

**APPENDIX**  
***Blake Records Second Edition (2004)***  
**ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA<sup>1017</sup>**

The most extensive and important discoveries of contemporary references to William Blake and his relations since the Second Edition of *Blake Records* went to press concern the Moravian faith of his mother before he was born<sup>1018</sup> and the Will and family of his wife's brother-in-law Henry Banes after his death.<sup>1019</sup>

See also the apprenticeship of Thomas Owen to William Blake in June 1788.

**P. xii**  
**For "Lisson Grove, west of the map" and "No. 20 (1828-130)" READ:**

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<sup>1017</sup> The information about Walkeringham and the Moravians in these Addenda was first recorded in Keri Davies, "William Blake in Contexts: Family, Friendships, and Some Intellectual Microcultures of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England", Surrey Ph.D., 2003, of which he generously sent me a copy. The discovery of the Blake connection with the Moravians was made by Dr Keith Schuchard in June 2001 and published in Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family", *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 36-43 – apparently omitting the references below dated 6 Feb, 13 Aug 1750, 12, 28 Sept, 20, 23 Nov, 4, 11, 18 Dec 1751. (When I examined the Archive in the 1960s, we did not know that Blake's mother had first married Thomas Armitage, and the connection with Blake was therefore invisible.) For wonderfully generous help when my wife and I worked in the Moravian Church Archives in 5-7 Muswell Hill, London, in May 2004 I am deeply indebted to the archivist Lorraine Parsons.

<sup>1018</sup> Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family", *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 36-43.

<sup>1019</sup> Angus Whitehead, "I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel': The Will of Henry Banes, Landlord of 3 Fountain Court, Strand, the Last Residence of William and Catherine Blake", *Blake*, XXXIX (2005), 78-99.

**Queen Street, Mayfair, to the right of the map  
and**

No. 1 (1828-29)

**P. xii**

**For "1785-90" READ:**

1785-91

**P. xii**

**For "Upper Charlotte Street" and "1828-31" READ:  
Upper Charlton Street ... (1829-31)**

**P. xiv**

**for "1790-1800" READ:**

1791-1800

**P. xix**

**Owners and Repositories of  
Unique Materials**

**Cowper and Newton Museum** (Olney, Buckinghamshire), since  
1996 on deposit in the Buckinghamshire County Record Office

**Fitzwilliam Museum** (including the MS "Autobiography of John  
Linnell" formerly in the collection of John S. Linnell)

**Moravian Church Archives** (London)

**Murray (John) Archive** (National Library of Scotland)

**Nottinghamshire County Archives** (Walkeringham Church  
Register)

**Princeton University Library**, Cromek Archive (formerly David  
Warrington)



(b. 1 April 1805)	(b. 16 Aug 1807)	(b. 19 Dec 1809)	(b. 4 Dec 1813)	(b. 20 March 1815)
			print co- lourer & artist (ex- hibited 1834-39)	artist

## P. 2

The christening of the baby who was to become the mother of William Blake was recorded in the church of St Mary Magdalen in the village of Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire: “Catherine y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Gervase Wright & Mary his [wife was] Bapt. **Novem. 21<sup>st</sup> 1725.**<sup>1022</sup>

Walkeringham is a straggling village three miles West of Gainsborough (Lincolnshire), twenty miles North-West of Lincoln, and forty miles North-East of Nottingham. Cudworth (Barnsley, formerly Yorkshire), where Catherine’s future husband Thomas Armitage had been christened three years before, on 21 June 1722, is 35 miles West-North-West (through Doncaster) from Walkeringham.

Catherine came from a family of yeomen.<sup>1023</sup> She had six brothers and sisters, two of whom died before she was born:

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<sup>1022</sup> Walkeringham Parish Church Register, Nottinghamshire County Archives, transcribed from a photograph reproduced in *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 42. *BR* (2) xxxii, said she was born in London 28 Sept 1723.

<sup>1023</sup> Her family may not have remained long in Walkeringham, for no Wright appears in the printed Nottingham voters lists of 1774, 1818, 1826, and 1830.

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Gervase Wright  
Maltster and Yeoman Farmer  
of Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire  
Will of 7 Oct 1700 |

Gervase Wright *married* Mary Dawson  
23 April  
1712

Richard	Robert	Katharin	John	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	<b>Catherine</b>	Benjamin	<i>married</i>	
29 April	6 Feb	15 Oct	1 Jan	30 June	6 April	21 Nov	23 Sept	4 July	2 Dec
1715	1717	1718	1720	1722	1724	1725	1729 1732	1754	
		died young		buried 8 Oct 1722					
Mary					Richard	Elizabeth	Catherine	Thomas	
Feb					7 July	3 Nov	22 June	23 Nov	19
1772 <sup>1024</sup>					1759	1763	1766	1769	

When she was ten, she may have been present when Elizabeth Perkyns, who had been convicted of extortion and false accusation of rape, on 16 July 1736, was “stript naked from the waist upwards and whipt publicly in her Town of

<sup>1024</sup> The dates are of christenings, in Walkeringham for Gervase Wright and his children, in Sutton Cum Lound for Elizabeth Whitehead Wright and her children. The information comes from the Nottinghamshire Record Office via Davies.

Walkeringham ... between the hours of twelve and one till her body be bloody”.<sup>1025</sup>

Catherine Wright married Thomas Armitage, hosier, in London on 14 December 1746.

Four years later, the young couple were drawn to the newly formed Moravian Congregation in Fetter Lane,<sup>1026</sup> whose records show: “**Munday 13.<sup>th</sup> August 1750** ... Armitage desires to come nearer to y<sup>e</sup> Br<sup>n</sup> also his Wife in the Society & Mr<sup>s</sup> Clarke”.<sup>1027</sup>

The Moravians were at the forefront of the English spiritual revival. On the night of 1-2 January 1739, John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and Benjamin Ingham (inter alia) attended a Moravian lovefeast,<sup>1028</sup> and, according to Wesley’s journal, about 3:00 A.M. “the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding

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<sup>1025</sup> K. Tweedale Meaby, *Nottingham: Extracts from the County Records of the Eighteenth Century* (Nottingham [?1948]), 207.

<sup>1026</sup> According to Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998), 170, “the first English [Moravian] congregation [was formed] on 15 May 1742” in Fetter Lane. In 1749 an Act of Parliament recognized the Moravian Church as “an antient Protestant Episcopal Church”, a sister church of the Church of England (Podmore 228).

<sup>1027</sup> Moravian Church Archives: Society Labourers’ Conference Minutes. The dates are from the Old Style (Julian) calendar; in the English-speaking world, the last day of the Old Style Calendar was 2 Sept 1752.

<sup>1028</sup> “The lovefeast is primarily a song service, opened with prayer ... the presiding minister often says a few words, explaining the purpose of the service, just before the congregation partakes of the bun and coffee, or whatever is served. ... There is no rule as to the food to be offered, except that it be very simple and easily distributed” (Adelaide L. Fries, *Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church*, Revised Edition [Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Moravian Church in North America, 2003], 78).

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joy, and many fell to the ground.” This “sudden effusion of the Holy Ghost”<sup>1029</sup>

marked the beginning of a year in which the Revival was to overflow the confines of the Fetter Lane Society and spread into other parts of England. ... this lovefeast in Fetter Lane was the turning-point at which the Revival’s focus moved from devotional revitalization in London to evangelism throughout England.<sup>1030</sup>

Though licensed as Dissenters, the Moravians did not wish to separate their members from their birth-churches (usually Anglican) or to form a new sect.<sup>1031</sup> Rather, they wished to form powerhouses of piety within the orthodoxies of Anglicanism (in England) or Lutheranism (in Germany).

At first the Moravians expanded their numbers very rapidly. In 1748 “they put the total numbers of souls in their care in England ... between 5,000 and 6,000, compared with 12,000 for Wesley and 20,000 for Whitefield”.<sup>1032</sup> Much of this expansion was in Yorkshire, led by Benjamin Ingham.<sup>1033</sup> In 1742 and 1744 Moravian societies were formed in Wyke (South of Bradford), Mirfield (South South East of Wyke), Gomersal, Pudsey (Leeds County) (between Bradford and Leeds), Ockbrook (now Derbyshire) (between Derby and Nottingham), and Dunkinfield (now Cheshire). There was

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<sup>1029</sup> William Holland, “An Extract or Short Account of some few Matters relating to the Work of the Lord in England” (1748) (Podmore 48).

<sup>1030</sup> Podmore 48.

<sup>1031</sup> In October 1743, “a Fetter Lane member was expelled from one of the religious societies, which made a rule that members must ‘keep close to the Church of England’ or face expulsion” (Podmore 217).

<sup>1032</sup> Podmore 120.

<sup>1033</sup> “At least three of Ingham’s Yorkshire societies began independently of him as groups meeting to read the works of Jacob Boehme” (Podmore 99).

also a society in Nottingham by 1744.<sup>1034</sup> Of these the most important was Pudsey, about seventy miles North-West of Walkeringham and twenty miles North-West of Cudworth. Here in 1742 the Moravians built an independent colony of piety called Fulneck.

One of the most remarked aspects of Moravian piety before 1753 was its emotional fervor. When the German Moravian minister and composer Philipp Heinrich Molther visited the Fetter Lane Congregation in 1739, he was “frightened by ‘their sighing, groaning, whimpering and howling’” and shocked by their “contortions, and strange gestures ... which they saw as proof of the presence of the ‘Spirit and power of God’” and which Molther said was “enough to bring one out in a cold sweat”.<sup>1035</sup>

Another remarkable and more central feature of Moravians was their loving relish for Christ’s wounds, particularly as expressed in the Litany of the Wounds. In 1745, a Moravian man wrote to Ann Okely, “Be quite well and warme and covered ouer and Bereed [?buried] in the dear Bloody wounds of the Lamb”, and his wife greeted her “in the warm hot jowcy wounds of the Lamb”. The powerful lay preacher John Cennick wrote in 1746, I “pray the Lord to make me like a dear little Bee that can go in and out and suck the honey from all his Wounds”.<sup>1036</sup>

They were systematically anti-rationalist, and Zinzendorf’s Litany of the Wounds prays to “Make us to hate reason”.<sup>1037</sup>

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<sup>1034</sup> Podmore 98.

<sup>1035</sup> Podmore 59-60.

<sup>1036</sup> Podmore 135.

<sup>1037</sup> Podmore 127.



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The Moravians held that God accepts people as they are – as sinners, and that one should not struggle to achieve holiness through one’s own efforts (that would be both unnecessary and impossible), but “become a sinner”, that is, accept one’s sinfulness, simply believe, and await the salvation which is the gift of God’s grace and cannot be earned by works or merit.<sup>1038</sup>

The most sensational aspect of Moravianism was the explicit sexual imagery for piety. For Count Zinzendorf, the begetter or midwife of modern Moravianism,

both the Church and the individual Christian were brides of Christ, and thus essentially female. [In] Earthly marriage ... the husband represented Christ as his “procurator” .... Marriage and its consummation could therefore be described as *Gottesdienst* (the worship or service of God), as a sacramental act; it was the “liturgy of ... the marriage bed, where two people hold a daily *Gottesdienst*”. ... Communion was the embrace of the husband, “a conjugal penetration of our bloody husband”: “Our dearest husband ... himself penetrated us with his Corpse and Blood” ....<sup>1039</sup>

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<sup>1038</sup> Podmore 31.

<sup>1039</sup> Podmore 129-30, 135. In the Twelfth Appendix of the *Herrnhuter Gesangbuch* [hymnbook] is a husband’s prayer:

May thy, (*viz.* Saviour’s) first holy Wound anoint me for the conjugal Business upon that Member of my Body, which is for the Benefit of my wife; and the Purple red Oil flow upon my Priest’s hole, and make it rightly fitted for the Procurator-Business; that I may embrace my precious Rib with the same Tenderness, that thou didst embrace thy Wife, when it went out of thy Side.

This was “completely unknown to English readers” before it was displayed in the attack by Henry Rimius in his *Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the*

Beginning in 1750, a flood of pamphlets attacked the Moravians, written either by Anglicans deploring Wesley's association with the Moravians or by Wesleyans distinguishing themselves from Moravians, and in them this sexual imagery was cited and deplored. John Thomas, the only bishop of the Church of England who remained sympathetic to the Moravians, wrote that he still believed Count Zinzendorf was "a very great and pious Man and the Brethren a sober industrious and religious People, but what has greatly shocked me and many others above all things is the Calling the Holy Ghost the Mother and speaking of the Membrum Virile."<sup>1040</sup>

The sexual context was not merely metaphorical. At the lovefeast, a quarter hour was devoted to mutual salutations which were occasionally so enthusiastic that a Bedford meeting "observ'd that it is not good to kiss so loud in the ¼ hour, but more stilly", and the painter Johann Valentin Haidt remembered that

After the lovefeast, when we kissed each other, I felt as Joseph, when he revealed himself to his brethren. I wept very loudly, and the Brethren with me. ... There was shame, amazement, grief and joy, mixed together, in short, heaven on earth. Therefore I had no more question as to whether I should attach myself to the Brethren.<sup>1041</sup>

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*Herrnhuters commonly called Moravians or Unitas Fratrum, with a short account of their doctrines, drawn from their own writings* (London, 9 April 1753) (Podmore 269). The *Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages*, ed. John Gambold (1754) omitted the controversial hymns (Podmore 286-287).

<sup>1040</sup> Podmore 284.

<sup>1041</sup> Podmore 143. Bishop Thomas asked "whether it was true that

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All of this made possible both sex education and marriage guidance, in both of which the Moravians were pioneers .... Between members of the married choir ... such matters could be discussed openly and without shame, so that, for example, the London diary could record in 1743 that “Br and Sr Prusque were much bless’d together last night in their Fellowship” (as intercourse was termed).<sup>1042</sup>

Peter Böhler (1712-75) founded in 1738 the London Congregation of Moravians which shortly established itself in Fetter Lane.<sup>1043</sup> Fetter Lane runs from the Strand North to Holborn just East of Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Chancery Lane; the “Chapel” is marked in R. Horwood’s great map of London (1792-99) on the east side of Fetter Lane off Neville’s Court. The evangelist John Wesley (1703-91), the caricaturist James Gillray (1757-1815), and the poet James Montgomery (1771-1854) were all Moravians at least for a time, and Swedenborg attended the Fetter Lane Church in 1744, but the number of Moravians has always been small.<sup>1044</sup>

In a list dated “**March 12<sup>th</sup> 1749**” [**Old Style, 1750 New Style**] of “M[arried] W[omen]” to be visited is no “12. Armitage”.<sup>1045</sup>

This is the earliest record of an Armitage in the Moravian records. It suggests that the impulse to join the

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marriages were consummated in the presence of the elders” (Podmore 284).

<sup>1042</sup> Podmore 130.

<sup>1043</sup> Engravings of the Fetter Lane Chapel of the 1750s (from *Zeremonianbücher* [1757] reproduced in Podmore 9) depict the women on the right dressed in apparently identical white aprons and caps.

<sup>1044</sup> According to the Helpers Conference Minutes Vol. VI (1748-66) dated 6 Aug 1750 “the People who stand in connexion with us & are Visited are about 617 & many more come constantly to hear the Preachings”.

<sup>1045</sup> Moravian Archives C/36/14/2: Labourers Conference Minute Book, in Davies 1304.

Moravian Congregation was that of Catherine Armitage; there is no parallel record of Thomas Armitage desiring to be visited.

According to a note of the Moravian Congregation in Fetter Lane of **30 July 1750**

Br Bohler proposed to have a Class wherein might come thereto whoever of the Visited desires to come in the Society that we may have an Opportunity to become acquainted w<sup>th</sup> them

Armitage — she [i.e., Mrs Armitage]

John Clark — she ...<sup>1046</sup>

Thomas Armitage wrote a letter in a rather fine hand “For Bro: West” applying to join the Congregation of the Lamb:

**Nov:’ the 14.<sup>th</sup> 1750** London

My Dear Brethren

My Dear Saviour has maid me Love you in Such a degree, as I never did Experience before to any Set of People; and I believe it is ^his^ will that I should come amongst you; because he has done it himself, for I could not bear the doctrin of his Bloody Corps, till; very lately, till non but my Dr Saviour could show me; perfectly, & he over came me so sweetly that I shall never forget, when I only went out of curiosity to hear Bror Cennick, which was to be the last Time I thought I wod lose in hearing any of the Brethren; & my Jesus Show’d me that I had been

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<sup>1046</sup> Moravian Archives C/36/14/2: in Davies, 1305.

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Seeking Something else besides him; nor could I  
^then^ bear the thought of hearing any thing Else;  
but of him being Crucified & of his Bleeding  
wounds, which I Experienced very Sweet & the  
only food for my Soul then; I am but very poor in  
my Self & weak and find my Love very cool  
sometimes toward him, for all hes done for me so  
much, but when my Loveing Saviour comes again  
and kindles that Spark, then I feel I can love him  
dearly; so he makes me love him or Else I should  
not love him at all; & I can feel my saviour,  
forgive me all my base acctions [sic] from time to  
time; for all that my D.<sup>r</sup> Lords Love is Such, as bad  
as I am I know he Loves me with that ever lasting  
Love, that nothing Shall Separate us, as St Paul  
sais, from Your Unworthy Brother in the Suffering  
Jesus

Tho:<sup>s</sup> Armitage<sup>1047</sup>

Probably about the same time his wife wrote in a plain  
clear hand, tactfully quoting a Moravian hymn:

My Dear Bretheren & Sistors

I have very littell to say of my self for I  
am a pore crature and full of wants but  
my Dear Sav<sup>^i^</sup>our will sat[i]sfy them  
all[.] I Should be glad if I could  
allways lay at the Cross full as I do  
^know^ [i.e. now] thanks be to him last  
Friday at the love feast Our Saviour was

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<sup>1047</sup> Moravian Archive: MS C/36/2/158; the wafer on the leaf covers a few letters. John Cennick (1718-55), popular Moravian preacher and hymnodist, is buried in the Moravian Burial Ground, Chelsea.

pleased to make me Suck his wounds  
 and hug the Cross more than Ever and I  
 trust will more and more till my frale  
 nature can hould no more[.] at your  
 request I have rit but I am not worthy of  
 the blessing it is desired for I do not  
 Love our ^Dear^ Saviour halfe enough  
 but if it is [his] will to bring me among  
 his hapy flock in closer connection I  
 shall be very thanku [sic.] I would tell  
 you more of my self but itt is nothing  
 thats good so now I will rite of my  
 Saviour that is all Love  
 Here let me drink for ever drink  
 nor never once depart  
 for what I tast makes me to cry  
 fix at this Spring My h^e^art  
 Dear Saviour thou hast seen how oft  
 I've turnd away from thee  
 O let thy work renewd to day  
 Remain eternally<sup>1048</sup> Catherine Armitage<sup>1049</sup>

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<sup>1048</sup> This is the second stanza of a hymn by James Hutton (1715-91) beginning "Stream through the bottom of my heart" which appeared in *A Collection of Hymns, with Several Translations from the Hymn-Book of the Moravian Brethren* (1742), #185 (according to *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. John Julian [London, 1915], 546), and was often reprinted, for instance in *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, From the Beginning till now ... Designed chiefly for the Use of the Congregations in Union with the Brethren's Church* [ed. John Gambold] (London: Printed; and to be had at all the Brethren's Chapels, 1754), No. 79.

<sup>1049</sup> Moravian Church Archives: MS C/36/2/159. Photographs of both letters are reproduced in *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 41-42.

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Admission to the Congregation was not lightly won. In 1752 the Fulneck Elders' Conference concluded that "We should not be too hasty in receiving People into the Congregation". As the Litany put it, "From unhallowed growth, good Lord deliver us."<sup>1050</sup>

Letters of application were vetted once a month for suitability. The cases of applicants who did not seem frivolous or otherwise inappropriate were then put to the lot. The lot offered three choices: Yes, No, or Blank, so that there were one in three chances (as the unGodly might say) of an affirmative response.

According to a note of **26 November 1750**, "The new members were B<sup>r</sup>& Sis<sup>r</sup> Hermitage, B<sup>r</sup> Camden, ... [and 7 others]".<sup>1051</sup> Their reception is recorded on separate pages for women and men:

Name, Religion <sup>1052</sup> & Profession	From where & when	Received	Confirmed	First Ad- mitted to the Sacre- ment	Other Circum- stances of Life
Catherine Armitage M. S <sup>r</sup>	Walkingham Nottingham- shire	<b>1750 Nov. 26 Nov: 21<sup>st</sup></b>	[Blank]	[Blank]	Became a Wi- dow & left the Congregation <sup>1053</sup>

<sup>1050</sup> Podmore 122.

<sup>1051</sup> Moravian Archives C/36/7/4: Congregation Diary Vol. IV, pp. 1453-4, in Davies, 1305. The Cockney addition of the "h" before words beginning with a vowel is visible also in the record of Thomas Hermitage, hosier (1749) and the marriage record of Catherine Harmitage (1752).

<sup>1052</sup> Under Religion, many are identified as Church of England, some as "Dissenter", Roman Catholic, or Lutheran. Notice that Catherine Armitage is not identified as to Religion or Profession. In 1749, two applicants were identified as from Rotherhithe, as Blake's father and paternal grandfather were.

<sup>1053</sup> Moravian Church Archives: Church Catalogue C/36/51/1, 36, like the record for Thomas Armitage below. Few confirmations are recorded because most of those joining had already been confirmed in their original churches. "Became a

1725

Name, Religion & Profession	Born where and when	Received	Confirmed	First Ad- Circum- mitted to the Sacre- ment	Other stances of Life
Thomas Armitage Hosier Ch: of Eng. <sup>d</sup> M B <sup>r</sup>	at Cudworth in the Parish of Royson in Yorkshire in <b>May 1723</b> <sup>1054</sup>	<b>1750</b> <b>Nov. 26</b>	[Blank]	on his sick Bed <b>Sep.</b> <b>28<sup>th</sup> 1751</b>	Departed this Life <b>Nov: 19</b> <b>1751</b>

According to the Fetter Lane records, “Thomas Son of Thomas and Catherine Armitage, departed **Febr ..... 1751**, and buried **March 1.** at Bloomsbury.”<sup>1055</sup> This is recorded with a few more details in the account of “Kinder sind in London heim gegangen in der Zeit als ich da war” (children in London returning home [dying] in the time I was there) by a Moravian returning to Herrnhut: “**1751 26 Febr.** Thom.

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widow & left the Congregation” is a common description. In these records “M” = married, “S” = sister, and “B” = brother. On that day, six men and five women were received into the Fetter Lane Congregation; in all of 1750 twenty men and thirty-five women were received.

<sup>1054</sup> BR (2) xxxii, says Thomas was christened 21 June 1722 in Royston.

<sup>1055</sup> Church catalogue; the same information is given in the Congregation Diary: “**Frid. 1 March 1751.** Thomas, the child of Br. & Sisr. Armitage was buried in the Ground near Bloomsbury.” There is no record of a Moravian burying ground in Bloomsbury; the reference may be to “S.<sup>t</sup> George Bloomsbury Burying Ground” shown on Horwood’s map (1792-99) between Brunswick and Mecklenburgh Squares or to “Saint Georges Burying Ground and Chapel” near Connaught Place.

The Fetter Lane Burying Ground on King’s Road (now 381), Chelsea, was opened just after Thomas Armitage [Jr] died; James Gillray’s father was sexton there (1759-99).



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Armitage, 1 Jahr” (1 year [old]). Thomas Armitage Jr was born – and presumably christened – about February 1750, before his parents joined the Moravian Congregation in November 1750.<sup>1056</sup>

The health of Thomas Armitage was evidently failing in the summer of 1751, and a note of **14 August 1751** in the Moravian Archives records that

B<sup>r</sup> Hermitage wants a person to assist him in his shop if the B<sup>rs</sup> Could recommend any One he would be glad[.] B<sup>r</sup> Lehman is to speak with B<sup>r</sup> Page ab<sup>t</sup> it.<sup>1057</sup>

The Moravian Brethren frequently helped each other in business matters, and a note of **12 September 1751** reports that “Br Armitage wanted some one to lend him 20l to pay a Note which was done a year ago but as the Brethn are scanty of money it was thought he might propose the Person to give him an other Year for the payment thereof.”<sup>1058</sup>

On “**Sat. 28 [September 1751]**, Br. Armitage, being sick, & having long desired it, had the H. Communion administered to him privately. At 1:00 o’clock was S[abbath] L[ove] F[east] at Bloomsbury.”<sup>1059</sup>

His illness was mortal, and on **19 November 1751** he died, apparently in some disfavour with the brethren. Next day

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<sup>1056</sup> Moravian manuscript reports were regularly sent to the spiritual headquarters in Herrnhut, Germany, to what is now called the Universitätsarchiv; I am deeply indebted to Dr Rüdiger Kröger, Unity archivist, who kindly searched the Archive for me. This notice of Thomas Armitage Jr is Herrnhut: R.27.353.31, dated March 1754.

<sup>1057</sup> Moravian Archives C/36/11/6: Helpers Conference Minute Book Vol. VI, in Davies, 1306.

<sup>1058</sup> Helpers Conference Minutes Vol. VI.

<sup>1059</sup> Moravian Church Archive: Church Diary, Vol. V (1751), 61.

Bror Boehler took notice of Bror Armitage not being in so good Condition in his heart the latter end of his Life as the Brn co.<sup>d</sup> wish— He observed that such things did not please the Brn & that they sh.<sup>d</sup> be very Cautious of what they did in Receiving[?] Persons to fellowship & especially to the Lord[‘s] Supper. Further said [word illeg] of what has happened w<sup>th</sup> Bro Armitage he could not mention him in the Liturgy as being uncertain ab.<sup>t</sup> his Estate &c. He also Lamented the Want of a Nurse to be always with the Sick Bro. or Sister day & night ....<sup>1060</sup>

According to an “Obituary” in the Congregation Diary:<sup>1061</sup>

**Sat. 23 [Nov. 1751]** Sabb. L.F. was at Westminster. Today was buried at Bloomsbury-Ground the Body of Thomas Armitage a Married Br He was born in the Parish of Royson in Yorkshire, in **May 1723**, married at London, & was by trade a Hosier. He was receiv’d into the Congreg<sup>n</sup>, **Nov. 26 1750**, & partook of the H. Sacrament on his sick Bed, **Sept. 28. 1751**. His Sickness was a slow Consumption, of which he died last Tuesday Morning [19 November]. Towards the latter End a little Fretfulness clouded his Love, which he otherwise always bore to his nearest Hearts; but the Night before he departed, he

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<sup>1060</sup> Helpers Conference Minutes Vol. VI.

<sup>1061</sup> Congregation Diary Vol. V, p. 80.

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desired they would forgive him this, & took a cordial Leave afterwards of his wife.<sup>1062</sup>

His wife Catherine seemed to be left in some financial distress, and on

**Wednesday. Dec.<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1751** ... Bro Boehler desired some of the Brn wd undertake Sistr Armitage affairs, Bro: Mason & J. Syms will do it. Bro. Boehler observed Bro. Armitage had made a very unequitable will obliging his Wido to pay £80 to his Bro. in case She Marrys again & it is thot she has little more if any left her & Bro. Boehler wish<sup>d</sup> the Brn would be advised by the Brn when they made their wills[.]<sup>1063</sup>

**Wednesday Decr. 11<sup>th</sup> 1751** ... The Brethren have been with Sistr Armitage and will go again to morrow

Brothers Mason and Syms discovered that Catherine Armitage was better off than had been thought: **“Wednesday Dec. 18<sup>th</sup> 1751** ... Sistr Armitage’s affairs have been examined & she has about £150 in Stock, besides household goods when all her debts are paid.” Household effects plus £150 of hosiery stock are substantial worldly goods, perhaps more than William Blake ever had. The person who undertook the affairs of Sister Armitage most effectively was James Blake, who married her ten months later, on 15 October 1752. We do not know whether he paid the £80 to the brother of his wife’s first husband.

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<sup>1062</sup> The Congregation’s Burial Records report that “Thomas Armitage, M. departed **Nov. 19. 1751**, was buried the **23<sup>d</sup>** *ibid* [i.e., at Bloomsbury]”, where his son had been buried in 1750.

<sup>1063</sup> Helpers Conference Minutes Vol. VI, like the records for 11 and 18 Dec 1751.

Among Moravians, marriage outside the community was not permitted. “The *Elders* have the sole Right of making Matches. No promise of Marriage is of any Validity without their consent.”<sup>1064</sup> Catherine Armitage may have left the Fetter Lane Congregation for these reasons when she married James Blake in 1752.

In the earliest Congregation List of the Moravian Fetter Lane Society, **1 March 1743**, appears “Blake & She [i.e., Mrs Blake]. Butchers in Pear Street near Mount Hill Goswell Street.”<sup>1065</sup> In Horwood’s great map of London (1799), Peartree Street runs East of Goswell Street to Brick Lane (apparently now Central Street) at the eastern edge of the City, a little West of Bunhill Fields. These Blakes are not known to be related to the poet.

The Helpers Conference Minutes for **6 February 1750** report that Brother Bohler “will give a Love Feast to those Br<sup>s</sup> & Sr<sup>s</sup> who were acquainted with him at his 1<sup>st</sup> coming to England [7 February 1737] w<sup>ch</sup> will be 13 years to morrow who are as follows”, including “Blake”. This may be the John Blake whose undated letter of application says “I am a poor missarable unhappy Creature” and quotes “O take me by the hand and hart.e[t]c”.<sup>1066</sup> His wife was also a member of the congregation, and perhaps his sister as well.<sup>1067</sup>

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<sup>1064</sup> Henry Rimius, *A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, commonly called the Moravians ...*, Second Edition (London, 1753), 20, cited by Davies p. 299. “John Heaven was expelled in 1749 for marrying without consent” (Podmore 132).

<sup>1065</sup> Moravian Church Archive and Library C/36/5/3, Catalogue p. 1, cited in Keri Davies, “The Lost Moravian History of William Blake’s Family: Snapshots from the Archive”, *Literature Compass* [online] 3/6 (2006), 1303.

<sup>1066</sup> Moravian Church Archives: C/36/2/159, quoted in full in *Blake*, XXXVIII (2004), 39. Perhaps the date is close to 6 Feb 1742, when, according to

## William Blake and His Circle

In the year that Catherine and Thomas Armitage joined the Fetter Lane Congregation, a great outcry began in the press against the enthusiasm of the Moravians, led by the erstwhile Moravian sympathisers John Wesley and George Whitefield, whose *Expostulatory Letter* (1753) “did the most damage”, though his most damaging evidence was silently

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an account of Married Men in London, “Blake feels & confesses his slavery & hopes soon to receive the Blessing of kn.eri.ng [?knowing] our Savior & beeing made quite Free.” (Herrnhut: R.27.3653.1)

Joshua Armitage, listed among the Single Men, Youths, and Great Boys in the Moravian centre of Pudsey (Herrnhut: R.27.363.42), may be the son of Sarah (b. 1719 in Brownhill [?Aberdeenshire], d. 1766 in Bristol) who was married in 1719 to Joshua Armitage (Herrnhut: R.22.140.49). However, they are not known to be related to the husband of Catherine Wright Armitage.

<sup>1067</sup> “Blake” appears among Married Men and Married Women in the Society Labourers’ Conference Minutes for 21 Sept 1747 and later, and a note for 27-28 Nov 1746 says that the Single Woman “Blake” desires to be visited. “Blake is a poor vexed man, a Slave” (1742, Congregation Diary I), and his wife may be “Sister Blake an old member of the Society [who] went to our Saviour” (Nov 1749, both quoted in *Blake*, XXXVIII [2004], 39). “Blacke” is recorded among Moravian Women in mid-September 1748 (Herrnhut: R.27.363.4) and among Married Men in Jan 1749 (Herrnhut: R.27.363.6), and “Edward Blacke” among London children in 1749 (Herrnhut: R.27.363.9).

On the basis of no more evidence than this, it has been suggested that the Moravian Blakes were the poet’s grandparents – Thomas Wright, *The Life of William Blake* (Olney, Bucks: Thomas Wright, 1929), I, 2, Margaret Ruth Lowery, *Windows of the Morning* (1940), 15, Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Why Mrs. Blake Cried: Swedenborg, Blake and the Sexual Basis of Spiritual Vision”, *Esoterica*, II (1999) <<http://www.esoteric.mus.edu/>>, and others (there is an Appendix on “The Moravians or United Brethren” but no biographical fact in Jack Lindsay, *William Blake: His Life and Work* [N.Y.: George Braziller, 1979], 275-276). “Blake” is, of course, a dispiritingly common name (*BR* (2) 829-46 provides evidence of scores of men named “‘William Blake’ in London 1740-1820”), and the likelihood is very faint that these Moravian Blakes were related to the poet. The poet’s paternal grandfather James almost certainly lived across the river in Rotherhithe. However, a John Blake paid the rates on a house in Glasshouse Street in 1743 which was occupied in 1744-53 by James Blake the poet’s father (*BR* (2) 734-35), and he could be both the Moravian and the elder brother of the poet’s father.

quoted from German pamphlets in Rimius' *Candid Narrative* (1753). There was a financial collapse in 1753, and

The accelerating growth in membership came to a sudden halt. ... It was as if the music had suddenly stopped. ... 1755 saw the beginning in England of the Moravian retreat into the world of the "quiet in the land", so contrary to the inspired, adventurous exuberance of the Zinzendorf era.<sup>1068</sup>

### **P. 8**

**For** "some fifteen years" (James Blake lived "in cautious gentility for some fifteen years" in Cirencester Place")

#### **READ:**

ten years

### **P. 12**

**After** "settled in Southwark" **ADD:**

The family hosiery shop at 28 Broad Street, Golden Square probably had an emblematic sign identifying it as the Woolpack & Peacock. The shop-title may be seen in the elegant engraved bill-head<sup>1069</sup> made out by James Blake, the

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<sup>1068</sup> Podmore 273, 274, 275, 283.

