 (**10 February 1836**), 19 (announces the publication of *Grecian Sculpture*, Parts III-V, in Imperial Quarto, at 2s. 6d. per Part)

**VARLEY, John**

***A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy***  
**(1828)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Bodley, Cambridge, Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, Manchester, McMaster, Northwestern, Physiology Sherrington Library (Oxford), Princeton, Rutgers, Victoria & Albert Museum, Victoria University in the University of Toronto,<sup>675</sup> Wellcome

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<sup>675</sup> Bought from John Windle October 2007.

Library (London)

A copy inscribed "M.A. Shee Esq. with the author's best regards" was offered privately by John Windle in 2015 at \$10,950 and acquired by R.N. Essick. In the intrinsic "ADVERTISEMENT" for Blair's *Grave* (1808), R.H. Cromek listed eleven members of the Royal Academy, including "MARTIN ARTHUR SHEE, ESQ.", who bore "the most liberal testimonial" to the "excellence" of Blake's drawings for Blair,<sup>676</sup> and Shee subscribed for a copy.

Varley's *Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1828) was to be "COMPLETED IN FOUR PARTS" (according to its cover) including "engravings ... of King Edward the First, Nebuchadnezzar, &c. &c." (according to the Prospectus [1828] <BB #502>). It was announced in *the Literary Gazette*, 11 October 1828 <BB #971>, and the first Part was reviewed there on 27 December 1828 <BB #1038>. This first Part included Linnell's engravings of Blake's "Cancer" (male and female versions), "Gemini" (left and right profiles), and "Ghost of a Flea".

According to Anon., "Literary and Miscellaneous Intelligence", *Monthly Review*, NS, X (**February 1829**), 313-14, "Mr. Varley[']s ... Zodiacal-physiognomical investigation ... exemplified by plates, now preparing for the second number of his *Zodiacal Physiognomy*, ... will shortly issue from the press." However, no other Part of *Zodiacal Physiognomy* was ever issued. The designs intended for subsequent issues included "King Edward the First" (either the one in the Smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook or Butlin #735) and "Nebuchadnezzar Coin as Seen in a Vision by Mr. Blake"

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<sup>676</sup> BR (2), 255-56.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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<Butlin #704, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum>.

REVIEWS referring to Blake

**Anon.** [W.P. Carey?], "Literary Novelties", *Literary Gazette*, **11 October 1828**, p. 654 ("the madness of poor Blake (sublime as in some remains of him which we possess, it was) is too serious a subject to be jested with") <BB #971>

**Anon.**, "A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy: illustrated by Engravings of Heads and Features; and accompanied by Tables of the Time of Rising of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac; and containing also New and Astrological explanations of some remarkable Portions of Ancient Mythological History. By John Varley. No. I. Large 8vo. Pp. 60. To be comprised in four Parts. Longman and Co.", *Literary Gazette*, **27 December 1828**, pp. 822-24 (the Blake section from Varley's book is given at the end [p. 824] of a mocking review designed to prove "that our friend Varley is the only man alive who understands the true principles of human nature, which we take to be a proper mixture of credulity, insanity, and unconscious obedience to incomprehensible influences") <BB #1038>

*Vetusta Monumenta*

**Vol. II**

**(?1789)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, British Library (4), Cambridge, Edinburgh, *R.N. Essick*, King's College (London), Lampeter, Liverpool, National Library of Scotland, Newcastle, Society of Antiquaries (London)

**VIRGIL**  
***The Pastorals***  
**(1821)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Art Gallery of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia), Boston Athenaeum, California (Berkeley), California Legion of Honor Museum (San Francisco), Cambridge, Carnegie Mellon, Columbia, Dartmouth College, Goucher College, National Gallery of Canada, Northwestern, Otago, John Rylands Library (Manchester University), Tate (1830 reprints), Tulsa, Victoria & Albert Museum (2 sets, one lacking map and 2 prints, one lacking pp. ix-x; *BB* lists 1 copy), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (3 sets<sup>677</sup>), Wake Forest, Wellesley College, Wesleyan (Middletown [Connecticut]), Yale (Walpole Library)

The copies in Harvard and the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

According to Gilchrist, 275, Blake's wood "blocks ... proved ... too wide for the page and were ... summarily cut down to the requisite size by the publishers". Proofs from eight blocks (6-9, 10-13) before they were cut down are in the British Museum Print Room and reproduced, inter alia, in *The*

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<sup>677</sup> In the Victoria University collections, one set of Virgil in the Bentley Collection has Vol. I-II but lacks the Blake prints, another Virgil in the Bentley Collection consists of Vol. I only but has all the Blake prints.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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*Illustrations of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1937), 42-43. The differences before and after this surgery were

<i>Design Before</i>	<i>After</i>	<i>Trimmed chiefly on</i>
	<i>trim- ming</i>	
(6) 3.9 x 8.8	3.9 x 7.4	Left, right, top, bottom, plus chip at top left
(7) 3.4 x 8.5	3.3 x 7.4	Left, right, top
(8) 4.5 x 8.6	3.2 x 7.3	Left, right, top
(9) 4 x 8.7	3.7 x 7.4	Left, right, top, bottom, plus chips at top left and top right
(10) 4 x 8.4	3.4 x 7.3	Left, right, bottom, top
(11) 3.6 x 8.6	3.6 x 7.4	Right
(12) 3.3 x 8.7	3.3 x 7.3	Right, top
(13) 3.9 x 8.7	3.4 x 7.3	Right, top <sup>678</sup>

When Blake had produced his [Virgil wood]cuts, a shout of derision was raised by the wood-engravers. "This will never do," said they; "we will show what it ought to be" ....<sup>679</sup>

Three of these re-cut designs were printed on one leaf with the Virgil (1821), and a fourth, an unpublished duplicate

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<sup>678</sup> The dimensions in centimetres given here are reported by M.D. Paley, *The Traveller in the Evening* (2003), 31, from proofs of the blocks before trimming in the British Museum Print Room and from the woodblocks themselves after trimming in the British Museum Print Room. The differences were summarized in BB #504 as "about 0.5 to 1.0 cm". The dimensions there are given as design size rather than block size and the cut down designs as "c. 7.6 x 3.2 cm."

<sup>679</sup> [Henry Cole], "Fine Arts. *The Vicar of Wakefield ...*", *Athenaeum*, 21 Jan 1843, p.65.

(reversed) of Blake's first woodcut labelled "Thenot" (at p. 14), was printed by Henry Cole in *The Athenaeum* in 1843.

A fifth woodblock, copying Blake's first design (reversed) of "Colinet" at p. 14 before it was cut down, is in the Huntington Library, acquired years ago with a large collection of woodblocks. The Huntington woodblock shows space to the left of the left shepherd and sheep to the right of the tree, as in Blake's woodblock before it was cut down. In the Huntington woodblock the rim of the sun is not visible and the dog is pawing the knee of the left shepherd rather than with its nose to the ground. Prints of the woodblock pulled by R.N. Essick are in the Huntington Library and the Essick Collection.

Blake's four designs at Virgil p. 14, including this one, were first etched in relief by Blake on metal, probably a copperplate.<sup>680</sup> Perhaps it was these relief-etchings at which the wood-engravers raised their shout of derision.

The woodblocks of Blake's Virgil designs as published in 1821 are in the British Museum Print Room.

After publication, Linnell bought the 17 woodblocks and allowed prints to be made from them. A set of 16 of them (lacking the first print) was sold at Christie's (London), 29 March 2006, lot 57 [for £3,600], according to Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 2006", *Blake*, XL (2007), 134.

When four of the prints on one leaf were sold with "The Rinder Collection" at Christie's 30 November 1993, lot 5, it was claimed with some fanfare and extensive prose that they

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<sup>680</sup> They are reproduced in G.E. Bentley, Jr., *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake* (2001), pl. 127.

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are "relief etchings", but there seems to be no good reason to believe that they are not, as has always been believed, the same woodcuts as in the published version, though in an earlier state than previously recorded. There are, of course, newly discovered relief etchings of the Virgil plates in the Collection of R.N. Essick <*BBS* 258-61>, but these are not they.

In at least one set, a printed slip is pasted over the price at the foot of the Vol. I title page reading "At the French and English Juvenile Library, No. 195, (St. Clement's), Strand",<sup>681</sup> and in Vol. II the "15s" price is scratched out (John Windle Catalogue 46 [November 2009], lot 39).

Larkhall Fine Art offered R.N. Essick "21 impressions of *BB* #504.8 (Blake's 4<sup>th</sup> wood engraving) [and] 14 impressions of *BB* #504 13 (his 9<sup>th</sup> wood engraving)" with an envelope with a pencil inscription by John Linnell Jr: "Pastorals | 5 impressions--of the blocks | as samples for average strength [of printing pressure?] | J Linnell".<sup>682</sup>

Copies in St Paul's School prize bindings are recorded in **(1)** R.N. Essick collection, **(2)** Christie's (N.Y.), 10 December 1999, lot 110 [\$18,400 to the dealer Simon Finch], and **(3)** Bonham's auctions (Oxford), 31 January 2012, lot 254 (Vol. I only) [£11,875 to the London dealer Sims Reed], sold in 2012

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<sup>681</sup> The French and English Juvenile Library was "an imprint of M.J. Godwin and Co., founded by William Godwin (1756-1836) and his second wife, Mary Jane Clairmont Godwin (1766-1841)", as R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2009", *Blake*, XLIII (2010) points out.

<sup>682</sup> Robert N. Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 2011", *Blake*, XLV, 4 (Spring 2012), 125.

to a British private collector).<sup>683</sup>

For the drawings for Virgil, see above under Art.

#### REVIEWS

**Anon.**, "New Books Published in February", *Monthly Magazine*, LI, 351 (**1 March 1821**), 167 ("highly pleasing and instructive")

**Anon.**, *European Magazine and London Review*,<sup>684</sup> LXXIX (**March 1821**), 311-43 (should the Pastorals be used for teaching? "One principal objection ... to their general introduction into our schools, is that the poet sometimes indulges in expressions of love for one male shepherd towards another of the same sex ... Doctor T. has most judiciously changed the names of the shepherds alluded to, into shepherdesses, which is an allowable and very proper change"; there are "engravings on wood, to the amount of 230, most of which are executed in a very superior manner"; and the Masters of St Paul's and Mercer's School will adopt it for their students [p. 341])

**Anon.**, "Literary and Scientific Intelligence", *Edinburgh Magazine*, VIII (**April 1821**), 378 <Bodley>

**Anon.**, "Quarterly List of New Publications, From March to July 1821", *Edinburgh Review*, XXXV (**July 1821**), 519

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<sup>683</sup> Robert N. Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 2012", *Blake*, XLVI, 4 (Spring 2013).