<sup>1069</sup> This is the only known evidence of the name of the shop. Many Peacocks and Woolsacks, some of them for hosiers, but no Woolsack & Peacock are reported by Ambrose Heal, *The Sign-boards of Old London Shops: A Review of the Shop Signs employed by the London Tradesmen during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries, Compiled from the author's collection of contemporary trade-cards and billheads* (N.Y.: Benjamin Blom, 1972), Bryant Lillywhite, *London Signs: A Reference Book of London Signs from Earliest Times to About the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972), and Ambrose Heal, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Centuries: An Account of their Origin and Use* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1925).

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poet's father, to the prodigious botanist Joseph Banks who was about to sail with Captain Cook<sup>1070</sup> on his second circumnavigation of the world.

[Ribbons  
[M.<sup>r</sup> Banks] London [July 9. 1772]

*Bought of Ja.<sup>s</sup> Blake,*  
HOSIER & HABERDASHER  
*At the Woolpack & Peacock the upper End of*  
Broad Street Carnaby Market ;  
*Who Sells all kinds of Baizes, Flannels, &c. &c.*  
[ 3 Pieces brod figd<sup>1071</sup> Rib<sup>n</sup> --- -- 22/63.. 7..6  
26 yds --- D<sup>o</sup> ----- 7½ --0..16..3  
16 Col<sup>rd</sup> Silk Hfs<sup>1072</sup> ----- 4/33. 18..0  
7..11..9  
3 Cold Silk Hfs --- -- -- -- 4/3 - 12..9  
£ 8. 4..6

Recd July. 10. 1772 the Contents in full of all Demands  
James Blake  
M.<sup>r</sup> Banks new Burlington Street]<sup>1073</sup>

The Woolsack and Peacock was an uncommon name--at

<sup>1070</sup> He who Chased a Chook All around Australia.

<sup>1071</sup> "figd" is showy, as in "full fig" or perhaps "figured".

<sup>1072</sup> This hard-to-read word perhaps represents "Handkerchiefs".

<sup>1073</sup> The bill is among the Papers of Sir Joseph Banks, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia (Series 06.029 Section 3). The verso is endorsed "M.<sup>r</sup> Blake" and, vertically, "Blake". Cunningham ¶2 says that as a child Blake "drew designs on the backs of all the shop-bills", but he did not do so on this one.

The bill is mentioned in *The Indian and Pacific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768-1820: Letters 1768-1782*, ed. Neil Chambers (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009), 143, 354, but not in G.E. Bentley, Jr, "Trade Cards and the Blake Connection", *Book Collector*, XXXVII (1988), 127-133. Sir Joseph's only sister Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818) collected over 4,000 trade cards and shop bills, which were given after her death by her brother to the British Museum Print Room, but James Blake's bill is not among them.

any rate I have found no other instance of its use--and it must have been memorable to the young poet. However, he did not make much use of the terms in his surviving writings. He does not use the word "woolsack" at all, and his references to peacocks<sup>1074</sup> seem entirely conventional.

The whole document is written in the same hand (note the formation of the capital letter "C"), though the additions to the bill of receipt and address are written a good deal more casually than the bill itself. The handwriting is the only surviving example of the handwriting of Blake's father. It is quite distinct from that of William Blake.

The social ambition of the bill-head is a good deal more than might have been associated with the firm that sold goods wholesale to the Parish Workhouse. On the other hand, it seems quite appropriate for a firm selling fancy "figd Rib<sup>s</sup>" and silk handkerchiefs to the munificent Joseph Banks.

The dimensions of a "piece" of cloth depend upon the material. For muslin it was 10 yards long, for Irish linen 25 yards, for calico 28 yards, for cotton cloth 24-47 yards long by 28" to 46" wide, and for Hanoverian linen 128 yards.<sup>1075</sup>

At any rate, the quantity Banks bought was enormous. He seems to have ordered three "pieces" of broad figged or figured ribbon the size in which it was manufactured, perhaps 26 yards by 1 yard (234 square feet), and 26 yards of tailored ribbon which was perhaps the length as manufactured.

Perhaps William Blake was in the shop when the purchase was made--his own apprenticeship indentures were

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<sup>1074</sup> *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 8, *Jerusalem* pl. 98, l. 14, *Vala* p. 94, l. 51 (Night 7[b]), "Vision of the Last Judgment" (Notebook p. 93).

<sup>1075</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, sive "piece" sense 4a.



### William Blake and His Circle

dated four weeks later, 4 August 1772. He probably did not himself wait upon such a distinguished gentleman unless his father happened not to be in the shop. If William was the salesman, he probably remembered Banks as vividly as he did Oliver Goldsmith who may have been in the shop the same year.<sup>1076</sup>

The sum was enormous, the equivalent of six weeks of goods sold by James Blake father and son to the St James Parish Workhouse and Schoolhouse in 1782-84 (£8.3.19).<sup>1077</sup>

Probably these fancy goods were intended as gifts to the friendly women of the South Pacific. The erotic possibilities of South Pacific voyaging were of course known to Blake. His picture of "The Goats" (?1799) depicts an incident in the voyage of the ship Duff to the Marquesas. Seven girls clad only in vine leaves swam out to the ship, where "some goats on board the missionary ship stripped them [the vines] off presently".<sup>1078</sup>

The dates of the bill (Thursday 9 July 1772) and of the receipt (Friday 10 July) and Banks' address suggest that the goods were delivered and paid for the day after they were ordered.

This quantity of cloth could scarcely be carried by one man. It would have required a cart.

Delivery of the goods to Banks was a heavy responsibility, requiring both strength to handle them and firmness of character to receive such a large sum of money. James Blake had four eligible sons: James (age 19), William (14), John (12), and Robert (9). James was serving his

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<sup>1076</sup> BR (2) 16.

<sup>1077</sup> BR (2) 36. The receipts are known only from the Parish records. No other example of this bill-head, or indeed any James Blake bill-head, is known.

<sup>1078</sup> Blake, *Descriptive Catalogue* (1809) 52.

apprenticeship as a needle-maker in Southwark, and John and Robert were surely too young for such a responsibility. It seems likely that William delivered the goods and collected the money, perhaps supported by his younger brothers.

The fancy haberdashery was sold to Joseph Banks as he was collecting materials to take with him on Captain Cook's second circumnavigation in the Endeavour. Cook sailed four days later, on 13 July 1772, but he sailed without Joseph Banks, who decided that the accommodation was not sufficient for his entourage of fifteen persons.

Joseph Banks may have chosen The Woolsack and Peacock hosiery and haberdashery shop in Broad Street at least in part because it was nearby; New Burlington Street, the address on the receipt, is just three rather circuitous streets from Broad Street.

Instead of sailing to the South Pacific, Banks sailed in August to Iceland.

One wonders what became of those twenty-six yards of figged ribbon presumably intended for gifts to the agreeably friendly young female islanders in the South Pacific. They were scarcely appropriate for the ice storms of Mount Hecla.<sup>1079</sup>

**p. 12 fn ‡  
for "reads ... ffather[.]" READ:<sup>1080</sup>**

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<sup>1079</sup> This section on the Woolsack & Peacock will be printed in G.E. Bentley, Jr, "William Blake of the Woolsack & Peacock", *Blake*.

<sup>1080</sup> Stationers' Company Apprentice Register (1 Feb 1763-5 Dec 1786), p. 15) reads:

*Ja.<sup>s</sup> Basire William Blake* Son of James }  
of Broad Street Carnaby Market }  
Hosier to James Basire of Great } £52..10.0  
Queen Street Lincolns Inn ffields }

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P. 15

“*James Parker (1750-1805)*” should be  
“(1757-1805)”

pp. 18-19

for "Gosse", "Admission", "Pres" **READ:**  
"Gosf", "Admisfion", "Pref"

P. 22

**In the footnote \* for the paragraph “Stothard  
made a drawing ... Oct. 1780.” READ:**

Cumberland’s friend John Highmore (1750-84) records a sketching tour in Kent on 22-26 May 1779 with Cumberland and Thomas Stothard.<sup>1081</sup> On 24 May Cumberland and Stothard crossed “over the [Medway] River to Allington Castle [just North of Maidstone, Kent], to take views”. One of these views of Allington Castle is Stothard’s drawing (now in the Tate) inscribed “1779”. Blake was not on this 1779 expedition.<sup>1082</sup>

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seven years Cons.<sup>n</sup> £52.10.-- paid }  
by his ffather ----- }

The information is summarised (MS Register of Duties, National Archives, Kew [Ref. 1R 1/27, reproduced in the 2014-15 Ashmolean catalogue, pp. 28-29]): "18 James Basire Citizen and Stationer of London William Blake Ind. 1 4 August 1772 7 from date 52 10 2 12 6", signifying that James Basire took as an apprentice William Blake in Industry [not in "Arts", as the entry above him reads] for a fee of £52.10.0 and duty thereon of £2.12.6.

<sup>1081</sup> Bonham sale catalogue of 24 March 2009, lot 190, cited by R.N. Essick, “Blake in the Marketplace 2009”, *Blake*, XLIII [2010], 135).

<sup>1082</sup> Shelley M. Bennett, *Thomas Stothard: The Mechanisms of Art Patronage in England circa 1800* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 91, suggests that Blake was on the 1779 sketching trip.

**P. 30, ADD:**

**Anon.**, "Vermischte Nachrichten", *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der frehen Künste* (Leipzig) XXVIII Bandes, 1 Stüd (1783), 337 ("Robin Hood and Clorinda,<sup>1083</sup> sich auf der Jago beegnend, nach J. Meheux, von W. Blake, in punktirtir Manier. In der Runde zu 8 zoll Durchschnitt, und 4 Schillinge im Preise.")<sup>1084</sup>

**P. 30**

To "in the Gothic manner" **ADD FOOTNOTE:**<sup>1085</sup>

**P. 32**

**To "*Poetical Sketches*" ADD**

Probably about the same time Blake or Flaxman gave *Poetical Sketches* (Y, now in the Essick Collection) to John Hawkins, who inscribed the title page under "W.B." (extended to "W. Blake") "at M<sup>r</sup> Taylors Green St Leicester fields", where Blake lived in 1782-84.

Below this he wrote:

Paulum sepulta distatinertiæ  
celate virtus<sup>1086</sup>

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<sup>1083</sup> "Robin Hood & Clorinda" ("London Pub.<sup>d</sup> March 30, 1783 by T. Macklin N.<sup>o</sup> 39 Fleet Street") (platemark 23 x 27.7 cm). Five copies are known (3 untraced) in brown and red-brown. The Macklin auction by Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, 7 May 1800, lot 3, listed 7 plain impressions and 23 "in colours".

<sup>1084</sup> The text of the entry and the one in 1785 is in fraktur except for the quotations in English, which are in conventional European font.

For these revised readings I am grateful to my friend Bob Essick.

<sup>1085</sup> Early Flaxman drawings of Gothic subjects inscribed by A.S. Mathew are discussed, and some reproduced, in David Bindman, "New Light on the Mathews: Flaxman's and Blake's Early Gothicism", pp. 95-104 of *Blake in Our Time*, ed. Karen Mulhallen (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

## William Blake and His Circle

Of course in 1782-84 when he lived in Green Street, Blake had scarcely any fame--or Latin either for that matter. He had exhibited a few pictures at the Royal Academy in 1780 (1) and 1784 (2), and he had signed 58 commercial engravings (none invented by him).<sup>1087</sup> In 1782-84 only an enthusiastic admirer could have called him undeservedly obscure, and only a scholar would have done so in Latin.

**p. 33**  
**To fn † ADD:**<sup>1088</sup>

**P. 33 and footnote, p. 34**  
**Omit the references to James Parker's wife.**<sup>1089</sup>

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<sup>1086</sup> The passage is from Horace, Odes, Book 4, Ode 9, ll. 29-30. The context is that brave men are unknown unless their deeds are celebrated by poets. "When courage lies hidden, it is little better than shame hushed up in the grave".

<sup>1087</sup> See *BR* (2) 813-16.

<sup>1088</sup> Blake's press may have been made by ""BUMSTED, Rolling-press-maker, 13, Old Bailey", the only rolling-press-maker listed in John Pendred, *The London and Country Booksellers and Stationers VADE MECUM ...* (1785). The bed of the press was large enough to accommodate Blake's Colour Prints (76 to 77 cm wide <Butlin #294, 306, 316, 320, 223>) and his Canterbury Pilgrims plate (94.9 cm wide). It may have weighed 700 lb (318 kg), the weight of the 18th Century rolling press in the Science Museum (London), according to Michael Phillips, Ashmolean catalogue (2014-2015), *William Blake: Apprentice & Master*, 118.

<sup>1089</sup> "The Journeyman and the Genius: James Parker and his Partner William Blake ...", *Studies in Bibliography*, XLIX (1996), 210, says that on 17 Aug 1782 James Parker (aged 25 and up [the engraver was 25 then]), Stationer of the Parish of St Dunstan in the West, contracted to marry Ann Serjeantson in the County of York (Allegation in Lambeth Palace Library; transcript at 1, The Sanctuary, Westminster). As my friend Keri Davies points out to me, this is probably not James Parker, engraver, of the Stationers' Company, but the James Parker, stationer of 36, Chancery Lane in 1782-97 (see Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800* [Folkestone: William Dawson and Sons Ltd, 1977], 170).

**P. 39**

**To the footnote about Blake entries in the catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition (1785) ADD;**

In the copy owned by Sir John Soane (1753-1837) were "some items marked in pencil (e.g. works by William Blake)", according to the Soane Museum online catalogue.

**P. 43**

**ADD:**

A subscription (?1785) to enable "Mrs. RYLAND and her [6] CHILDREN" "to purchase some of his Plates at the ensuing auction" was contributed to by about eighty individuals, including Alderman Boydell (£5.5.0), J. Johnson (£1.1.0), Gainsborough (£1.1.0), and "Mr. Blake" (10s 6d), who may be the poet.<sup>1090</sup>

**P. 43, ADD:**

**Anon.**, "Vermischte Nachrichten", *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der frehen Künste* (Leipzig) XXX, 20 Stüd (1785), 162 ("Zwey angenehme Blätter, nach Watteau, aus der Sammlung des Hrn. A. Maskins; Morning Amusement und Evening Amusement,<sup>1091</sup> von W. Blake in

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<sup>1090</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum Presscuttings, Vol. I, f. 251. Mrs Ryland was the widow of William Wynne Ryland, to whom it was proposed that William Blake should be apprenticed (*BR* (2) 665 fn).

<sup>1091</sup> "Morning Amusement" and "Evening Amusement", each from "From an Original Picture in the Collection of M.<sup>r</sup> A. Maskins") (platemarks 35.8 x 32.9 and 35.9 x 33.1 cm); 17 copies of "Morning Amusement" are known (9 untraced) and 7 of "Evening Amusement" (plus untraced copies), printed in sanguine, brown, red, and black. They were offered at Macklin's Poet's Gallery (1794) for "7s. Plain

**William Blake and His Circle**

Röthel, Ovale, zu 9 Zoll 4 Linien Höhe, und 11 Zoll 3 Linien Breite, kosten zusammen 15 Schillinge.")

**P. 48**

**Add footnote to Tatham's statement that in his colour-prints, Blake "painted roughly and quickly, so that no colour would have time to dry."<sup>1092</sup>**

**P. 48**

**Footnote to Tatham's statement that Blake made his colour "prints in oil"<sup>1093</sup>**

**P. 48**

**ADD:**

In **June 1788**, Thomas Owen was apprenticed to William Blake, engraver, of St James Parish, for a fee of Fifty Guineas (£52.10.0).<sup>1094</sup> The fee is the same as that paid by

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and 15s. in Colours".

<sup>1092</sup> According to Joseph Viscomi, "Blake's Annus Mirabilis", *Blake*, XLI (2007), 61,

Blake would not have had to work too quickly or worry too much if his colors dried to the touch on the support, because he almost certainly printed on dampened paper, whose moisture would have reconstituted the colors.

<sup>1093</sup> Blake's "medium ... was gum and glue-based colours", as is pointed out in Joseph Viscomi, "Blake's 'Annus Mirabilis': The Productions of 1795", *Blake*, XLI (2007), 61.

<sup>1094</sup> David Alexander, "William Blake, graveur d'interprétation", pp. 79-81, 210-211 of Michael Phillips, *William Blake (1757-1827): Le Génie visionnaire du romantisme anglais*, exhibition 2 April-28 June 2009 (Paris: Petit Palais, 2009). Alexander's information derives from the Apprenticeship Books 1710-1811 (1R 1) in the National Register of Archives. A fee of £2.12.6 was payable (6d per pound for up to £50 and 1s per pound thereafter).

The poet-engraver William Blake (1757-1827) is the only engraver named William Blake in St James Parish in 1788. (William Staden Blake [1748-?1817], engraver and print-publisher, was in 1784-1817 at 'Change Alley, Cornhill, City of

Blake's father for his son's apprenticeship in 1772 to James Basire and was Basire's standard charge.<sup>1095</sup> Owen is the only apprentice Blake is known to have had.

The most important clause of the indenture was that the Master "shall Teach and Instruct" his Apprentice his "Art and Mystery", "finding unto his said Apprentice, Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, and all other Necessaries".<sup>1096</sup> Presumably, therefore, Thomas Owen lived with the Blakes at 28 Poland Street in 1788-90 and moved with them across the river to the large house at 13 Hercules Buildings for the balance of his apprenticeship in 1790-95.

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London [BR (2) 839].)

This may be the Thomas Owen who helped to make the huge lithographs for *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome Measured and Delineated* by G.L. Taylor and Edward Cresy, 2 vols. (London, 1821, 1822). Alexander suggests that the apprentice may be Thomas Owen, history and landscape engraver of 16 Newman Street, corner of Fetter Lane (he gives no other detail).

He may be the Thomas, son of William and Mary Owen, who was born on 11 Nov 1775 and christened on 1 Dec 1775 at St Botolph Without Aldersgate. A note on RootsChat.com, which I have not been able to verify, says that this Thomas Owen was an historical engraver who died in 1851. In June 1788 he would have been 12½, somewhat young to begin his apprenticeship.

R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace 2010", *Blake*, XLIV (2011), suggests that the hand of Thomas Owen may be found in the anonymous prints dated October 1790 to March 1791 in C.G. Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* [tr. Mary Wollstonecraft] (1791):

They are technically quite simple, in comparison with Blake's other etchings/engravings of the period, and contain awkward patches .... Perhaps the basic similarities in graphic syntax, but differences in the skilfulness of its execution, between Blake's pls. for Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life* (1791) and Salzmann pls. reveal the distinction between master and apprentice.

<sup>1095</sup> Basire received £52.10.0 for new apprentices in 1765, 1772 (Blake), 1773 (Parker), and 1779; he was paid £47.5.0 in 1770 and £63 in 1781 and 1785. Of course he took no fee for his own sons in 1781, 1784, and 1787 (BR (2) 15).

<sup>1096</sup> BR (2) 15.



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During the time of Thomas Owen's apprenticeship, June 1788-June 1795, Blake was particularly busy with commercial engravings. He made 104 engravings during this period, including those for Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* (1791), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* (1791), Darwin's *Botanic Garden* (1791, 1795), Gay's *Fables* (1793), and Stedman's *Narrative* (1796). Thomas Owen must have become increasingly useful to him, polishing plates, mixing ink, laying in the outlines, and pulling proofs. Of course Blake's name as the master appeared on the prints with which Owen helped, just as Basire's name appeared on the prints Blake helped to engrave when he was an apprentice.

Owen's work may perhaps be found among the unsophisticated anonymous engravings in C.G. Salzmann, *Elements of Morality, for the Use of Children* (1791),<sup>1097</sup> which have been attributed to Blake on very little evidence.

Owen's assistance with commercial engravings must have contributed to free Blake to pursue his newly-invented technique of relief etching. Most of Blake's own writings in Illuminated Printing were created during the period of Owen's apprenticeship: *All Religions are One* (?1788), *There is No Natural Religion* (?1788), *The Book of Thel* (1789), *Songs of Innocence* (1789), *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (?1790), *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793), *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* (1793), *Songs of Experience* (1794), *Europe* (1794), *The First Book of Urizen* (1794), *Song of Los* (1795), *Book of Los* (1795), *Book of Ahania* (1795), and 16 books with 114 commercial engravings. Of his own etched works, only *Milton* (1804[-11?]), *Jerusalem* (1804[-20?]), *On Homer's Poetry [and] On Virgil* (1820?), *The Ghost of*

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<sup>1097</sup> R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2010", *Blake*, XLIV (2011), 142.

*Abel* (1822) and three plate of *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* (?1826) were produced after Owen's time.

Blake had never become a Freeman of the Stationers' Company, which would have qualified him to set up in business and take apprentices in the City of London. However, Blake's print-selling business with James Parker in 1784-85 and his training of his apprentice Thomas Owen in 1788-95 were in Westminster rather than the City of London, and apparently they were not governed by the guild statutes.<sup>1098</sup> Consequently the apprenticeship of Thomas Owens to William Blake was not registered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, though Blake's own apprenticeship had been recorded there.

**p. 49**

**ADD:**

On 10 July 1788 an official record<sup>1099</sup> was made: "Thursday 10 July 88": "W.<sup>m</sup> Blake St Jame's [sic] Westminster C.<sup>o</sup> of d.<sup>o</sup> Engraver Tho.<sup>s</sup> Owen 23 June 88 7 d<sup>o</sup> - - - 52 10 - 2 12 6", which may be interpreted as "W.<sup>m</sup> Blake of St James, Westminster, County of M.<sup>x</sup> [i.e., Middlesex], Engraver, took as apprentice Tho.<sup>s</sup> Owen on 23 June 1788 for 7 years, fee £52.10.0, duty £2.10.0".

**P. 57 footnote**

After "in the BMPR." **ADD:**

Blake's "large collection of works of the mystical writers"

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<sup>1098</sup> *BR*(2) 17.

<sup>1099</sup> Apprenticeship Books, City Registers, February 1786-August 1788, National Archives, UK, "ref. IR1/33", pp. 218-219 (registers outside the City of London), reproduced in the 2014-15 Ashmolean Blake catalogue, pp. 84-85.

## William Blake and His Circle

included *The Mystical Initiations; or, Hymns of Orpheus*, tr. Thomas Taylor (1787), which he marked extensively.

### P. 59

After “angry and bewildered” **ADD:**

Blake’s father James Blake voted in 1749, 1774, 1780, and 1784, his brother John voted in 1784 and 1788,<sup>1100</sup> and his sometime partner “James Parker N.º 27 Broad Street Engraver” voted in 1788 and 1790. The only time the poet went to the polls was in the election held on 14 June-2 July 1790, when his vote for Fox was recorded under William Blake, Engraver, Poland Street, St James, Piccadilly.<sup>1101</sup>

**Pp. 62fn, 741, 816, 894**

**For “Callisto” read**

Calisto

### P. 62

**After the prospectus of January 1792 about Bowyer’s edition of Hume’s *History of England* “in conjunction with Mr. FITTLER”, **ADD:****

Notices (paid advertisements) in the same terms appeared in *The Oracle* for 13-14, 30 January 1792<sup>1102</sup> specifying 18 paintings by “the most celebrated [English] Artists” (including

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<sup>1100</sup> *BR* (2) 736, 742.

<sup>1101</sup> London Lives 1690-1800 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org)). I am sorry to have to report that *BR* (2) 736 says: “The poet himself never voted”. There are two manuscript St James Parish poll books for 1790 in Middlesex County Record Office; according to my notes, one is mildewed, and most of the names have vanished entirely. The William Blake of Poland Street must have been recorded in the mildewed book and printed in a poll book I have not seen.

<sup>1102</sup> The advertisement of 30 January 1792 was pointed out to me by my friend Mark Crosby.

Fuseli, Stothard, and West) and “Historic Prints” by 19 named engravers, including “W. Byrne T. Bromley W. Blake ... W. Sharp”. These painters and engravers “are actually engaged”. *The Oracle* for **6 February 1792** with the same information adds that the text will be “unmangled and unmutilated by notes”.

### **P. 62**

For the prospectuses for *Hume’s History of England* in the *Oracle* for 13 and 14 January 1792 **READ:**  
13-14, 30 January 1792<sup>1103</sup>

### **P. 63**

According to Fuseli’s letter of 29 May 1792, the paintings for

the Second Number [of prints for his Milton Gallery] Adam & Eve observed by Satan; and Satan taking his flight upward from chaos which is ... [13' high by 10' wide] intended for Blake, are much advanced.

The first three Numbers were noticed in *The Oracle* for **13 January 1792**; “PICTURE II – SATAN journeying ... directs his winged speed ... ‘upward like a pyramid of Fire... BLAKE is to grave this fine Picture.”

### **P. 71**

**For "the Blakes moved into Hercules Buildings (in 1790)"  
READ:**

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<sup>1103</sup> The advertisement of 30 January 1792 was pointed out to me by my friend Mark Crosby.

William Blake and His Circle

the Blakes moved into Hercules Buildings (in 1791)

P. 73

According to an advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* for **21 July 1796**,

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 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.<sup>1104</sup>

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*

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<sup>1104</sup> Quoted from a reproduction of the page generously sent me by Angus Whitehead.

*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.

### P. 75

#### After "by the author." ADD:

The *Edinburgh Magazine* for **December 1796** announced

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.<sup>1105</sup>

The terms are very similar to those in the undated prospectus (?Spring 1797) ("a splendid edition" in each, "large quarto" vs "atlas-sized quarto", "150 etchings" vs "one hundred fifty engravings"). It adds "frontispieces to each book" and the price to non-subscribers" of £6.6.0 vs "considerably advanced" beyond £5.5.0.

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<sup>1105</sup> Anon., "Varieties, Literary and Philosophical; Including Notices of Works in Hand. From the Same [Monthly Magazine]", *Edinburgh Magazine*, NS, VIII (Dec 1796), 447-450.

**For the Tilloch document READ:**

In the Spring of 1797 Alexander Tilloch invented a form of bank-note which, he claimed, could not be effectively forged. His purpose was in part to mitigate the savagery of the ineffectual laws against uttering false banknotes; mere possession of a forged bill, however inadvertent, could be a hanging offense.

Tilloch printed a sample of his £5 Bank of England note, signed "A. Tilloch fecit.", and below it he wrote a manuscript testimonial for it which was signed by twelve eminent engravers:

London 5th April

1797

M.<sup>r</sup> Alex.<sup>r</sup> Tilloch of Carey Street, London, having submitted to our inspection the above Specimen of an Art invented by him, for the purpose of producing checks to prevent the forgery of Bank Notes, Bills of Exchange, Drafts &c. &c. &c. we have examined the same with care and attention; and we declare, each of us for ourselves, that we could not make a copy of it, nor do we believe it can be copied by any of the known arts of Engraving. It therefore appears to us to be highly deserving of the notice of the Bank of England & Private Bankers as an art of great merit and ingenuity, calculated, not merely to detect, but, to prevent the possibility of forging Bank and other circulating bills.

James Fittler Engraver James Heath, Engraver to His

Majesty

James Basire

John Puke

Fran.<sup>i s</sup> Haward

W<sup>m</sup> Stad<sup>en</sup> Blake

Will<sup>m</sup> Skelton

William Byrne

Will<sup>m</sup> Blake

JLandseer

J.R. Smith

Rob.<sup>t</sup> Dunkarton<sup>1106</sup>

Blake signed in his copperplate hand with a pointed nib opposite the name of his old master James Basire.

This document, with trifling normalizations,<sup>1107</sup> with the addition of the names of seven engravers who were apparently not present on 5 April 1797 (Anderson, Austin, Bartolozzi, Bovi, Holloway, Lowry, and Sharp), and with honorific titles for the engravers, was printed for submission to the Bank of England:

...

FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, R.A. Engraver to His Majesty, &c. &c.

JAMES HEATH, Engraver to His Majesty and to the Prince of Wales.

JAMES FITTLER, Engraver to His Majesty.

J. LANDSEER, Engraver to His Majesty.

J.R. SMITH, Engraver to the Prince of Wales.

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<sup>1106</sup> The manuscript document, in an un-named private collection, was published, with the original lineation, by Mark Crosby, "Blake and the Banknote Crises of 1797, 1800, and 1818", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXX (2011), 823; the banknote, but not the MS, is reproduced on p. 824.

<sup>1107</sup> "M.<sup>r</sup> Alex.<sup>r</sup>" becomes "Mr Alexander", "a Specimen" becomes "the above Specimen", "declare", "detect", and "prevent" become "DECLARE", "DETECT", and "PREVENT".



**William Blake and His Circle**

FRANCIS HAYWARD, Engraver to the Prince of Wales.

JAMES BASIRE, Engraver to the Royal Society and to the Society of Antiquaries.

WILLIAM SHARP.

WILLIAM BYRNE.

THOMAS HOLLOWAY.

W.S. BLAKE. (Writing Engraver.)

JOHN PUKE. (Writing Engraver.)

WILLIAM BLAKE.

WILLIAM SKELTON.

MARIANO BOVI.

ROBERT DUNKARTON.

WILSON LOWRY.

JOHN ANDERSON. (Engraver on Wood.)

RICHARD AUSTIN. (Steel Letter Cutter and Engraver on Wood.)<sup>1108</sup>

**P. 78**

In footnote, after “were reported in”, **ADD:**  
*European Magazine and London Review*, LXXIII, xl (March

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<sup>1108</sup> McMaster University Library (formerly in the possession of Mrs George Galt, whose late husband was the great-great-grandson of Tilloch). After the poet's name is written "The Visionary Artist"(see *Blake Records* (1969), 58, and *BR* (2) 78).The rejection of the plan by the bankers was indignantly protested by J. Landseer, *Monthly Magazine*, V (Jan 1798), 4-5, and others.

In the context of a new spate of bank note forgeries, Tilloch's proposal of 1797 was summarized in [Tilloch, Alexander],*Star* [London, ed. Alexander Tilloch], 29 April 1800; the proposal was said to have been “recommended by almost every eminent artist in the Kingdom”, including Blake.The testimonial and signatures were reprinted in Anon. [?Alexander Tilloch], "Forged Bank-Notes", *London Magazine*, LXXIII, xl (March 1818), 237,and [Alexander Tilloch], *Philosophical Magazine*, LVI (July 1820), 63-66, in an effort to enforce Tilloch's long-ignored claims upon the Bank of England.

1818), 237-38, *Literary Panorama and National Register*, NS, VIII (August 1819), column 715, and

**P. 79**

**15 August 1797**

**James Curry to Ozias Humphry**

As poor Blake will not be out of need of money, I shall beg you to pay him for me, and to take the trouble when you return to town of having a box made for the prints ...

The “prints” may be a set of the Large of Small Book of Designs similar to the ones Blake had created for Humphry

**For the last sentence substitute:**

The “prints” might be proofs or an early copy of Blake’s *Night Thoughts* engravings (apparently published in November 1797), perhaps one of the sets Blake coloured.<sup>1109</sup>

**P. 79**

**After “Oriental Scenery.”, ADD:**

It was perhaps in the **autumn of 1797** that Flaxman acquired from Blake copies of *America* (S), *Thel* (S), *Europe* (S), *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (S), and *Urizen* (K)

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<sup>1109</sup> The prints cannot be “a set of the Large or Small Book of Designs similar to the ones Blake had created for Humphry, probably the previous year” (*BR* (2) 79), for many of the prints in Small Book (B) were inscribed after Blake’s death by Frederick Tatham.

William Blake and His Circle

bound together.<sup>1110</sup> At the prices listed in his prospectus To the Public (1793), the costs would have been

<i>America</i>	10 6
<i>Thel</i>	3
<i>Visions</i>	7 6
<i>Europe</i>	10 6
<i>Urizen</i> <sup>1111</sup>	<u>10 6</u>
	£2 2 0

The £2.2.0 Flaxman paid Blake in early October 1797 (see Accounts below) may be for these works.

**P. 80**

**ADD:**

*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

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<sup>1110</sup> Then or later he bought *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* (?F), *Songs of Innocence* (D), and *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (O).

<sup>1111</sup> *Europe* (18 folio prints) and *Urizen* (28 quarto prints) are not listed in the Prospectus, but they probably cost the same as *America* (18 folio prints). All three are the same price in Blake's letters of 9 June 1818 (£5.5.0) and 12 April 1827 (£6.6.0).

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, 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>1112</sup> Mews Gate; Mr. White, Fleet-street; Messrs. Robinsons, Paternoster-row; Mr. Clarke, Bond-street; Mr. Bell, Oxford-street; and Mr.

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<sup>1112</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”.

William Blake and His Circle

Harding, Pall-Mall.<sup>1113</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

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS; illustrated ...<sup>1114</sup>

No second part was published, though an **untraced** engraved proof of "the only extant leaf of Night 5" has been recorded.<sup>1115</sup>

The 1798 advertisements echo the Prospectus of June 1797, correct its "forty" engravings to "43", and add nine new

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<sup>1113</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 Robinsons, 25 Paternoster-row; William Clarke, 38 Bond-street; Joseph Bell, 148 Oxford-street; and Edward Harding, 98 Pall-Mall.

<sup>1114</sup> The *Times* version differs from that in the *True Briton* in (1) using the old fashioned long "s" (ſ), (2) reducing the central four paragraphs to one paragraph, (3) changing "whole is" to "complete is", (4) extending "Amateur" to "Amateurs", (5) altering "Five", "Four", and "Second" to "5", "4", and "2nd"; (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>1115</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]) (Princeton), lot 44.

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>1116</sup>

Richard Edwards, the originator of Blake's *Night Thoughts*, is strikingly absent from the 1798 list of booksellers. For some time he had been withdrawing from business;<sup>1117</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>1118</sup>

## P. 80

### After "the ravings of insanity'." ADD:

Richard Edwards, the publisher, went out of business not long after Blake's *Night Thoughts* was published, and the book was scarcely advertised after publication. Most records of it<sup>1119</sup> during Blake's lifetime are in the catalogues of second-hand dealers:

**1798 John White**, *A Catalogue of Rare, Splendid and*

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<sup>1116</sup> BR (2) 78-79, 76.

<sup>1117</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, t 2015).

<sup>1118</sup> BR (2) 79.

<sup>1119</sup> Many of the references in this list derive from Wayne C. Ripley, "Printed References to and Known Prices of Blake's *Night Thoughts*, 1796-1826", *Blake*, XLIII, 2 (Fall 2009), 72-74.

### William Blake and His Circle

*Valuable Books, in Every Branch of Polite Literature, Including the Entire Libraries of the Rev. Harvey-Spragg ... also of the Rev. Henry Putman ... Comprehending a Large Assortment of Learned Theological Books ... The Sale Will Begin on February 19, 1798 ... (London, 1798): “Young’s Night Thoughts, a magnificent edition, with Engravings from Drawings by Blake. 5l 5s to subscribers, when completed, boards -- -- -- 1797”*

**1798** *Englische Blätter*, ed. L[udwig] Schubart (Erlangen, 1798): “Young’s Night Thoughts, decorated with appropriate Designs by Mr. Blake, Part I.”

**1799** **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>1120</sup>

**1801** **John White**, *A Catalogue of Books, in Every Department of Literature, Now on Sale (London, March 1801): “Young’s Night Thoughts, a magnificent edition, with Engravings from Drawings by Blake, boards, 5l 5s – 1797”*

**1808** **William Gardiner**, *A List of Books, for Sale at W. Gardiner’s, 48, Pall-Mall, at the Ready Money Prices Affixed (London: J. Barker, 1808): lot ”860 Young’s Night Thoughts, curious cuts, by Blake, boards, 1l 5s 1797”*

**1809** **William Gardiner**, *A Catalogue of Books ... for Sale at W. Gardiner’s, 48, Pall-Mall, at the Ready Money Prices Affixed (London: J. Barker, 1809): lot “860 Young’s Night Thoughts, curious cuts, by Blake, boards, 1l 5s 1797”*

**1810** **William Gardiner**, *A Catalogue of a Small Collection*

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<sup>1120</sup> Only the first Number of 1797 is known.

*of Ancient and Modern Books ... for Sale of W. Gardiner's, 48, Pall-Mall, at the Ready Money Prices Affixed* (London: J. Barker, 1810) lot "691 Young's Night Thoughts, curious cuts, by Blake, boards, £1 5s -- -- 1796" and 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."

**1811 W[illiam] Ford**, *A Catalogue of a Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, in Various Languages and Classes of Literature. ... Part the First for 1810* (Manchester, 1811): "Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality, with the singular designs round the margins by BLAKE, calf cleg. [?i.e., eleg.] ib"

**1811 W[illiam] Ford**, *A Catalogue (Part the Second for 1810-11) of a Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, in Various Languages and Classes of Literature* (Manchester, 1811): "Young's Complaint, and the Consolation; or Night thoughts with Blake's singular designs round the text. ib. 1797.<sup>1121</sup> — Blair's Grave, with engravings from the designs of Blake. LARGE PAPER, eleg. bd. in blue mor. &c. 8l 8s ib 1808."

**1819 British Museum** *Librorum Impressorum, Qui in Museo Britannico Adservantur, Catalogus*. Vol. 7 (London, 1819): "The Complaint and the Consolation or Night Thoughts, with marginal Designs by Mr. Blake. fol. Lond. 1797."

**1820 E. and A. Evans**, *Bookseller's and Printseller's Catalogue* (London, 1820): lot "421. Blake (Wm.)

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<sup>1121</sup> Perhaps this is the copy given to the actor William Augustus Conway which he inscribed as from his "dearly attached friend the celebrated Mrs. Piozzi" (d. 1821) (*Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi, Written When She Was Eighty, to William Augustus Conway* [London: John Russell Smith, 1843], 14).



**William Blake and His Circle**

Illustrations of Young's *Night Thoughts*. 4to. Bds. 30s. – 1797” and lot “566. Young's *Night Thoughts*, with numerous fine plates by William Blake, fol. Bds. 11.1s. -- -- 1797”. Lot “422--an additional plate to Young by this eminent genius, hitherto unpublished, engraved by Perry, 4to. 1s”.<sup>1122</sup> Lot 423 is Blair's *Grave* with Blake's designs.

**P. 80**

**After “for my library—“ ADD:**

Blake's designs for Bürger's *Leonora* (1796) were described in *Lenore Ballade von Bürger in drei englischen Übersetzungen* [ed. Johann Joachim Eschenburg] (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterisch, 1797), 5-6.

**P. 90**

**For "1785-90" READ:**

1785-91

**P. 90**

**To “strained his income” ADD footnote<sup>1123</sup>**

**P. 90**

**To "Betsy [Butts] had a boarding school for girls at 9 Great Marlborough Street" ADD FOOTNOTE:**

Her school had previously been in South Molton Street,

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<sup>1122</sup> This “unpublished” print for *Night Thoughts* by Perry after Blake is plainly the frontispiece by Perry after Blake (with a quotation from Young's *Night Thoughts*) for G.A. Bürger's *Leonora A Tale*, tr. J.T. Stanley (1796).

<sup>1123</sup> Eventually Butts was quite prosperous. After the Muster Master General's Office was abolished on 25 September 1818, Thomas Butts, First Clerk, Commissary General of Musters, Length of Service 35 [years], Amount of Annual Retired Allowances £430, according to *Estimates and Accounts: Army; Navy; Ordnance ...*, Vol. XI (1820), not paginated <Harvard>.

for the Will (March 1790, probated 1792) of Captain James Denty (d. April 1790 in Cawnpore India) of the East India Trading Company identified "my natural Daughter Elizabeth Denty a Girl of about seven years of age now at Mrs. Butts Boarding School in South Molton Street near Hanover Square" (Mary Lynn Johnson, "More on Blake's (and Bentley's) 'White Collar Maecenas': Thomas Butts, His Wife's Family of Artisans, and the Methodist Withams of St Bartholomew the Great", *Blake in Our Time: Essays in Honour of G.E. Bentley Jr*, ed. Karen Mulhallen [Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2010], 148).

## P. 99

**For** "having had to shift their sixteen boxes and portfolios to seven different chaises during the course of the trip" **READ:**

On 21 September 1800, Blake wrote to Flaxman that "we had a great deal of luggage", including "sixteen heavy boxes & portfolios full of prints" which they had to shift "from Chaise to another for we had Seven Different Chaises". These heavy boxes probably included

### **His large Printing Press**

#### **Professional Tools**

Gravers, etching needles, knives, burnishers, hammers, oil stone for sharpening knives, magnifying glass, sand bag for supporting copperplates while engraving, solid ink and a marble slab for rolling it out, dabbers for inking, paper, unused copperplates, canvases,<sup>1124</sup> paint brushes, statues<sup>1125</sup>

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<sup>1124</sup> In his letter to Butts of 22 Nov 1802, Blake writes of the "Canvas which I brought down with me (for there were three)".

## William Blake and His Circle

(from his apprentice days)

### Copperplates

"The Accusers" (1793), weight 332 g.

"Albion Rose" (1793), 1 plate, 688 g.

*America* (1793), 18 plates, with *Europe* on the versos, weight 10,197 g.

"Approach of Doom" (1792), 1,014 g.

*Book of Thel* (1789), 8 plates, weight 1,496 g.

*Europe* (1794), mostly on the versos of *America*, 1 plate, weight 162 g.

*For Children* (1793), 18 plates, weight 1,065 g.

"Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" (1773), weight 102 g.

*Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (?1790), 27 plates with *Urizen* on the versos, weight 5,444 g.

*Songs of Experience* (1793) (mostly on the versos of *Innocence*), 1 plate, weight 153 g.

*Songs of Innocence* (1789), 31 plates, weight 3,017 g.

*Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793), 11 plates, weight 2,709 g.

**total weight** 26,379 g. = 58 pounds.

Perhaps they did not include *All Religions are One* (1788), 10 plates, 241 g.; *No Natural Religion* (1788), 18 plates, weight 537 g.; *Book of Ahania* (1795), 6 plates, 844 g.; and *Song of Los* (1795), 8 plates, weight 3,584 g.--**total weight** 5,205 g. = 11½ pounds, which apparently disappeared after 1795

### Prints

Unsold copies of works in Illuminated Printing; separate

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<sup>1125</sup> "His father bought for him [casts of] the Gladiator, the Hercules, the Venus of Medicis, and various heads, hands, and feet", according to Malkin's *Memoirs* (1806) (BR (2) 562).

prints by Blake such as "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" (1773),<sup>1126</sup> "Job" (1793) and "Ezekiel" (1794);<sup>1127</sup> miscellaneous antiquarian prints<sup>1128</sup>

### **Drawings**

Hundreds (1774 ff.) including 3 sets of 12 Large Colour Prints (1795), one set bought by Thomas Butts (1805), one was offered but not sold to Dawson Turner (9 June 1818), and one was offered after Blake's death by Catherine to James Ferguson;<sup>1129</sup> 12 illustrations to *Tiriel* (1789)

### **Manuscripts**

Manuscripts including *Tiriel* (1789), *Vala* (1796 ff.), Blake's Notebook

### **Books**

Copies in stock of works in Illuminated Printing

*Poetical Sketches* (A, G-P, R, T-U, X)

Young, *Night Thoughts* (1797), multiple copies for colouring<sup>1130</sup>

### **The Blakes' Library including**

Aeschylus, *Tragedies* (1779)

Anon., *Life and Death of ... Richard Baxter* (1692)

[George Townshend], *A Political and Satirical History of the*

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<sup>1126</sup> "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion"--Essick 2B.

<sup>1127</sup> "Job" (Essick 2B) and "Ezekiel" (Essick 2B) were sold together on 2 March 1830.

<sup>1128</sup> Blake bought prints after "Raphael and Michael Angelo, Martin Hemskerck and Albert Durer, Julio Romano, and the rest of the historic class, neglecting to buy any other prints", according to Malkin, *Memoirs* (1806) (*BR* (2) 562). Linnell wrote on 3 April 1830 that about 1821 Blake "sold all his collection of old prints to Mess Colnaghi & Co."

<sup>1129</sup> *BR* (2) 497.

<sup>1130</sup> Blake's prints for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) copies B, H, L, P, W., Z were coloured about 1805.

William Blake and His Circle

- Years 1756 and 1757 In ... Prints* (?1757)  
Bacon, *Essays* (1798)  
Bacon, *Two Books* (1605)  
Barry, *An Account of a Series of Pictures* (1783)  
Berkeley, *Siris* (1744)  
The Bible (date not known)  
Burke, *Sublime and Beautiful* (date not known)  
Bysshe, *Art of Poetry* (date not known)  
[Chatterton], Rowley, *Poems* (1778)  
Chevrier, *The Political Testament of the Marshal Duke of Belleisle* (1762)  
[Jean Claude], *Persecution and Oppression of the French Protestants* (1686)  
Cumberland, *The Captive of the Castle of Sennaar* (1798)  
Cumberland, *Julio Bonasone* (1793)  
Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline* (1796)  
Dante, *Inferno*, tr. Henry Boyd (1785)  
Dryden, *Annis Mirabilis* (1668)  
Duché, *Discourses* (1779)  
Gay, *Fables* (1793)  
Gordon, *The History ... of the United States of America* (1788)  
Hallett, *A Free and Impartial Study of the Holy Scriptures*, 3 vols. (1729, 1732, 1736)  
Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. George Chapman (1611)  
Homer, *The Iliad and Odyssey*, tr. W. Cowper (1791)  
Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. George Chapman (?1614)  
Lavater, *Aphorisms*, tr. Henry Fuseli (1788)  
Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (date not known)  
Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1732)  
Bishop Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols. (1765)

Peter Pindar, *Works* (date not known)  
 John Quincy, *Pharmacopœia* (1733)  
 Raphael, *Historia del Testamento Vecchio*, prints (1698)  
 Reynolds, *Discourses*, 3 vols. (1798)  
 Shenstone, *Poetical Works* (1795)  
 Stedman, *Narrative*, 2 vols. (1796)  
 Swedenborg, *Heaven and Hell* (1784)  
 Swedenborg, *Divine Love and Divine Wisdom* (1788)  
 Swedenborg, *Divine Providence* (1790)  
 C.H. Tatham, *Etchings* (1799)  
 Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, 2 vols. (1792)  
 Watson, *An Apology for the Bible* (1797)  
 [John and Charles Wesley], *Hymns for the National Fast* (1782)  
 Winkelmann, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, tr. Henry Fuseli (1765)  
 Young, *Night Thoughts* (1796)

### **Household Goods**

clothing, blankets, towels, kitchen implements

Of course most of these materials had previously been laboriously moved from 23 Green Street (1782-84) to 27 Broad Street (1784-85) and thence to 28 Poland Street (1785-91), 13 Hercules Buildings (1791-1800), and later they were carried from Felpham (1800-3) to 17 South Molton Street (1803-21) and thence to 3 Fountain Court (1821-27).

### **P. 103**

After “used to admire—”, **ADD:**

A coloured copy of *Little Tom* was probably sent also to John

## William Blake and His Circle

Flaxman.<sup>1131</sup>

### P. 108

**To John Marsh’s account for 26 June 1801 of drinking tea with Hayley, Blake, and “young Mr Chetwynd” ADD:** “young Mr Chetwynd” is John Chetwynd, age no more than 15. He had come to Felpham with his mother and siblings so that his mother could enjoy therapeutic sea-bathing for her nerves. Penelope Carleton Chetwynd (born c. 1762 in Cork) was the widow of Captain William Chetwynd, who was killed in 1798 heroically fighting the Irish rebels. She must have been important both to Hayley, who wanted to marry her,<sup>1132</sup> and to Blake, for while he was still in Felpham she bought two sets of his *Designs to a Series of Ballads* by Hayley (Blake’s letter of 30 January 1803), and the Blakes in London had “a call from M<sup>rs</sup> Chetwynd & her Brother, a Giant in body mild & polite in Soul” (Blake’s letter of 28 September 1804). Her brother Webber or Weber Carleton (born c. 1777) became a prominent amateur painter in Cork.<sup>1133</sup>

Blake apparently taught John Chetwynd painting (see 9 Sept 1801).

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<sup>1131</sup> The coloured copy of *Little Tom* in the Willis and Sotheran sale catalogue of 25 Dec 1862, lot 118, follows six works from Flaxman’s library (lots 116-117) and may, like them, have belonged to Flaxman.

<sup>1132</sup> Charlotte Smith wrote to Joseph Cooper Walker on 14 April 1801 of the “common Report ... that he [Hayley] is going to be married to M<sup>rs</sup> Chetwynd the widow of a Gentleman who was killed in Ireland in the rebellion” (*The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003], 371), repeated in a letter of 7 Oct 1801, and confirmed in Hayley’s manuscript autobiography excised in the printed version, all cited by Whitehead (below).

<sup>1133</sup> All these details of the Chetwynds derive from Angus Whitehead, “M<sup>rs</sup> Chetwynd & her Brother’ and ‘Mr Chetwynd’”, *Blake*, XLII (2008), 75-78.

**P. 109**

**DELETE:**

**“whom Blake later (28 September 1804) described as ‘a Giant in body mild & polite in Soul as I have in general found great bodies to be’.”**

**P. 115**

**To “a second [copy of the book] in Germany” ADD**

**footnote:**<sup>1134</sup>

**p. 117**

**ADD:**

On 10 January 1802 Blake wrote to Butts that he would rather have his pictures "preserved in your Green House (not as you call it dung hill) than in the cold gallery of fashion." Butts's Gallery may have been in the former stables on Blenheim Mews, just behind his residence at 9 Great Marlborough Street<sup>1135</sup> (see Horwood's map on p. xiii)

**P. 134**

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<sup>1134</sup> A copy of “Young’s Night Thoughts, decorated with appropriate Designs by Mr. Blake, Part I” had been listed by Ludwig Schubart, *Englische Blätter* (Erlangen, 1798).

<sup>1135</sup> On 24 Sept 1792, "Thomas Butts No 9 Great Marlborough Street Coal Merchant", insured with the Sun Fire Office his "now dwelling House only brick" for "Fifteen hundred pounds", and his "Stable Coachhouse & Brewhouse adjoining in Blenheim Mews Brick" for "Two hundred pounds", and on 21 July 1796 he insured his "Household Goods" for £450, his "Printed Books, Plate, &c Pictures" for £150 ("Fifty pounds on each"), his "Wearing Apparel" for £100, and his "Prints Drawings & Needle Work" for £50 (Mary Lynn Johnson, "Newfound Particulars of Blake's Patrons, Thomas and Elizabeth Butts, 1767-1802", *Blake*, XLVII, 4 (Spring 2014)). In 1796, the only Blakes which Butts may have owned were *Poetical Sketches* (B) and "Pity" <Butlin #310, colour print>.



William Blake and His Circle

**Add footnote to the animal painter “by the name of  
Spilsbury”<sup>1136</sup>**

**P. 139**

**After "the bookseller in Pall Mall" add Footnote:**

The 15 Numbers of Hayley's *Designs to a Series of Ballads* sold by Evans of Pall Mall (Blake's letter of 26 Oct 1803) must have included 5 copies each of #3-4 (**10 in all**) for Lady Hesketh, "my Sist<sup>r</sup> [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 copy of #1-3 (**3 in all**) which Anna Seward took through the booksellers (*BR* (2) 150), and **1 copy** 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 (*BR* (2) 132) or the "long list of Cowpers" whom Lady Hesketh had required to subscribe (*BR* (2) 135).

**P. 144**

**Add footnote to “portrait of the beloved bard by  
Abbot”<sup>1137</sup>**

**P. 147**

**ADD:**

Charlotte Smith wrote to the booksellers Cadell and

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<sup>1136</sup> This is the animal painter Edgar Ashe Spilsbury (1780-?1828), a protégé of Hayley; he is also referred to in letters to Hayley of Flaxman (21 March 1802) and E.G. Marsh (14 Oct 1806), as is demonstrated by Keri Davies, "Jonathan Spilsbury and the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family", *Blake*, XL (2006-7), 100-101.

<sup>1137</sup> Lemuel Abbott [sic] (1760-1803) painted famous portraits of Cowper and Nelson.

Davies on 16 December 1802:

M<sup>r</sup> Hayley informd my daughter some time since that he would order his last publication about animals (the title I forget) to be left at Y<sup>r</sup> Shop for her perusal to be returnd for the profit of the person who made the drawings. If it is there, be so good as to let me know.<sup>1138</sup>

**P. 167**

**For "In September ... though the two men" READ:**

When the Blakes returned from Felpham in September, they may have stayed for a time with his brother in Broad Street, but by 26 October Blake was writing from 17 South Molton Street. Here they stayed for eighteen years, probably in diminishing circumstances.

Even after his return to London, away from Hayley's protection and interference, Hayley and Blake

**P. 179**

**In "Blake seems to have felt that two of the magistrates were prejudiced against him", for "two" READ "three" and after "71 of *Jerusalem*" ADD:**

, and the ruthless, bellicose Hand in *Jerusalem* is probably the bellicose, ruthless Duke of Richmond,<sup>1139</sup> who, according to

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<sup>1138</sup> *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), 503. The reference was pointed out by Angus Whitehead, "A Further Reference to William Blake in the Letters of Charlotte Smith", *Blake*, XLIII, 2 (Fall 2009), 78.

<sup>1139</sup> See the persuasive argument in Susanne Sklar, "In the Mouth of a True Orator: (*Jerusalem's* Operating Instructions)", *University of Toronto Quarterly*,

## William Blake and His Circle

Hayley, "was bitterly prejudiced against Blake."<sup>1140</sup>

### P. 186

**OMIT “; which we must take the liberty of regarding as a purely visionary notion” and ADD:**

There is evidence that Blake’s trial was managed by the government, though not to the extent of sending Scolfield to entrap him. Blake was right in deploring the “Hirelings in the Camp, the Court” (*Milton* pl. 1).

It is a curious fact, apparently not remarked by any of Blake’s contemporaries, that the court of Quarter Sessions, which had jurisdiction in cases of common law such as Assault,<sup>1141</sup> had no jurisdiction in cases of statutory law, such as Sedition and Seduction from Duty. Statutory cases had to be tried in a higher court, such as the Assizes. There were only four other cases of sedition tried in 1803-4, and all were properly tried at the Assizes.<sup>1142</sup>

Why was there a rush to judgment in Blake’s case?

Well, for one thing, the military was eager to maintain discipline during the invasion-scare, and they had recently been humiliated, with the resignation en masse of an entire

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LXXX (2011), 837-57.

<sup>1140</sup> *BR*(2) 183.

<sup>1141</sup> Note that “assault” included “putting in fear”, as with threats, and was not confined to bodily harm. The common law charge of Assault was not addressed at the Chichester trial.

<sup>1142</sup> See Mark Crosby, “‘A Fabricated Perjury’: The [Mis]Trial of William Blake”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, LXXII (2009), 29-47. One of the accused was freed for lack of witnesses, three were convicted, two of whom were sentenced to three months in prison, and the sentence of the fourth was not recorded. In all four cases, the evidence was first exhibited to the Home Office, which judged a conviction likely and provided funds for the prosecution. No such application to the Home Office was made in Blake’s case.

battalion of Chichester Volunteers.<sup>1143</sup> Blake wrote on 16 August 1803 that

The Lawyer who wrote down the Accusations told me in private [that they] are compelld by the Military to suffer a prosecution to be enterd into altho they must know & it is manifest that the whole is a Fabricated Perjury.

For another, all the justices who sat in judgment on Blake were connected with the Corps of Volunteers, and the Duke of Richmond, their chairman, was Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces in the south.

Some of the magistrates may have been ignorant of the differing jurisdictions of the Quarter Sessions and the Assizes, but this cannot have been true of the Duke of Richmond, who had been in Pitt's cabinet. He and the other magistrates chose to ignore the distinction and perhaps thereby secure a quick conviction.

And some of them were deeply suspicious of Blake. Hayley wrote that the Duke of Richmond "was bitterly prejudiced against Blake & had made some unwarrantable observations in the course of the trial, that might have excited prejudice in the jury."

But the verdict was not given by the magistrates, and the jury took only a few minutes of deliberation to declare Blake innocent.

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<sup>1143</sup> See G.E. Bentley, Jr., "Rex v. Blake: Sussex Attitudes toward the Military and Blake's Trial for Sedition in 1804", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, LVI (1993), 83-89.

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P. 203

footnote to letter from Hayley to Lady Hesketh of 18 July 1805, for “Cowper Museum, Olney” READ:

Cowper Newton Museum (Olney), on deposit since 1996 in Buckinghamshire County Record Office.

P. 204

To “Mr. Weller,” ADD FOOTNOTE:<sup>1144</sup>

P. 208, ADD:

In her letter to Hayley of 30 October 1805, Caroline Watson referred to Hayley's commission to her to order copies of his *Ballads* (1805) to be sent by the bookseller Richard Phillips to Hayley's friends.<sup>1145</sup>

My Aunt ... received from them [Phillips] the following statement to be sent to you

1805

July 3.<sup>d</sup> 6 Ballads M.<sup>r</sup> Huskisson

5 6 Do Do

3 Do M.<sup>r</sup> Blake<sup>1146</sup>

21 Do To Feltham<sup>1147</sup>

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<sup>1144</sup> John Weller, cabinet-maker, wood-carver, and auctioneer of 92 East Street, Chichester (Morton D. Paley, “William Blake and Chichester”, p. 217 of *Blake in Our Time*, ed. Karen Mulhallen (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

<sup>1145</sup> David Alexander, *Caroline Watson and Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge [England]: The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014), catalogue of an exhibition 23 Sept 2014-4 Jan 215, p. 109. Caroline Watson's letter is in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

<sup>1146</sup> One copy was sent on 18 July 1805 to Lady Hesketh by Hayley for Blake, and another copy was given with an inscription to "Mr Weller, | with grateful Rememranc[e,] from |William Blake" (Pierpont Morgan Library). Doubtless Blake kept a copy for himself.

	17	1 Do		M <sup>r</sup> Carr
August	3	3 Do		M <sup>r</sup> Huskisson
	5	12 Do	6 sewed blds <sup>1148</sup>	Do
Sept	14	4 Do	Do	Do <sup>1149</sup>

**P. 227 footnote**

**For “in the possession of Mr Wilfred Warrington” READ:**  
in Princeton University Library.

**ADD:**

In **August** Cromek placed another announcement in the  
*Monthly Magazine*:

Mr. Cromek intends to publish in the course of the ensuing winter a series of twelve engravings, etched 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 the most distinguished amateurs.<sup>1150</sup>

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<sup>1147</sup> Recte "Felpham."

<sup>1148</sup> "blds" presumably should be "bds", i.e., "boards". Normally copies not in boards were stitched in sheets.

<sup>1149</sup> These 56 copies presumably included the "30 Copies to present to my particular Friends" which Hayley had stipulated in his letter to Phillips of 28 Feb 1805 that he should receive in lieu of royalties. The sale price of the *Ballads* was 10s 6d.

<sup>1150</sup> Anon., “Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts”, *Monthly Magazine and British Register*, XXII, Part II (London: Richard Phillips, **July 1806**), 61. An emended version in the same section for next month omitted “twelve”, and added

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Probably later in the same month he placed a very similar puff in the *Universal Magazine*<sup>1151</sup> which added (1) after “etched”: “in a very superior style of engraving”; (2) after “patronage”: “the principal members of the Royal Academy, and”; and (3) before “the most distinguished amateurs”: “upwards of 300 of”. This suggests that Cromek’s exhibition of the Blair watercolours at the Royal Academy and the subscriptions of the members of the Royal Academy took place in July 1806, and that the favourable new publicity increased the number of subscribers to “upwards of 300”.

**P. 234**  
**to “rapt poetic expression” ADD footnote<sup>1152</sup>**

**P. 234**  
**ADD:**  
The engraver John Pye (1782-1874) about 1863

showed me [T.H. Cromek] a fine proof of Blake’s portrait [from Blair’s *Grave*], and an unfinished one, both on India paper. Blake, he said, was a vulgar looking man; the expression in the eyes, in

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“in a very superior style of excellence” and, after “subscriptions of”: “upwards of 250 of”.

<sup>1151</sup> 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*, N.S., VI (July 1806), 47-48.

<sup>1152</sup> T.H. Cromek reported a conversation with John Pye (1782-1874) about an engraving of Phillips’ portrait of Blake: “Blake, he said, was a vulgar looking man; the expression in the eyes, in the print, was an invention” (T.H. Cromek Archive Vol. VI, T.H. Cromek, Manuscript Journal and Conversations with John Pye).

the print, was an invention. My father had given him a set of proofs of "The Grave" "but," said he, "I gave them all away, except the portraits, for I must tell you, I never admired them. It is a great mistake to attempt to represent a soul, which one never saw: it may do in poetry – very well."<sup>1153</sup>

### P. 245

#### **Before the entry for 1 August 1807 ADD:**

In the summer of 1807, Cromek travelled North soliciting subscriptions for his edition of Blair's *Grave* and for the engraving from Stothard's "Canterbury Pilgrims". On 11 July 1807 he wrote from Edinburgh to his wife, "My dearest Bessy":

The Introductions I have had are y<sup>e</sup> best I could have had ...

The Booksellers here have given me great hopes about my Publication of *The Grave*. It is a fortunate thing that y<sup>e</sup> Poem is a Scotch one for I find the Scottish People even more national than I expected. What Currie will do I know not-- I shall advertise him in y<sup>e</sup> Edinbro' Papers. The Engraving is exceedingly admired<sup>1154</sup> ...

[Postscript:] I am quite busy preparing my

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<sup>1153</sup> Quoted from the sale catalogue (see 2008) of the Cromek Archive (Vol. VI) now in Princeton University Library.

<sup>1154</sup> The admired engraving is almost certainly the portrait of "James Currie, M.D. F.R.S.", "Engraved by R.H. Cromek" and "Published March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1807, by R.H. Cromek, 64 Newman Street, Oxford Street, Price 10.6."



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new Prospectus &c.<sup>1155</sup>

**P. 246**

Cromek industriously touted Blake's designs for Blair's *Grave*. He took them on a tour which included Edinburgh and arranged for a puff in the *Scots Magazine* for **July 1807**:

A Splendid Edition of Blair's *Grave* is about to be published, illustrated with paintings by Mr. Blake, an artist and poet of great and singular genius. These paintings are now exhibiting in [St] James's Square [Edinburgh] No. 9, by Mr Cromek, a very ingenious young artist, who proposes to engrave them for the above-mentioned work, for which he is now taking in subscriptions. A beautiful painting of the procession of Chaucer's pilgrims is exhibited at the same time, and Mr Cromek is also taking in subscriptions for an engraving which is to be made from it.<sup>1156</sup>

The statement that "Mr Cromek ... proposes to engrave them" means "proposes to have them engraved", for in May 1807 Cromek wrote to Blake about "Mr Schiavonetti ... etching a plate" for *The Grave*, and on 21 July 1807 Schiavonetti wrote

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<sup>1155</sup> The "new Prospectus" is probably for the engraving of Stothard's "Canterbury Pilgrims", but it could be the prospectus for *The Grave* which appeared in Cowdray's *Manchester Gazette* for 8 Nov 1807.

The letter is quoted from a reproduction of the manuscript in the Cromek Archive in Princeton University Library, Box 1, Folder 2.

<sup>1156</sup> Anon., "Scottish Literary Intelligence", *Scots Magazine, and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXIX (July 1807), 522; this and the reference in Sept 1808 were first reported by David Groves, "'Great and Singular Genius': Further References to Blake (and Cromek) in the *Scots Magazine*", *Blake*, XXXIX (2005), 47-48.

to Cromek about engraving “the last judgment”. The “beautiful painting of the procession of Chaucer’s pilgrims” which Cromek exhibited was Stothard’s, not Blake’s.

#### **P. 248**

Following the list of prints for Blair’s *Grave* in the *Manchester Gazette* (7 November 1807), for “and ‘The Reunion of the Soul & the Body’ is omitted, though Cromek listed it in his second prospectus of November 1805” **READ:**

The last print, “The Reunion of the Soul & the Body”, is omitted, almost certainly by accident, for Cromek listed it in his First Prospectus of November 1805, a proof has the imprint of 1 June 1806, and it is inconceivable that Cromek would have paid for an engraving and then omitted it.

#### **P. 249**

##### **After “Nancy Flaxman.” ADD:**

Blake’s letter to the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 July 1806 defending Fuseli’s painting of Count Ugolino from an anonymous attack in *Bell’s Weekly Messenger* had a surprising sequel. The young antiquary John Britton (1771-1857) wrote a jocular book called *The Pleasures of Human Life* (1807), in response to James Breresford’s *The Miseries of Human Life* (1806). Britton’s book is embellished with five prints after Thomas Rowlandson, and in the preface Britton defends embellishments which dutifully illustrate the book. However,

there are many *designing* men, unfortunately calling *themselves* artists who, like some methodist preachers, pay little regard to their text, though

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they religiously adhere to that part of the Mosaic law, which says, or implies, “thou shalt not imitate any thing in the heavens above,” (this, however, we will defy even Mr. Fuseli, or his successful pupil and advocate, Mr. Blake,<sup>1157</sup> to do) “on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.”— Thus prohibited from copying *created* nature, some of these *print designers* have a fair plea for substituting their *own creations* of fancy; and as these have no natural prototype, they baffle all criticism. Hence, *some designs* are called historical, and according to the boastful remarks of the drawer, are *inimitable illustrations* of the subject .... Indeed, gentlemen, *Designers*, Engravers and Publishers, these things “cry aloud” for reformation!!<sup>1158</sup>

Britton may be one of those Blake accused of being “So foolish [as] to think that they can wound M<sup>r</sup> Fuseli over my Shoulder”.<sup>1159</sup> Britton may have learned of Blake from his

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<sup>1157</sup> The former sublime artist exhibited a very *extraordinary* picture last year [Count of Ugolino] .... The immortal and justly esteemed Sir Joshua, having painted a very interesting, and apposite picture of this subject, some diurnal critic, thought proper to compare the two performances, and was rather hard upon the late professor [i.e., Fuseli]. Thus circumstanced, Mr. Blake couched his lance, and in the true quixotic style, attacked his and Mr. F’s anonymous [sic] adversary. An account of this rencontre may be seen in the Monthly Magazine, where the said Mr. B. endeavours to prove that the picture by Mr. F. is not only superior to that of Sir Joshua, but is, indeed, *superlatively excellent!!!* [Britton’s note]

<sup>1158</sup> John Britton, *The Pleasures of Human Life* (Boston, 1807), x-xii, indexed under “Fuseli; and his flatterer”. There was also an edition of London, 1807. The Blake reference was first pointed out by Wayne C. Ripley, “An Unrecorded Attack on William Blake”, *Notes and Queries*, CCLIII (2008), 418-420.