<sup>684</sup> The issue title calls it *The London Review and Literary Journal*.

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EDITION

*The Illustrations of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil*, The  
Introduction by **Geoffrey Keynes** (1937)

REVIEW

**Edward Laroque Tinker**, "New Editions, Fine and  
Otherwise", *New York Times*, **3 April 1938**  
(praise)

**WHITAKER, John**

*The Seraph*

(Button, Whitaker and Comp<sup>y</sup> [1818-28?])

Whitaker and Comp<sup>y</sup> [1819-28?])

Jones & C<sup>y</sup> [1825-28?])

[?1818-1828 and ?1819-28] *Printed by Button, Whitaker and  
Compy*

NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Glasgow, King's College  
(London), Manchester, Victoria University in the University  
of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Yale Center for British Art

[1825-28] PRINTED FOR JONES & Co

NEW LOCATIONS: British Library, *Robert N. Essick*,  
King's College (London), Leeds, National Library of Wales,  
Victoria University in the University of Toronto (2<sup>685</sup>), Yale  
(Walpole Library)

Blake's plate is reproduced in the online catalogue of  
The National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.).

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<sup>685</sup> The original (Bentley) copy in Victoria University had Blake's print of  
"The Temple of Mirth" in the first version; the new (2009) copy has the second  
version.

***The Wit's Magazine***

(1784)

NEW LOCATIONS: Bodley (3--*BB* records 1), California State University (Fresno), Cambridge (2, 1 from the Keynes Collection), Free Library of Philadelphia, National Trust (Swindon, England), Pierpont Morgan Library (2), Sheffield, Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection)

The Harvard copy is reproduced online.

Primary Source Microfilms reproduced it in their Eighteenth Century Collection.

Pl. 1 (“The Temple of Mirth”) the first of two separate engravings of the same design: A print of the second state is in the collection of *Robert Newman Essick*.

Pl. 6: “MAY-DAY IN LONDON”: A proof before letters is in the London Metropolitan Reference Archives.

For a speculation, probably idle, that a print called “The Italian Puppet Show” was engraved by William Blake for *The Wit's Magazine*, see Appendix: Books Improbably Alleged to have Blake Engravings.

**WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary,**  
***Original Stories from Real Life***

(1791, 1796)

**GODWIN, Marie Vollstonecraft**  
***Marie et Caroline***

(1799)

1791<sup>686</sup> NEW LOCATIONS: Birmingham, Bodley (2), British Library (2 - *BB* records 1), California (Berkeley;

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<sup>686</sup> The Huntington and Essick copies of 1791 are reproduced in the

**William Blake and His Circle**  
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Riverside), California Legion of Honor Museum (San Francisco), Cambridge, Chicago, Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, Claremont Colleges, Colorado (Boulder, Denver), Dartmouth College, DePaul, Free Library of Philadelphia, Furman, Melbourne, Mercer, Mills College, North Carolina (Chapel Hill; Greensboro), North Texas, Northwestern, Notre Dame, Occidental, Pennsylvania, Royal Academy (London), Rutgers, John Rylands Library (Manchester University) (frontispiece cut out and pasted to the page facing the title page), Southern Mississippi, Toronto Public Library (Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books), Trinity College (Cambridge--2), Tulsa (2, gift of Roger Easson), Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand), Union College (Schenectady [N.Y.]), Vermont, Victoria & Albert Museum, Washington (St Louis – a second copy, lacking pl. 4), Wesleyan (Middletown [Connecticut])

1796 NEW LOCATIONS: Amsterdam, Arkansas, Boston Public Library, Bristol (2), Bryn Mawr, California (Irvine), Cambridge (the Keynes Collection), Michigan State, Pforzheimer Library, Pierpont Morgan Library, Swarthmore College, Tulsa (gift of Roger Easson), Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Bentley Collection), Wisconsin (Madison)

The Harvard copies of 1791 and 1796 are reproduced online.

*Marie et Caroline* (1799) R.N. Essick,<sup>687</sup> Victoria University in the University of Toronto

A copy acquired in 1994 by the Library of Congress is "hand-colored", the "vibrant" "tinting not by Blake"; the colouring may be contemporary. The verso of pl. 1 inscribed in ink, "Miss Harriet Moore- | May 29<sup>th</sup> 1807".<sup>688</sup> Note that Harriet Jane Moore (b. 1801) was also given *For Children* (E) in 1806 by Fuseli, the friend of Mary Wollstonecraft.

A copy of the 1796 edition offered in John Windle Catalogue forty (November 2005), No. 64, has "plates ... so well-margined that in one plate the edge of the margin has text from another book, perhaps indicating that the plates were printed on paper left over from another printing." Mr Windle generously sent me a reproduction of the print ("Be calm, my child") at p. 94 which shows quite clearly at the outer (right) margin of the print the initial letters of a page, at the top half with fragments too small to identify, at the bottom half with "r", "f", "r", "t", "t", blank, "n", "E", two blanks, "ri", "p", "d", two blanks, and "a". The page and font-size are larger than those for Mary Wollstonecraft. Presumably the blank part of the leaf was the inner margin; Blake himself used the wide inner margins of his quarto *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802) for sketches (see BB #466) – but not, so far as we know, for printing copperplates.

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<sup>687</sup> R.N. Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII (2000).

<sup>688</sup> See Essick, "William Blake in the Marketplace, 1994" *Blake*, XXVIII (1995) and Peter Van Wingen, "Into the Mystic: Rare Books Division Acquires Important Addition to Blake Collection", *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, LIII (1994), 443-44.

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This use of paper for the engravings with previously-printed text seems extraordinary. Copperplates and letterpress were printed on different presses and by different printers; for instance, the printer of the letterpress for Hayley's *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802) and his life of Cowper (1803) was Joseph Seagrave in Chichester, but the printer of the engravings was Catherine Blake in Felpham. Further, the paper for prints was ordinarily thicker and better than that for letterpress. It was remarkably casual to use paper previously printed with letterpress for the prints for Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (1796).

We do not know the printers of either the letterpress or the engravings for her book, and I have not identified the previously-printed letterpress text on the plate-paper.

REVIEW, &c

Advertisement (bound with the Victoria University copy of Enfield's *Speaker* [1799]) ("Price 2s. 6d. with Cuts bound, or 2s. without Cuts") <BB 636>

EDITIONS

*Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories with Five Illustrations by William Blake with an Introduction by E.V. Lucas* (London: Henry Frowde, 1906) <BB #514C, BBS 269>

§**Thomas Day**, *The History of Little Jack* [London: J. Stockdale, 1788] and **Mary Wollstonecraft**, *Original Stories from Real Life* [2nd edition, London: J. Johnson, 1788]. Ed. Miriam Brody Kramnick (N.Y.: Garland, 1977) *Classics of Children's Literature 1621-1932* 16 cm, 310 pp.; ISBN: 970824022631

It includes Blake's six prints.

§*Original Stories. With Five Illustrations by William Blake with an Introduction by E.V. Lucas* ([Memphis, Tennessee]: General Books, 2010) 132 pp.; ISBN: 9781152567252

§**Thomas Day**, *The History of Little Jack* [London: J. Stockdale, 1788] and **Mary Wollstonecraft**, *Original Stories from Real Life* [2nd edition, London: J. Johnson, 1788]. Ed. Miriam Brody Kramnick. (N.Y.: Garland, 1977) *Classics of Children's Literature 1621-1932* 16 cm, 310 pp.; ISBN: 9780824022631

It includes Blake's six prints.

§\***Mary Wollstonecraft**. *Original Stories from Real Life: With Conversations Calculated to Regulate the Affections and Form the Mind to Truth and Goodness* [*With Five Illustrations by William Blake With an Introduction by E.V. Lucas* (1906)] ([Whitefish [Montana]: Literary Licensing LLC, 2014) 214 pp.; ISBN: 9781498181822

### **YOUNG, Edward**

#### ***The Complaint, and the Consolation; or, Night Thoughts* (1797)**

NEW LOCATIONS: Aberdeen, Alberta (3), Auckland Public Library, Bibliotheca Librorum apud Artificer / Library for the artists book (Sydney, Australia), Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Brigham Young, British Library (2 –BB reports 1), Brown, Bryn Mawr, California Legion of Honor Museum (San Francisco), Cambridge (2), Cambridge (Fogg Museum), Cincinnati and

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Hamilton County Public Library, Cleveland Museum of Art, Colgate, Colorado (Boulder), Colorado College, Dallas Public Library, Delaware, Duke (with the bookplate of "Bernard, Lord Coleridge"), Elmira College, Eton College, Frick Collection, Georgia, Grinnell College, Hennepin County Library (Minnetonka, Minnesota), \*Houghton Library (Harvard), Kanagawa Kindai Bijutsukan (Kanagawa Modern Fine Art Museum, Japan), Kansas (3 – *BBS* lists 2), Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), Leeds, Library of Congress, Liverpool Public Library, London, Manchester, Miami (Coral Gables, Florida), Mount Holyoke College, \*Muhlenberg College, National Art Library (London), National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, New York University, Newcastle, North Texas, Pennsylvania State Library, Principia (Elsah, Illinois), Quincy (Quincy, Illinois), Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), Royal Academy (London), Salem, Skidmore, South Carolina, Stanford, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Trinity College (Cambridge), Tulsa (disbound, gift of Roger Easson), University Art Museum (Kyoto City University of Arts), University of the Arts (Philadelphia), Victoria University in the University of Toronto (Northrop Frye's copy, given him in 1954 by Jay MacPherson), Bentley Collection, 2 copies, one printed without the engravings), Virginia, Wesleyan (Middletown, Connecticut), Westmont College (Santa Barbara, California), Witwatersrand (Johannesburgh), Wormsley Library (bound in Etruscan calf by Edwards of Halifax)

The only recorded copy in contemporary binding *without engravings* <*BBS* 270, 389> was given in October 2005 by Dr. A.E.K.L.B. Bentley and G.E. Bentley Jr with the

rest of their collection to Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

A copy in "original boards with 'printed label on upper cover'" in §Sotheby (London) catalogue (7 May 1998), lot 30, exhibits a label not recorded elsewhere.