<sup>1159</sup> “Public Address” (*Notebook* p. 53).

friend Thomas Phillips, who painted Blake's portrait in April 1807 and whom Britton described as his "valued friend".<sup>1160</sup>

**P. 252**

**ADD:**

Cromek advertised *The Grave* in curiously different ways at the same time. In the *Leeds Mercury* for 4 June 1808 appeared his advertisement for

**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.<sup>1161</sup>

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<sup>1160</sup> Britton, *Autobiography* (1814), 316-317, cited from Ripley.

<sup>1161</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, "Printed and Published by Edward Baines at His Office, in Briggate, Leeds", XLI, 237 (4 June 1808), 1, discovered for me with great generosity by Helen Skilbeck, Information Librarian, Central Library, Leeds.

## William Blake and His Circle

Comparing it with the advertisement published next day in *The Bristol Gazette*, the date of publication of *The Grave* is said to be “the First Day of July” rather than “about six weeks”, Schiavonetti and the Royal Academy subscribers are not mentioned, nor are there Impressions to be seen in Leeds as there were in Bristol.

### P. 257

**To footnote ending “touched the infinite in expression’.” ADD paragraph:**

An anonymous review of David Scott's *Of Man, Six Monograms* (1831) in the *London Literary Gazette*, No. 736 (26 February 1831), 139, made “a comparison not to his [Scott’s] disadvantage with the best things of Blake, Fuseli, Flaxman, and even Michael Angelo”.

### P. 258

**After “W.B.S.”, ADD:**

On 11 July 1808, C. Griffith of Sarum wrote to Ozias Humphry at the Prince of Wales Hotel, Sloane Street, Knightsbridge, saying that she cannot deal with the newspapers and suggesting that Humphry give them to Blake[?] to care for.<sup>1162</sup>

### P. 259

**Add to footnote about Phillips’s portrait of Blake:**

There was a chorus of praise for Schiavonetti’s

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<sup>1162</sup> Royal Academy Archives HU/7/17, summarized as above in the Archives catalogue. I know nothing of the context and strongly suspect that the individual is not Humphry’s friend the poet-painter William Blake.

engraving: Anon., “Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts.” *Monthly Magazine*, XXIX, 7 (1 July 1810), 576-78, a memorial of Schiavonetti: “His etchings for Blair’s Grave; his head of Blake, after Phil[l]ips’s picture; are wonders in the style he adopted” (p. 577); Anon., “Exhibition at the Gallery (in Pall Mall) of the British Institution ... 1816”, *New Monthly Magazine*, V, 26 (1 March 1816), 154: The “Portrait of Thomas Bewick” engraved by Thomas Ranson after William Nicholson is a “brilliant portrait ... in a style of excellence and originality seldom witnessed and surpassed only by the extraordinarily fine portrait of Mr. Blake by SCHIAVONETTI after the academician PHIL[L]IPS”; Anon., “Fine Arts. Wilkie’s Blind Man’s Buff”, *Manchester Iris*, I, 22 (29 January 1822), 170: Schiavonetti’s “portraits of Vandyke and Blake ... entitle him to a high rank”.

**P. 262**

**To letter of 13 August 1808ADD:**

Money to receive.	£	
Mr Thos Bewick -----		0. 0. 0
John Davidson, Esqr <u>Rec'd 6 Feb<sup>y</sup></u> ----		2. 2. 0
Thos Davidson, Esqr <u>Paid 7 Jan<sup>y</sup></u> ----		2. 2. 0
Middleton Hewitson Esqr <u>returned the Book</u>		2. 2. 0
Mr Mitchell Printer -----		1.11. 6
Mr Richard Miller, Books -----		3. 3. 0
Mr Miller Mr Hewitson’s Book <u>returnd</u>		1.11.6
One of the Davidson’s paid me a Guinea & having lost or mislaid my Memorandum Book I cannot tell which; nor am I quite certain that Mr Redhead paid me but I		

William Blake and His Circle

think he did.<sup>1163</sup>

**P. 262**

**Footnote: for “Mr Wilfred Warrington” READ:**  
in Princeton University Library

**P. 262**

For “Grave”, “amongst”, “and I hope” **READ:**  
Grave ... among ... & I hope

**P. 262**

**After “approbation.”, the next sentence does not begin a  
paragraph.**

**P. 262**

**To footnote 714ADD:**  
The Blair subscription list includes under Newcastle-upon-  
Tyne “Mr. William Redhead, jun.”

**P. 264**

In **September 1808**, an advertisement appeared among a list of “New Works Published in Edinburgh” in the *Scots Magazine*, LXX (1808), 683: “Illustrations of Blair’s Grave, in 12 Etchings, executed by Louis Schiavonetti, from the Original Inventions of William Blake, 4to. 2l. 12s.6d.” And a long, generous review appeared in *The Scots Magazine* for November 1808 (*BR* (2) 274-75).

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<sup>1163</sup> T.H. Cromek Archive, Vol. IV, Letters and Manuscripts, mostly to Thomas Bewick, No 4, in Princeton University Library.

**P. 279**

**To footnote ending “writing backwards” ADD:**

Cumberland’s essay was reprinted in “Hints on Various Modes, etc.” from the “Journal de NICHOLSON, No. 126”, *Bibliothèque britannique, ou Recueil extrait des Ouvrages Anglais périodiques* [Genève], L (1821), 69-76.

**P. 281**

**ADD:**

On 25 June 1810 Cromek wrote to Bewick:

I thank you very kindly for your exertions relative to my publication of The Grave: and if I could serve you here, tenfold, be assured I should feel most happy to do it. ...

[Postscript:] A Cap.<sup>t</sup> Bainbridge called here some time ago, in my absence, for M.<sup>r</sup> Hewitsons Copy of the Grave. My wife, not knowing I had sent it to you, gave him one: so that M.<sup>r</sup> Hewitson’s copy has been returned to you. I received 1.1.0 of Cap.<sup>t</sup> Bainbridge: the other Guinea was paid by M.<sup>r</sup> Hewitson. RHC.<sup>1164</sup>

**P. 281**

**To the footnote about the author of**

*Letters from an Irish Student* **ADD:**

The review in the *Eclectic Review*, I (Oct 1809), 965-67, provides evidence "to doubt the genuineness of these 'Letters'"

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<sup>1164</sup> Transcript by T.H. Cromek in Princeton University Library. Under “Newcastle-upon-Tyne” in the *Grave* subscription list there were 7 names, including “Mr. Thomas Bewick” and “Middleton Hewitson, Esq.”



### William Blake and His Circle

and notes the number of adulatory references to Richard Phillips (e.g., "Amongst the most enterprising booksellers of the day, I am informed that *Mr. Sheriff Phillips takes the lead*"), "though the name of Richard Phillips is *not* on the title-page", and the review in the *Universal Magazine* (reprinted in *Select Reviews, and Spirit of The Foreign Magazines* [Philadelphia], III, xiv (1810), 85-87) says of the *Letters*, "Their origin is to be found in the wish of the bookseller and written to make a saleable commodity".

The "Irish" student had good information, for Blake had defended Fuseli in the context of Michael Angelo in his letter to the editor (Richard Phillips) of the *Monthly Magazine*, XXI (1 July 1806), 520-21.

### P. 281 1809

“William Blake, Esq.” appears in

PROPOSALS | FOR PUBLISHING BY  
SUBSCRIPTION, | A Series of Engravings on  
Wood, | FROM | SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS, |  
IN THE MANNER OF | *QUARLES'S EMBLEMS*,  
| AFTER THE | DESIGNS OF J. THURSTON,  
ESQ. | AND EXECUTED BY | THE MOST  
EMINENT ENGRAVERS ON WOOD. | THE  
SUBJECTS WILL BE SELECTED, AND THE  
DESCRIPTIONS WRITTEN, BY | *THE REV. J.*  
*THOMAS, A.M.* | **D**ESIROUS that my Friend Mr.  
THURSTON'S Talents, with which the World have  
long been | partially acquainted, should be more

fully known, I thought *Divine Emblems* particularly suited | to his Genius, the Subjects for which might be selected from Quotations of Scripture, as in | QUARLES'S celebrated Work on the same Subject: taking care to choose such only as were | best adapted to the Wants and Comforts of Man in his present State, and most likely to suggest | and enforce the due Preparation for a happy Immortality.

The Art of Engraving on Wood being yet in its Infancy, and presuming, with many respec- | table and distinguished Artists, that it is capable of producing Effects infinitely superior to what | has hitherto been seen, the Object of this Work is to present to the Public the most perfect Spe- | cimen that has ever yet been executed.

J. THOMAS. | - |

#### CONDITIONS.

1. The Work will consist of Twenty Engravings, with a Head and Tail-piece, and will be printed in Royal | Quarto, on India Paper, by T. BENSLEY, in his best Style.
2. The Price to SUBSCRIBERS will be TWO GUINEAS .... | ... The Price will be considerably advanced to Non-Subscribers.
3. The Work is intended to be published with all due Dispatch. | Subscriptions are received by ROBINSON and SON, Paternoster Row; MILLER, Albemarle Street; WILLIAMS, | Strand; COLNAGHI, Cockspur Street;

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DEIGHTON, Cambridge; and COOKE, Oxford;  
PARISH, Circulating | Library, Epsom; Mr.  
THURSTON, Twickenham Common; and the  
Rev. JOSEPH THOMAS, Abele Grove, | near  
Epsom. | - | [Printed by Thomas Bensley]  
Bolt Court Printing Office, Fleet Street  
[?1809].

The “William Blake, Esq.” in the “List of Subscribers” in the Prospectus and in the published work (Ackermann, 1809) may well be the poet despite the elevating “Esq.” Almost all the males in the Lists who have no other title (Rev, Captain, Earl, Doctor) and who are not blatantly commercial (like the booksellers) are endowed with “Esq.”—even the Yorkshire engraver “R.H. Cromeck, Esq. 2 Copies”—just as tailors in Oxford used to do for undergraduates, even when the students were benighted colonials. Note that the designer’s style above is “J. THURSTON, ESQ.” but as a subscription-collector he is “Mr. THURSTON”.

The 138 subscribers for 198 copies include Blake’s friends and patrons W.S. Poyntz, Esq., John Flaxman, R.A., Richard Cosway, R.A., and Henry Fuseli, R.A. The subscription list in the work as published has 178 subscribers for 249 copies, so this Proposal apparently elicited 40 new subscribers (including Mr Charles Heath, perhaps the engraver [1785-1848]) for 51 new copies.

R.H. [Robert Hunt] says in *The Examiner* (July 1808), 494, “We have lately seen some specimens” of it (there is no specimen with the Prospectus) in which “Nothing ... can exceed these specimens in richness, sweetness, and delicacy of tint”, and *The Repository of Arts*, II (Sept 1809), 183, 252,

announced that the book would be published in September and reviewed it in October.

The subscription price of £2.2.0 is substantial for an engraver like Blake, the sum he might have expected for a week's engraving work, but perhaps he had a special price or a gift because of his special relationship with the author who, according to Nancy Flaxman (Sept 1805) "wishes to collect all B---- has done". Thomas commissioned from Blake his 6 watercolours for Milton's *Comus*, 6 for his Shakespeare first folio (1806-9), 12 for *Paradise Lost* (1807), 6 for "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1809), and also bought Blair's Grave with Blake's designs (1808) and *Songs* (Q, 1810).

#### **P. 282**

##### **Before the entry for August 1809, ADD:**

On **4 August 1809** Cromek in Edinburgh wrote a joint letter to his wife ("My dearest love") and to his daughter ("My dear Maria") about his various commercial enterprises. The letter began:

I wish you would go out to Mr. Schiavonetti & see what he is about. I think it very proper. Have you got any Money for The Grave?<sup>1165</sup>

#### **P. 287**

##### **ADD:**

Cromek wrote to Thomas Bewick on **20 December 1809** saying that having paid Schiavonetti 300 guineas (part of the

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<sup>1165</sup> The letter is quoted from a reproduction of the manuscript in the Cromek Archive in Princeton University Library, Box 1, Folder 2.

## William Blake and His Circle

total payment of 800 guineas for engraving Stothard's Canterbury Pilgrims), he found himself in a state of penury and asked if Bewick has "a few guineas about your town" from the subscriptions for Blair's Grave.<sup>1166</sup>

### P. 295

#### ADD:

Louis Schiavonetti wrote to the publishers Messrs Cadell & Davies on **30 January 1810** discussing engraving commission and referred in passing to "Blake's Portrait for Mr. Cromek" which he had engraved for Blair's *Grave* (1808).

### Pp. 301

#### to "etching of Mr. Blake's portrait" ADD FOOTNOTE:

In a letter apparently post-marked 1810, Schiavonetti wrote: "I wish to know whether it would make any material difference was I to execute it [a portrait of Lord Grey] in a free line manner similar to Blake's Portrait for Mr Cromek ..." (one of three letters watermarked 1803-1810 offered in the auction catalogue of Bonhams (London), 29 March 2011, lot 326, no recipient identified).

### Pp. 302-303

In an undated letter to George Cumberland, Charles Henry Bellenden Ker wrote that his commission to Blake for two drawings, for which Ker did not wish to pay, was given "2 years ago" when he "was not of age". As Ker was christened on 18 February 1787,<sup>1167</sup> the commission was

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<sup>1166</sup> T.H. Cromek Archive, Vol. IV, Letters and Manuscripts, mostly to Thomas Bewick, No. 6, in Princeton University Library.

<sup>1167</sup> According to W.R. Cornish, and David J.A. Cairns, "Ker, Charles Henry

presumably given in late 1807 or very early 1808 when he came of age, and the present letter may be of 1809 or 1810.

**P. 304**

**To "Mr. Clark as Filch" ADD Footnote:**

The information about Blake and *The Beggars' Opera* is also given by Juninus, "Conversations on the Arts", *Repository of Arts*, No. 57 (Aug 1813), 60.

**P. 306**

**ADD:**

Cromek wrote to Thomas Bewick in Newcastle on 24 December 1810:

I must now make my most grateful acknowledgements for your exertions in collecting the money for Blair's Grave. I am really ashamed that your fellow Townsmen should have trespassed so much on your patience and time.<sup>1168</sup> ...

[Postscript] The Plate of the Canterbury Pilgrimage is advancing & will be ready for Publication next winter. M.<sup>r</sup> Schiavonetti's Etching will be finished by M.<sup>r</sup> Bromley & myself. I think you have one Book of The Grave left. If you have pray present it to your Son with my Respects. —

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Bellenden(*formerly* Charles Henry Gawler] (c. 1785-1871), law reformer ...", Vol. XXXI, p. 379, of *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), Ker was "Baptized at St Andrews, Holborn, London, on 18 February 1787"; *BR* (2) 302fn, says Ker's "birth year is not known (?1785 ...)".

<sup>1168</sup> Of course the trespasser was Cromek.

**P. 306**

**ADD:**

Leigh Hunt returned to the attack on Blake in **October 1810** in the context of "the abuses of the Cabala – of the Great Secret", of the Rosicrucians, Zoroaster ....

Monsieur, the Count de Gabalis, may have had the power of invisibility,--a very common virtue with such sages; and the egregious Mr. Blake, who wages such war with Titian and Corregio, both in his writings and paintings, may tell us that he is inspired by certain spirits to alter the human figure;- -but to be out of sight can as little benefit mankind as to be out of nature.<sup>1170</sup>

**P. 306, ADD:**

Blake's great engraving of "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims" was "Published October 8. 1810", and at least one copy was coloured by Blake but not sold. It is inscribed:

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<sup>1169</sup> Manuscript transcript by T.H. Cromek in Princeton University Library.

<sup>1170</sup> [James Henry Leigh Hunt], "Art. XI. Account of a Familiar Spirit, who visited and conversed with the Author, in a manner equally new and forcible, shewing the Carnivorous Duties of All Rational Beings and the true End of Philosophy", *Reflector, a Quarterly Magazine*, Conducted by the Editor of the *Examiner* [Leigh Hunt], I (**Oct 1810**), 90 (the whole essay is on pp 86-99). It is reprinted in *Analecta Magazine* [Philadelphia], N.S., IV (**Oct 1814**), 313-316 (the Blake reference is on p. 315), with minor changes such as "showing" for "shewing". When the essay was again reprinted as "The Nightmare" in Leigh Hunt's *The Seer, or, Common-Places Refreshed*, Part 2 (London: Edward Moxon, **1841**), 44-49, the first three paragraphs including the Blake passage were omitted.

In his review of Blake's exhibition in *The Examiner* for 17 Sept 1809, Leigh Hunt's brother Robert wrote of Blake's "egregious vanity" and his opinion of Titian and Corregio.

"This print was colored by the artist W. Blake, and given by Mrs Blake to F. Tatham Esq<sup>r.</sup>".<sup>1171</sup>

**P. 309**

**After "the Chimney Sweeper." ADD:**

Ariel,<sup>1172</sup> "Blake, Dichter, Schwärmer, und Mahler zugleich", *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* [Tubingen], No. 86 (10 April 1811), 341-343, gives "Der Tiger" in English and German as in [H.C. Robinson's essay in] *Vaterländisches Museum* (January 1811) (pp. 589-90 below), which it cites.

**P. 310**

**After the first paragraph ADD:**

In his essay in *Vaterländisches Museum*, Crabb Robinson had written that "we wish to make our author as well known as possible".<sup>1173</sup> His wish was partly fulfilled in an essay, apparently by Ariel,<sup>1174</sup> called "Zeichen der Zeit in Blicken auf die englische Literatur: | Blake, Dichter, Schwärmer und Mahler zugleich", *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* [Tübingen], No. 86 (10 April 1811), 341-343. The essay contains nothing about Blake beyond what Robinson had written save for occasionally relevant references to Fisher Ames, Johann Daniel Falk, Schelling, and Ludwig Tieck, who were not elsewhere mentioned in connection with Blake

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<sup>1171</sup> R.N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 62 (copy 2C, in a private collection).

<sup>1172</sup> It is not clear to me whether "Ariel" is a pseudonym for the author of the *Morgenblatt* essay or serves some other purpose.

<sup>1173</sup> BR (2) 601.

<sup>1174</sup> It is not clear to me whether "Ariel" at the very end is a pseudonym for the author of the *Morgenblatt* essay or serves some other purpose. Ariel does not recur in *Morgenblatt*.



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during his lifetime. The most interesting novelty of the essay is its imitation in German of "The Tyger", which is quite distinct from that in *Vaterländisches Museum*.

Signs of the Times\* Seen in English Literature.

Blake, Poet, Enthusiast and Painter<sup>1175</sup>

Whoever would like more detailed information about this outstanding visionary of genius, will find it in the most recent piece in the unfortunately prematurely closed *Vaterländisches Museum*,<sup>1176</sup> edited by Perthes in Hamburg. What people in Germany lightly attribute to the influence of a new school, comes unaffectedly in England, and in Blake fully proclaims itself as a phenomenon of the times. There too people began to look once again at the old songs and popular poetry; it can certainly not be overlooked, that critics are still in love with the polished style of the Popish school; but a few Nature poets of outstanding genius, among whom the Scottish peasant Robert Burns<sup>\*\*</sup> deserves a leading place, through their living example shook the old theory that the essence of the art of poetry was a flowing metre far more than the critics with their dead one were in a position to shore it up. From North America there recently arose the voice of a novelist with the name of Fischer Ames,<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

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<sup>1175</sup> The translation here is by Alan Kahan and John Koster, with occasional twitches by GEB, chiefly to bring it into conformity with the translation of *Vaterländisches Museum* in *BR* (2). Note that the starred footnotes are in *Morgenblatt*, the numbered ones are by GEB.

<sup>1176</sup> [Henry Crabb Robinson], "William Blake, Künstler, Dichter und religiöser Schwärmer" [tr. Dr Nicolaus Heinrich Julius], *Vaterländisches Museum*, II (1811), 107-31 (see *BR* (2) 573-93 in German, 594-603 in English).

who in a manly tone zealously opposed the introduction of many children's books, for example von Berquin's sentimental fables<sup>1177</sup> and the like, into education, and against it recommended a return to the old Bible-based national instruction; to a book, that for this reason too deserves to be preferred to any other, "because it is written in the best, most classical and purest English". If people rightly are astonished at this unplanned encounter of two nations and their leading writers on this one and the same ground,\*\*\*\* produced simply based on the demands of a great period, so will this astonishment only increase, if now one finds again in Blake (who incidentally is said to be over 50 years old,<sup>1178</sup> and has hardly ever been heard of or read by the modern German school), the same results as in Ludwig Tieck and others, to whom the majority of our critics have been so offensive. "The great and golden rule of art--these are Blake's own words--is, that the more distinct, sharp, and wirey the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art, and the less keen and sharp, the greater is the evidence of weak imitation, plagiarism, and bungling. Great inventors, in all ages, knew this. Protogenes and Apelles knew each other by this line. Rafael, Michel Angelo, and Albert Dürer are

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<sup>1177</sup> For instance, [Berquin, Arnaud] *The Blossoms of Morality Intended for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen by the Editor of the Looking-Glass for the Mind, with Forty-Seven Cuts, Designed and Engraved by I. Bewick* (London: E. Newbery, 1796).

<sup>1178</sup> *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811) ¶2 (BR (2) 574, 594).

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known by this and this alone. The want of this determinate and bounding form evidences the idea of want in the artist's mind, and the pretence of the plagiary in all its branches. How do we distinguish the oak from the beech, the horse from the ox, but by the bounding outline? How do we distinguish one face or countenance from another, but by the bounding line and its infinite inflexions and movements? What is it that builds a house and plants a garden, but the definite and determinate?"<sup>1179</sup> (Character. Cf. Goethe's *Collector*<sup>1180</sup> and Falk's *Treatise on Poetry and Art* of 1803) in which character receives its complete due as the foundation of all art: consider also Schelling's speech at the Munich Academy<sup>1181</sup> which does not hesitate to propose the principle that, without the completion of that which we call character, no acts of artistic or natural creation would be possible.\*) "What is it that distinguishes honesty from knavery, but the hard and wirey line of rectitude and certainty in the actions and intentions? Leave out this line and you leave out life itself; all is chaos again, and the line of the Almighty must be drawn out upon it before man or beast can exist. Talk no more then of Correggio or Rembrandt, or any other of those plagiaries of Venice and Flanders. They were but the lame

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<sup>1179</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue* ¶110 is quoted from *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811) (*BR* (2)578 [in German] and 596 [in English]).

<sup>1180</sup> "Der Sammler und die Seinigen", *Propyläen* [Herausgegeben von Goethe], Vol. II, Part 2 (1799), 26-122..

<sup>1181</sup> Probably *Über das Verhältnis der bildenden Künste zu der Natur* (1807).

imitators of lines drawn by their predecessors."<sup>1182</sup>

He calls Rubens a most outrageous demon,<sup>1183</sup> and elsewhere Blake says: "If losing and obliterating the outline constitutes a Picture, Blake will never be so foolish as to do one. There is no difference between Rafael's Pictures, except that the fresco-pictures are more finished than the cartoons."<sup>1184</sup>

For Blair's Grave, a well-loved English poem, Blake produced twelve drawings in addition to an excellent head.<sup>1185</sup> The famous Fuseli said of this work: "The groups and single figures on their own basis, abstracted from the general composition, and considered without attention to the plan, frequently exhibit those genuine and unaffected attitudes, those simple graces, which nature and the heart alone can dictate, and only an eye inspired by both, discover. Every class of artists, in every stage of their progress or attainments, from the student to the finished master, and from the contriver of ornament to the painter of history, will find here materials of art and hints of improvement."<sup>1186</sup> This is the first work that brought attention to Blake in London. ["]Even as a boy, he passionately admired

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<sup>1182</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue* ¶110.

<sup>1183</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue* ¶97 somewhat approximated.

<sup>1184</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue* ¶109, where the second sentence precedes the first and has been somewhat adjusted in German.

<sup>1185</sup> The portrait of Blake is by Thomas Phillips.

<sup>1186</sup> Fuseli's puff (Nov 1805) for *The Grave* with Blake's 15 designs and engravings (*BR* (2) 211) is quoted from *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811).

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Gothic architecture, and passed whole days in drawing the monuments in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1187</sup> ["]The newer fashions in drawing and engraving (the points) he straightforwardly declares to be sins against art; and so he has preferred, in his phrase, to be a martyr for his religion, i.e., his art, to debasing his talents by a weak submission to the prevailing fashion of art."<sup>1188</sup> Chiaroscuro he simply calls a hellish tool in the hands of Venetian and Flemish demons. ["]Like Swedenborg, Blake finds himself among a community of angels. He told someone, from whose mouth we have the story, that once when he was carrying home a picture which he had done for a lady of rank and was wanting to rest in an inn, the angel Gabriel touched him on the shoulder and said: 'Blake, why are you tarrying here? Walk on, thou shouldst not be tired!' He arose and went on unwearied.<sup>1189</sup> ["]

Blake's fiery poetic talent may be seen in the following truly sublime little lyrical piece, which carries the title "The Tyger" and which we follow with a free German imitation.

### The Tyger.

1190

....

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<sup>1187</sup> Paraphrased from *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811) (BR(2) 574, 595.

<sup>1188</sup> Slightly adapted from *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811) (BR (2) 574-575, 595.

<sup>1189</sup> The anecdote of the angel Gabriel comes entirely from *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811) (BR (2) 583-4 [in German], 599 [in English]).

<sup>1190</sup> Transcriptions of "The Tyger" in English, ignoring variants in punctuation.

**Blake**

*VaterländischesMuseum* *Morgenblatt*

	[Version in <i>Vaterländisches Museum</i>
Tiger, Tiger, Flammenpracht,	Tiger, Tiger, Flammenpracht,
In des Waldesdunkler Nacht,	In den Wälderndüstrer Nacht!
Wo die tühne Meisterhand,	Sprich, wes Gottes Aug und Hand,
Die sich dieses unterstaub?	Dich so furchtbarschönverband?
Dass die Gimtsieangefasst,	Stammt von Himmel, aus der Hüll',
Die du in den Augen hast;	Dir der Augen Feuerquell?
Ward aus Himmel, oder hell'	Welche Flügelträgt du kühn?
Ausgeschöpftihr Feuerquell?	Werwagtwohlzunah'ndem Glühn?
Alles, wieauseinem Guss!	Welche Stärke, welche Kunst,
Welche Hand und welch ein Fuss!	Wobssinnreich      Herzensbrunst?
Aller Wesenlesster Tag, fand,	Alsdein Herz den Pulsempfand,

---

l. 8	dare sieze the	dares seize the	dares seize de
l. 9	& what art	and what art	and what art
l. 12	& what dread feet	and what dread feet	and what dread feet
l. 16	its	it's	it's
l. 20	Lamb	lamb	lamb
l. 24	dare	could	[ll. 21-24 omitted]

William Blake and His Circle

Tiger, ist dein herzenschlag.	Welch ein Fuss? und welche Hand?
Wo die Esse, die so stolz	Was ist Hammer? Ketten klirrn?
Dieses Hirnaus Erzdirmschmolz?	Welche Esseschmolz dein Hirn?
Was du aufass'st--das ist roth:	Was ist Amboss? Welcher Held
Was du aufgefasst —ist todt! Pfeile schoss das Sternenbeer;	Muth in deinem Arm behält? Aus den Sternen flog der Speer, Engel zitterten umber;
Engel zitterten umber;	Thränendwarb der Himmel Meer:
Tiger, wild und füchterlich,	Schaut' erlächelnd da auf dich?
Der 'das kammschuf--schufer schuferdich?	Der das Lammschuf, dich?
[ll. 21-24 omitted]	Tiger, Tiger, Flammenpracht In den Wälderndüstrer Nacht! Sprich, wess Gottes Aug und Hand, Dich so furchtbar schönverband?]

\* We see this essay itself as a sign of the times, and offer it as such; but remain behind the times. Editor

\*\* The Works of Robert Burns with an account of his life etc. in 4 volumes, 4. Edition. London 1803.

\*\*\* Works of Fisher Ames. Boston, 1809.

\*\*\*\* One compares this North American statement to the following view,

expressed by Goethe in the second part of his theory of colours, that the historical contains, sometimes with fewer, but extremely meaningful words, has laid down, and which we here append to this essay. "Whoever knows the human heart", it says there on p. 138 "the way individuals are formed, will agree that an excellent man could be brought up and competently educated without recourse to any other book besides, say, Tschudi's Schweizer Chronik [*Chronicon Helveticum*] or Aventinus' Baverische Chronik. How much better then must the Bible lend itself to this purpose, since it was the model of those first-named books: and since the people, as whose chronicle it presents itself, have exercised and indeed still do exercise, so great an influence on world events." After expressing some wishes for concise historical supplements to this book, Goethe continues on page 139: if this were to happen, "this work would deserve to be restored straight away to its former status, not only as a universal book but also as part foundation, part pedagogical tool, for the use, of course, not of charlatans, but of the truly wise."

### **P. 312**

**Wordsworth thought that Blake had “the elements of poetry – a thousand times more than ... Byron”, ADD FOOTNOTE<sup>1191</sup>**

### **P. 314**

**about the Associated Painters in Water Colour exhibition**  
“The landlord seized the contents of the gallery in

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<sup>1191</sup> According to Sidney Colvin, *Memoirs & Notes of Persons & Places 1852-1912* (N.Y.: Charles Scribners & Places 1912), 51:

Trelawney declared his great admiration for William Blake, whose work, unread and ignored among the associates of his youth, had only in later years become known to him through the publication of Gilchrist's *Life* and Rossetti's reprints. He proceeded to recite standing, with the full force of his tremendous voice, some stanzas of Blake's poem "London" from the *Songs of Experience*:—

In every cry of every man  
In every infant's cry of fear,  
In every voice, in every ban,  
The mind-forged manacles I hear,--

and so forth.



### William Blake and His Circle

distrain of rent”,<sup>1192</sup> including Blake’s Chaucer’s Pilgrims (lot 254), “The Spiritual Form of Pitt” (lot 279), “The Spiritual Form of Nelson” (lot 280), and “Detached Specimens of ... *Jerusalem*”<sup>1193</sup> (lot 324). Thomas Butts, who apparently owned “Nelson” and Chaucer,<sup>1194</sup> may have bought them – or bought them back – from the distraining landlord.

### P. 315

**DELETE footnote:** “The enigmatic ‘Sign’ may be a misprint for ‘design’”.

### ADD:

Blake painted a design on a wood panel about 6’ x 8’ for a sign-board for The Talbot Inn (renamed when it was rebuilt after the original Tabarde Inn burned down in 1676). The design represented two men in hats holding hands while a friar addresses them. Behind are three horsemen and buildings. It was displayed on the second-floor balcony of the Inn for over sixty years, where it could be seen by every passerby, and it was repeatedly reproduced.<sup>1195</sup> However, Blake’s name was rarely associated with it, and his responsibility for it was

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<sup>1192</sup> J.L. Rogers, *History of the Old Water Colour Society* (1891), I, 271, noted in *BBunder Jerusalem* but not under the 1812 catalogue, nor in Butlin (1981), No. 649, 651, 653, and *BR* (2) (mea culpa).

<sup>1193</sup> Probably *Jerusalem* pl. 25, 32, 46 (*BB* 262-263).

<sup>1194</sup> They were sold by his son in 1853. The history of “Pitt” is not known before 1882 when Samuel Palmer’s son offered it for sale at auction – Samuel Palmer was seven years old in 1812.

<sup>1195</sup> There were representations of the Tabard/Talbot Inn showing Blake’s sign by George H. Shepherd in 1810, in *Gentleman’s Magazine* (Sept 1812), *Circulator of Useful Knowledge* (19 Feb 1825), *Mirror of Literature* (26 Oct 1826), *London and Its Environs in the Nineteenth Century*, Illustrated by Thomas H. Shepherd (1831), *Mirror of Literature* (21 Sept 1833), *London*, ed. Charles Knight (1841), and *Once a Week* (26 Jan 1867). The building, and presumably the much-weathered sign, were demolished in 1873.

scarcely known before 2010.

**P. 321**

**Add footnote**

Gilchrist says he "was wont to affirm: 'First thoughts are best in art, second thoughts in other matters'."

He held that nature should be learned by heart, and remembered by the painter, as the poet remembers language. "To learn the language of art, copy for ever, is my rule," said he. But he never painted his pictures from models. "Models are difficult – enslave one – efface from one's mind a conception or reminiscence which was better."<sup>1196</sup>

**P. 330**

**At bottom of the page ADD:**

In **October 1817** appeared an obituary of the young engraver and painter Richard Bean (1792-1817), who made "an exquisite portrait he engraved of Blake from Sc[h]iavonetti, when he had not been more than two years under the tuition of a master". "Among English painters the sublime conceptions of Blake, the epic compositions of Barry, and the unrivalled graces of Stothard, were the object of his admiration, attention, and imitation."<sup>1197</sup>

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<sup>1196</sup> BR (2) 321; quoting Gilchrist, 370. "To learn the Language of Art Copy for Ever is My Rule" is quoted from Blake's marginalia (1802?) to Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Works* (1798), third contents leaf, but the other phrases attributed to Blake are not in his surviving writings.

<sup>1197</sup> Anon., "Richard Bean, Esq.", *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXII (**Oct 1817**), 368-369. In the National Portrait Gallery is an undated engraving by

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**P. 344 fn**

**Before “Gilbert Dyer” ADD:**

Gilbert Dyer [Jr] (b. 1776), the son of

**and after “1788”) ADD:**

(see J.B. Mertz, “Gilbert Dyer: An Early Blake Vendor?”, *Blake*, XL [2007], 147-49)

**P. 363**

**footnote to “Blake-Varley Sketchbook”:**

This cumulation of Blake’s Visionary Heads also appeared in “Blake’s Visionary Heads: Lost Drawings and a Lost Book”, Chapter 12 (pp. 183-205) of *Romanticism and Millenarianism*, ed. Tim Fulford (N.Y. and Basingstoke: palgrave, 2002).

**P. 370**

**ADD:**

In his pocket-book for Saturday 3 June 1820, George Cumberland wrote that his son “Sydney came 12 oclock [illeg.] Went to see Blake – also to Surgeons college to introduce [?him] to Mr [William] Clift –“ the distinguished curator of the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln’s Inn Fields and to discuss Clift’s purchase of a fossil.<sup>1198</sup>

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Richard Bean of Joseph Goupy (reproduced online). Charles George Dyer, *Biographical Sketches of the Lives and Characters of Illustrious and Eminent Men Illustrated with Whole Length Portraits* (London: C.G. Dyer and H. Setchel and Son, 1819) is dedicated “To the Memory of My Most Excellent and Accomplished Friend, Richard Bean”. Dyer was with Bean when he drowned at Hastings on 24 June 1817.

<sup>1198</sup> The information about this Cumberland pocket book entry derives from

**P. 374**

**After "Henry Richter, Constable, and John Varley." ADD:**

In 1821 the Blakes moved to two rooms in the cul de sac of 3 Fountain Court Strand, which they rented from Catherine's brother-in-law Henry Banes. Here they remained until Blake's death in 1827.

**P. 378**

**In the footnote to "Dyer", for "Lamb's friend George Dyer" READ:**

Charles George Dyer (1787-1840), whose intimate friend the engraver and painter Richard Bean (1792-1817) profoundly admired "the sublime compositions of Blake" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXII [Oct 1817], 369) and who dedicated to Bean his *Biographical Sketches of ... Eminent Men* (1819). Another possibility is Gilbert Dyer [Jr] (b. 1776), the son of the Exeter bookseller Gilbert Dyer (1743-1820) (as in p. 344 fn).

**P. 385**

**After "gentle manliness", ADD:**

An enigmatic reference to the English Poet Blake appeared in **October 1822**: "Schon der berühmte Englische Dichter Blake besang prophetisch vor einem Decennium in seinem temple of

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Angus Whitehead, "Went to see Blake – also to Surgeons college": Blake and George Cumberland's Pocketbooks", pp. 172-186 in *Blake in Our Time*, ed. Karen Mulhallen (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2010). It seems likely to me that the person being introduced to Mr Clift was not Blake (pace Whitehead) but Cumberland's son Sydney, who often acted as his father's agent in London.

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Cove [?love] Griechenlands in Amerika wieder aufblühende Cultur.”<sup>1199</sup>

### P. 386

#### After “£49.6.6 in 1825” ADD:

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”. 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* plates 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 of 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>1200</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 originally used for Pl. II-III of Henri Louis Duhamel du

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<sup>1199</sup> Anon., “Was den Greichen noch übrig bleibt?”, *Politiches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen* [Hamburg], Jahrgang 1822 Ersten Band (**October 1822**), 886. I know of no reference in Blake to a Temple of Cove or Love (though “loves temple” is in his “Everlasting Gospel” [Notebook p. 50, l. 65]) or to Greece in America.

<sup>1200</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, 148-151, generously sent to me.

Monceau, *A Practical Treatise of Husbandry* [tr. John Mills] (1762) which 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 copperplates was at the rate of 8.6 g for a penny, doubtless reduced in cost because they had already been used.

The two copperplates not included 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 copperplates purchased. Pl. 1 bears vertically at the bottom right corner the copperplate-maker's mark of G HARRIS | N<sup>o</sup> 31<sup>1201</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 plat – '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. At the rate of the other PONTIFEX copperplates (11.6g for a penny), the cost would have been 5s 8d.

### P. 387

In **September 1823** William Hazlitt published an essay "On the Old Age of Artists" in which he remarked in passing:

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<sup>1201</sup> Not "No 3", as in *BB* 518.

## William Blake and His Circle

Flaxman is ... a profound mystic. This last is a character common to many other artists in our days – Louthembourg, Cosway, Blake, [William] Sharp, Varley, &c--who seem to relieve the literalness of their professional studies by voluntary excursions into the regions of the preternatural, pass their time between sleeping and waking, and whose ideas are like a stormy night, with the clouds driven rapidly across, and the blue sky and stars gleaming between!<sup>1202</sup>

### P. 387

#### For “James S. Deville asked permission to take a cast of Blake’s head” READ:

James De Ville took a cast of Blake’s head, probably at his Phrenological Museum at 367, Strand,<sup>1203</sup> just opposite Fountain Court.

### P. 388

Sarah Banes, the sister and landlady of Catherine Blake, died in **March 1824**. She had been the “sole Executrix and Legatee named in the ... former Will” of her husband Henry Banes.<sup>1204</sup>

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<sup>1202</sup> [Hazlitt, William], “On the Old Age of Artists”, *New Monthly Magazine*, VIII (**Sept 1823**), 33, reprinted in his *Plain Speaker* (**1826**). The account of Blake and other mystics is reprinted in Anon., “Table-Talk.—Old Age of Artists. (New Mon.)”, *Spirit of the English Magazines* [Boston], XIV (**1 Nov 1823**), 107-111.

<sup>1203</sup> See James De Ville, *Outlines of Phrenology, as an Accompaniment to the Phrenological Bust* (London: Published by J. De Ville, 367, Strand, 1821).

<sup>1204</sup> Information about the death of Sarah Banes derives from the authentication (6 Feb 1829) of the will (9 Dec 1826) of Henry Banes reproduced in Angus Whitehead, “‘I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel’ ...”, *Blake*, XXXIX (2006), 84-85.

**P. 388**

**ADD:**

In 1823 an essay entitled “The Juvenile Artist” appeared in *The Percy Anecdotes Original and Select* By Sholto and Reuben Percy [i.e., Joseph Clinton Robertson and Thomas Byerley], Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery, Mont Benger (London: T. Boys, **1823**), III, 159-61. The essay was silently lifted, with adjustments,<sup>1205</sup> from Malkin’s account (1806) of Blake’s youthful studies (“Mr. William Blake ... Gothicised imagination”, *BR* (2) 562-563), concluding:

Such was the occupation of Blake when a young apprentice, and the drawings which he made in his holiday hours at this period he afterwards engraved. They were published, and would not have reflected disgrace on artists of double his age and experience.

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<sup>1205</sup> The chief of the adjustments are:

<b>Malkin</b>	<b>“The Juvenile Artist”</b>
“the king’s palaces”	“all the king’s palaces”
“The same indulgent parent soon”	“He also”
“ buy prints”	“purchase prints”
“Henskerck”	“Henskerck”
“to whom he served ... they too cunning”	“In the early part of his apprenticeship to Basire”
“He saw the simple ... of modern practice”	<i>Omitted</i>
“The monuments of Kings and Queens”	“The Monuments”
“which surrounded the chapel ... and his Queen”	<i>Omitted</i>
“These exquisite little figures ... in and about London”	<i>Omitted</i>



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**P. 398**

**Under 4 August 1824, omit "Perhaps Blake brought ... C Blake" and most of the footnote ("The engraving ... own copy") but leave the last paragraph of the footnote after deleting "also".**

**P. 399**

**After "Purgatorio and Paradiso" ADD:**

There is no record of the original cost of the copperplates for Dante, but it seems very likely that Linnell acquired them, as he did those for *Job* (1823, 1825), but neglected to record them in his account books. As the weight of the 7 Dante copperplates (11,209 g) was more than that of the 22 copperplates for *Job* (10,516 g), the cost is likely to have been more than that for *Job* (£3.11.7, not counting two copperplates whose prices are unknown).

**P. 418**

**Footnote to "he fetched the porter for dinner himself from the house at the corner of the Strand"<sup>1206</sup>**

**P. 418**

On **25 November 1825** (the post-mark date), Blake wrote to John Linnell:

Dear Sir

M<sup>r</sup> Banes says his Kitchen is at our Service to do as we please. I should like to know from the

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<sup>1206</sup> The public house was The Coal Hole, beside the alley from the Strand leading to Fountain Court (Angus Whitehead, "William Blake's last residence ...", *British Art Journal*, VI [2005], 22).

Printer whether our own Kitchen would not be equally or even more convenient as the Press being already there would Save a good deal of time & trouble in taking down & putting up which is no slight job. Also the light is better in our Kitchen if there is but room enough.

I am yours Sincerely

Will Blake

Henry Banes, the

husband of Catherine Blake's sister Sarah, was the owner of 3, Fountain Court, where Blake lived in 1821-27. The Banes lived in the ground-floor flat. When the four-storey house was built about 1720 as a single family unit, almost certainly the kitchen occupied most of the basement. This basement was probably larger than the Blakes' exhibition room, which was 19' x 13' 6". Anthony Dyson estimates that a star-wheel press like Blake's would require a clear space "at least" 14' x 14'.<sup>1207</sup> After the death of his wife in March 1824, Banes may not have made much use of his kitchen.

Probably the work referred to is Blake's *Job*; the first commercial proofs were pulled on 4-5 March 1825, and on 10 February 1826 Mary Ann Linnell wrote to her husband about "the Job ... from all I can learn the printing is going on well [at Lahee's shop] by a man of the name of Freeman". The work was published in March 1826.

**P. 419 footnote:  
For "[1790-1800]" READ:**

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<sup>1207</sup> Angus Whitehead, "William Blake's last residence ...", *British Art Journal*, VI [2005], 30.

William Blake and His Circle

[1791-1800]

**P. 421**

To “we are all partakers of the divine nature’ – In this by the bye Bl: has but adopted an ancient Greek idea—Q<sup>y</sup> of Plato?”

**ADD FOOTNOTE:**<sup>1208</sup>

**P. 428**

**Footnote to Crabb Robinson, “He thinks all men partake of it [the faculty of Vision] – but it is lost by not being cultiv.<sup>d</sup>”**<sup>1209</sup>

**P. 429**

**In “first printed in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, delete “first” and, for “but, though the face does seem different in graphic style and engraving technique from the others in the book, the differences are not so idiosyncratic as to make it possible to say with confidence either that they are**

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<sup>1208</sup> Note Blake’s underlining of the passage in *The Mystical Initiations; or, Hymns of Orpheus*, tr. Thomas Taylor (1787), 14-15: “the deity is an immense and perpetually exuberant fountain; whose streams originally filled and continually replenish the world with life.”

<sup>1209</sup> George Richmond wrote in his copy of Gilchrist (I, 326):

He said to me that all children saw “Visions” and the substance of that [?i.e., what] he added is that all might see them but for worldliness[?] or unbelief, which blinds the spiritual eye.

GR

Richmond’s annotations in Gilchrist Vol. I were quoted in “William Blake, Samuel Palmer and George Richmond,” *Blake Studies*, II, 2 (1970), 43-50, those in Vol. II in Angus Whitehead, “But, Kitty, I better love thee: George Richmond’s Annotation to ‘Song [I love the jocund dance]’ in Volume II of Gilchrist’s *Life of William Blake* (1863)”, *Blake Journal*, No. 9 (2005), 87-97. Vol. I, the only one I saw, was in 1969 in the collection of Anthony W. Richmond; both volumes now belong to Stephen Keynes. Neither was included in *Blake Records* (1969, 2004).

**by William Blake or that they are not by Cipriani”**

**SUBSTITUTE:**

However, the etching of the bust of Milton in *The Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (1780) is identical to copies given away by Hollis in 1762 and 1765;<sup>1210</sup> neither Blake nor any one else altered Cipriani’s etched bust of Milton between 1762 and 1780.

**P. 439**

**After “the lodger on the floor above” ADD:**

The lodger on the floor above was John George Lohr, whose carving and gilding shop was above the Blakes’ flat.<sup>1211</sup>

**P. 439 footnote \***

**After the first paragraph, ADD:**

The lodgers on the floor above were John George Lohr, carver and gilder, his wife Letitia Lohr, their 7 children (b. 1802-20), and their lodgers William Burbidge, Clerk in the Excise Office, his wife Rachel, and their two sons (b. 1821, 1821 (Angus Whitehead, "'humble but respectable'...". *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXX (2011), 864-65).

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<sup>1210</sup> David Wilson, “An idle speculation by Samuel Palmer: William Blake’s involvement in Cipriani’s portrait of John Milton”, *British Art Journal*, VI, 1 (Spring/Summer 2005), 31-36.

<sup>1211</sup> He paid the rates at 3 Fountain Court in 1823-1828, but he probably lived with his wife and 7 children at 1 Fountain Court, where he paid the rates in 1803-29. He was born in 1776 in Alsace, and in 1801 he married Letitia Lewis, who signed the marriage register with an X. She may be related to John Ford Lewis, apparently a tailor at 12 Fountain Court, opposite No. 3. Lewis’s wife Lucy was daughter of William John Rhodes, landlord of the Coal Hole at 16 Fountain Court and probably the W. Rhodes who was a witness at Lohr’s wedding. All this new information comes from Angus Whitehead, *Blake*, XLII (2008-2009), 93-95.

William Blake and His Circle

**Pp. 446-47**

<Omit the Hazlitt references, which originally appeared in  
September 1823>

**P. 453**

The lawyer Henry Crabb Robinson called on Blake on 7 December 1826 to talk about the recent death of John Flaxman. Perhaps this stimulated Blake's brother-in-law Henry Banes to draw up his Will two days later, replacing that in which he had named his wife Sarah (d. 1824) as his sole heir and executrix. In the new Will of **9 December 1826**, Henry Banes wrote:

I give & bequeath to Catherine Blake half my household goods consisting of Bedsteads Beds & pillows Bolsters & sheets & pillow Cases, Tables Chairs & Crockery & £20 in lawful money of Great Britain & I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel – I also give & bequeath to Louiza Best the remaining part of my household goods as aforesaid with the Clock & my Watch & silver plate<sup>1212</sup> (& pictures ~~what is worth her acceptance~~) and all the remainder of my property in money & outstanding debts of whatever nature or description for her whole and sole use or disposal I also constitute and appoint the said

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<sup>1212</sup> The clerical transcription of the will dutifully reproduces as an interlineation the phrase “I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel”, but the phrase “& silver plate” is not so distinguished, though the authenticating document remarks “the interlineation of the words ‘I also beg M<sup>r</sup>. Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel’ between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> lines and the words ‘silver plate[?]’ between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> lines”.

Louiza Best my sole Executrix of this my last Will  
and Testament – H. Banes Decr 9<sup>th</sup> 1826 Witness  
John Barrow<sup>1213</sup>

No other beneficiary is named. His property therefore was to go to his sister-in-law Catherine Blake, his brother-in-law William Blake, and his daughter Louisa Best, though their relationships to him are not specified.<sup>1214</sup>

Did the pictures include any by his brother-in-law William Blake? And were the watch and clock made by his son-in-law Richard Best, watch-finisher?

The specification that the bequests to Louisa Best were “for her whole and sole use” was to insure that they did not pass to the control of her husband, as they would otherwise have done by law and convention.

The bequest to Blake of Banes’ “wearing apparel” suggests that they were similar in size (Blake was 5' 6" tall and sturdy) and that for reasons of size or affection Banes preferred that his clothes should go to Blake rather than to his son-in-law Richard Best.

### **P. 456**

**In the phrase "James ... retired to a house on Cirencester Place", for "on Cirencester Place" READ:**  
at 9 Buckingham Street presumably with his sister

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<sup>1213</sup> The will is reproduced in Angus Whitehead, “I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel’ ...”, *Blake*, XXXIX (2006), 84-85.

<sup>1214</sup> The relationship of Henry Banes to Louisa best is merely a very probable hypothesis, based chiefly on her roles as (1) executrix (replacing Sarah Banes in the former will), (2) chief legatee, and (3) discoverer (with her son) of his will in Jan 1829.

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**P. 457**

**ADD:**

Blake wrote on 15 March 1827, "M<sup>r</sup> Tatham Sen<sup>r</sup> yesterday ... sat with me above an hour". Perhaps on this occasion Catherine presented C.H. Tatham with a copy of Blake's engraved portrait of Robert Hawker inscribed:

Mr C Tatham

The humble is formed to adore;  
the loving to associate

with eternal Love  
C Blake<sup>1215</sup>

**P. 457 footnote**

**To the record of the burial of James Blake from Bunhill  
Fields Indexes in Somerset House ADD:**

According to the Bunhill Fields Burying Ground Order Book in Guildhall (reproduced in the typescript of Luis and Carol Garrido's excellent "William Blake's final resting place" [2005], pp. 96, 98), "James Blake [Age] 71 years [*was Brought from*] 7 Cirencester Place [*and buried in a Grave*] 11 feet [deep] [E&W] 52..53 [N&S] 62". This adds the house-number of the street from which the body was brought, and the exact location of the grave. Linnell had a house at 6 Cirencester Place

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<sup>1215</sup> The engraving with the note affixed to it is in the Rosenwald Collection of the U.S. National Gallery.

The plate is dated 1 May 1820. It might also have been given to C.H. Tatham when Catherine was living with his son in 1828-1829. The message is a quotation of ¶69 in Lavater's *Aphorisms* (1788) that Blake had underlined in his own copy.

**P. 457 footnote**  
**For "1790-1800" READ:**

1791-1800

**P. 461**

**To footnote "to Keen\*\*" ADD:**

Can "Keen" be related to Louisa Keen Viney who married Frederick Tatham in 1831?

**P. 462 footnote \*\***

**For "I have no guesses to make about the preceding 'Dante Coppers Crack off." READ:**

William Bell Scott wrote on the verso of the tempera on copper of "The Nativity": "Don't place this picture in the sun or near the fire, or it will crack off the Copper W.B.S. 1865" <Butlin #401>.

**P. 464**

**Add to footnote to George Richmond's letter to Samuel Palmer of 15 August 1827:<sup>1216</sup>**

**P. 467 footnote**

**After "this obituary was reprinted in" ADD:**

*Standard* [London], 18 Aug 1827

**P. 468**

**To "Mr. Blake, in our hearing," ADD footnote<sup>1217</sup>**

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<sup>1216</sup> Beside the version of this letter in Gilchrist (I, 362) without the names of recipient or author, George Richmond wrote in his copy: "This note was written to Mr Palmer by Geo. Richmond."



William Blake and His Circle

**P. 470**

**To footnote about *Literary Chronicle* ADD:**

It is largely reprinted in Anon., “Fanaticism”, *Correspondent*, [N.Y.] III, 22 (21 Jan 1828), 348-349.

**P. 479**

**To “and Mr. Sharp.” ADD footnote:<sup>1218</sup>**

**P. 485**

**After "the Lear and Cordelia." ADD:**

At the end of March, Catherine Blake apparently moved into the studio in 1 Queen Street, Mayfair, of Frederick Tatham, "whose domestic arrangements were entirely undertaken by her".<sup>1219</sup>

**P. 487**

**After “F. Tatham Esqr.” ADD:**

Catherine also gave to Tatham’s wife a copy of “The Man Sweeping the Interpreter’s Parlour”.<sup>1220</sup>

**P. 490**

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<sup>1217</sup> Anon. [?George Huston], “Fanaticism”, *Correspondent* [N.Y.], III (21 Jan 1828), 348-349: “In a late London paper, we found the following particulars of a well know[n], fanatic, who, we believe, avowed himself a disciple of Baron Swedenbourg. Mr. Blake, (observes the writer) in our hearing ...”. The *Literary Chronicle* for 1 September 1827 is quoted with minor misprints and changes.

<sup>1218</sup> Adrian, “John Flaxman”, *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, XXX, 66 (18 Aug 1831), 261-264, cites the *Annual Biography and Obituary*, XII, about “George Cumberland, Sharp, Blake, und besonders Stothard” (p. 261).

<sup>1219</sup> Tatham's memoir of Blake (*BR* (2) 690). For details of 1 Queen Street, see Residences below.

<sup>1220</sup> A.E. Evans & Son catalogue ([1845]), lot 720: “a Stereotype design for Pilgrim’s Progress, presented by Mrs. Blake to Mrs. Tatham, 1828”.

On **19 November 1828**, William Twopenny, an antiquary and barrister, wrote to J.T. Smith:

My dear Sir,

Can you tell me where the Widow of Blake the artist lives.

Yours most truly

W.<sup>m</sup> Twopenny

Temple

19. Nov. 1828<sup>1221</sup>

The letter is almost certainly a response to the last paragraph of J.T. Smith's life of "Blake" in his *Nollekens and his Times* (1828), published in October 1828:

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<sup>1221</sup> The letter, quoted from a reproduction of the manuscript in the Yale Center for British Art, is in an extra-illustrated copy of the second edition of J.T. Smith's *Nollekens and his Times* (1829). The leaves are loose, and the extra-illustrations are numbered to indicate with which printed page they are associated – the Twopenny letter is number 474 (referring to the Blake biography in Smith's book). Some of the extra-illustrations are annotated and signed by the great autograph collector William Upcott (e.g., No. 58, 66), suggesting that the collection belonged to him.

Perhaps this was the copy of J.T. Smith's book which, as he told Linnell in an undated letter (see Nov 1828), had been "taken to pieces for illustration". This seems to be the extra-illustrated copy of Smith (1829) sold in the Evans auction of William Upcott, 15-19 June 1846, lot 910 ("2 vol. *unbound*", extra-illustrated "to 4 vol."). It is probably *not* the copy of Smith [no date or edition identified] "*loose in boards*", extra-illustrated to "9 vol." with many letters, e.g., 4 from Blake to Ozias Humphry, not included in the 1846 sale or the Yale collection, which was in the Sotheby auction of Joseph Mayers, 21 July 1887, lot 189.

The Twopenny letter was quoted in the auction catalogue of Bonham (London), 28 March 2006, lot 205, and thence in R.N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 2006", *Blake*, XL (2007). No other connection of Twopenny with the Blakes has been traced.

## William Blake and His Circle

His beloved Kate survives him clear of even a sixpenny debt, and in the fullest belief that the remainder of her days will be rendered tolerable by the sale of the few copies of her husband's works, which she will dispose of at the original price of publication ....<sup>1222</sup>

It was doubtless letters like this one from Twopenny which prompted Smith to tell Linnell in an undated letter (see November 1828) that he knew his biography had "been servisable to his widow."<sup>1223</sup>

### P. 492

After "in this work.["] ADD footnote:<sup>1224</sup>

### P. 493

After "continuance anxiously" ADD:

"Mr. William Blake, an eminent engraver" appears among *Scientific Obituaries in Arcana of Science and Art ...* Third Edition (London: John Limbird, 1828), 240.

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<sup>1222</sup> BR (2) 626.

<sup>1223</sup> BR (2) 490.

<sup>1224</sup> In his *On the Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge ...* (N.Y.: J. and J. Harper, 1833), 421, Thomas Dick quotes the description of "the ghost of a flea" from Varley's *Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1828) and comments that, had he not seen Varley's book, "we should have deemed it almost impossible that amid the light of the present age, any man capable of writing a grammatical sentence would seriously give such a description as that quoted above, and attach his belief to such absurdity and nonsense". Dick's book was reprinted in 1838 (twice) and 1840.

A review of Edmund Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* (London: William Smith, 1828) in *The Times* for **3 Jan 1829** went out of its way to discuss Blake's Visionary Heads:

Closely associated with the desire of knowing the exclusive history of such [famous] personages, is the wish to be acquainted with their external appearance, and the fashion of the human form they wore. Nothing is more natural than to covet the power of calling them up

“In their shapes and state majestic,

“That we may wonder at their excellence,”<sup>1225</sup>

and verify or correct the images which fancy has formed by the true copy which the art that confers immortality has preserved of them.

The late Mr. Blake, the engraver, whose genius was subject to a kind of morbid excitement, was so possessed with this notion, that he had contracted a belief that he could, almost at will, bring before his actual physical eyesight the forms of the great men of this and other countries, whose existence he could only know by means of history. Under this delusion, which, however, was of no kin to madness, and could not have happened to any but a person of exalted imagination, he had frequent interviews with his distinguished buried

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<sup>748</sup> Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, IV, 2, where Alexander the Great is conjured up for the German emperor.

### William Blake and His Circle

acquaintance, and used to relate his imaginary conversations with them in perfect conviction of their truth and reality.<sup>1226</sup>

Not long after the publication of Varley's *Zodiacal Physiognomy* in January 1829, Charles Lamb wrote an unpublished "Analytical Disquisition on Punch and Judy" in which he silently paraphrased Varley's strange book:

As the mystical and no less gifted artist Blake made a microscopic drawing of a flea, and thereunto a calculation of what would be its powers of mischief if it were as big as a horse, so we may bless our stars that Punch, who seems of the family of Brobdignags, was thus thwarted of his germinant proportions.<sup>1227</sup>

Henry Banes, Catherine's brother-in-law, died on **20 January 1829**, and his Will was authenticated on 14 February by his daughter Louisa Best and her son Thomas.<sup>1228</sup> By its terms (see 9 December 1826), Catherine Blake was to inherit "half my household goods, consisting of Bedsteads Beds & pillows Bolsters & sheets & pillow Cases Tables Chairs &

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<sup>1226</sup> Anon., "LODGE'S PORTRAITS AND MEMOIRS. FURTHER NOTICE", *Times*, 3 Jan 1829, p. 4, column A, first reported by Keri Davies, "Blake in the *Times Digital Archive*", *Blake*, XLI (2007), 45-46.

<sup>1227</sup> "Analytical Disquisition on Punch and Judy, Found among the Papers of the late Charles Lamb", *Monthly Repository*, N.S., XI (Feb 1837), 113. The essay was probably written between the publication of *Zodiacal Physiognomy* in January 1829, and the death of William Hazlitt (to whom Lamb says he showed the essay) in September 1830.

<sup>1228</sup> The will and its proving (Public Record Office: PRO B11/1751, Liverpool Quire 51-100) are reproduced in Angus Whitehead, "'I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel' ...", *Blake*, XXXIX (2005), 84-85.

crochery & £20". The "wearing apparel" bequeathed to Blake probably stayed with Louisa Best, for her husband or sons – her first-born, Charles, would have been 23 in February 1829. The furniture Catherine did not much need,<sup>1229</sup> as she was staying with Frederick Tatham and his wife. However, when she moved in the spring of 1829 to lodgings with a baker at 17 Upper Charlotte Street<sup>1230</sup> the furnishings might have proved useful to her. By this time she was accumulating significant resources, with the bequest of £20 from Henry Baines in February 1829 (presuming it was paid) plus the £84 from Lord Egremont for Blake's "The Characters of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*" in August 1829<sup>1231</sup> and the sale of other works by Blake. These resources made her feel sufficiently comfortable to ask on 5 January 1830 that an application on her behalf to the charity of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution should be withdrawn,<sup>1232</sup> and some time "after Blake's death" she returned the "gift of £100" sent her by Princess Sophia.<sup>1233</sup>

#### **P. 494**

**for "an unnamed patron" SUBSTITUTE:**  
John Pye, an engraver and antiquarian<sup>1234</sup>

#### **P. 495**

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<sup>1229</sup> Linnell paid her £1.10.0 in April 1828 for "Furniture sold" (*BR* (2) 808).

<sup>1230</sup> *BR* (2) 755.

<sup>1231</sup> *BR* (2) 498.

<sup>1232</sup> *BR* (2) 501-502.

<sup>1233</sup> Seymour Kirkup reported by Swinburne (1868); see *BR* (2) 462-463.

<sup>1234</sup> On 18 Jan 1828 E.J. Chance wrote to Linnell that "Mr Pye & Mr Field called".

William Blake and His Circle

for “the patron” **SUBSTITUTE:**

Pye

**P. 495**

The date of Frederick Tatham’s letter offering Blake’s works for sale is **11 April 1829**, as in *BRS*, 90, not 1 April 1829.

**P. 495**

**For** “ingenious”, “transcendent”, “Charlotte St” **READ:**  
ingenuous ... transcendant ... Charlotte S.<sup>t</sup>

**P. 496**

**for** “the patron to whom Tatham was writing”  
**SUBSTITUTE:**

Blake had other patrons such as James Ferguson\* and  
**and ADD:**

Pye apparently bought nothing from Catherine Blake, for when T.H. Cromek was shown his *collection the only Blake he had was Varley’s Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1829). According to T.H. Cromek,

My father had given him a set of proofs of “The Grave” “but,” said he, “I gave them all away, except the portraits, for I must tell you, I never admired them. It is a great mistake to attempt to represent a soul, which one never saw: it may do in poetry – very well.”<sup>1235</sup>

**Add footnote to** “when the patron wrote to Catherine<sup>1236</sup>”

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<sup>1235</sup> T.H. Cromek Archive Vol. VI, T.H. Cromek, Manuscript Journal and Conversations with John Pye, in Princeton University Library.

<sup>1236</sup> The patron, unnamed in *BR* (2), is plausibly identified in the 2008

**P. 496**

**After the letter signed "Frederick Tatham" ADD:**

Tatham wrote here that "in consequence of M.<sup>rs</sup> Blake's removal from Fountain Court to N.<sup>o</sup> 17. Upper Charlotte St Fitzroy Square, a wrong address was put on the letter at Fountain Court". However, 17 Upper Charlotte Street is also a "wrong address". Catherine was at 17 Upper Charlton Street, as Tatham wrote in his letter of 18 October 1831. If Catherine's unknown potential patron wrote to her at 17 Upper Charlotte Street, his letter could not have been delivered to her.

**P. 496**

**For "has produced" READ:**

produced

**Pp. 496-497**

**Delete "the patron ... at any rate" and for "a few" READ:**  
A few

**P. 497**

**For "the Earl" READ:**

the Earl of Egremont

**P. 497**

**After "James Ferguson of Tynemouth"**  
**ADDFOOTNOTE:**<sup>1237</sup>

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Catalogue of the Cromek Archive, p. [45], as John Pye.

<sup>1237</sup> See "The Peripatetic Painter and the Stroke of Genius: James Ferguson



William Blake and His Circle

**P. 497**

**INSERT:**

According to his journal for 17 June 1829, the extravagantly popular Irish poet Tom Moore talked to “Lady Sandon, whom I made laugh a good deal by my account of Varley’s book of Astrology, his portrait of the ‘Ghost of a Flea,’ &c. &c.”<sup>1238</sup>

**P. 503**

**For “The publication of Cunningham ... appeared in *The Athenaeum*” READ:**

The publication of Cunningham’s life of Blake provoked a spate of comment upon Blake in the winter and spring of 1830. The first, which appeared in *The Times* for 27 Jan 1830, merely quoted the first three sentences of Cunningham ¶37 about Blake’s Visionary Heads of William Wallace and Edward I.<sup>1239</sup>

The second review of Cunningham which referred to Blake was in *The Athenaeum* ....

**P. 503**

**At the end of the footnote to “p. 175-6.” ADD:**

Cunningham’s account (¶37) of Blake’s vision of William Wallace is quoted in a discussion of “second sight” by Georg Conrad Horst, *Deuteroskopie, oder merkwürdige*

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(1790-1871) as a Patron of William Blake”, *Blake Journal*, No. 8 (2000), 7-22.

<sup>1238</sup> *Memoir, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. Lord John Russell (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), VI, 57.

<sup>1239</sup> Anon., “Visions of Blake, the Artist”, *Times*, 27 Jan 1830, p. 3, column E, first reported by Angus Whitehead, “‘Visions of Blake, the Artist’: An Early Reference to William Blake in the *Times*”, *Blake*, XLI (2007), 46-47. The *Times* account alters Cunningham’s “stept” and “stopt” to “stepped” and “stopped”.

*psychische und physiologische Erscheinungen und Probleme aus dem Gebiete der Pneumatologie Für Religionsphilosophen, Psychologen, und denkende Aerzte eine nothige Beilage zur Dämonomage, wie zur Zauber – Bibliothek von Georg Conrad Horst ....* Vol. I (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Wilmans, **1830**), I, 163-167.