A copy with ownership marks of Henry Earp (1852), Frank Collins Wilson (Brighton, 27 June 1870), Ruthven Todd (1945), and Douglas Cleverdon (sold by his widow to Maggs Brothers 2000) has the plate for p. 27 ("Measuring his motions by revolving spheres") imposed both on that page AND on p. 29 where ordinarily no plate is printed.

The engravings in the copy in the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

### **WEIGHT OF COPPERPLATES**

The 43 copperplates would have weighed about 71,065.6 grams = 156.3 pounds.

### **COST OF COPPERPLATES**

The costs (£5.15.10) in 1815-1816 for 16 copperplates for Flaxman's *Hesiod* (pl. 13, 15-18, 22, 24, 28-35, 37) (BB 557-58) with a surface area of 10,276 cm<sup>2</sup> gives a cost per square centimetre of 0.135d. Applying this cost of 0.135d/cm<sup>2</sup> to the 43 Young copperplates with 56,472.8 cm<sup>2</sup> gives £31.15.3¾.

R. Noble, the printer of Blake's *Night Thoughts*, was a jobbing printer--or perhaps two printers--whose residence was given as 4 Great Shire Lane, Temple Bar, in 1790, 1794-1800, and who registered press(es) at Green Arbour Court, Old

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Bailey, in 1799 and 1800.<sup>689</sup> I have traced his imprint on 55 editions printed in 1790-1804, mostly (36) in 1800-1801; there were only 3 in 1796-98, and only one of the R. Noble editions was a folio, Young's *Night Thoughts*.

R. Noble was far from the achievement--and probably from the expense--of his great rivals Richard Edwards, Thomas Bensley with Macklin's great folio Bible (1800) and William Bulmer with the Boydells' great folio Shakspeare (1791-1805) and Milton (1793-97).

**Costs of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797)**

537 folio watercolours and copyright therefor	£21. 0. 0
Paper for watercolours	£ 5. 0. 0
Paper and printing text of 250 copies <sup>690</sup>	£96.18. 0

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<sup>689</sup> According to William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades, London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), **Richard** Noble, Printer, of 4 Great Shire Lane, Temple Bar, registered his press under the new law on 30 Aug 1799 with Joseph Burt and again by himself on 17 Jan 1800. **Robert** Noble, Printer, resident at 4 Great Shire Lane, registered his press with Joseph Burt at Green Arbour Court, Old Bailey on 16 Jan 1800. William Calvert, Printer of 4 Great Shire Lane, registered a press with James Calvert on 1 July 1801 and operated it in 1801-23. R. Noble was not apprenticed in the Stationers' Company, according to *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, ed. D.F. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978).

<sup>690</sup> The fine printer Thomas Bensley wrote to F.J. Du Roveray on 10 Oct 1800 that the expense of 1,000 copies of a quarto edition of Thomson's *Seasons*, "22 lines to a page", "would be ab.<sup>t</sup>--£15.5s.0d per Sh[ee]t for Paper, Printing & Hotp<sup>s</sup> [hot-pressing]" (G.E. Bentley, Jr, "F.J. Du Roveray, Illustrated-Book Publisher 1798-1806: [Part] II: The Amateur and the Trade", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, XII, 2 (1988), 70). The charges of R. Noble, the printer of *Night Thoughts* with 30 lines to a page, were probably about the same.

Over 160 copies have been located in public collections, and perhaps 90 more are in private hands or were destroyed.

43 engravings paid for with 30 copies of the printed text	£31.10. 0
Printing 250 copies each of 43 engravings <sup>691</sup> at 6s per100 <sup>692</sup>	£32. 5. 0
Binding at 2s.2d each <sup>693</sup>	£27. 1. 8
Advertising <sup>694</sup>	<u>£ 1. 5. 0</u>
	<b>£214.19.8</b>

It would be agreeable to think that the Blakes were paid for printing the engravings.

Blake had asked £105 for his watercolours and might have expected a modest £225.15 for his 43 engravings at £5.5.0 each, £325.15.0 in all. Instead he received £21 plus a ream of paper (£5.0.0) for his 537 watercolours and perhaps 30 copies of the published *Night Thoughts* worth £31 for his 43 engravings, £57 in all. The heaviest financial investor in Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) was William Blake.

#### **Payments for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797)**

Blake was paid £21 for the 537 watercolour drawings he made for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797)<sup>695</sup> or 9d per design. However, we do not know how much or even whether he was

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<sup>691</sup> The engravings were printed on the text pages and therefore required no additional paper.

<sup>692</sup> Printing the plates for Flaxman's *Iliad* (1805) cost 6s per hundred pulls (BB 561).

<sup>693</sup> The "Binding" of Flaxman's *Iliad* (1805) cost 2s. 2d each (BB 561).

<sup>694</sup> Advertisements appeared in a separate flyer and in *Monthly Magazine*, II (Nov 1796), 807, *True Briton* (31 March 1798), and the *Times* (9 and 11 July 1798), the last three after Richard Edwards retired. There were notices in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, NS VIII (1 Dec 1796), 450, *Monthly Epitome*, I (Jan 1797), 79, and *Monthly Magazine*, V (June 1798), 455.

<sup>695</sup> Joseph Farington, Diary, 14 June 1796, in *BR* (2) 71. Blake's friend J.T. Smith called it "a despicably low ... price" (*Nollekens and His Times* (1828); see *BR* (2) 610).

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paid for his 43 folio engravings from them. At the very least he should have expected £5.5.0 each for these very large plates (c. 33 x 41 cm), the sum he received for his smaller outline plates (c. 35 x 25 cm) for Flaxman's *Iliad* (1805) and Hesiod (1817),<sup>696</sup> a total of £225.15.0.

It is possible that Blake was paid for his engravings for *Night Thoughts* not in cash but in copies of the book, valued at £5.5.0 for all four Parts or £2.2.0 for Part I (£1.1.0 deposit and £1.1.0 on delivery of Part I).<sup>697</sup> Blake could then colour and sell them for his own profit.

Perhaps he was given about thirty copies. Twenty-eight coloured copies of Young's *Night Thoughts* have been traced.<sup>698</sup> Some of them have contemporary inscriptions associating them with Blake. Copy Q is annotated "This Copy was coloured for me by Mr Blake | W.E."; Copy R has "This copy col<sup>rd</sup> by W. Blake"; copy C is signed "W. Blake", and copies C and W have notes that they were to serve "as pattern" for colouring, presumably by Mrs Blake. A surprising number can be traced to contemporary owners, most of whom owned other works by Blake: [Rebekah] Bliss (d. 1819) (copy D), Thomas Butts (1757-1845) (A), Baron Dimsdale (1712-1800) (X), "W. E" (perhaps for William Esdaile [1758-1837] or William Ensom [1796-1832]) (Q), ?Richard Edwards (1768-1827) (B), Thomas Gaisford (1779-

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<sup>696</sup> *BB* 561-62, 557-58.

<sup>697</sup> Prospectus, *BR* (2) 78-79. Coloured copies are not mentioned in contemporary advertisements and reviews.

<sup>698</sup> Copies A-T are recorded in *BB* 644-46, 956-57, copies U-Z in *BBS* 272-73, copies AA-BB in Essick, "William Blake and His Circle" from *Blake* (2000, 2002 online).

1855) (G), John S. Harford Jr (1785-1866) (R), John Soane (1753-1837) (F), and Earl Spencer (1758-1834) (O).

The *Night Thoughts* were coloured in two styles, one about 1797 (C-D, I-J, Q-R, U), and the other about 1805 (B, H, L, P). Presumably this meant that Blake carried with him copies of *Night Thoughts* (1797) when he moved from London to Felpham in 1800 and then back again when he returned to London in 1803.

How much was Blake paid for these coloured copies of Young's *Night Thoughts*? We have no direct evidence, but we can find a comfortable analogy in the prices of coloured copies of works in Illuminated Printing of the same size.

Blake's Prospectus (1793) listed uncoloured copies of *America* with 18 folio plates at 10s 6d and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* with 11 folio plates at 7s 6d, while the prices for coloured copies of them in his letter of 9 June 1818 were £5.5.0 (*America*) and £3.3.0 (*Visions*). Subtracting the prices of uncoloured copies of *America* (10s 6d) and *Visions* (7s 6d) from those for coloured copies (1818) indicates that the price for colouring *America* was 5s 3d per plate and for *Visions* was 5s ½d per plate.

If Blake calculated 5s for colouring each of the 43 folio prints in *Night Thoughts*, he would have charged ten guineas per copy.<sup>699</sup> Even at a more modest five guineas per copy, he would have received £157.10 for thirty copies. With this he seems to have been content.<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>699</sup> The printed text of *Night Thoughts* is thrown in gratis.

About 1797 Blake was paid £10.10.0 for his 116 watercolour designs to Gray (*BR* (2) 246).

<sup>700</sup> When Blake complained of neglect by the great illustrated book publishers Boydell, Macklin, and Bowyer (*Notebook* p. 23), he did not mention

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

**Advertisements**

*The True Briton*, No. 1644 (31 March 1798), carried an advertisement for a

SPLENDID EDITION OF YOUNG'S NIGHT  
THOUGHTS,

With 150 Engravings from original Designs.

This Day is published, Price One Guinea to Subscribers,  
PART I. containing FOUR BOOKS of

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS, illustrated with  
43 very spirited Etchings, from the Designs of Mr.  
BLAKE.

The novelty of the style in which these Engravings are introduced, surrounding the Text they illustrate, and the masterly hand with which they are executed, must, it is presumed, command the attention of the Literati, the Amateur of the Fine Arts, and of the Artist.

The Paper and Type will be found correspondent with the elegance of such an Undertaking; and it is hoped that, from the extremely low price which the Editor has fixed upon the Work to Subscribers, it will meet with that liberal encouragement which its intrinsic merit, as well as its novelty, may justly claim from this enlightened and literary Age.