**P. 504**

A review of Cunningham's *Lives* in the *Sheffield Iris* for **9 February 1830** concentrated on the account of Blake:

NUMBER X. of this interesting work ... is just published, and comprises the lives of seven painters – West, Barry, Blake, Opie, Morland, Bird, and Fuseli .... What a singular being was William Blake! A painter, an engraver, a poet, and a visionary, – in the last character perhaps little less singular than Swedenberg [i.e., Swedenborg] himself. “To describe” says the biographer “the conversations which Blake held in prose with demons, and in verse with angels, would fill volumes, and an ordinary gallery could not contain all the heads which he drew of his visionary visitants. That all this was real, he himself most sincerely believed; nay, so infectious was his enthusiasm, that some acute and sensible persons who heard him expatiate, shook their heads, and hinted that he was an extraordinary man, and that there might be something in the matter.” The spirits, however, who thus obeyed the artists's bidding, came not to reveal any secrets, save the

## William Blake and His Circle

secrets of their own countenances--in short they came as might be expected at the call of a painter--to have their portraits taken! and many of the likenesses of these spiritual sitters did poor Blake delineate, from the heroic Wallace to “the ghost of a flea!” Instead of transcribing the narrative of these unearthly vagaries, we shall copy the brief account of the enthusiast’s procedure and luck in a transaction incident to the greater part of mankind: but which few engage in so inconsiderately, and fewer still, when that is the case, with such exemplary good fortune:– [Cunningham ¶9-10 about Blake’s courtship and marriage.]<sup>1240</sup>

It is striking that the same two paragraphs about Blake’s courtship and marriage are quoted in the *Athenaeum* (6 February 1830), *London Literary Gazette* (6 February 1830), *Sheffield Iris* (9 February 1830), *Edinburgh Literary Gazette* (13 February 1830), *Edinburgh Literary Journal* (20 February 1830), *Fraser’s Magazine* (March 1830), and *New Jerusalem Magazine* (Jan 1832).

### P. 504

#### After the entry for 12 February 1830, ADD:

On 12 February 1830 the painter and engraver John Martin wrote to Bernard Barton that he was pleased to discover that Barton's opinion of Blake as displayed in Cunningham's *Lives* coincided with his own: "I had no conception that he would prove so especially interesting, he was indeed a most important

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<sup>1240</sup> Anon., “Family Library.–Painters”, *Sheffield Iris*, 9 Feb 1830, p. 4, first identified in relation to Blake and quoted in David Groves, “Blake and the *Sheffield Iris*”, *Blake*, XXXIX (2005-6), 125. Cunningham’s “Boutcher” is changed correctly to “Boucher”, ”worshipped” incorrectly to “worshipped”, and before “indulging” is added “by”.

character ...". Blake's illustrations of Young's *Night Thoughts* are "exceedingly good, indeed I like them better than any of his works that I have seen ...".<sup>1241</sup>

### **P. 506**

**After "is his best" ADD:**

A note on Cunningham's book appeared in the *Dublin Literary Gazette*, I, 7 (**13 February 1830**), 99-102: "Some of these [extracts] we had marked, from the life of Blake in particular, are exceedingly entertaining" (p. 102).

### **P. 507**

**After the paragraph about "the loss of Blake" ADD:**

The editor of the *Literary Gazette* replied on **20 February 1830** to a correspondent:

We do not know the address of the widow of Blake, the artist: but have no doubt she might obtain liberal sums for such remains of his productions as may be in her possession. We will make some enquiries.<sup>1242</sup>

This is perhaps a response to J.T. Smith's statement (1828) that Catherine Blake "will dispose of" "copies of her husband's works" (*BR* (2) 626).

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<sup>1241</sup> Quoted from the manuscript in VICTORIA UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO. Martin writes from 30 Allsop Terrace, New Road, London, to "Bernard Barton Esqr Woodbridge Suffolk", with Martin's seal of a bust.

<sup>1242</sup> Anon., "To Correspondents", "To Clericus", *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, No. 603 (**20 Feb 1830**), 121, 125.

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**P. 520**

**After “in 1828” ADD:**

Cunningham’s Blake was also noticed in the *Belle Assemblée* for March 1830:

The life of another, but far more amiable enthusiast [than Barry], poor William Blake, who could not only “call spirits from the vasty deep,” but *compel* them to arise and appear before him, is, in its details, singularly striking and curious ....<sup>1243</sup>

Many a time have we ourselves seen these portraits; and we may add, that the “artist of some note,” alluded to by Mr. Cunningham, is almost as great an enthusiast as Blake himself – a gifted enthusiast in his own beautiful art, and yet greater enthusiast in the science, or pretended science, of judicial astrology. His portrait, sketched by the pen, not the pencil [i.e., brush], of Cunningham, is nearly as graphic as that of Blake. Some other capital stories of the worthy pair, are given; but, for these, we must refer the reader to the work.<sup>1244</sup>

**P. 527**

**To the footnote † about Blake's print-collection sold to Colnaghi at the end ADD:**

I found no Colnaghi shop-catalogues of 1820-1840 in COPAC, GoogleBooks, Google Scholar, or WorldCat in 2011.

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<sup>1243</sup> Cunningham ¶36-37 (*BR* (2) 648-49).

<sup>1244</sup> Anon., “Monthly View of New Publications ...”, *Belle Assemblée, or, Court and Fashionable Magazine*, N.S., XI, 63 (**March 1830**), 120-123 (the Blake is on pp. 121-22. Anon. quotes Cunningham ¶36-37. The “artist of some note” is Varley, but the anonymous reviewer is unknown.

**P. 532**

**ADD:**

On 25 May 1830 was published Anon., "Artistes anglais.--William Blake", *Gazette littéraire: Revue française et étrangère de la Littérature, des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*, 1<sup>re</sup> Année--Tome I<sup>er</sup> [Paris], N<sup>o</sup> 17 (**25 May 1830**), 265-68, with an adjusted translation<sup>1245</sup> of Cunningham's ¶2-3, 8-12, 14-29, 36-39, 41-42, 45, 44, 46-47, 49 (¶39, 44-47, 49 much contracted). A footnote says: "Nous avons emprunté les détails contenus dans cette notice à l'ouvrage intitulé: *Lives of English artists*, par M. Allan Cunningham, qui a été récemment publié à Londres."<sup>1246</sup>

**P. 532**

**For "In the meanwhile ... Barton replied" READ:**

Linnell wrote from Bayswater to Barnard Barton on 30 May 1830:

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<sup>1245</sup> Cunningham's "hosier" (¶2) becomes a "bonnetier"; "became ... a poet" (¶3) becomes "montré quelques symptômes de métromanie"; "Basire" (¶2) becomes "Bazire"; "Strong Wicked Man" (¶27) becomes "*mauvais riche*"; "The Spiritual Form of Pitt" (¶29) becomes "*la forme spirituelle de Seth*"; "Voici le géant Goliath" in the midst of the account of Visionary Heads in ¶38 has no authority in Cunningham; "answered Blake haughtily" (¶41) becomes "répondit Blake en riant"; "Lot" (¶41) becomes "Loth"; "the Man of Uz" (¶42) becomes "l'homme de huis"; "Prophecies ... concerning America ... [and] Europe" (¶45) become "*Prophéties sur l'avenir de l'Europe et de l'Amerique*". Anon. omits all Cunningham's transcriptions of Blake's poems.

<sup>1246</sup> The account in the *Gazette littéraire* (1830) was the acknowledged source for the further digests in Anon., "Blake, peintre, graveur, et poète anglais", *Le bric-à-brac* [Vol. I] (Paris, 1853), 293-301, and François Grillé, "Blake, Peintre, Graveur et Poète anglais", *Revue universelle des arts*, IV (1861), 272-275.

## William Blake and His Circle

I take this opportunity of sending you a proof of one of the late Mr. Blake's engravings from Dante in the unfinished state it was left after his death. ... I gladly avail myself of your kindness to beg that you will give me your thoughts and advice upon the subject.<sup>1247</sup>

Barton replied on Tuesday 15 June:

### P. 534

**After** “a good subject for him.” **ADD:**

The first French review of Cunningham's life of Blake, by L. Sw.-Belloc (Louise Swanton Belloc) for the *Revue encyclopédique, ou Analyse raisonnée des Productions les plus remarquables dans les Sciences, la Littérature, les Arts industriels, et les Beaux-arts; par un Réunion de Membres de l'Institut et d'autres Hommes de Lettres* [Paris], XLVI (**juin 1830**), 664-667, gave sympathetic paraphrases of Cunningham; “De tous les personnages qui figurent dans la dernière partie de la galerie ... le plus curieux et le plus attrayant” in Cunningham's account of Blake is “les fantasies de son imagination. Il oubliait entièrement le présent pour ne vivre que du passé” and “les funérailles d'un fée”, with quotations about the Visionary Heads; “Les œuvres de Blake ... sont des compositions de la plus étrange bizarrerie, souvent unintelligible, et cependant empreints de poésie” (pp. 666-667).

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<sup>1247</sup> James Tregaskis, *Caxton Head Catalogue 1027* (London, [1935?]), lot 11. The Tregaskis catalogue was discovered by Robert N. Essick, who wrote to me about it on 7 Aug 2013.

**P. 534**

**Correct the entry in Linnell's Journal for "Friday 3<sup>d</sup>  
[August]" 1830 to  
Friday 3<sup>d</sup> [September]  
and omit the duplicate entry for Friday 3 September  
1830.<sup>1248</sup>**

**P. 536**

**After "made corporeal", ADD:**

Lady Charlotte Bury, with whom Blake shared a notable dinner in 1818 (*BR* (2) 333-334), wrote in her novel called *Separation* (1830) of

the few who live in, and yet out of the world. Such a man, for instance, as old Blake, the artist, and his wife, whose characters (if mortal portraiture could do them justice) would be among the most extraordinary and the finest that ever were drawn. Persons who, living in a garret and in an abject poverty, enjoyed the brightest visions, the brightest pleasures, the most pure and exalted piety. The world might call them mad,<sup>1249</sup> but they might with

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<sup>1248</sup> The entry is correctly dated but only approximately transcribed by John Linnell Jr as given in *Blake Records* (1969), 401. In Linnell's original journal, discovered by GEB in 1970, the dates are mostly implied rather than explicit, and I misinterpreted the implied month as August in *BR* (2). In 1830, 3 Aug was a Tuesday and 3 Sept a Friday.

The error was pointed out by Angus Whitehead, "'I beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel' ...", *Blake*, XXXIX (2005), 88 fn.

<sup>1249</sup> The association of Blake the poet with madness and madhouses is made more complicated by the fact that Dr Andrew Blake wrote *A Practical Essay on the Disease Generally Known under the Denomination of Delirium Tremens ...*



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far more truth have called the world mad.<sup>1250</sup>

**P. 540**

To "my children to make any tracing of the Drawings" **ADD FOOTNOTE:**

Probably in the 1830s, Linnell's children made "charmingly juvenile watercolor copies of plates from Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise*, the coloring of the children's own invention" in an album acquired in 2011 by a British private collector, according to R.N. Essick. Linnell owned *For the Sexes* (A-B, K), *Marriage* (H, L-M), *Songs of Innocence* (I), and *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (R).

**P. 544**

**After "imitate the latter" ADD:**

German accounts of "Blake's visionen" appeared in Anon., *Allgemeines Reportorium der gesammten deutschen medizinisch-chirurgischen Journalistik*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Kleinert, V Jahrgang [Leipzig] (1831), 16-17, and in [Junius Andreas Christian Kerner], "Stehen wir im Verkher mit der Geisterwelt?", *Blätter aus Prevorst: Originalien und Lesefrüchte für Freunde des inner Lebend mitgetheit von dem herausgeber der Sehin aus Prevorst*, Vol. VII (Karlsruhe: Gottlieb Bravo, 1831). **B. §(1833) C. (1835) P. 168.**

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(London, 1830) and was physician to the Lunatic Asylum near Nottingham in 1833.

<sup>1250</sup> [Lady Charlotte Bury], *The Separation: A Novel*. By the Authoress of "Flirtation" In Three Volumes (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830); **B.** Two Volumes (N.Y.: Collins and Hannay, Collins, and Co., ..., 1830), II, 76.

**P. 545**

**ADD footnote to "Mr. and Mrs. Tatham":**

The name of Frederick Tatham's wife to whom Catherine Blake was deeply devoted had not been recorded before Angus Whitehead identified her. Their marriage was inscribed in the register of the church of St Mary, Stratford, Bow, Middlesex:

[Frederick Tatham] of [this] Parish [bachelor] and [Louisa Keen Viney] of [this] Parish [Spinster] were married in this [Church] by [banns] with Consent of [blank] this [Twenty Fifth] Day of [April] in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and [Thirty One] By me [John Stock]. This Marriage was solemnized between us: [Frederick Tatham, Louisa Keen Viney] In the presence of: [Henry Brooke Marriott, James Harris]

A reproduction of this form (1831, p. 179, No. 79) was seen online (19 November 2011) under "Tatham Family History". The names of the bride, groom, and witnesses are in their own hands--or at any rate in different hands from the rest of the document. The manuscript additions to the printed form are given within square brackets.

Frederick and Louisa were married about six months before Catherine died. The census of 1851 for 74 Upper Berkeley Street, London, records Louisa Tatham, age 39 [born 1812], as the head of the household in the absence of her husband Frederick. The 1861 census for 2 Maria Terrace, Oddessa Road, London, lists Louisa Tatham, age 48. Her death certificate records that she died on 19 Sept 1868 at 45

### William Blake and His Circle

Oak Village, Kentish Town, London, aged 56. Therefore she must have been born in 1812 before 19 September. The 1861 census was probably taken after her birthday in 1861. Her dates are therefore Autumn 1812-19 Sept 1868.

#### P. 545

**After “Vol. II. P. 167.” ADD:**

Blake was severely characterized as “nervenkrank, melancholischer, hypochondrischer und hysterische Personen” in Johann Friedrich von Mayer, “Die Seheren von Preverts”, pp. 302 ff. of his *Blätter für höhere Wahrheit aus Beyträgen von Gelehrten älten* (Berlin: Ludgwig Dehmte, 1831), 320-322, in the section “Aus dem Wunderbuchlein” (p. 284 ff.).

#### P. 547

**At the end of "A Fading Shadow" ADD:**

The expenses of Catherine's funeral, "with the same Funeral decorations as her husband",<sup>1251</sup> were probably paid to the undertaker Mr Balls<sup>1252</sup> by Frederick Tatham. Presumably the costs were similar to those for Blake's funeral on 13 August 1827 at Bunhill Fields, for which Linnell paid £10.18.0 on 28 January 1828.<sup>1253</sup>

#### P. 549

**After “truths’.” ADD:**

According to Anon., “The British School of Design”, *Library of the Fine Arts*, III, 13 (Feb 1832), 89-95, Fuseli “had few if any imitators, unless the equally eccentric designs of Blake can be considered as imitations” (p. 91).

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<sup>1251</sup> Tatham's memoir of Blake, *BR* (2) 690.

<sup>1252</sup> *BR* (2) 547.

<sup>1253</sup> *BR* (2) 791.

And an anonymous reviewer of Cunningham in the *Athenæum*, No. 226 (**25 Feb 1832**), 124-125, commented: “he weaves his collected facts and anecdotes together into a narrative of great simplicity and beauty – in some instances, as in the life of Blake, of almost unrivalled beauty”.

### **P. 549**

An essay by P.M.C. on “British Artists. Thomas Stothard” in *Scrap Book of Literary Varieties*, II (**25 Feb 1832**), 79-80, says, inter alia, “Satan summoning his legions is an awful production; it reminds us very much of Blake”.<sup>1254</sup> The reference may be to Blake’s “Satan Calling Up His Legions” (four versions, Butlin #529 1, 636 1, 661-62), one of which was in his exhibition (1809-10) and belonged to the wife of the Earl of Egremont.

### **P. 558**

**After “1831 and 1832.” ADD:**

Thirty years after Catherine’s death, a critic wrote:

We ourselves remember being assured by a gentleman who knew this unfortunate man of genius that so little did any one appreciate his half-insane drawings, that, [“]on his death, they were carried away in considerable quantity and sold with

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<sup>1254</sup> P.M.C., “British Artists. Thomas Stothard”, *Scrap Book of Literary Varieties*, II (25 Feb 1832), 80. (My information comes from a fragment of the periodical [with a running head “Scrap Book”] in the John Johnson Collection [under Stothard] in Bodley.) *The Dictionary of National Biography* records no chronologically appropriate person with the initials P.M.C., but Peter Coxe (d. 1844), auctioneer and poet, is a possibility.

**William Blake and His Circle**

waste paper ...<sup>1255</sup>

**Pp. 562**

**After “leap for joy.--” ADD:**

At about the same time an essay on “Blake, the Artist” in the *Polar Star* quoted Cunningham ¶8-10, 23 (omitting the first sentence)-24, 36-39, 41-44, 47-49.<sup>1256</sup>

**P. 570**

**Footnote to “Kitty, I better love thee”<sup>1257</sup>**

**P. 572**

**Appendix 1B**

**Crabb Robinson’s essay  
To “107-31” ADD footnote<sup>1258</sup>**

**P. 622**

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<sup>1255</sup> Anon., *Crossthwaite’s Register of Facts and Occurrences Relating to Literature, the Sciences, and the Arts* (Whitehaven: Crossthwaite and Co., 1860), 98.

<sup>1256</sup> Anon., “Blake, the Artist”, *Polar Star of Entertainment and Popular Science, ... Selected from the English and American Reviews ... for the Quarter Ending at Lady-Day, 1830 ...* [London], III (25 March 1830), 215-218.

<sup>1257</sup> In his copy of Gilchrist (1863), II, 6, George Richmond underlined the word “Kitty” and annotated it in the margin: “His good Wifes name”. Angus Whitehead, “*But, Kitty, I better love thee: George Richmond’s Annotations to ‘Song [I love the jocund dance]’ in Volume II of Gilchrist’s Life of William Blake (1863)*”, *Blake Journal*, No. 9 (2005), 87-97, reproduces the page and argues that “Kitty” is Catherine Boucher whom Blake married in 1782, even though, according to the Advertisement to *Poetical Sketches* (1783) in which the poem appears, since “his twentieth year” (1777) Blake had not had “the leisure requisite to ... revis[e] ... these sheets”.

<sup>1258</sup> Anon., *Bibliographie étrangère Année 1811* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz; Strasbourg: Chez les memes Libraires [?1812]), 253: The articles listed here from *Vaterländisches Museum*, II, include “6) sur William Blake, artiste, poète et visionnaire”.

**J.T. Smith**

“Blake preferred mixing his colours with carpenter’s glue, to gum”<sup>1259</sup>

**P. 625 footnote**

**For "1790-1800" READ:**

1791-1800

**P. 625**

**Footnote to J.T. Smith, “lighting the fire”<sup>1260</sup>**

**P. 625**

**For "This was only true of their last residence, at 3 Fountain Court, Strand (1821-27)" READ:**

This was only true of their last two residences, at 17 South Molton Street (1803-21) and 3 Fountain Court, Strand (1821-27). Of course the Blakes had another, larger room which held his printing press and displayed his pictures.

**P. 626**

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<sup>1259</sup> The phrase is echoed by Tatham (p. 671), but scientific “analysis of Blake’s tempera paints ... revealed the consistent presence of a mixture of gum Arabic (or karaya) and tragacanth with the additions of sugar or honey, and occasionally cherry gum” (Bronwyn Ormsby, Joyce H. Townsend, Brian Singer, and John Dean, “Blake’s Use of Tempera in Context”, p. 138, in *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend [2003]).

<sup>1260</sup> By this passage in his copy of Gilchrist (I, 315), George Richmond wrote: “I remember his saying to me, that he saw the devil when lighting the fire. Not in the fire but in himself. This was his way of confessing his natural impatience[.] | G R.” For Catherine’s drawing of “something she saw in the fire”, see 608 fn.

William Blake and His Circle

**Blake** “was buried in Bunhill-fields ... at the distance of about twenty-five feet from the north wall” **ADD footnote:**<sup>1261</sup>

**P. 631**

**To footnote about Cunningham and Flaxman, after “they both partook”, ADD:**

A review of Cunningham Vol. III in *Dublin Literary Gazette, or Weekly Chronicle of Criticism, Belles Lettres, and Fine Arts*, No. 25 (**19 June 1830**), 388-390, mentioned that “the Reverend Mr. Mathew ... afterwards aided Flaxman in befriending Blake”; Flaxman’s “chief companions were Blake and Stothard .... With Blake, in particular, he loved to dream and muse”.

**P. 631**

**To the footnote about “Fuseli’s sharp tongue” ADD a new paragraph:**

The passage is quoted in Anon., “Henry Fuseli”, *Olio; or, Museum of Entertainment*, V (**January to July 1830**), 104-105.

**P. 638 footnote**

**for** “It is difficult to determine whether the mistaken association with Urizen originated with Cunningham or with T.H. Cromek. Cunningham lived with” **SUBSTITUTE:** The mistaken association with Urizen originated with Cunningham, who lived in 1810 with R.H. Cromek

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<sup>1261</sup> “twenty-five feet” is a mistake for 25 yards or paces, as Luis and Carol Garridopoint out in “William Blake’s final resting place” (2005), 49.

**For** “, who commissioned the Blair designs” **SUBSTITUTE:**  
T.H. Cromek wrote of a visit to the British Museum Print  
Room:

I looked over Blake’s ‘Urizen’ a very mad work. It  
is the first part [i.e., Book] only, and does not  
contain the subject which I have by him and which  
I was told by Mr. Frost A.R.A. formed one of the  
illustrations.<sup>1262</sup>

**P. 652**

**After while Blake** "conceived, and drew, and engraved ... his  
... Inventions for the Book of Job ... [he had] no larger  
income than some seventeen or eighteen shillings a week"

**ADD FOOTNOTE:**

Blake's recorded income for 1823-26, when he was creating  
*Job*, was £388.9.3 (see *BR* (2) 810-11) or £97 a year, not the  
£44.4.0 to £46.16.0 a year of Cunningham's estimate.

**P. 676**

**footnote † to Tatham’s story of theft from Blake 1796-  
1800, ADD:** The “Plate to the Value of 60 Pounds” can  
scarcely be silver or gold, for the modest Blakes could not  
afford or wish such things; it was probably copper, Blake’s  
stock in trade. The copper cannot be his own works in  
Illuminated Printing, for these would have cost only about £21  
(calculating the price of copper as 1d for a cubic centimetre,

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<sup>1262</sup> T.H. Cromek Archive Vol. VI, T.H. Cromek, Manuscript Journal and  
Conversations with John Pye in Princeton University Library.



## William Blake and His Circle

the price of his plates for Flaxman's *Naval Pillar* [1799] – see p. 759 – and the thickness of the copper as 0.141 cm, as in his fragmentary surviving copperplate from *America* pl. a), and besides many of them were printed after his death. But the cost of Blake's 43 large copperplates for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797) would have been sixty guineas (assuming the plates were 0.183 cm thick, as in Blake's Dante plates of the same size). Probably the thieves took the 207 pounds of copperplates for Young's *Night Thoughts*.

### P. 704

**Note to Crabb Robinson's report of 13 June 1826,**  
"He was as wild as ever"<sup>1263</sup>

### **Appendix VI: "My Name is Legion: for we are many": "William Blakes" in London 1740-1830.**

#### P. 717

**Footnote for "No account of Blake in *The Times*  
is known before 1901" READ:**

The only known accounts of Blake in *The Times* before 1901 are reviews of Edmund Lodge and of Allan Cunningham on 3 Jan 1829 and 27 Jan 1830.

### P. 734

### **Appendix II: Blake Residences, ADD: Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire 1725**

Gervase Wright, Maltster and Yeoman Farmer of Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire, left a will of 1700. He is

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<sup>1263</sup> Beside this passage in his copy of Gilchrist (I, 350), George Richmond wrote: "I must say that Mr Crabb Robinson[']s conclusion that Blake was mad was the very kindest one he could come to, if he believes his own journal."

probably the father of the Gervase Wright who married Mary Dawson on 23 April 1712 and whose children, born 1715-32, included Catherine (born 21 November 1725) who later became the poet's mother. Presumably Catherine grew up in Walkeringham, though she married in London in 1746.

Walkeringham is a straggling village three miles West of Gainsborough (Lincolnshire), twenty miles North-West of Lincoln, and forty miles North-East of Nottingham. Cudworth (Barnsley, formerly Yorkshire), where Catherine's future husband Thomas Armitage had been christened three years before, on 21 June 1722, is 35 miles West-North-West (through Doncaster) from Walkeringham.

**P. 735**

*28 Broad Street*

**To "28 Broad Street" ADD FOOTNOTE:**

The most notable event in Broad Street for posterity was the terrible outbreak of cholera there in 1854 from contaminated water.

**After "his eldest son James." ADD:**

The name of the shop, at least in 1772 (q.v.) was The Woolsack and Peacock.<sup>1264</sup>

**P. 735**

**to 28 Broad Street, after "*The New Complete Guide*" ADD:**  
and William *Bailey's Western and Midland Directory* (Birmingham, 1783), 14 (only "Carnaby Market")

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<sup>1264</sup> According to Christine E. Jackson, *Peacock* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 117, "Sign boards with pictures of peacocks were ... hung in the street to advertise ... hosiers ...." I have no evidence of the truth of this statement.

**P. 735**

**Under “28 Broad Street” at the beginning of the bottom paragraph, ADD:**

“Blake, James, and Son, *Hosiers and Haberdashers*, Carnaby-market” appears in William *Bailey’s British Directory or, Merchant’s and Trader’s Useful Companion, For the Year 1784* (1784), and next year, after the death of the elder James Blake, “Blake, James, *Haberdasher*, 28, Broad-str. Carnaby Market” appears in *Bailey’s* (1785).

**P. 735**

**under 28 Broad Street**

**for** “Stephen Blake is listed for this address in 1783 in *The New Complete Guide* and in 1784 in *Lowndes’s London Directory*” **READ:**

“Stephen Blake, Haberdasher, 28 Broad Street, Carnaby Market” is listed in *Lowndes London Directory for the Year 1782*<sup>1265</sup> and 1784 and in *The New Complete Guide* in 1783.

**P. 736, Residences**

**After** “James Blake continues by himself in” **ADD:**  
*Universal British Directory* (1797), 77

**P. 736, Residences**

**After** “from 1794 to 1800” **ADD:**

“Blake & Son, hosiers & haberdash. 28, Broad-str. Carnaby-mark” appears in *Boyle’s New London Guide* (London: P. Boyle, 1795).

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<sup>1265</sup> The reference in *Lowndes London Directory for the Year 1782* was pointed out to me by Dr Angus Whitehead.

**P. 737**

To “Regent’s Park (1825).” **ADD footnote:**<sup>1266</sup>

**P. 740**

**After** “John Blake of 32 Hog Lane was a Breaches-maker”

**ADD:**

who voted in 1780 (for Fox), 1784 (for Hood and Wray), and 1788 (for Hood).<sup>1267</sup>

**P. 741**

**Under** “27 Broad Street ”**ADD at end:**

“Blake and Parker, *Print-sellers*, 27, Ditto [*i.e.*, Broadstr. Carnaby-Market]” are listed with James Blake, 28, Broad Street, in William Bailey, *Bailey’s British Directory or, Merchant’s and Trader’s Useful Companion, For the Year 1785* (London: dedication dated June 1785), 32.

**P. 741**

**To Residences, 23 Green Street, after** “27 Broad Street in 1784.”**ADD:**

Blake's friend John Hawkins inscribed the title page of his copy of *Poetical Sketches*(Y) under "W.B."

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<sup>1266</sup> Blake’s two pictures of “Dead Game” in the exhibition of the Suffolk Street Gallery in 1832 were described in Anon., “Winter Exhibition of Pictures, at the Suffolk Street Gallery”, *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, XX, 576 (17 Nov 1832), 330-331, as “Among the finest compositions of their class” and illuminated by quotation of what J.T. Smith “tells us of Blake’s colour” (*BR* (2) 622). The critic has confused the landscape painter Benjamin Blake with the poet-artist William Blake.

<sup>1267</sup> London Lives 1690-1800 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org)).

**William Blake and His Circle**

at M<sup>r</sup> Taylors  
Green St Liecisterfields

**P. 741 fn †**

**For "Townshend" READ:**

Townsend"

**P. 742**

**For "1785-1790" READ:**

1785-1791

**P. 742**

**footnote † to Tatham's story of theft from Blake 1796-  
1800, READ:**

"voted in 1784 for Fox and Hood and in 1788 for  
Townsend"

**To end of "29 Broad Street" ADD:**

"Stephen Horncastle, Stationer, 29 Broad Street,  
Carnaby Market" is listed in William *Bailey's British  
Directory or, Merchant's and Trader's Useful Companion,  
For the Year 1785* (London: dedication dated June **1785**),  
144; he may have been a sitting tenant when Blake's brother  
John paid the rates (1784-93) for 29 Broad Street, for Stephen  
Horncastle (d. 14 Jan 1792), Stationer, was listed in  
directories at Broad Street, Carnaby Market (1763-1788), 29,  
Broad Street (1779-1788); 85, New Bond Street (or New  
Broad Street) (1789-1799) but trading as William Horncastle  
(1794-99).<sup>1268</sup>

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<sup>1268</sup> Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary*

**P. 742**

**Under 28 Poland Street, for "1785-1790" READ:**  
1785-1791<sup>1269</sup>

**P. 744**

**Under Hercules Buildings, for "1790-1800" READ:**  
1791-1800

**P. 744**

**For "moved in the autumn of 1790" READ:**  
moved in late winter of 1790-1791

**P. 744**

**Delete "Certainly Blake left ... July 28: 1790'."**

**P. 746**

**For "1790-1800" READ:**  
1791-1800

**P. 746**

**DELETE "*Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (?1790)"**

**P. 746**

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*Checklist of Members* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1977), 115; Horncastle is not in William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (1972) or *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, ed. D.F. McKenzie (1978).

<sup>1269</sup> Angus Whitehead, "Mr CLAY of Hercules Buildings", *Blake*, XLV, 4 (Spring 2012), 143-144, demonstrates that the Blakes moved from Poland Street to Hercules Buildings about February 1791.

William Blake and His Circle

**Residences, 13 Hercules Buildings**

**For "1790-1800" READ:**

1791-1800

**For "One of the few ... Carnaby-market "READ:**

Blake's name rarely appeared in directories, but in 1797 he was transmogrified or renominated "Blocke, William – 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth" and "William Blocke" under Lambeth, 13, Hercules Buildings (the poet's address) in Patrick *Boyle's New London Guide for the Year 1797* (London: P. Boyle, 1797), 34, and the entries were repeated without change in *Boyle's City Companion to the Court Guide, for the Year 1798 (1798)*. And in the spring of 1799 the following striking constellation appeared in [W.] *Holden's Triennial Directory* [Corrected to the end of April] 1799, p. 63:

Blake W.S. *Engraver and Printer* 16, 'Change-alley,  
Cornhill

Blake William *Engraver* Lambeth Green<sup>1270</sup>

...

Blake James *Hosier* 28, Broad-street, Carnaby market

**P. 748**

**17 South Molton Street; to "1803-1821" ADD**

**FOOTNOTE:**

For remarkably full details about 17 South Molton Street, see Angus Whitehead, "I write in South Molton Street, what I both *see* and *hear*': Reconstructing William and Catherine

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<sup>1270</sup> "Lambeth Green" (omitted from *BR* (1969), 561, and *BR* (2) 746), is apparently the previous name of Carlisle Lane, which in Horwood's map (1792-99) is two streets West of Hercules Buildings.

Blake's residence and studio at 17 South Molton Street, Oxford Street", *British Art Journal*, XI, 2 (2011), 62-75. He plausibly attributes their choice of location to its proximity to fashionable clients and art exhibitions and to the quality of the light (p. 64).

### P. 748

**For** "Here, 'in their one apartment ... to use it." **READ:** 17 South Molton Street, built about 1750, consisted of three floors and a basement. It was a single-family dwelling until 1803, when the Blakes moved in and, in a process of degentrification, the ground floor was converted to a shop.<sup>1271</sup> Here they had two rooms. The smaller served as their bedroom and workroom; Catherine cooked at the bedroom fireplace. In the bedroom cum workroom were two large paintings. Over the bed hung "Alfred and the Danes",<sup>1272</sup> and "over a door" was the pencil sketch for Blake's "Canterbury Pilgrims".<sup>1273</sup>

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<sup>1271</sup> Whitehead, "I write in South Molton Street", p. 67. After 17 South Molton Street changed in 1803 from a single-family dwelling to commercial premises, with frequent strangers coming in the ground-floor shop, the six-panelled door to the apartment above the shop had "a delicately hinged middle panel" just above the door handle, presumably to permit the occupant to identify the caller before unbolting the door (Whitehead, 71, quoting Tim Heath). The panel may have been there in Blake's time.

<sup>1272</sup> See p. 281. "Alfred and the Danes" is now lost.

<sup>1273</sup> P. 229. If this sketch was the size of the Canterbury Pilgrims engraving, 95.8 x 35.4 cm, it would have fit above the door in the flat up one flight of stairs which had high ceilings but not above that up two flights of stairs (Whitehead, p. 65). This provides decisive evidence that the Blakes lived up only one flight of stairs, not two. Other evidence for the floor on which the Blakes lived is ambiguous. Linnell described it as both "the first floor" (p. 526) and the "second floor" (p. 341).



## William Blake and His Circle

The larger room probably served as a "reception room" "hung with *frescos, temperas*, and drawings of Blake's", as Gilchrist described the similar flat in Fountain Court (p. 751); Richmond called it "his show room" with "a good number" of pictures (p. 753). In the middle of the room was the great printing press on which

The Blakes' meager furniture probably was the same that they had in Fountain Court (1821-27): a bed, a dining table, two chairs (one of which was almost too rickety to use by 1825 [see p. 699]), a long engraver's table, and a cupboard.<sup>1274</sup>

### P. 748

**Before** "The artist Edward Bird was at 29 South Molton Street (1818)"**ADD:**

The painter-engraver William Haines sent works to the Royal Academy exhibition (1811) from 120 South Molton Street;

### P. 748

#### **Convert endnote 41 to footnote # reading:**

#*Milton* pl. 1, ll. 21-22, *Jerusalem*, pl. 62, l. 34. "Tyburn Brook is the covered watercourse running from Tyburn directly behind and below 17 South Molton Street on its way to join the river Westbourne (the Serpentine) in Hyde Park" (Whitehead p. 64).

### P. 749, Residences

**For** "The rates for 17 South Molton Street were paid by Mark Martin, who presumably was Blake's landlord

**"READ:**

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<sup>1274</sup> See pp. 751, 753. When the "furniture [was] sold" in 1828, it brought only £1.1.0 (p. 808).

The rates for 17 South Molton Street while the Blakes lived there were paid in March 1804 by a tailor named “Will<sup>m</sup> Enoch”<sup>1275</sup> and in March 1805-1821 by Mark Martin.

**P. 750, Residences**  
**Cirencester Place for James Blake**  
**For “Cirencester Place” three times READ:**  
7 Cirencester Place

**And at the end ADD:**  
John Linnell had a house at 6 Cirencester Place.<sup>1276</sup>

**In place of**

It is tempting to speculate whether Martin retired to France because his wife was French, and, if she was, whether Blake was referring to her when he said of his fresco of “The Last Judgment”: “I spoiled that – made it darker; it was much finer, but a Frenchwoman here (a fellow lodger) didn’t like it.”

**READ:**

The wife of Blake’s second landlord Mark Martin was Eleanor (née Larché),<sup>1277</sup> and she knew Blake well enough to offer

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<sup>1275</sup> All the information here about the Enochs derives from Angus Whitehead, “New Information Concerning Mrs Enoch, William and Catherine Blake’s ‘Fellow Inhabitant’ at 17 South Molton Street”, *Notes and Queries*, CCL (2005), 460-463. The rate-payer information is from the ratebooks in Brook Street Ward, St George’s, Hanover Square, in the City of Westminster Archives, and the information that Enoch was a “taylor” is from *Holden’s Triennial Directory 1805-6-7* (London, 1805) and ... *1808-9-10* (London, 1808). Information for the 1805 directory was presumably collected in 1804 or early 1805 and repeated anachronistically in that for 1808.

<sup>1276</sup> *BR* (2) 477fn, 482.

<sup>1277</sup> Angus Whitehead, “I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel’ ...”, *Blake*, XLII (2008-(2009), 84.

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advice about his fresco of “The Last Judgment”. Blake said of it, “I spoiled that – made it darker; it was much finer, but a Frenchwoman here (a fellow lodger) didn’t like it.”

### 17 South Molton Street

**For** “There were other lodgers in the house as well, including ‘our Kind attentive fellow inhabitant, the young & very amiable M<sup>rs</sup> Enoch, who gave my wife all the attention that a daughter could pay to a mother’ until Blake’s return from his trial on 14 January 1804.” **READ:**

Soon after the Blakes moved into 17 South Molton Street in the autumn of 1803, they formed a close friendship with their first landlord William Enoch, who probably lived above his ground-floor tailor-shop, and with his twenty-one year old wife Mary (née Naylor) and presumably with their son William (born 1801). When Blake went to Chichester for his trial for sedition in January 1804, his wife was prostrated with worry and

near the Gate of Death as was supposed by our Kind & attentive fellow inhabitant, the young & very amiable M<sup>rs</sup> Enoch, who gave my wife all the attention that a daughter could pay to a mother

as Blake reported in his letter of 14 January 1804 on his triumphal return, a free man.

**P. 750**

**Above "Cirencester Place" ADD:**  
*9 Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square*  
*1814-17*

**JAMES BLAKE** closed the family hosiery shop at 28 Broad

Street, Golden Square in 1812 and moved presumably with his sister Catherine Elizabeth and his business to 9 Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square. Here he was recorded among Merchants and Traders in *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1814*, p. 365, as "Blake, James, *Hofier*, 9, Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square". He was two doors away from John Flaxman, who was at 7 Buckingham Street from 1794 till his death in 1826.<sup>1278</sup> Just across Fitzroy Square in Grafton Street lived Thomas Butts in whose office of the Commissary General of Musters James Blake worked in 1814-1816.<sup>1279</sup>

### P. 750

**For the account of "Cirencester Place" SUBSTITUTE:**

*Cirencester Place*

1818-1827

**JAMES BLAKE** retired with only "a scanty pittance"<sup>1280</sup> from the office of the Commissary General of Musters when it was abolished in 1817 and moved, presumably with his sister, to Cirencester Place. This was a new development which first appears in the Rate Books in 1818, and James's name is recorded there from 1818 to 1825.<sup>1281</sup> Nearby lived John

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<sup>1278</sup> John Flaxman died on 2 Dec 1826 "At his house, 7, Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XCVII (1827), 273). William had asked his brother James on 20 January 1803 to deliver "5 Copies of N4 of the Ballads for M<sup>rs</sup> Flaxman".

<sup>1279</sup> G.E. Bentley, Jr, "Thomas Butts, White Collar Maecenas", *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), 1058-9. "Blake, Frederick, 9, Buckingham Street" is recorded in the *Legal Observer*, VIII (1834), 41.

<sup>1280</sup> Gilchrist, I, 227.

<sup>1281</sup> This information was kindly sent me by AnnCox Johnson, Librarian-in-Charge of the Local Collection, Public Library, St Marylebone, London, NW1. Blake's brother may be the haberdasher James Blake of Grafton Street from whom Edward Smith, age 16, stole a pair of shoes in Feb 1827 (trial of 15 Feb 1827

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Linnell at 6 Cirencester Place, with whom Catherine Blake lived in 1827-1828. On 2 March 1827 James Blake's body was brought from "Cirencester Place" to be buried in Bunhill Fields.

### P. 750

#### Residences

**After** “didn’t like it.” **ADD:**

In 1803-1804 Blake’s landlords and house-mates at 17 South Molton Street, a fashionable address, were Captain John Lytrott (1763-1809), his wife Ann (widow of Alexander MacDonald [d. 1786]), and perhaps her daughter Christian (who married a man named Hargreaves by 1809). They were succeeded in 1804-1805 by William Enoch, a tailor who went bankrupt in 1805, his wife Mary (née Naylor) and their son William (b. 1801). The Enochs were followed in 1805-21 by Mark Antony Martin, staymaker, who was married on 20 May 1806 at St George’s, Marylebone, to Eleanor Larché (anglicé Larchey in the marriage register). His trade card described him as “Martin | STAY MAKER, | (From Paris) | N. 17 South Molton Street, | Oxford Street, | LONDON. | Fait toutes sortes de Corps et de Corsets a la Francoise”. Martin retired to France in 1821 (the business became Martin and Stockham in 1821-25) but returned to 17 South Molton Street in 1826-1830.<sup>1282</sup>

### P. 751

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recorded in Proceedings of the Old Bailey, online).

<sup>1282</sup> See Angus Whitehead, “Mark and Eleanor Martin, the Blake’s French Fellow Inhabitants at 17 South Molton Street, 1805-21”, *Blake*, XLIII (2009-10), 84-95.

**Fountain Court: For “the rooms were small and dark”, delete “small and” and after “the radiance of the occupants**

**"ADD:**

The Blakes had “the most spacious rooms in the house”. The front room, which Blake used to exhibit his pictures and probably to house his press, was 19' x 13' 6", and the back room leading from it, where the Blakes slept, cooked, and worked, was 12' x 13' 9".

The Poor Rates were paid by Henry Ba[i]nes in 1803-22, 1826-28, by Mary Banes in 1823, and by both in 1824-25.<sup>1283</sup>

Richard Best paid the rates from 1829<sup>1284</sup> to 1838, when presumably he died, after which they were paid by Louisa Best until 1844, when presumably she in turn died; in 1845 she was replaced as rate payer by William Walker.

**P. 752**

**Footnote § describing Fountain Court, at the end**

**ADD:**

The building “was finally demolished c1902” (Angus Whitehead, “William Blake’s last residence ...”, *British Art Journal*, VI [2005], 29).

**P. 752**

**To "Blake's fellow lodgers were humble but respectable"**

**ADD FOOTNOTE:**

For extraordinarily rich details of residents of Fountain Court

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<sup>1283</sup> BR (2)751 fn for 1820-29, supplemented by Whitehead pp. 80, 82, 90. “Mary” Banes may refer to Henry’s wife Sarah; however, since Sarah died in 1824, this suggests that the 1825 record was in error, mechanically repeating the entry for the previous year.

<sup>1284</sup> BR (2) 751 fn.

### William Blake and His Circle

and their occupations, see Angus Whitehead, "'humble but respectable': Recovering the Neighbourhood Surrounding William and Catherine Blake's Last Residence, No. 3 Fountain Court, Strand, c. 1820-27", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, LXXX (2011), 858-79. Fountain Court included the shops of a draper, a letter-press printer, a carver and gilder, a carpenter, a tailor, a wine-merchant's cellar, and an entrance to the popular public house called The Coal Hole.

#### P. 753

##### After "bar of gold" ADD:

Perhaps the plan was the one Richmond sketched in his copy of Gilchrist (I, 305) on the page where the description of Fountain Court begins "Blake's fellow lodgers [who] were humble but respectable"<sup>1285</sup> presumably include his wife's niece Louisa Best and her family. Louisa Best may well have been the "humble female neighbour" who was Catherine's "only other companion" when Blake died. The children playing below the window of 3 Fountain Court of whom Blake said "That is heaven", may have been his wife's grand-nephews and grand-nieces. John Barrow the artist and printseller lived at 3 Fountain Court at least in 1831-1838.<sup>1286</sup> Perhaps he moved there after Catherine Blake moved out in September 1827, as Whitehead suggests.

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<sup>1285</sup> Gilchrist (1863), 308 (one hopes based on Samuel Palmer) in *BR* (2) 752.

<sup>1286</sup> The entries for John Barrow in the exhibitions of the Royal Academy for 1831, 1835, and 1836 and for the Society of British Artists in 1832 and 1836 give his address as Fountain Court, and *Robson's London Directory* (London: William Robson, 1832) gives it at 3 Fountain Court (Whitehead, p. 92). John Barrow of 3 Fountain Court, age 81, was buried at St Clement Danes on 25 March 1838 (Whitehead, p. 92).

### P. 754

Residents of the apartments at 3 Fountain Court, Strand, while the Blakes lived there in 1821-1827 were (1) their landlord Henry Banes (d. 1829), wine cooper or vintner, (2) his wife Sarah (1757-1824), Catherine Blake's sister, (3) their daughter Louisa Best (?1790-?1845), (4) her husband Richard Best (d. ?1839), watch finisher, and their children (5) Charles (b. 1805), (6) Charlotte Louisa (b. 1807), (7) Elizabeth (b. 1809), (8) Thomas (b. 1813), print colourer and artist, (9) Richard John (b. 1815), artist, and (10) John Barrow (1757-1838), print-colourer, print-seller (e.g., of Blake's "Mrs Q" [1820]), and artist.

Banes, vintner, may have been at the Coal Hole public house at the corner of Fountain Court and the Strand where Blake got his porter.

Louisa and Thomas Best and John Barrow of 3 Fountain Court, Strand, were witnesses of the Will of Henry Banes when it was proved (6, 13 February 1829).

Other residents at 3 Fountain Court probably included a family named Walker, for Martha Walker of 3 Fountain Court, age 3 weeks, was buried at St Clement Danes, Strand, on 8 January 1816, and William Walker took over payment of the rates at 3 Fountain Court from Louisa Best in 1845.<sup>1287</sup>

### P. 754

**Replace the entry for "17 Upper Charlotte or Charlton Street" with**

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<sup>1287</sup> This new information about residents at Fountain Court comes from Angus Whitehead, "I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel' ...", *Blake*, XXXIX (2005), 78-99.



William Blake and His Circle

*17 Upper Charlton Street*<sup>1288</sup>  
*Spring 1829-October 1831*<sup>1289</sup>

**CATHERINE BLAKE** moved in the spring of 1829 from 1 Queen Street, Mayfair, to lodge above a baker named George Miller at 17 Upper Charlton Street, south-east of Fitzroy Square.<sup>1290</sup> "17 Charlton Street" is the address given in Catherine's letters of 1 and 4 August 1829, in Cumberland's note of "M<sup>rs</sup> Blake 17 [Upper] Charlton St Fitzroy Sq at a Bakers. 1830" on his copy of *For Children* (C), in Tatham's letter of 18 October 1831, and in Catherine's death register of 20 October 1831.

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<sup>1288</sup> The address is given erroneously as 17 Upper **Charlotte** Street in Tatham's letter of 11 April 1829 and in George Cumberland's notebook: "M.<sup>r</sup> Blake Wid.<sup>o</sup> 17 Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq."; "Mr Blakes wid.<sup>o</sup> 17 Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq." (British Library Add. MSS 36,521F, f. 362 (1831); G, f. 431 [1832]; H. f. 489 [1833]). The last two entries are irrelevant, because Catherine died in 1831. Gilchrist too calls it Upper Charlotte Street (I, 365). There is no Upper Charlotte Street in Horwood's great map, though there are lots of mere Charlotte Streets, Great and Little.

Much of the new information here about Catherine Blake's addresses was first recorded in print in Angus Whitehead's brilliant essay "'an excellent saleswoman': The Last Years of Catherine Blake", *Blake* (2011-2012), generously shown me in draft.

<sup>1289</sup> Pace *BR* (2) 755, Catherine did not live in 1828-30 at 20 Lisson Grove, which was a new development west of Regent's Park just round the corner from Alpha Road where Tatham's father lived. In 1828 the rate-payer there was Edward Sewell, in 1829 no rates were paid and presumably the house was empty, in 1830 "William Eales, Timber Merchant", is recorded at 20 Lisson Grove North in *Robson's London Trade*, and in 1831 *Robson's London Directory* lists "Frederick Tatham, Statuary & Marble works, 20 Lisson Grove" (Whitehead, "'an excellent saleswoman'").

Tatham wrote to Linnell on 1 March 1833 from 3 Grove Terrace, Lisson Grove, on 26 July 1833 Linnell went "to Lisson Grove to look at F. Tatham's effects on sale", and Lisson Grove North is the address Tatham gave on his manuscript memoir of Blake (*BR* (2) 691).

<sup>1290</sup> Her predecessors at 17 Upper Charlton Street, Thomas Mason, baker, and his landlord William Barlter, vacated the premises before the middle of 1829, according to the ratebooks cited by Whitehead, "'an excellent saleswoman'".

17 Upper Charlton Street, on the East side of the street, almost at the corner of Carburton Street, is just West of Fitzroy Square and near Grafton Street, Warren Street, and Paddington.

At 17 Upper Charlton Street Catherine probably had two rooms on an upper floor, as in Fountain Court, the larger front room 18' x 12'.<sup>1291</sup>

The "act of maternal loveliness" like that of "the fondest mother" while "she resided with the Author of this" (Frederick Tatham)<sup>1292</sup> probably included care for Tatham when he was ill.<sup>1293</sup> J.T. Smith said that "Tatham, ill as he was, travelled ninety miles [?from Shoreham] to attend the funeral"<sup>1294</sup> of William Blake in August 1827. It sounds like a chronic illness, perhaps in part psychological.

When Blake died, he seems to have left Catherine nothing in the way of debts or cash. Linnell paid for Blake's funeral, advanced Catherine cash and sold her furniture for her,<sup>1295</sup> and for the rest Catherine probably counted on the sale of Blake's drawings, prints, and books.

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<sup>1291</sup> Ordnance Survey map (18782) cited by Whitehead, "an excellent saleswoman".

<sup>1292</sup> Tatham's memoir of Blake (*BR* (2) 690).

<sup>1293</sup> On 12 May 1827 Samuel Palmer wrote to George Richmond, "Pray Sir bring a very particular account of Mr Tatham's health", and in October 1827 he wrote again: "I am rejoiced to hear that Mr Tatham is much better" (*The Letters of Samuel Palmer*, ed. Raymond Lister, I, 13, 142, cited by Whitehead). In early 1828 C.H. Tatham wrote of Dr Thornton's "unsuccessful and expensive experiments upon my poor son" (David Linnell, *Blake, Palmer, Linnell and Co.: The Life of John Linnell* ([Lewes, East] Sussex, England: The Book Guild Ltd, 1994), 113-14, cited by Whitehead).

<sup>1294</sup> *BR* (2) 626. All this evidence of Frederick Tatham's illness was assembled by Angus Whitehead, "an excellent saleswoman".

<sup>1295</sup> *BR* (2) 791.

### William Blake and His Circle

However, by the spring of 1829 her financial situation had changed entirely. In his will, Henry Banes (d. 20 Jan 1829), Catherine's brother-in-law and landlord at 3 Fountain Court, left "to Catherine Blake half my household goods consisting of Bedsteads Beds & pillows Bolsters & sheets & pillow Cases Tables Chairs & crockery & £20 in lawful money of Great Britain".<sup>1296</sup> This would have provided the furnishings of her new dwelling and cash for rent.

Further, the munificent Lord Egremont paid Catherine £84<sup>1297</sup> for Blake's "Picture of Spenser's Fairy Queen" (as Catherine referred to it in her letter to him of 1 August 1829), which was delivered in August 1829. With this inheritance and sale, Catherine had over £100 to start her new life, enough to support her for several years.

The choice of 17 Upper Charlton Street was probably not random. William Mulready, Linnell's teacher and intimate friend, gave 17 Charlton Street as his address in the Royal Academy catalogue of 1807; this was probably his lodging and studio. It is possible that Catherine moved into his old rooms.

Catherine's new residence was probably socially more desirable than that at 3 Fountain Court. The Rate Book value of 17 Upper Charlton Street was £60, the highest in the street and more than twice that for Fountain Court.<sup>1298</sup>

Near her new residence lived a number of Catherine's old acquaintances. "M.<sup>r</sup> [Joseph] Denham Sculptor" (1803-

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<sup>1296</sup> Angus Whitehead, "I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel': The Will of Henry Banes, Landlord of 3 Fountain Court, Strand, the Last Residence of William and Catherine Blake", *Blake*, XXXIV (2005), 83. The will was proved 14 Feb 1829.

<sup>1297</sup> Gilchrist I, 365 (*BR* (2) 498).

<sup>1298</sup> *BR* (2) 751 footnote.

54), who attended Catherine's funeral,<sup>1299</sup> was at 7 Cleveland Street which Upper Charlton Street almost touched,<sup>1300</sup> and "Mr [Isaac F.] Bird Painter", who also went to Catherine's funeral, lived at London Street, just south of Fitzroy Square and very close to Charlton Street. Thomas Butts was in Grafton Street across Fitzroy Square. John Flaxman's adopted daughter and heir Maria Denman and her brother Thomas, Flaxman's brother-in-law, lived in 7 Buckingham Street, one street north, and John Constable, who wrote about charity for Catherine on 14 August 1827, was at 35 Charlotte Street, four short streets west.

**P. 755**

**For the entry on "*20 Lisson Grove 1828-1830*"**

**SUBSTITUTE:**

***1 Queen Street, Mayfair***<sup>1301</sup>  
***March 1828-Spring 1829***

**CATHERINE BLAKE** apparently lived for about a year, from early spring 1828 to spring 1829, at 1 Queen Street, Mayfair, the working studio of Charles Heathcote Tatham, the father of Frederick. Queen Street is short, from Curzon Street to Charles Street, just North of Piccadilly and Green Park.

C.H. Tatham lived at 34 Alpha Road,<sup>1302</sup> from which

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<sup>1299</sup> *BR* (2) 691. This information about Catherine's neighbours originates with Whitehead.

<sup>1300</sup> *BR* (2) 691. Denham worked in Francis Chantrey's studio. He is probably the Dinham who exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1830 the "bust of a daughter of C.H. Tatham". Dinham's bust of George Richmond is in the National Portrait Gallery, and his "bust in marble of Mrs Richmond" was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1844.

<sup>1301</sup> Almost all the information here about 1 Queen Street derives from Whitehead, "an excellent saleswoman".

### William Blake and His Circle

Frederick wrote on 11 April 1829 "In behalf of the widow of the late William Blake" about works she had for sale. Frederick plainly lived in the family home; in *Clayton's Court Guide* for 1830 "F. Tatham Esq." is listed in Alpha Road.

C.H. Tatham also had a studio at 1 Queen Street, Mayfair, where he paid the rates at least in 1825-29, and his son Frederick plainly used it as well. This is the address given for Frederick when he won a prize at the Society of Arts in 1824 (when he was 18) and when he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1825.

In his memoir of Blake, Frederick Tatham wrote somewhat inaccurately of Catherine's residences:

After the death of her husband she resided for some time with the Author of this,<sup>1303</sup> whose domestic arrangements were entirely undertaken by her, until such changes took place that rendered it impossible for her strength to continue in this voluntary office of sincere affection & regard.

She then returned to the lodging in which she had lived previously<sup>1304</sup> to this act of maternal loveliness--in which she continued till [she died.]<sup>1305</sup>

The "changes" Tatham mentions as a reason for Catherine to leave him may have been his approaching marriage to Louisa Keen Viney, who turned 18 in the autumn

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<sup>1302</sup> Alpha Road is a new development adjoining Regent's Park and a mile West of Fitzroy Square.

<sup>1303</sup> For almost a year Catherine lived as a housekeeper at Linnell's house; see 11 Sept 1827.

<sup>1304</sup> She had lived previously with Linnell, but she did not return there.

<sup>1305</sup> *BR* (2) 690.

of 1829.

While Catherine was with them, she made a sketch which Tatham inscribed: "A Drawing made by Mrs. Blake taken from something she saw in the Fire during her residence with me".<sup>1306</sup>

**P. 757 fn**

**To the record of the burial of James Blake from Bunhill  
Fields Indexes in Somerset House ADD:**

According to the Bunhill Fields Burying Ground Order Book in Guildhall (reproduced in the typescript of Luis and Carol Garrido's excellent "William Blake's final resting place", pp. 96, 98), "James Blake [Age] 71 years [*was* Brought from] 7 Cirencester Place [*and buried in a Grave*] 11 feet [deep] [E&W] 52..53 [N&S] 62". This adds the house-number of the street from which the body was brought, and the exact location of the grave. Linnell had a house at 6 Cirencester Place.

**P. 758**

**APPENDIX III**

**Blake Accounts**

**Separate Accounts**

**ADD:**

In **June 1788** Blake received fifty guineas for the apprenticeship of Thomas Owen.

**P. 758**

After "4[s] -<sup>3</sup>" **ADD:**

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<sup>1306</sup> Butlin #C2.

## William Blake and His Circle

Perhaps “Blake’s Engravings” at 4s were *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* (1793), priced at 3s in “To the Public” (10 October 1793). Flaxman owned *For Children* (F) with an extra print.

### P. 758

#### After “October 1797” ADD:

Perhaps this paid for Flaxman’s copies of *America* (S), *Thel* (S), *Europe* (N), *Urizen* (K), and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (S), bound together, which would have cost £2.2.0 at the prices of his 1793 Prospectus.

### Page 765

#### To "Urizen, Heaven &c" ADD footnote:

In Blake's receipt for 12 Dec 1805, "Urizen, Heaven &c" probably represents *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* pl. 11 and *First Book of Urizen* pl. 2, 5, 10, with inscriptions, stabbed through 3 holes 3.8 and 4.3 cm apart, with 3 or 4 framing lines, which have been associated with the Small Book of Designs (*BB* p. 357).

### P. 778

#### ACCOUNTS

Catherine Blake was bequeathed £20 in **February 1829** in the Will of her brother-in-law Henry Banes.

### P. 800

**In the footnote, for “Pl. 14 from Sir Thomas Lawrence’s collection was sold in 1981” READ:**  
Sir Thomas Lawrence’s copy was sold in 1978

### P. 804

**to footnote ‡ ADD:**

See 25 March 1823.

**P. 808**

**To "Furniture sold" ADD FOOTNOTE:**

For the "Furniture sold", see p. 748.

**p. 809**

**ADD footnote to "1799 from Flaxman £9.0.8"<sup>1307</sup>**

**P. 809**

**APPENDIX F**

**Summary of Accounts**

**P. 809**

**ADD:**

1788 For the apprenticeship of Thomas Owen £ 52.10. 0

**P. 809**

**After "1782-99", for "£208.6.8" READ:**

£260.16.8

**P. 810**

**Under Hayley's *Ballads*, for £42.0.0 READ:**

£52.10.0

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<sup>1307</sup> Blake never filed for income tax (instituted by Pitt in 1799 to finance the war with France), presumably because his net income was never above £60, the minimum taxable amount (as Mary Lynn Johnson tells me). In 1799 "Thos. Butts, Esq. Gt Marlboro" paid £46.17.4 at 10% [on his income of £468.19.4] (Mary Lynn Johnson, 2014).



**William Blake and His Circle**

**Delete** “and as much again if they are successful”

**and for** “(see Blake’s letter of 25 April 1805)” **READ:**  
(see Blake’s letter of 22 March 1805)

**Total for 1800-1805 should be**  
£455.10.0

**P. 811**

<b>Accounts: Payments to Catherine 1827-31</b>	
1829 From Will of Henry Banes	<u>£ 20. 0. 0</u>
<b>1827-1831</b>	<b>£ 224.15. 0</b>
<b>1782-1831</b>	<b>£2,043.19.5</b>

**P. 811**

**Under 1782-1827, for “£1,880.15.11” READ:**  
£1,933.5.11

**P. 811**

**Under “1782-1831”, for “£2,023.19.5” READ:**  
£2,076.9.5

**Appendix IV**  
**Engravings by and after Blake, 1773-1831**

**P. 814**

**To “Morning [and Evening] Amusement” ADD**  
**footnote<sup>1308</sup>**

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<sup>1308</sup> Anon., “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, XXVIII, 1 (1782), 162: “Zwey angenehme Blätter, nach Watteau, aus der Sammlung, des Hrn A. Maskins; Morning Amusement und Evening Amusement [1782], von W. Blake in Röthel, Ovale, zu 9

**P. 815**

To “Robin Hood & Clorinda” **ADD footnote**<sup>1309</sup>

To “The Fall of Rosamond” **ADD footnote**<sup>1310</sup>

**P. 821**

**ADD:**

1810 “Carfax Conduit” [?Blake] 1 Blake Blake  
Spring<sup>1311</sup>

**P. 822 fn**

**Before** “‘Compositions in Outline' ” **ADD:**

According to the *New Monthly Magazine*, II, 12 (1 Jan 1815), 557, “Mr. FLAXMAN has finished a series of compositions in outline from Hesiod’s Works, which will be engraved by Mr. J. Blake, and printed in folio, to correspond with the outlines from Homer, by the same eminent professor”, and

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Zoll 4 Linien Höhe, und 11 Zoll 3 Linien Breite, kosten zusammen 15 Schillinge.”

<sup>1309</sup> Anon., “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* [Leipzig], XXX, 2 (1785), 332-49: “Robin Hood and Clorinda” after J. Meheux, engraved by “W. Blake, in punktirter Manier”, in the round, 8” in diameter, cost “4 Schillinge im Preis” (p. 337).

<sup>1310</sup> Anon., “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Kunst*, XXX, 2 (Leipzig: Dyckischer Buchhandlung, 1785), 342: “The Fall of Rosamond ... von Blake, in eben der Manier, gleichen Maasse und Preises”.

<sup>1311</sup> It was listed under (1) Anon., “Quarterly List of New Publications. From February to May, 1810. Arts (Fine)”, *Edinburgh Review*, XVI, xxxi (April 1810), 253: “A View of Carfax Conduits, Oxford. Drawn and engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.”; (2) Anon., “Arts, Fine”, *Quarterly Review*, III (May 1810), 518: “A View of Carfax Conduits, Oxford, drawn and engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.”; (3) Anon., “Fine Arts”, *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1810, III, Part the Second (1812), cviii: “A View of Carfax Conduit, Oxford. Drawn and Engraved by Blake. 1s. 6d.”

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**Pp. 829-45**

**Appendix VI**

According to the Biography Database 1680-1830 (three CDs), there were printed accounts of non-poetical men named William Blake and of others in the poet's circle which supplement the information in *BR* (2) particularly in Appendix VI: "My Name is Legion: for we are many": 'William Blake' in London 1740-1830" (829-846, 879).

**P. 838**

**For "Engraver (1746-c.1817)" READ:  
Engraver (1746-1814)**

**For "at 16 'Change-Alley, Cornmarket in 1784-1817"**

**READ:**

at 16 'Change-Alley, Cornmarket in 1785-1814<sup>1312</sup>

**After "Miscellaneous Works (1802) ADD:**

and the "W.S. Blake, Royal Exchange" (i.e., 'Change Alley?'), who subscribed to Thomas Mortimer, *Lectures on the Elements of Commerce, Politics, and Finance ...* (London: T.N. Longman and O. Rees, 1801), VIII.

**After "as a Mason" ADD:**

He is probably the "W.S. Blake, Esq. of Cornhill" who died "At Malden, Essex" on 6 September 1814.<sup>1313</sup>

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<sup>1312</sup> William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), 20.

<sup>1313</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (Sept 1814); *European Magazine*, LXVI (Sept 1814), 277; *Monthly Magazine*, XXXVIII (1 Oct 1814), 283 (reading "in 'Change-Alley" for "At Malden, Essex"), *New Monthly Magazine*, II (1 Oct 1814), 276 ("At Malden, W.S. Blake, esq. of London").

**P. 839 ff.**

**Appendix VI: “My Name is Legion: for we are many”  
Table III: Miscellaneous References to “William Blake” in  
London, 1740-1830**

Abbreviations

- (ll) = [www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), seen 5 September 2010  
(PCC) = Prerogative Court of Canterbury

**Engraver (1748-?1817)**

William Blake, engraver, at Bartholomew Close, is in *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* (London, January 23, 1771); he may be the same as William Blake, Mercer, at Bartholomew Close (1767-70).

He is certainly the “Blake, Wm”, engraver, at No. 16, Exchange (or ‘Change) Alley who appears in *Barclay’s British Directory* (1785), *Andrew’s New London Directory* (1789) (William Stretton Blake), (1790) (William Stratton Blake), *Bailey’s London Directory* (1790), *Holden’s London Directory* (1790), *Wakefield’s Merchant’s and Tradesman’s General Directory for London* (1790), and as a subscriber (William Blake, Exchange Alley) for 4 copies of the *Prolegomena to the Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I (1788) <Biography Database>.

“Blake, of ‘Change Alley, [was] a jocose and excellent man, now deceased, who employed much of his time and means to kind offices to others ... who appears to have been intimate with [William] Sharp”. “The idea of engraving it [the portrait of Sir William Curtis after Sir Thomas Lawrence] originated in the respect which Blake entertained” for Curtis

## William Blake and His Circle

and Sharp.<sup>1314</sup>

“William Staden Blake” was a trustee for Richard Smith’s charity in the Parish of St Mary Woolnoth.<sup>1315</sup>

William Staden Blake not only “had a press with Charles and William Galabin at 1 Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street (1801)” but he published at least two editions of a work printed at the Galabin Press:

**Samuel Britchen**, *A Complete List of all the grand matches of cricket that have been played in the year 1799; with a correct state of each innings And the Articles of Cricket inserted* (London: Printed by H.L. Galabin, Ingram-Court, Fenchurch Street, for W.S. Blake, Change-Alley, Cornhill, 1799) 28 pp., 8°

*Ibid* (1800), 44 pp., 8°.

Editions of 1797-98, 1801-6 were produced by different printers and publishers.

### For “eight engravings by W.S. Blake (1798-1809) are known” READ:

twenty-six engravings (1783-1809) by W.S. Blake are known, including seventeen trade cards. W.S. Blake signed two engravings (c. 1800-1810) of letterheads or stock certificates for the Albion Insurance Company (Corbould-W.S. Blake) (in the collection of R.N. Essick).

### Yeoman (1749)

“William Blake White-hart Yard Yeoman” is listed in *A*

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<sup>1314</sup> Anon., “Biographical Memoir of the late Mr Sharp”, *European Magazine and London Review*, LXXXVI (Sept 1824), 191-199 (p. 198).

<sup>1315</sup> *Accounts and Papers, Seven Volumes. Relating to Charities and Charitable Donations for the Benefit of the Poor and Other Persons in England and Wales*, Session 5 February-24 June 1829. Vol. XX (1829).

*Copy of the Poll for a Citizen for the City and Liberty of Westminster* (London: The Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1749), 211.

#### **Poulterer (1749-78)**

The Will of William Blake, Poulterer, of St James, Middlesex, was dated 13 November 1778 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob 11/1047).

William Blake, poulterer of St James, Middlesex, appears in St Botolph Aldgate Miscellaneous Parish Account Books for 13 November 1778 (British History Online).

#### **Of His Majesty's Ship Phoenix (1757)**

The Will of "William Blake now belonging to his Majesty's Ship Phoenix" was proved on 13 March 1757 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (British History Online).

#### **Of St Thomas Hospital (1758)**

William Blake was one of the Governors Takers-In of Patients in St Thomas Hospital, 24 June 1758 (II).

#### **Gentleman, of Whitehall, Westminster (1759)**

The Will of William Blake, Gentleman, of Whitehall, Westminster, was proved on 1 February 1759 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (British History Online) (see *BR* (2) 840).