The Subscription for the whole Work is Five Guineas: one to be paid at the time of subscribing,

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Richard Edwards, the publisher of his *Night Thoughts*, perhaps implying that he did not feel that he had been mistreated by Edwards.

and one on the delivery of each Part. The Book will be completed in Four Parts, with all the expedition consistent with the nature of a Work of such magnitude.

The Price will be considerably advanced to Non-Subscribers, on the publication of the Second Part, which is in forwardness.

London: Sold by Mr. Edwards, Pall-Mall; Mr. Robson and Mr. Faulder, New Bond-street; Mr. Payne,<sup>701</sup> Mews Gate; Mr. White, Fleet-street; Messrs. Robinsons, Paternoster-row; Mr. Clarke, Bond-street; Mr. Bell, Oxford-street; and Mr. Harding, Pall-Mall.<sup>702</sup>

Substantially the same announcement appeared in the *Times*, No. 4225 and 4227 (9, 11 July 1798):

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS, splendid Edition, with 150 Engravings from original Designs.--This Day is published, price One Guinea to Subscribers, Part the First, containing Four Books, of

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<sup>701</sup> Note Thomas Payne, *Catalogue of Valuable Books, in Various Languages, and in Every Class of Literature: Which Are to Be Sold, at the Prices Affixed to Each Article ...* (London, 1799): "Young's Night Thoughts, with engravings round each page from the designs of Blake, 2 numbers, boards,--1797 & 98".

<sup>691</sup> The advertisements in the *True Briton* of 31 March 1798 and the *Times* of 9, 11 July 1798 were first recorded in Wayne C. Ripley, "'In Great Forwardness?': 1798 Advertisements for Volume Two of William Blake's *Night Thoughts*", *Notes and Queries*, CCLVI [N.S. LVIII], 1 (March 2011), 57-58; I have made minute adjustments on the basis of the originals. The booksellers are James Edwards, 77 Pall-Mall; James Robson, 27 New Bond Street; Robert Faulder, 42 New Bond-street; Thomas Payne, Mews Gate; John White, 63 Fleet-street; George, George, and John Robinson, 25 Paternoster-row; William Clarke, 38 Bond-street; Joseph Bell, 148 Oxford-street; and Edward Harding, 98 Pall-Mall.

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YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS; illustrated ...<sup>703</sup>

No second part was published,<sup>704</sup> though an **untraced** engraved proof of "the only extant leaf of Night 5" has been recorded.<sup>705</sup>

The 1798 advertisements echo the Prospectus of Spring 1797, correct its "forty" engravings to "43", and add eight new booksellers while omitting Richard Edwards. The author of the 1798 advertisements (James Edwards?) is notably more emphatic about Blake's plates--"a masterly hand" which will "command the attention of the Literati, the Amateur of the Fine Arts, and of the Artist"--than the author (Richard Edwards?) of the "Advertisement" in the 1797 edition, who conceived "it to be unnecessary to speak" of "the merits of Mr. Blake".<sup>706</sup>

**Did Richard Edwards Publish the *Night Thoughts* (1797)?**

Richard Edwards was identified as the publisher of *Night*

<sup>703</sup> The *Times* version differs from that in the *True Briton* in (1) using the old fashioned long "s" (ſ), (2) reducing the central five paragraphs to one paragraph, (3) changing "whole Work is" to "whole complete is", (4) extending "Amateur" to "Amateurs", (5) altering "Five", "Four", and "Second" to "5", "4", and "2d"; (6) changing "in forwardness" to "in great forwardness", the only substantial change; (7) omitting "London:" before the list of booksellers, (8) reducing the initial capital letters to lower case in "Paper" and "Type", and (9) replacing "Mr." in "Mr. Edwards" with "Messrs" and omitting the succeeding "Mr."s and "Messrs."

<sup>704</sup> In his 1799 *Catalogue*, Thomas Payne offered "Young's Night Thoughts ... 2 numbers ... 1797 & 98", but there is no other evidence that Part II was ever published.

<sup>705</sup> *William Blake: Original Drawings, Engraved Work, Poetical Works, Books about Blake, Etc. Mainly from the Collection of Dr. Greville Macdonald* (London: Francis Edwards [?1930]), lot 44.

<sup>706</sup> BR (2) 78-79, 76.

*Thoughts* in Farington's diary (24 June 1796), in the Prospectus (?Spring 1797), along with James Edwards and Robert Bowyer, and on the title page (1797). However, the advertisements in the *True Briton* (21 March 1798) and the *Times* (9 and 11 July 1798) omit him and instead name James Edwards, Robson, Faulder, Payne, White, Robinsons, Clarke, Bell, and Harding. The notice in the *Monthly Magazine*, V (June 1798), 455, named only Robson.

For some time Richard Edwards had been withdrawing from business;<sup>707</sup> perhaps he did not publish *Night Thoughts* at all. The only known sale in 1797 is by his brother James Edwards on 6 November 1797.<sup>708</sup>

After Richard Edwards withdrew from business, the *Night Thoughts* was taken over by a congery of booksellers headed by James Edwards, and they advertised it in the *True Briton*(March 1798) and the *Times* (July 1798).

Then James Edwards too retired from business, and in 1798 James Robson took over the *Night Thoughts*.

The work sold very slowly, in part because the publishers kept changing. In 1811 Crabb Robinson claimed that Blake's edition of *Night Thoughts* "is no longer to be bought".<sup>709</sup>

The commission for the *Night Thoughts* was due to the genius of Richard Edwards. He chose fine, expensive paper

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<sup>707</sup> See G.E. Bentley, Jr, *The Edwardses of Halifax: The Making and Selling of Beautiful Books in London and Halifax by William, John, Richard, Thomas, and Especially James Edwards, The Medician Bookseller* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

<sup>708</sup> BR (2) 79.

<sup>709</sup> [Crabb Robinson], *Vaterländisches Museum*(1811) (BR (2) 600n). Robinson bought a copy on 27 Dec 1810.

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(1794 | J WHATMAN), a fine artist (William Blake), and a fine engraver (William Blake).

However, his claim in the integral Advertisement to *Night Thoughts* that "he has shrunk from no expense"<sup>710</sup> is plainly false. He allowed William Blake to bear the major part of the expense of the only volume that was published.

And he scarcely published the work, or perhaps he did not publish it at all. He withdrew from business, apparently for personal reasons, just when the *Night Thoughts* was finished. Apparently he never advertised it in 1797 or sent out a review copy. The contemporary obscurity of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) with Blake's illustrations is significantly due to the commercial neglect of Richard Edwards.

All 43 *Night Thoughts* prints were reproduced in John Windle's catalogue of *Pictorial Blake* (2011).

**COLOURED COPIES**

**COPY B**

It was reproduced in Edward Young, *The Complaint, and the Consolation; or, Night Thoughts: Illustrations by William Blake* (Oakland, California: Octavo, March 2004) "digital edition" on CD-ROM and in colour online in "William Blake Digital Materials from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection" in the Library of Congress and may be freely printed.

**COPY E**

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<sup>710</sup> BR (2) 76.

HISTORY: (1) John Alexander Fuller-Maitland (1856-1936) remembered seeing before 1872 at the house of his uncle William Fuller-Maitland (1813-76) “a wonderful old chest” in which he was “allowed to forage, containing books by Blake that would now fetch their weight in gold. There was the unique copy of *Jerusalem* [E, plus *Thel* (a)] .... There were two copies of Young’s *Night Thoughts*, and when I referred to the fact in talking about the books to my uncle, he stoutly maintained that he possessed only one. I assured him that one was coloured [E] and the other plain, but he was so sure that I was wrong that he said he would give me the second [plain one] if it was there. It was ....”<sup>711</sup>

#### COPY G

HISTORY: (3) Offered in Quaritch Catalogue 401 (May 1926), lot 218, for £175; (4a) Offered in James F. Drake Catalogue 181 ([?1926]), lot 17 (“The Gaisford-MacGeorge copy”) for \$1,200; (4b) Acquired by Cortlandt F. Bishop <BBS>; (6) The Lutheran Church of America in 1986 passed it, with the Florence Foerderer Tonner print collection, to (7) The Frank Martin Gallery, MUHLENBERG COLLEGE.<sup>712</sup>

#### COPY H

HISTORY: (4) W.A. Sargent lent it to the exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Art in December 1929.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> J.A. Fuller-Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music* (London: Murray, 1929), 38.

<sup>712</sup> Ten prints from copy G are reproduced in colour in Grant F. Scott, “A Clash of Perspectives: Blake’s Illustrations to the Poem *Night Thoughts* ...”, *Muhlenberg*, V (1993), 10-16.

<sup>713</sup> See Anne Webb Karnaghan, “Blake Exhibition at Boston Museum”, *Art*

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## COPY I

Copy I was reproduced in the William Blake Archive in 2007.

## COPY J

It was reproduced in Edward Young, *The Complaint, and the Consolation; or, Night Thoughts: Illustrations by William Blake* (Oakland, California: Octavo, March 2004) "digital edition" on CD-ROM and in colour online in "William Blake Digital Materials from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection" in the Library of Congress and may be freely printed.

## COPY K

HISTORY: **(2)** Perhaps this is the coloured copy in original boards, uncut, offered without price in Rosenbach catalogue 47 (December 1911), lot 75.

## COPY M

HISTORY: **(4)** Mrs Emerson lent it to the exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Art in December 1929.<sup>714</sup>

## COPY N

BINDING: A copy of the 1796 prospectus (4 3/8" x 5 5/8") is

*News*, Dec 1929, p. 11; the article does not say that Mr Sargent's copy of *Night Thoughts* is coloured.

<sup>714</sup> See Anne Webb Karnaghan, "Blake Exhibition at Boston Museum", *Art News*, 28 Dec 1929, p. 11. The article does not specify that Mrs Emerson's copy is coloured.

pasted to the front free end-paper. The front paste-down bears the small rectangular bookplate of EX MUSEO | ARBUTEANO | ... | *W.S. LEWIS* and the small round red bookplate of Paul Mellon, along with a clipping describing this copy when it appeared in the Parke-Bernet sale of Newton's collection on 16 April 1941, lot 138 ("engravings brilliantly colored by William Blake"), plus a statement on the stationery of A EDWARD NEWTON | OAK KNOLL ... written in blue ink by C.B. Tinker dated January (or June) 11 1936 describing "the two copies [A and N] ... in the possession of Mr A. Edward Newton".

The coloured engravings in the copy in the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

#### COPY O

The Rylands copy has been digitised online.

#### COPY Q

HISTORY:(3)Sold with The late C.D. Halford's Library and other Properties by Puttick and Simpson, 15-16 January 1908, lot 643 [£52] "col. by the artist himself, inscription on fly-leaf: 'This copy was coloured for me by Mr. Blake, W.E.,' orig. bds."

The coloured engravings in the copy in the Yale Center for British Art are reproduced online.

#### COPY U

HISTORY: (4) It went from the dealer Laurence Witten <BBS> to (5) The dealer Justin Schiller, to (6) A private British collection by 1978; offered for sale in September 2001 "at an unstated but reportedly extraordinary price", according

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to R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2001", *Blake*, XXXV (2002), 118.

**COPY V**

**HISTORY:** (1) Perhaps this is the copy with "forty-two illustrations ... colored by the artist's own hand" (ordinarily there were 43 prints<sup>715</sup>) which was lent by William Doxey<sup>716</sup> of New York to the exhibition in "the art room of the Erie Public Library" organized by the Woman's Club of Erie, Pennsylvania, in January 1903.<sup>717</sup>

**COPY X**

**HISTORY:** (4) Acquired by two collectors named *Gilbert* and *George*.

**COPY Y**

The watercoloured leaves are reproduced by the National Gallery of Victoria online.

**NEW COPY**

**Copy AA**

**BINDING:** Slightly trimmed (to 33 x 42.5 cm), each gathering mounted on a stub and "bound (c. 1890?) in quarto calf over brown cloth", according to R.N. Essick, "Blake in

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<sup>715</sup> The copy exhibited in 1903 and Copy V are the only ones lacking one leaf; N lacks 2 leaves.

<sup>716</sup> William Doxey is not known to have owned any other original work by William Blake.

<sup>717</sup> Anon., "An Exhibition in Erie, Penn.", *New York Times*, 24 Jan 1903.

the Marketplace, 1999", *Blake*, XXXIII, the source of all the information here about this copy.

**COLOURING:** Coloured in three distinct styles at three distinct periods; none of the styles is the same as the three types heretofore identified by John Grant; for instance, on pl. 1 Death's gown is light brown, not green or white, though each has similarities to Type I. **(1)** About 1800, the first artist coloured pp. 1-43 sensitively in vibrant colours. **(2)** About 1833 the second artist coloured most of the rest of the pages in a style with very little character. **(3)** About 1880-1890, the third artist coloured pp. 63 and 70 with heavy, thick colours.

**HISTORY:** **(1)** Sold at Warner's auction (Leicester), 23 June 1999, no lot number, for £12,000 to **(2)** Sims Reed for stock; Sims Reed sold it in 1999 to **(3)** Professor *Robert N. Essick*.

## NEW COPY

### COPY BB

**BINDING:** Bound in brown leather with tooled edges and spine, spine broken, blue and red marbled end-papers, 40.7 x 31.8 cm, 9 sheets watermarked, "Explanation of the Engravings" between the Advertisement and Night I title page. "Bright atypical coloration [Grey Death type] applied after binding".<sup>718</sup>

**HISTORY:** **(1)** Acquired by Greville Lindall Winthrop, who added his bookplate and bequeathed it in June 1943 to

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<sup>718</sup> All this information derives from *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's NIGHT THOUGHTS*, ed. John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, Co-Ordinating Editor David V. Erdman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), I, 72, an entry scandalously overlooked by GEB for 20 years until the lacuna was pointed out by my friend John Windle.

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(2)HOUGHTON LIBRARY (Harvard University; Accession Number \*42-5188F).

REVIEWS &c

Prospectus for “EDWARDS’S MAGNIFICENT EDITION OF YOUNG’S NIGHT THOUGHTS” (?**Spring 1797**) announced that “EARLY in JUNE” the first part would be published with 40 engravings “by BLAKE”) <BB 638>

*Monthly Magazine*, II (**November 1796**), 807  
(announcement):

A splendid edition of YOUNG’S NIGHT THOUGHTS, in large quarto, enriched with 150 etchings upon the borders, and frontispieces to each book, from original designs of BLAKE, is in forwardness. The price of the work to subscribers is FIVE GUINEAS; to non-subscribers SIX GUINEAS. <BBS 270>

**Anon.**, “Varieties, Literary and Philosophical; Including Notices of Works in Hand. From the Same [*Monthly Magazine*]”, *Edinburgh Magazine*, NS, VIII (**December 1796**), 447-50 <Bodley>:

A splendid edition of Young’s Night Thoughts, in large quarto, enriched with 150 etchings upon the borders, and frontispieces to each book, from original designs by Blake, is in forwardness. The price of the work to subscribers is Five Guineas; to non-subscribers Six Guineas. [P. 450]

*Monthly Epitome and Catalogue of New Publications*, I (**January 1797**), 79 (announcement):

Young’s Night Thoughts, with Etchings and Engravings, in Four Parts, Atlas sized 4to. To

Subscribers 5l. 5s. to Non-subscribers 6l. 6s.  
(Part I. in a few days.) *Edwards, Bond-street.*  
<BBS 270>

*Monthly Magazine*, V (June 1798), 455, publication recorded as “Young’s Night Thoughts, decorated with appropriate Designs, by Mr. *Blake*, Part I. 1l. 1s. Robson” <BBS 271>

### SALE AND COLLECTION RECORDS 1798-1840<sup>719</sup>

*A Catalogue of Rare, Splendid, and Valuable Books, in Every Branch of Polite Literature; Including the Entire Libraries of The Rev. Harvey Spragg ... also of The Rev Henry Putman ... The Sale will begin on February 19, 1798, By John White, Bookseller, at Horace’s Head, in Fleet-Street, London (1798)* <Bodley> (Lot “1217 Young’s Night Thoughts, a magnificent edition, with Engravings from Drawings by Blake, 5l. 5s to subscribers, when completed, boards -- -- 1797”) †

**Anon.**, “A Correct List of New Publications”, *Monthly Magazine*, V, 32 (June 1798), 455 (“Young’s Night Thoughts, decorated with appropriate Designs, by Mr. Blake, Part 1. 1l. 1s.

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<sup>719</sup> The references to Young's *Night Thoughts* in the catalogues of 1800, 1807, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1838, 20 Nov 1839, and Dec 1839 (Setchel) were pointed out by Wayne C. Ripley, "New *Night Thoughts* Sightings", *Blake*, XLVII, 3 (Winter 2013-14). The catalogue of S.F. Setchel (Dec 1839) was issued, inter alia, with *Gentleman's Magazine* (Dec 1839), like those of R. Saywell, *Bibliotheca Classica*, William Potter, *A List of Second-Hand Books* (Dec 1839), J. Coxhead, *A Catalogue of Valuable Books*, and John Russell Smith, *Catalogue*, as junk advertisements are wrapped in 21st Century newspapers. Setchell's catalogue was not part of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as Ripley alleges.

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Robson”)

§*Englische Blätter* [*English Leaves*], ed. L[udwig] Schubart (Erlangen: Walterschen Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1798) – the catalogue entries are in English, the commentaries in German (“Young’s Night Thoughts, decorated with appropriate Designs by Mr. Blake. Part I.”) †

*A Catalogue of Valuable Books, in Various Languages, and in Every Class of Literature: Which Are to Be Sold, at the Prices affixed to each article, by Thomas Payne, Bookseller* (London, 1799) <Bodley> (Lot “777 Young’s Night Thoughts, with engravings round each page from the designs of Blake, 2 numbers, boards, – 1797 & 98”) †

*A Catalogue of Books, in Every Department of Literature ... Now on Sale by Thomas White* (London: **March, 1801**), 50 (Lot “1227 Young’s Night Thoughts, a magnificent edition, with Engravings from Drawings by Blake, boards, 5l 5s – 1797” listed under folio) †

*A List of Books, for Sale at W[illiam Nelson]. Gardiner’s, 48, Pall-Mall, At the Ready Money Prices affixed* (London, **1808**), 46 <Bodley> (Lot “860 – Young’s Night Thoughts, curious cuts by Blake, boards, 1l 5s 1797”) †

§*A Catalogue of Books, in English, Greek, Latin, French and Italian Literature, with a Few Articles in the Spanish, German, Russian, and Dutch Languages for Sale at W[illiam Nelson] Gardiner’s, 48 Pall-Mall at the Ready Money Prices Affixed* (London:

Printed by J. Barker, **1809**) (“860 Young’s Night Thoughts, curious cuts, by Blake, boards, 1l 5s 1797”) †

1810. *A Catalogue of a Small Collection of Ancient and Modern Books, Selected with the Greatest Care, and Containing Many Curious and Rare Articles, for Sale at W. Gardiner’s, 48, Pall-Mall, at the Ready Money Prices affixed* (London: Printed by J. Barker, **1810**), 80 <Bodley> (Lot “691 Young’s Night Thoughts, curious cuts, by Blake, boards, £1 5s -- -- 1796”; lot “1213 Young’s Night Thoughts, with Engravings by Mr. Blake, fol. boards, £1 5s -- -- 1797 This is one of the most singular and eccentric works that ever appeared.”) †

§A *Catalogue (Part the First for 1810) of a Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, in Various Languages and Classes of Literature and Including also a Small but Select Collection of Oriental Manuscripts: Which Are Now Selling for Ready Money at the Prices Affixed by W[illiam] Ford* (Manchester: Printed by C. Wheeler and Son, **1810**) <Bodley> (“Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality, with the singular designs round the margins by BLAKE, calf. cleg. ib ...”) †

*A Catalogue (Part the Second for 1810-11) of A Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, in Various Languages and Classes of Literature ... Which Are Now Selling, for Ready Money, at the Prices Affixed to Each Article By W. Ford. Bookseller. Manchester (1811)* <Bodley> (Lot “431 Young’s

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Complaint, and the Consolation, or Night Thoughts with Blake's singular designs round the text. Ib. [London] 1797 -- Blair's Grave, with engravings from the designs of Blake. LARGE PAPER. eleg. bd. blue mor. &c. 8l 8s. ib. 1808.") †

*Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square. Lackington, Allen & Co.'s General Catalogue for the Year 1811*, 14 <Bodley> (Lot "264 Young's Night Thoughts, finely printed, with curious plates, designed and etched by Blake, first 4 Books, bds. 2l. 10s. 1797"; "6569 Young's Night Thoughts, (first four nights of) finely printed, with marginal plates, from designs by Blake, bds. 2l. 10s.") †

*Lackington, Allen, and Co's General Catalogue of Books, for the Year 1815 (1815)* <Huntington>, Lot 119 ("finely printed, with curious plates, designed and etched by Blake", £2.2.0)

*Librorum Impressorum, qui in Museo Britannico Adservantur, Catalogus*, VII (Londini, 1819), not paginated <New York Public Library> ("YOUNG (EDW.) D.D. ... The Complaint and the Consolation or Night Thoughts, with marginal Designs by Mr. Blake. fol. Lond. 1797") †

§E. A. Evans, *Bookseller's and Printseller's Catalogue* (London, 1820) (Lot "421 Blake (Wm.) Illustrations of Young's Night Thoughts, 4to. Bds. 30s. -- 1797" and "566 Young's Night Thoughts, with numerous fine plates by William Blake, fol. bds. 1l. 1s. -- -- 1797") †

**Friedrich Adolf Ebert**, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches*

*Lexikon*, Vol. I (A-N) (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, **1821**) in German <Taylor Institution, Oxford> <BB #535>

[Thomas] *Edwards's Catalogue* (Halifax, **1821**), lot 16 ("many fine plates by Blake", gilt edges, £2.2.0); lot 1076 is Blake's *Night Thoughts* drawings

*A Catalogue of ... Books (Selected from the Stock in Trade) of Mr. Thomas Edwards, Auction by Messrs Thomas Winstanley & Co., Manchester, 1 May 1826 et seq* <Bodley>, lots 1076 and 1224 (half bound, blue russia) <BB #538>

*The English Portion of The Library of the Ven. Francis Wrangham, M.A. F.R.S. Archdeacon of Cleveland.* (Malton. **1826**) [Only Seventy Copies.] Unpublished. P. 626 <New York Public Library> ("Young's *Night Thoughts* I-IV [i.e., Part 1] with Marginal Engravings by W. Blake 1797", listed under quartos) <BBS 284>

*Library ... of the Late George Edward Griffiths, Esq. ... Together with ... The Property of a well known Amateur of the Fine Arts* [Thomas Griffiths Wainewright] ... *which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Wheatley, 3 August 1831 + 8 days*, lot 1746 ("with the singular designs by Richard [sic] Blake" [for £1.13.0 to Williams (a pseudonym of Wainewright)])

*Catalogue of the Fifth and Concluding Portion of the Valuable and Extensive Library of P.A. Hanrott, Esq. ... Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans ... on Tuesday, July 16, and Eleven following Days, (Sunday excepted).* (**March 1834**)

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(lot “1245 Young’s Night Thoughts, Plates by Blake, --1797”) <Harvard> <BB #544>

**William Thomas Lowndes**, *The Bibliographer’s Manual of English Literature* ... (London: William Pickering, **1834**), II, 1999 <Harvard> (Edward Young, “The Complaint or Night Thoughts. ... With marginal Designs by Blake. London, 1797. Fol. Some copies have coloured plates”)

No. XIX. London, **1836**. *A Select Catalogue of Books, Forming Part of the Stock of Francis MacPherson, 4 Middle Row Holborn* P. 15 (“Young’s Night Thoughts; with marginal Designs by Blake. Folio, boards, 1l. 11s. 6d. – 1797”)

*Catalog von Kunstsachen und Büchern welche in der Anstalt für Kunst und Literatur (R. Weigel) in Leipzig vorräthig oder durch dieselbe besorgt werden*, part 7 (Leipzig, **1838**), in German (lists Young’s *Night Thoughts* by Blake) <Fogg Museum (Harvard University)>

† These are also reported in Wayne C. Ripley, “Printed References to and Known Prices of Blake’s *Night Thoughts*, 1796-1826”, *Blake*, XLIII (2009), 72-75. The unseen (§) entries derive from him.

**YOUNG, *Night Thoughts* coloured**

<b>Copy and collection</b>	<b>Estimated date of colouring</b>	<b>Special features</b>
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A <i>Anon.</i>		
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B	1805	
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS		
C	1797	"W. Blake" signature
(p. 7), "as		
TEXAS		pattern" (p. 95)
D		
PRINCETON	1797	
E		p. 24 lacks engraving
ALBERTA		
F		
SOANE MUSEUM		
G		
MUHLENBERG		
COLLEGE		
H	1805	
MUSEUM OF FINE		
ARTS (Boston)		
I	1797	
HUNTINGTON LIBRARY		water colour on p. 3, proof of Vellum leaf <sup>720</sup> with pp. 3-4 and "Satan"(Fuseli-Blake)
J		
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS	1797	
K		
PIERPONT MORGAN		
LIBRARY		
L	1805	

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<sup>720</sup> The vellum leaf is housed separately from the rest of coloured *Night Thoughts* I.



V DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS	Pp. 45-6 torn out
W WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY (St Louis)	P. 86 inscribed "As Pattern"
X <i>Gilbert &amp; George</i>	
Y NATIONAL LIBRARY OF VICTORIA (Melbourne, Australia)	
Z SMITH COLLEGE	Leaves hinged to a narrow strip of paper, White Death, pigment oxidized
AA <i>Robert N. Essick</i>	Pp. 1-43 coloured c. 1800, most of the rest c. 1833, pp. 63, 70 c. 1880-90
BB HARVARD	Colouring atypical

#### EDITIONS

**Young, Edward**, *Night Thoughts or the Complaint and the Consolation*, ed. **Robert Essick** and **Jenijoy La Belle** (1975)  
<BB>

#### REVIEW

\***Karen Mulhallen**, *Blake*, XI, 1 (Summer 1977), 41-42

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

§**Young, Edward.** *The Complaint, and the Consolation; or, Night Thoughts: Illustrations by William Blake.* (Oakland, California: Octavo, March 2004) “digital edition” on CD-ROM

Reproductions of coloured copies B and J, both in the Rosenwald Collection, with an 18-page commentary by Nicolas Barker.

REVIEWS

**Jean Evans,** *Library Journal*, 15 September 2004, pp. 83-84 (“the disc contains almost as many extras as there are on a movie DVD”)

**Sheila A. Spector,** *European Romantic Review*, XVI (2005), 519-23 (Barker “failed to take advantage of the intellectual progress made in the field over the last century”)

**Part III**  
**Section B**  
**ENGRAVINGS**  
**Collections and Selections**

**Art Gallery of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia)**  
**Online Reproductions**

*Job*, 23 images

Chaucer, "Canterbury Pilgrims"

Virgil, *Pastorals*, 22 images

*Wit's Magazine*, "May-Day in London"

**Art Institute (Chicago)**

### **Online Reproductions**

Dante engravings (1892), on India paper, coloured by hand (7)  
"The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlor" [2C, second  
state]

Virgil woodcuts (12)

**Butterworth, Adeline M.** *William Blake, Mystic: A Study, together with Young's Night Thoughts: Nights I & II, with Illustrations by William Blake and frontispiece Death's Door, from Blair's "The Grave"*. (Liverpool and London, 1911)  
<BB #516> **B.** §([Charleston, South Carolina]: Nabu Press, 2010) 98 pp.; ISBN: 9781771519058

### **Brooklyn Museum Online Reproductions**

*Job*, all 22 images

### **Fogg Museum, Harvard University Online Reproductions**

Bible – Job (1826)

Job proofs before borders, pl. 1-2, 4-11 <Fogg 10458-10467,  
R637NA> plus pl. 12-22 with borders

Dante engravings

Gay, *Fables* (1793), "The Tame Stag", proof before title

Hogarth print

### **Harvard Libraries**

#### **Online Images of Blake's Commercial Engravings**

Charles Allen, *A New and Improved History of England*  
(1798)

*Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine* (1793)

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

- George Cumberland, *Outlines from the Antients* (1829)  
 George Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline* (1796)  
 Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden* (1794)  
 James Earle, *Practical Observations on the Operation for the Stone* (1793)  
 Thomas Henry, *Memoirs of Albert de Haller* (1783)  
 John Caspar Lavater, *Aphorisms on Man* (1794)  
*Remember Me!* (1825)  
 C.G. Salzmann, *Gymnastics for Youth* (1800)  
 J.G. Stedman, *The Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796) in black and white  
 Virgil, *The Pastorals* (1821)  
*The Wit's Magazine* (1784-85)  
 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life* (1791)  
 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life* (1796)

**Indianapolis Museum of Art**  
**Online Reproductions**

- Job*, all 22 images  
 Chaucer, "Canterbury Pilgrims"  
 Flaxman, *Hesiod*, 36 images  
 Flaxman, *Iliad*, all 3 images

**Library of Congress**  
**Online Reproductions**

- Blair, *The Grave* (1813)  
 Chaucer, *Prologue* (1812)  
 "Edmund Pitts" [2E, second state]  
 Flaxman, *Naval Pillar* (1799), six drawings by Flaxman for it  
 Hayley, *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802)

Young, *Night Thoughts* (1797) coloured copy B  
Young, *Night Thoughts* (1797) coloured copy J

**Manchester City Art Gallery  
Online Reproduction**

"Mrs Q"

**Metropolitan Museum of Art (N.Y.)  
Online Reproduction**

*Job* (1826)

Blair, *The Grave* (1808) plus "Mourir C'est Renaitre" (n.d.)

George Cumberland card

Dante

"Enoch" (lithograph)<sup>721</sup>

Hogarth, "Beggar's Opera"

Stothard-Blake, Winged Figure Flying through Clouds, before  
letters [*BB* p. 548, under John Donne]

Virgil (20 reproductions)

**Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)  
Online Reproductions**

*Job* pl. "1"- "21"

Blair, *The Grave* (1813), 5 images

**National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.)<sup>722</sup>**

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<sup>721</sup> The Metropolitan Museum copy (1B) of Enoch (accession no. 2013.146) was acquired in 2013 after its sale at Sotheby's (London), 6 Dec 2012, lot 96. According to the Met's Jobaccession record, the "Vendor" to them was Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel.

<sup>722</sup> The temperas, watercolours, colour-prints, and engravings reproduced together for the National Gallery are from the Rosenwald Collection except for 29

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

**Online Reproductions**

Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* (1)  
 Blair's *Grave* (25 images)  
 "The Chaining of Orc"  
 "Christ Trampling Satan"  
 George Cumberland card (2 images)  
 Dante prints, 1827 and 1968 (30 images)  
 Darwin, *Botanic Garden* ("Fertilization of Egypt" after Fuseli)  
 Hayley, *Life of George Romney* (Romney, "Sketch of a Shipwreck")  
 Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper* (6 images)  
 Hogarth, *Beggar's Opera*  
*Job* (49 images, including working proofs)  
 "John Caspar Lavater"  
 "Joseph of Arimathea Preaching"  
*The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book*(1782)  
 ("The Morning Amusements of Her Royal Highness")  
 "Lavater"  
 "Lear and Cordelia" (with Thomas Butts, 7 images)  
 "Let Him Look Up into the Heavens ..." (2 images)  
 "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlor"  
 "Mrs Q"  
*Remember Me!* ("The Hiding of Moses")  
 "Reverend John Hawker"  
 Stedman, *Surinam* (11 images)  
 Virgil, *Pastorals*, proofs (11 images)  
 [Whitaker] *The Seraph* (engraved title page)

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images. One hundred sixty National Gallery Blake images, mostly duplicates, are not reproduced.

"Wilson Lowry"

*The Wit's Magazine* ("The Discomfited Duellists" and "May-Day in London")

**National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne)  
Online Reproductions**

Job (1826)

Blair, *The Grave* (1813)

Chaucer, *Canterbury Pilgrims*

**National Portrait Gallery (London)  
Online Reproductions**

Hayley, *Cowper*, portrait of Cowper

"John Caspar Lavater"

"Robert Hawker"

**Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Online Reproductions**

*Job* (1826), 23 images

Hayley, *Little Tom the Sailor* (1800)

Hayley, *Cowper*, head of Cowper

Hayley, *Romney*, "Shipwreck"

Lavater, *Physiognomy*, "Democritus"

*Monthly Magazine* (1797), "Wright of Derby"

Shakspeare, *Dramatic Works* (1802), "Romeo and Juliet"

Virgil, *Pastorals*, 3 images

plus detached prints

**Pierpont Morgan Library and Art Gallery  
Online Reproductions**

Chaucer, *Canterbury Pilgrims*

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Chaucer, *Prologue* (1812) title page and frontispiece  
George Cumberland card  
"The Man Sweeping"  
"Morning Amusement"  
"Mrs Q", coloured  
"Satan" (head of a damned soul)  
"Wilson Lowry"  
"Morning Amusement" (1782)

*Selected Engravings*, ed. **Carolyn Keay** (1975) <BB>

REVIEWS

**Gerda Norvig** and **Myra Glazer Schotz**, *Blake Newsletter*, X, 3 (Winter 1976-77), 90

**Dennis M. Welch**, *Eighteenth Century ... Bibliography*, NS I (1978), 254

**Tate Britain**  
**Online Reproductions**

Dante engravings  
George Cumberland's card  
"The Fall of Rosamond"  
Hogarth, "Beggar's Opera"  
Large Colour Prints  
*Job* (1874)  
Virgil woodcuts

**University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum of Art**  
**Online Reproductions**

*Job*, all 22 images  
"Christ Trampling on Satan"

Hayley, *Little Tom the Sailor*  
Hayley, *Romney*, "Shipwreck"  
Head of a Damned Soul  
Virgil, *Pastorals*, 17 images

**Victoria and Albert Museum  
Online Reproductions  
Commercial Engravings**

"Beggar's Opera"

**William Blake Archive  
Online Reproductions  
Cumulation**

†= not recorded in this checklist before 2014

**Commercial Book Illustrations**

Bible – *Job* (1826) (Essick)†  
Blair, *The Grave* (1808) (Essick)  
Blair, "Death's Door" (1805) (Essick)  
Cumberland, card (1827) (Essick)  
Dante (1838) (Essick)†  
Flaxman, *Hesiod* (1817) (Essick)  
Hayley, *Ballads* (1805) (Huntington, first state)†  
Hayley, *Designs to a Series of Ballads* (1802) (Huntington)†  
Hayley, illustrations to *Essay on Sculpture* (1800) (Essick)†  
*Little Tom the Sailor*(1800) (Essick; Fitzwilliam 2 copies  
from Keynes, one with a gray wash, one with tailpiece  
only)†  
*The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper*(1803-  
4) (Essick)†  
*The Life of George Romney* (1809) (Essick, Large Paper)†  
*The Triumphs of Temper* (1803) (Essick, Large Paper, uncut)

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

†

Virgil, *Pastorals* (1821) (Huntington)†  
 Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories* (1791) (Huntington), (1796)  
 (Essick)  
 Young, *Night Thoughts* (1797) (Essick), Huntington,  
 coloured copy [I])

*William Blake's Engravings*, ed. **Geoffrey Keynes** (1950,  
 1972) <BB #517>

REVIEWS

1950

§Anon., *Times Literary Supplement*, **2 June 1950**, p.  
 339

§Anon., *New Statesman and Nation*, **12 August 1950**, p.  
 183

§Anon., *Dublin Magazine*, XXV (October-December  
**1950**), 53-54

1972

§Anon., *Choice*, IX (November 1973), 1368

**Robert N. Essick**, *Blake Studies*, VI (Fall 1973), 109

**Yale Center for British Art**  
**Online Images**

Bible, <i>Job</i> (1826)	B2005.16.1-22
Blair, <i>The Grave</i> (1813) engravings only	B1974.8.1 ff.
"Canterbury Pilgrims" (1809)	B1977.14.11092
Hogarth, "The Beggar's Opera"	B1978.43.911
Virgil, <i>Pastorals</i> (1821)	several
Young, <i>Night Thoughts</i> , not coloured, images only	B1978.43.1342- 1279

Young, <i>Night Thoughts</i> coloured (N) omits text-only pages	B1998.43.1280- 1417
Young, <i>Night Thoughts</i> coloured (Q) omits text-only pages	B1992.8.10 (1- 41

## APPENDIX BOOKS IMPROBABLY ALLEGED TO HAVE BLAKE ENGRAVINGS

Anon.,  
*Biographical Sketches of Eminent British Characters*  
(1813)

BIOGRAPHICAL | SKETCHES | OF EMINENT |  
BRITISH | CHARACTERS. | = | PRICE SIXPENCE. | =  
| *London*: | PRINTED BY WILLIAM DARNTON, JUN. | 58,  
HOLBORN HILL. [?1813<sup>723</sup>]

LOCATION: Victoria & Albert Museum.

12<sup>o</sup> in sixes, sewn half-way through after leaf 12. It consists of orange paper covers (the title page on the front, advertisements on the back), pp. 1-36, plus 7 prints after pp. 10, 12, 18 (2), 24, 26, and 36.

The front paste-down is inscribed in pencil: “These admirable ‘heads’ were Engraved by W. Blake”. The facing fly-leaf is inscribed in ink in a much more formal hand

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<sup>723</sup> An advertisement on the back cover is for a book describing events of 1812, the inscription is dated 1814, and a variant copy in the V&A is dated 1813 on the title page.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

“Rebekah Ivory | May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1814” (the “rd” is above the “3”).<sup>724</sup>

The simple, competent outline engravings, all in the same style, are unsigned and without imprint. They do not seem to me (or to Professor Robert N. Essick) to be significantly like the work of William Blake.

**BARBAULD, Mrs [Anna Letitia]**  
*Hymns in Prose for Children*  
(1781)

Andrew Lincoln, ed., *Songs* (1991), wrote that Blake engraved a plate for Mrs Barbauld’s *Hymns* (1781) and then withdrew the claim in *Blake*, XXVII (1993), 45.

***The Conjuror's Magazine***  
(1792)

THE | Conjuror's Magazine, | OR, | Magical and  
Physiognomical Mirror. | Including | A SUPERB EDITION  
| OF | LAVATER's | Essays on Physiognomy. | VOL. I. | -  
| LONDON: | PRINTED FOR W. LOCKER, NO. 12, RED-  
LION STREET, | HOLBORN. | 1792. 8°

According to Peter Ackroyd, *Blake* (1995), 194, "*The Conjuror's Magazine* ... printed one of Blake's engravings", but there is no print signed by Blake in either *The Conjuror's*

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<sup>724</sup> The Victoria & Albert catalogue entry, repeated in *Blake* (2008), erroneously said the MS inscriptions above appears in a variant copy of the work, also in the *V&A: Biographical Sketches of Eminent Characters: Containing the Life and Character, Labors and Adventures of Several British Worthies, Now Published for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth* (London: Printed and Sold by W. Darton, Jun. 58, Holborn Hill, 1813) Price Six Pence 58 pp.

*Magazine* (August 1791-July 1793) or its successor *The Astrologer's Magazine* (August 1793-January 1794). The separately-paginated edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* which was included with each monthly issue of *The Conjuror's Magazine* and *The Astrologer's Magazine* was translated by C. Moore with octavo-size prints "Engraved by Barlow" (as most contents pages explained), not the folio size plates which Blake and others engraved for the Hunter translation of Lavater.

**GOLDSMITH, Oliver**  
***History of England***  
**(1827)**

**Goldsmith, Oliver.** *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II* (London: S. Rothwell, 1827), 2 vols., octavo <BBS§>.

When Professor Essick reported the connection of this work with Blake in *Blake* (1992), he had not seen a copy; in *Blake* (2001) he records having seen photographs of the rather crude and simple anonymous plates and concludes that "In my opinion, ... [they] are not by Blake."

**HUME, David**  
**The History of England**  
**(London: Robert Bowyer, 1793-1806)**

An advertisement for a prospectus (dated **2 January 1792**) for Bowyer's edition of Hume's *History of England* appeared in the *Oracle* for **30 January 1792**. The work was to appear "in Numbers", "Superbly Ornamented", but there is no indication of how many Numbers or engravings there will be. The "Gentlemen ... actually Engaged" include "W.

**William Blake and His Circle**  
Part III: Commercial Book Engravings

Blake” among engravers.<sup>725</sup>

PROSPECTUSES

*Algemeine Konst-en Letter-bode* (Haarlem: C. Platt and A. Lousjes, 1792), 88, in Dutch <Universitutsbibliotheek Gent> has the prospectus in English naming Blake as an engraver <**BBS 278**>; at the end of the volume is *Bericht-Blad*, No. 64 (**23 Maart 1792**) with the same prospectus in English

**Anon.**, “Kunst Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, XIV (Leipzig: Dyckischen Buchhandlung, 1792), 317-25 <Princeton> (includes proposals for Hume’s *History of England* with a list of “Die Kupferstecher. F. Bartolozzi ... W. Blake ...” (p. 319)

*Critical Review*, IV (1792) <Harvard> at the end has the June 1792 prospectus (as in *BR* (2) 62)

***The Minor's Pocket Book***  
**(1813)**

Fuller details of the plate attributed to Blake in [Ann Taylor et al], *The Minor's Pocket Book, for the Youth of Both Sexes* ([London:] Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 1813) are recorded and the Blake connection rejected in R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace, 1996”, *Blake*, XXX (1997).

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<sup>725</sup> The advertisement was pointed out to me by my friend Mark Crosby. Ads for Bowyer’s edition of Hume’s *History of England* in *The Oracle* for **13-14 Jan** and **6 Feb** were already recorded.

**MYLIUS, William Frederick**  
***The Junior Class-Book***  
**(1809 ff.)**

TITLE PAGE: William Frederick Mylius, *The Junior Class-Book; or, Reading Lessons for Every day in the Year: Selected from the Most Approved Authors. For the Use of Schools* (London: Printed for M.J. Godwin, at the Juvenile Library, No. 41, Skinner Street, and to be had of all booksellers, 1809)

FORMAT: 12mo., 18 cm

ILLUSTRATIONS: The "6 plates engraved by Blake" (according to Rosenbach acquisition card) are untitled and unsigned.

LOCATION: Bodley: Vet. A6 e 2927

The six unsigned and untitled prints have no significant resemblance to those associated with Blake's commercial engravings. The attribution of the prints in *The Junior Class-Book* to Blake seems to be somewhere between casual and wanton.

**Plutarch**  
***Lives***  
**(1823)**

§*Plutarch's Lives: Abridged, Selected and Adapted for Youth ... as an Introduction to Classic Reading for the Use of Schools* by J[ohn] Faucit Saville. ([London:] Printed for R. Hill, 1823) 116 pp.

It is claimed to have a "Frontispiece by William Blake".

***Proceedings of the Sheffield Shakespeare Club***

**(1829)**

PROCEEDINGS | OF | The Sheffield Shakespeare Club, |  
 FROM | ITS COMMENCEMENT, IN 1819 | TO |  
 JANUARY, 1829. | - | BY A MEMBER OF THE CLUB. | - |  
 [Five-line motto from] POPE | - | SHEFFIELD: | PRINTED  
 FOR THE EDITOR, | BY H. AND G. CROOKES, CLIFF'S  
 COURT, HIGH-STREET. | - | 1829.

LOCATIONS: Birmingham Public Library, British Library,  
 Cornell, Harvard, Leeds, Manchester, National Library of  
 Wales, Pennsylvania, Sheffield, State Library of New South  
 Wales, Trinity College (Cambridge), Vermont, Victoria  
 University in the University of Toronto, Western, Université  
 de Caen Basse-Normandie, York Minster

DESCRIPTION: 8°, xii, 163 pp. A colophon says that 50  
 copies were reserved for the Club and a few copies are  
 available at 5s,

The copy in Victoria University in the University of  
 Toronto bears the ex libris ticket of S.O. Addy, AM, and a  
 pasted-in catalogue entry, 398, "attributed to Blake", 12s  
 6d.<sup>726</sup>

ENGRAVING: a frontispiece of a man (Shakespeare) sitting  
 on a rock surrounded by sea.

Neither this book nor this engraving was associated in  
 Blake scholarship before 2013. The association is very  
 improbable. Blake died two years before the date of the book.

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<sup>726</sup> Another copy was offered at £90 on 10 Oct 2013 at John L. Capes [Book  
 refr. 4344], with nothing about Blake.

### Stonehenge Medal (1796)

A round medal 5 cm in diameter is inscribed at the top of the obverse: "TANTUM POTUIT | RELIGIO" ["so great was the power of religion" (Lucretius)] and at the bottom "STONEHENGE | 1796" <cross-reference to British Museum Stonehenge medal>. Seven hundred and fifty medals were ordered to be struck, 50 in gold, 250 in silver [the rest presumably in lead].<sup>727</sup> It was issued by the Ancient Druids Universal Bretheren.<sup>728</sup>

B.H. Cunnington, "A Stonehenge Medal", *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XLIV (1927), 8-9,<sup>729</sup> "quotes Mr T. Ireland, the Corresponding Councillor of 'The Druid Universalist Council'", who claimed that the "engraver of the medallion was William Blake". Ireland said that "the medal was issued for the purpose of raising funds to help one of the martyrs of his movement, Muir of Edinburgh"<sup>730</sup> who was convicted for sedition and deported to

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<sup>727</sup> Copies in lead are in the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals (BNK,EngM.247) and Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery; silver copies were offered in Richard Hatchwell, catalogue (April 1993), lot 99 (£1,200), and at Spinks auction (24-25 Sept 2013), lot 811 (sold for £440).

The medal was noticed in Hatchwell's catalogue by R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1993", *Blake*, XXVII, 4 (Spring 1994), 116-17.

<sup>728</sup> Laurence A. Brown, *A Catalogue of British Historical Medals 1760-1960* (London: Seaby Publications, 1980), I, 22, 94. Brown says the medal was designed by William Blake.

<sup>729</sup> Cunnington and Grinsell are cited here from Stephen Allen's essay.

<sup>730</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes Thomas Muir (1765-98) of Edinburgh as an outspoken radical but says nothing of a Druid context. The only Muir I have found who was a Druid is mentioned in Mark David Wallace, "Scottish Freemasonry 1725-1810: Progress, Power, and Politics", St Andrews Ph.D., 2007: "William Muir, a weaver in Kilmarnock" was a Druid. Masonry claimed to be descended from the Druids.

Philip Atwood, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* says of "Thomas

Australia.

L.V. Grinsell, *The Druids and Stonehenge: The Story of a Myth* (St Peter Port: Toucan Press, 1978) says that the "engraver" was "Blake after Stukeley".

Stephen Allen, "William Blake and the Stonehenge Medal", *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XCVIII (2005), 347-48, says that there is a "mirror image" of the "View of Stonehenge" in Camden's *Britannia* (1695); "they are identical", though reversed <see Illus. 4>. Notice that Allen says he has found the original of the design but does not say who "engraved" it.

Blake was not a medal carver, a highly specialised art which is quite distinct from copperplate etching or engraving, and there is no significant possibility that he made the physical medal.

The significant questions are whether he designed the medal or made an engraving of it.

The image on the medal derives from Camden's *Britannia* (1695), and Blake was not involved in that. The inscriptions on the medal are not in Camden.

And no print is known of a separate copperplate engraving of the image.

Blake therefore had no hand in the Stone Henge 1796 medal.

### **The Wit's Magazine**

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Wyon the elder (1767-1830) ... for his medal of Stonehenge, he engraved a design by William Blake".

**(1784-1785)**

A print in the London Metropolitan Archives bears the imprint “The ITALIAN PUPPET SHOW.”, “Printed for & Sold by Bowles & Carver”, “N<sup>o</sup>. 69 in S<sup>t</sup>. Pauls Church Yard London”, and “Published as the Act directs”. The pencil drawing for it in the same collection is labeled “S. Collings” in a Twentieth Century hand, and the catalogue said<sup>731</sup> that it was engraved by William Blake for *The Wit’s Magazine*.

No such print is recorded in the obvious sources,<sup>732</sup> for the very good reason that the print almost certainly has nothing to do with Blake.

Blake certainly signed six prints in *The Wit’s Magazine* (1784), four of them designed by Samuel Collings, and the size of the Italian Puppet Show print (23.5 x 15.9 cm) is commensurate with those Blake engraved for *The Wit’s Magazine*(c. 18 x 23 cm).

However, no such print appears in *The Wit’s Magazine* (Printed for Harrison and Co. N<sup>o</sup> 18, Paternoster-Row, 1784-85), and there is no story in *The Wit’s Magazine* which would justify the insertion of the print.

Further, the firm of Bowles and Carver, the publisher of The Italian Puppet Show, was not founded until 1793 when Henry Carington Bowles (1763-1830), then age 20, took over the business of his late father Carrington Bowles (1724-92). The firm of Bowles and Carver flourished from 1793 to 1830,

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<sup>731</sup> By May 2010 the catalogue entry had been corrected.

<sup>732</sup> There is no reference to it in *Blake Books* (1977), *Blake Books Supplement* (1995), Essick, “William Blake and His Circle” (1992-2008) in *Blake*(1994-2009), Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake* (1981), or in Robert N. Essick, *William Blake’s Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991). Professor Essick tells me that he knows nothing of such a print.

publishing satirical prints voluminously,<sup>733</sup> but their imprint has not previously been associated with *The Wit's Magazine* or with any print by Blake. The Bowles and Carver imprint cannot have been added until 1793, long after the demise of *The Wit's Magazine*.

The style of engraving is not significantly like that of William Blake in his prints for *The Wit's Magazine* or elsewhere, though the speculative association with Samuel Collings is not implausible.

The engraving of “The Italian Puppet Show” probably has nothing to do with *The Wit's Magazine* (1784-85) or William Blake.

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<sup>733</sup> Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (1977), 25.

971

“William Blake and His Circle”

**Section B**  
**COLLECTIONS AND SELECTIONS**  
**Butterworth, Adeline M. *William Blake, Mystic* (1911)**  
**REVIEW**  
*§Burlington Magazine, XX, 106 January 1912), 241*