#### **Juror (1764)**

William Blake served on the jury of 30 October 1764

### **William Blake and His Circle**

into the death of Peter Simon from arsenic poisoning.<sup>1316</sup>

#### **Watchmaker (1764-75)**

William Blake, apprentice to William Richards, watchmaker, was present at the trial 7 June 1764 of Elizabeth Cooper for stealing spoons (ll). His son was apprenticed as a printer in 1768 (*BR* (2) 840). While at Steyning Lane, on 1 January 1775 he took out an insurance policy for 1777-80 (ll).

#### **Juror (1765)**

William Blake served on the jury of 24 December 1765 into the death of Charles Till, bricklayer, who fell at work.

#### **Juror (1765-1798)**

William Blake was a juror at trials on 30 October, 24 December 1765, 1 September 1767, 30 July 1773, 30 December 1785, 13, 19 September 1796, 28 January, 26 May 1797, and 10 April 1798 (ll).

#### **Aldersgate Street (1765-1800)**

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<sup>1316</sup> City of Westminster Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths (seen in British History Online), the source of all the jury information here.



William Blake, of Aldersgate Street, appears in the *Transactions of the Society Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce ...* (1783, 1786-1800) <Biography Database>. He is plainly the same as the Warehouseman (fl. 1765-1800) at this address. “Blake and Paxton *Warehousemen and Manufacturers of Morocco-Leather* 15, Aldersgate-street” and “Blake William *Barrister* 15, Aldersgate-street” are listed in *Holden’s Triennial Directory* (London, 1799), 63.

William Blake of 15 Aldersgate Street took out an insurance policy with the Sun Fire Office on 1 January 1778<sup>1317</sup> and another for £2,000 on 1 January 1785, the second recording him as a Morocco Leather Manufacturer (see *BR* (2) 840.)

William Blake and Christopher Paxton, 15 Aldersgate Street, Warehousemen and Morocco Leather Manufacturers, were insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 2 December 1788 and 10 January 1792.<sup>1318</sup>

### **Juror (1766)**

William Blake served on the jury of 1 December 1766 looking into suspicious deaths.<sup>1319</sup>

### **Juror (1767)**

William Blake served on the jury of 1 September 1767 looking into suspicious deaths.

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<sup>1317</sup> Fire Insurance Policy Register 1777-1786 (seen in British History Online), the authority for other fire insurance policies cited here..

<sup>1318</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1319</sup> Middlesex Sessions Papers, Justices Working Documents (seen in British History Online), the source also of the information about the jury of 1767.



## William Blake and His Circle

### **Sailor (1767)**

The will (PCC) of William Blake, steward and sail-maker of the Elizabeth Transport, was proved 2 December 1767 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

### **Mercer (1767-70)**

William Blake, Mercer, at Bartholomew Close, is listed in *Kent's Directory for the Year 1767, ... 1768, ... 1769, ... 1770*. This may be William Staden Blake [engraver], who completed his apprenticeship as a Clothworker in 1767 and is listed as an engraver at Bartholomew Close in 1772. <Biography Database>

### **Watchmaker (1768-87)**

William Blake, Watchcase Maker, Grocer, and Haberdasher, of 28 Whitecross Street, Cripplegate, took out insurance for £500 with the Sun Fire Office on 1 January 1781 (see *BR* (2) 841).

### **Before "His son" ADD:**

A silver watch-case he made in 1786 is in the British Museum Print Room (1958,1201.874).

### **Stationer's Company Apprentice (1772)**

William Blake was apprenticed at the Stationer's Company on 8 April 1772 <Biography Database>. (The poet was apprenticed to the Stationer's Company on 4 August 1772.)

### **Juror (1773)**

William Blake served on the jury of 30 July 1773.

### **Victim of Theft (1773)**

Robert Kipling, porter, was convicted at the Old Bailey on 21 April 1773 of stealing books from William Blake and sentenced to **transportation**.<sup>1320</sup>

### **Voter (1774, 1784, 1788, 1790)**

William Blake of Berwick Street, St James, was appointed on 23 March 1783 as Receiver of the paternal estates in Soho, Middlesex, of the Third Duke of Portland.<sup>1321</sup>

William Blake, Gentleman, of 66 Berwick Street, Soho, insured his property for £400 with the Sun Fire Office on 4 April 1783 (see *BR* (2) 841).

### **Of Portland Place (c. 1774-1852)**

William Blake, 62 Portland Place, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group on 9 August 1810, 31 October 1811, and 30 March 1815.<sup>1322</sup>

### **Of 62 Portland Place and Danesbury House (1781-1853)**<sup>1323</sup>

Letter of **8 Feb 1792**, office draft from Josiah Wedgwood in the Wedgwood Museum. Docketed in modern ink at the top right "4384-6". Sideways at the right of the bottom of p. 2 is "To | W Blake | Feby 8--92".

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<sup>1320</sup> The Proceedings of the Old Bailey London 1674 to 1834 are quoted from <http://www.lib.gla.ac.uk/Resources/Databases/oldbailey.shtml>.

<sup>1321</sup> Financial Papers of the Dukes of Portland (1583-1940), P1 F5 / 1 / 36-38, online. The Third Duke was William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738-1809), sometime Prime Minister.

<sup>1322</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1323</sup> According to an obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, NS, XLIV (1855), "23 Aug. 1855, death of Colonel Frederick Randolph Blake ... son of the late William Blake, esq. of Portland-pl. and Danesbury, Hertfordshire".

William Blake and His Circle

To W<sup>m</sup> Blake Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dr Sir

Etruria Feb 8--1792

I have rec<sup>d</sup> your favour of 28 ult and I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken respecting the wine you have desired M<sup>r</sup> Rawdon to send for me. I thought until lately that the wine acct had been settled between us but I now find it has not rest[?] as I understand that there is a dividend to be made of Mr Hodgsons effects I thought it would be as well to wait until that time to settle the whole acct together.

I most heartily wish you & your <sup>^</sup>worthy<sup>^</sup> partners <sup>^</sup>in the bank<sup>^</sup> [~~words illeg~~]<sup>^</sup> you have established all the succesfs appr[?] have so much right to expect<sup>^</sup> and should be glad to be of any service ~~that could~~ <sup>^</sup>to you<sup>^</sup>, but at present I am myself considering of a proposition which has been made me of entering into a partnership of the same nature <sup>^</sup>though in a less extensive line<sup>^</sup>. Besides the distance from Greek[?] it to *illeg* it is so great that it would be no small inconvenience for me to do business <sup>^</sup>there<sup>^</sup> and I am not afraid to *illeg* to you that I feel an unwillingness to change an old *illeg* where I have been uniformly well treated being well afsured that you yourself would have the same feelings on the same occasion.

I am very soon coming to town & I hope then to have the pleasure with M<sup>rs</sup> W of paying my respects to you ~~illeg~~ the rest of our good friends in Aldersgate St--

Letter of 7 Feb 1820[?], office draft from Josiah Wedgwood in the Wedgwood Museum. Annotated on p. 1 at the top modern ink with the Wedgwood Museum reference number: "4390--6"; p. 2 upside down: "To | W Blake | 7 Feb 1820[?]"

W Blake

My dear Sir

Etruria 6 7 Feby 1820[?]

The reason of this is my eldest son Percival[?] who is in town for about a fortnight. He is a young man who has not been idle & who has gentle manners & a good disposition. It is one of the disadvantages of the course of life he has sworn[?], that of a Partner[?], to be too much secluded from intelligent society, and I am very desirous of giving him the best introductions in my power when an opportunity occurs of his emerging from our solitude This is my motive for taking the liberty of giving him a letter to you, and I shall be grateful for any notice you may take of him, but I am quite aware that, during so short a stay, your engagements may make it inconvenient to pay him any attention, and we should both be very unwilling that he should trespass on your kindness --

[~~Words~~] This occasion has suggested a request for myself which I will make only on the condition that you do not put the slightest fence on your inclination to comply with it. I am going in three weeks to Paris with my wife & daughter for about 3 months & if you have any acquaintance there ~~to~~ ^with^ whom you ~~could~~[?] ^are in such a position or if the able^ introduce me without any

William Blake and His Circle

degree of dislike you would oblige me ~~by illeg~~ but I  
~~know it is most likely~~ but I know this must depend  
on ~~the union of many illeg~~ many conditions not  
likely to be united

Letter of **13 May 1820**, office draft from Josiah Wedgwood, in the Wedgwood Museum, top left corner torn; at the top right corner in modern ink is the Wedgwood Museum reference number "4391--6". Sideways in the right margin is "W Blake | 13 May | 1820".

Etruria 13 May 1820

My dear Sir

My eldest son is in town, in York street, for a short time, and I am desirous of procuring him the advantage of knowing the friend whom I esteem and respect, and I should be grateful for the notice of yourself, and M<sup>rs</sup> Blake. But I would on no account trespass on your kindness, and as he does not know of my mentioning to you, he will feel no mortification if it does not suit you to comply with my request[.]

Letter of **24 January 1822**, office draft from Josiah Wedgwood, in the Wedgwood Museum, slim paper; at the top right corner in modern ink is the Wedgwood Museum reference number "43392-6". On p. 2, upside-down, is "To | W Blake | 4 Jan 1822"

York S<sup>t</sup> James [word]

24 Jan 1822

The obliging manner in which you inquired for my

eldest son draws[?] upon you the information that my second son Henry is a student of Law & lodges at my house ~~in St James~~[.] If M<sup>rs</sup> Blake & you honour him with any notice I shall feel very thankful but knowing the numerous claims you must have on your attention I shall not be mortified if you do not find it ~~convenient to notice him~~ compatible with your arrangements to notice him--

In October 1820, Lady Caroline Lamb invited the bookseller John Murray to dinner to “meet Mr. [William] Blake a remarkably clever person who wrote a Book upon political Economy”.<sup>1324</sup> This is probably the “Mr Blake St John Lodge Herts” to whom in the winter of 1823 she urged William Godwin to write about a subscription for Godwin.<sup>1325</sup> He may be the person about whom Lady Caroline wrote in 1821 to John Murray urging him to “invite [Ugo] Foscolo & Mr. [*Washington*] Irving whom Mr. and Mrs. Blake are very desirous of knowing on account of his former Work .... if you come any Saturday I will ask Mr. & Mrs. Blake to meet you”.<sup>1326</sup>

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<sup>1324</sup> Manuscript in the John Murray Archive (now in the National Library of Scotland) generously transcribed for me, like the next two letters, by my friend Professor Paul Douglass. In his *Lady Caroline Lamb: A Biography* (Basingstoke: palgrave macmillan, 2004), 225, 242-3 Professor Douglas identifies these William Blakes as the poet but will not do so in a future edition.

<sup>1325</sup> Bodleian Library (Abinger Papers C529). The undated MS probably responds to a letter from Godwin of 20 Feb 1823. In 1820 this William Blake moved to Danesbury House, Hertfordshire.

<sup>1326</sup> Undated MS (watermarked 1819) in the John Murray Archive; the letter refers to Mrs Murray’s illness, probably of 1821. Foscolo (1778-1827) was in England c. 1815-27; his novel *The Lost Letters of Jacopo Ortiz* was published in English in 1818. Washington Irving (1783-1849) was in England 1815 ff.; his *The*

## William Blake and His Circle

“William Blake, Esq. F.R.S. &c of Portland Place” made four “original Sketches” which were engraved on wood by H. White representing Izaak Walton’s Fishing-House and the Pike-Pool, Staffordshire, for Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton, *The Complete Angler "Extensively Embellished with Engravings on Wood and Copper by First-Rate Artists”* (London: John Major, 1824), according to the book’s Descriptive List of Embellishments (pp. xliv-xlv).

He is also probably the “William Blake, Esq.” in “An Alphabetical List of the Proprietors of the Royal Institution of Great Britain. May 1, 1800” in *The Prospectus, Charter, Ordinances and Bye-Laws of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (London: Cadell and Davies [et al], 1800) and the “William Blake, Esq.” who was one of 36 “Directors” of the *Twenty-First Report of the Directors of the African Institution* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1827), p. [iv].<sup>1327</sup> “William Blake, Esq.” of 62, Portland Place, subscribed to Vol. III of Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. Lord Sheffield, and “Blake, William, Esq., London” subscribed to Thomas Price, *The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England, from The Reformation under Henry VIII*, In Two Volumes (London: William Bull and John Leifchild, 1836), and to Mrs William Busk, *Plays and Poems* [2 vols.] (London: Thomas Hookham, 1837). He was also a member of the Athenæum in 1826.<sup>1328</sup>

The Sun Fire Office insured him in 1811 and 1815-16 <Guildhall Library>.

William Blake, Esquire, of Danesbury, acquired the use

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*Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon* was published in 1820.

<sup>1327</sup> “Blake, William, Esq., 62, Portland place” subscribed £31.10.0 to the African Institution (*Seventh Report of the Directors of the African Institution ...* [London: J. Hatchard, 1813], 94, 142).

<sup>1328</sup> *An Alphabetical List of the Members ... of the Athenæum* (London: William Clowes, 1826), 21, lists “Blake, William, Esq., F.R.S. F.G.S.”

of the Manor of Knibworth <Hertfordshire Archives>. The estate and family papers (1776-1924) of the Blake family of Danesbury, Welwyn, Hertfordshire, are in Hertfordshire Archives. William Blake of Danesbury was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1836 (*Annual Register*, LXXV III [1837], 164).

William Blake of Danesbury and Portland Place died 24 November 1853, age 72, according to *Gentleman's Magazine*, CXCVII (1853), 107.

Mary, daughter of William Blake of Danesbury, married Baron de Biel of Zierow, in Mecklenberg, according to *The Court Magazine, and Belle Assemblée* (April 1833), xvi.

### **Victim of Theft (1775)**

Thomas Bishop was indicted for stealing £5.18.0 from William Blake at his house in the parish of Hillington, **1 August 1775.**<sup>1329</sup>

Thomas Wright was indicted on 13 September 1775 at the Old Bailey for breaking and entering and stealing clothes and money of William Blake<sup>1330</sup> from the house of Elizabeth Blake, widow, but was **acquitted**.

### **Oath Swearer (1775)**

William Blake took the oath at the City of London

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<sup>1329</sup> City of London Sessions Papers -- Justices' Working Documents (seen in British History Online). N.B. In the Old Bailey Proceedings, Accounts of Criminal Trials, for 13 Sept 1775 Thomas Wright was indicted for stealing clothes and £5.18.0 from William Blake in the house of Elizabeth Blake, widow.

<sup>1330</sup> This could be the William, son of Allen, labourer, and Elizabeth Blake, christened 18 Jan 1755, who was apprenticed as a needlemaker in 1770 (*BR* (2) 831, 841).



## William Blake and His Circle

Sessions 9 August 1775 at a trial for breaking and entering (II).

### **Organ Bellows Blower (1775-77)**

William Blake was paid on 1 April 1775 and 10 August 1777 for one quarter of blowing the bellows of the organ of St Botolph, Aldgate Parish according to the St Botolph Aldgate Miscellaneous Parish Account Books.

### **Vintner (1776, 1792)**

William Blake, Citizen and Vintner of London, took leases of two houses in Knightsbridge <Lincolnshire Archives>. He may have been the father of Charles Blake who was apprenticed to a vintner in 1752 (*BR* (2) 840).

### **Husband of Thief (1777)**

Eleanor Blake, wife of William Blake and servant of Edward Shugar, was convicted at the Old Bailey on 2 July 1777 of the theft of linen and clothing from her employer and sentenced to be **branded and imprisoned for 6 months**.

### **Victim of Theft (1778)**

Thomas Turner and William Walker were indicted at the Old Bailey on 29 April 1778 for stealing silver, linen, and clothing from the house of William Blake on 16 February at 1 A.M. and were found **not guilty**.

### **Thief of Paper (1778)**

Mary Pearce and William Blake, apprentice to Henry Baldwin of Holborn, were convicted at the Old Bailey on 3 June 1778 for stealing from Baldwin on 30 May 19 reams and 18 quires of writing paper (value £10) intended for [Samuel] Johnson's [edition of the] *Poets*. Blake was found guilty and

sentenced to “**Navigation for 3 Years**”, Pearce, who betrayed him because he was “so great a villain”, was found **not guilty**. The stolen paper was sold to Mr Kettle, chandler in Union Court, Holborn. Blake was out of his [7 year] time as an apprentice in 1776, suggesting that he was born about 1755.

### **Lunatic and Suicide (1778)**

William Blake of St James Parish “hanged himself [with a garter], being lunatic”, according to the coroner’s jury held on 14 August 1778 (ll).

### **Sailor (1781)**

William Blake, carpenter, was recruited 1 January 1781 by the Marine Society to serve at sea (ll).

### **Accused of Stealing Eels (1782)**

William Blake and William Kercheval were indicted at the Old Bailey on 4 December 1782 for stealing on 8 November a basket (1s) with “one hundred lampern eels” (5s) from James and Stephen West and were found **not guilty** because the Wests could not identify the 11 eels which were left.

### **Accountant (1783)**

“Mr. William Blake” was the “Principal Clerk of Old Annuity Pell Office”, according to *The Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Examine, Take and State The Public Accounts of the Kingdom* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1783), 371.

### **Lunatic and Suicide (1783)**

### **William Blake and His Circle**

At a coroner's inquest on 4 April 1783, it was determined that William Blake was a lunatic who drowned himself (ll).

#### **Carpenter (1784)**

William Blake, Carpenter, of Mercer Street, St Martin's in the Fields, voted in 1784 for Percy and Clinton (ll).

#### **Porter (1784)**

William Blake, Porter, of Castle Street, St Martin's-in-the-Fields, voted in 1784 for Hood and Wray (ll).

#### **Accused of Stealing Bread (1784)**

William Blake and Robert Walker were indicted at the Old Bailey on 15 September 1784 for stealing 12 loaves of bread (3s 6d) on 22 July and selling 6 of them to Ann Gafney, who was indicted for receiving stolen goods; all three were found **not guilty**.

#### **Grocer (1784)**

William Blake, grocer, of 28, Whitecross Street, is listed in *Bailey's British Directory* (1784) <Biography Database>.

#### **Tin Plate Worker and Watch Case Maker, of 75, Whitechapel Road (1784-90)**

William Blake, No. 75, Whitechapel Road, listed without profession in *Bailey's British Directory* (1784), is plainly the William Blake, Tin Plate Worker and Watch Case Maker, of 75 Whitechapel Road, London, listed in *Bailey's British Directory* (1785) and in *Wakefield's Merchant's and Tradesman's General Directory for London* (1790) (as Watch Case Maker of 28 White Cross Street) <Biography Database>.

He must be distinct from the William Blake, Watchmaker, Grocer, and Haberdasher of 28 Cross Street, Cripplegate (1786-87) and the watchmaker of 5 Steyning Lane (1776-87) and the William Blake who was apprenticed as a watchmaker (1796).

The apprenticeship of "Blake William, Son of William, citizen and tin plate worker", is recorded without date in "London Apprenticeship Abstracts" (British History Online). It was presumably a different apprentice William Blake of the Tinsplate Workers Company who was turned over to another master in 1770.

### **Auctioneer (1784-1823)**

William Blake, auctioneer and broker of Croydon, Surrey, is listed in *Bailey's British Directory* (1784) <Biography Database> and in the same place as Auctioneer, Appraiser, House Agent, Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer and Surveyor with insurance at the Sun Life Insurance Office (1823).

### **Classical Scholar ( c. 1785)**

"William Blake", almost certainly not the poet, wrote his name repeatedly in an 18th Century manuscript translation of Sophocles' *Ajax* with learned notes in English, Latin, and Greek.<sup>1331</sup>

### **Inn Keeper, Bull and Gate, Holborn (1785)**

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<sup>1331</sup> See Michael Phillips, *Blake*, XXXI (1997), 44-49 (the handwriting is that of the poet) and G.E. Bentley, Jr, *Blake*, XXXI (1997), 65-67 (the handwriting is not the poet's).

### **William Blake and His Circle**

William Blake, Inn Keeper, Bull and Gate, Holborn, was listed in *Bailey's British Directory* (1785) <Biography Database>.

#### **“Officer” (1786)**

William Blake was an “officer” at the trial at the Old Bailey on 11 January 1786 of Caleb Only and Charles Hemmings who stole 1,000 lb of lead from a roof and were sentenced to **7 years transportation**.

#### **Lodging House Keeper in Little Windmill Street (1786)**

John Bingham was indicted and acquitted at the Old Bailey on 31 May 1786 for stealing clothing (£5.5.0) from John Chambers with whom he shared a room and a bed “in the dwelling house of William Blake” with “many lodgers” in Little Windmill Street. Mary Blake, apparently the owner’s wife, made the beds.<sup>1332</sup>

#### **Carpenter (1788)**

William and Thomas Blake, Croydon, Surrey, carpenters, were insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 14 October 1788.<sup>1333</sup>

#### **Coachman (1788)**

William Blake, Coachman, of Sutton Street, St Anne, Soho, voted in 1788 for Hood (ll). He may be the Coachman

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<sup>1332</sup> Couples named William and Mary Blake had sons christened William on 26 June 1785 at St Lawrence, Poutney, on 15 Feb 1790 at St Andrew, Holborn, on 6 July 1792 at St Mary, Whitechapel, on 11 June 1798 at St Mary St, Marylebone, and on 8 Oct 1801 at St George in the East, Stepney, inter alia.

<sup>1333</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

who benefited from the will of Rebekah Bliss (d. 1819).

**Gardener (1788)**

William Blake, Gardener, of St Margaret, Westminster, voted in 1788 for Townshend (ll).

**Gentleman (1789)**

William Blake, 103 Fetter Lane, gent, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 17 January 1789.<sup>1334</sup>

**Gentleman of 66 Berwick Street (1790)**

William Blake, 66 Berwick Street, gent, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 30 July 1790.<sup>1335</sup>

**Of Lincoln's Inn (1790)**

The marriage settlement of William Blake of Lincoln's Inn and Mary Nash, Spinster, of Surrey was made in 1825 <Hertfordshire Archives>.

**Add footnote to "the Lawyer W. Blake ...[of] Bedford Row"<sup>1336</sup>**

**Fishmonger, Lunatic, Suicide (1792)**

At the coroner's inquest of 2 July 1792, it was determined that William Blake, fishmonger, with a wife and five children, was a lunatic when he hanged himself (ll).

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<sup>1334</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1335</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1336</sup> See 1810 below.

## William Blake and His Circle

### Wimbledon (1790)

William Blake, Esquire, of Wimbledon, Surrey, subscribed to Charles Moore, *A Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide* (London, 1790) <Biography Database>.

### Glue-Maker (1790, 1805)

William Blake, Glue-Maker, of Acton Bottom, is listed in *Wakefield's Merchant's and Tradesman's General Directory for London* (1790) <Biography Database> and in 1805.

### Gentleman of 2 Goodge Street (1791)

William Blake, 2 Goodge Street, gent, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group on 8 December 1791.<sup>1337</sup>

### His Will (1803)

William Blake, Will, May 1803.<sup>1338</sup>

### Grosvenor Square (d. 4 March 1795)

William Blake of Grosvenor Square died 4 March 1795, according to *Gentleman's Magazine* (1795) <Biography Database>.

### Alleged Owner of a Piano Forte (1796)

Richard Geast, a tuner, was indicted on 6 April 1796 at the Old Bailey for stealing a square piano forte, apparently from Ellison and Oakley, Musical Instrument Makers of Fountain Court, bankrupts, and claiming it belonged to William Blake and others; he was found **not guilty** but later was convicted for other musical thefts and sentenced to **7 years transportation**. In separate trials on the same day

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<sup>1337</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1338</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

William Gater (47), an organ builder, and John Bates, were indicted for theft of piano fortes and claiming they belonged to William Blake and others. Both were found **guilty**; for Gates mercy was recommended and he was **fined 1s**; Bates was sentenced to **12 months in Newgate Prison and a 1s fine**.

### **Murdered (1796)**

A record was made on 1 September 1796 of a prisoner who manslaughtered William Blake on 28 April.<sup>1339</sup>

### **Of Sunbury Place, Essex (1796-1807)**

William Blake of Sunbury Place made a deed in 1796 <London Metropolitan Archives>. The Will of William Blake of Sunbury Place, Essex, was dated 15 November 1803 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob 13/1395). “William Blake, Esq. Sunbury House, Middlesex” subscribed to J.T. Smith’s *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807).

The will (PCC) of William Blake of Sunbury Place, Middlesex, was proved on 15 July 1803 (II).

### **Gave a Testimonial for a Thief (1797)**

William Blake gave a good character to William Wood who was convicted at the Old Bailey on 26 April 1797 of the theft of cloth (£10) and sentenced to **death**.

### **Murdered (1797)**

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<sup>1339</sup> Home Office Criminal Registers of Prisoners in Middlesex (seen in British History Online).



## William Blake and His Circle

John Christie was indicted at the Old Bailey on 26 April 1797 for shooting and killing on 29 March William Blake, a seaman in a press-gang, which was attempting to press Christie. He was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to **1 year imprisonment in Newgate and 1s fine**. The inquest had said that the killing was justified homicide.

### **Publican, Victim of Theft (1797)**

On 16 November Elizabeth Moore stole 6 pewter pots (7s 6d) from William Blake who kept The Star (public house) at 31, Aldersgate Street; the pots bore his name. She was sentenced at the Old Bailey on 6 December 1797 to be **transported for 7 years**.

### **Bankrupt (1798)**

"William Blake" was reported as a bankrupt in the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, CIII (July 1798), 77-79.

### **Rioter (1798)**

William Blake was found guilty on 1 April 1798 of Assault and Riot (II).

### **Lunatic and Suicide (1799)**

The coroner's jury determined on 6 July 1799 that William Blake drowned himself when lunatic and distracted (II).

### **Tortoise-shell Case-maker (1799)**

"Blake William *Tortoise-shell Case-maker* 87, Goswell Street" is listed in *Holden's Triennial Directory* (London: W. Holden, 1799), 63.

### **Seaman (1801)**

The will (PCC) of William Blake, seaman of H.M. ship Heroine was proved 27 January 1800 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

### **Baker (1802)**

William Blake, baker, of the Strand, is referred to in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* and the *Observer*, both for 1 July 1798.

### **Breaker and Enterer (1802)**

"William Blake" was indicted for breaking and entering, according to *The Times*, 19 January 1802.

### **Seaman (1802)**

William Blake, a boy of Drury Lane, was recruited to Service at Sea on 1 January 1802 (II).

### **Accused of Receiving Stolen Property (1802)**

William Blake of Angel-alley, Bishopsgate Street, was indicted at the Old Bailey on 13 January 1802 for knowingly receiving stolen property but was found **not guilty**.

### **Of Clerkenwell (d. 1802)**

The Will of William Blake of St James, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, was proved on 2 May 1802 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

### **Banker Victim of Embezzlement (1802, 1804)**

## William Blake and His Circle

Daniel Trinden, clerk to William Blake, William Sansome, and Thomas Postlethwaite, City of London bankers, was indicted on 28 April 1802 at the Old Bailey for embezzlement from them but was **acquitted**.

Robert Hibbert (22), clerk to the same firm, was convicted on 16 May 1804 at the Old Bailey for stealing drafts, etc., from them and was sentenced to be **transported for 7 years**.

### **Accused of Breaking, Entering, and Theft (1802)**

William Blake, Elizabeth Blake,<sup>1340</sup> and Maria Robinson were indicted on 1 December 1802 at the Old Bailey for breaking and entering and theft from James Fletcher of Bethnal Green, but all were found **not guilty**. Mrs Blake had two children when she was apprehended. William Blake, who lodged in Nichol-row, Bethnal Green, with Mrs Robinson, a milk woman, used to keep an old iron shop in Angel Alley, Bishopsgate Street. He said, "I used to go about with fish."

### **Accused of Stealing Mutton (1802)**

William Blake was indicted at the Old Bailey on 1 December 1802 for stealing mutton (11s) from Isaac Cooper but was **acquitted** because of an error in the indictment.

### **Died 1803**

The death of "William Blake, esq. in Great Cumberland Street" was reported in the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge*

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<sup>1340</sup> This bath-thief might be the Elizabeth, wife of William Blake, whose son William was christened in 1796 in Holborn or the Elizabeth wife of William Blake whose son William was christened in 1798 at St Giles in the Field or the Elizabeths who married William Blake in 1793 and 1798 (*BR* (2) 832, 833, 836). There are numbers of earlier and later Elizabeths married to William Blake.

*and Pleasure*, CXIII (July 1803), 76.

### **Of Sunbury Place (d. 1803)**

The Will of William Blake of Sunbury Place, Middlesex, was proved on 15 July 1803 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Perhaps this is the father of William Blake, Esq. of Sunbury House, Middlesex, who subscribed to J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807)--see Custom House Agent (1823) (*BR* (2) 844).

### **Victim of Theft (1804)**

Ann Crouch (55) was convicted on 5 December 1804 at the Old Bailey for stealing, inter alia, 6 silver watch cases (36s) with WB on them from William Blake of 66 Noble Street, parish of St Luke's<sup>1341</sup> --the cases were at Bolton's in Noble Street--and sentenced to **6 months in the House of Correction and a fine of 1s.**

### **Intoxicated Bath Thief (1805)**

William Blake (age 35)<sup>1342</sup> was convicted at the Old Bailey on 20 February 1805 for stealing a tin bath while "very much intoxicated" and sentenced to be **whipped and discharged.**

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<sup>1341</sup> There were watchmakers named William Blake at 28 Cross Street, Cripplegate(1768-87), at 87 Goswell Street (1805), and at 5 Steyning Lane (1776-87), and a boy named William Blake was apprenticed to a watchmaker (1796); see *BR* (2) 840-843.

<sup>1342</sup> This might be the William, son of William and Elizabeth, christened 25 Dec 1769, or the William, son of Richard and Mary Blake, christened 14 Aug 1770 (*BR* (2) 831).

## William Blake and His Circle

### **Butcher(?), Victim of Theft (1805)**

James Tatnell was indicted at the Old Bailey on 10 July 1805 for stealing 20 pounds of bacon (20s) from William Blake in Bedford Court in Bedford Street but found to be **not guilty**. Blake's wife was named Esther.

### **Porter and Thief (1806)**

William Blake, a Billingsgate porter (37),<sup>1343</sup> with a wife and 3 small children, was convicted on 21 May 1806 at the Old Bailey for stealing a tanned bullock hide and sentenced to **1 month in Newgate and whipping**.

### **Ship Master (d. 1806)**

The Will of William Blake, Master of His Majesty's Sloop Leonard, was proved on 28 April 1806 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

### **Carpenter (1807)**

The will (PCC) of William Blake, Carpenter, of Croydon, Surrey, was proved on 11 September 1807 (ll).

### **Pauper (1807)**

William Blake, age 64, a pauper, was in the workhouse on 27 March 1816 (ll).

### **Questioner at the Old Bailey (1807)**

William Blake asked questions in a trial at the Old Bailey on 28 October 1807, but his role there is not clear – perhaps he was a lawyer.

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<sup>1343</sup> This hide-thief corresponds to no William Blake recorded in *BR* (2).

### **Batchelor of Ratcliffe Highway (1810)**

The Will of William Blake, batchelor, of Pennington Street, Ratcliffe Highway, Middlesex, was probated in July 1810 (National Archives, Kew). For descendants of James Blake, Timber Merchant of Ratclif (d. 1754), see *BR* (2) xxxi.

### **Lawyer of Bedford Row (1810)**

The Will of William Blake of Bedford Row, Middlesex, was dated 26 November 1810 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob 11/1567). For other details of William Blake, lawyer, see *BR* (2) 843.

### **Banker (d. 1810)**

The death “In Hatton-garden, [of] William Blake, Esq. banker, in partnership with Sampson, Blake, and Postlet[h]waite, Lombard-Street”, was reported in *European Magazine, and London Review* (June 1810) and in *New Annual Register* (1811), 174 (“Wm Blake , esq. banker”, died 29 May 1810).

### **Fisherman and Thief (1812)**

William Blake (45),<sup>1344</sup> a fisherman, and Joseph Darke (23) were convicted at the Old Bailey on 18 April 1812 for stealing a bushel of coals (1s) from a barge; Blake was sentenced to **7 years transportation** and Darke to **6 months in the House of Correction and a fine of 1s**. Blake said, “I was rowing a west country barge out of Pool.”

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<sup>1344</sup> This fisherman could be the William, son of William and Elizabeth Blake, who was christened on 8 May 1768 or the William, son of Richard and Mary Blake, christened on 22 May 1768 (*BR* (2) 831).

## William Blake and His Circle

### **Of 22 Pitfield Street, Witness (1813)**

William Blake of 22 Pitfield Street<sup>1345</sup> was a witness in a trial at the Old Bailey on 15 September 1813 about the theft of 350 pounds of butter (£20).

### **Witness (1815)**

William Blake was a witness at a trial at the Old Bailey on 13 September 1815.

### **Drunken Sailor and Thief (1816)**

William Blake (25)<sup>1346</sup> and William Turnbull (20), who worked on a ship, were convicted at the Old Bailey on 14 February 1816 for stealing clothes while drunk and sentenced to **6 months imprisonment and a 1s fine**.

### **Victim of Goose Theft (1816)**

John Robinson (54) stole geese from George Blake in the house of William Blake who had sons named James and William; Robinson was convicted at the Old Bailey on 30 October 1816 and sentenced to **6 months imprisonment and whipping**.

### **Assisted a Patrol to Catch a Thief (1817)**

At the trial at the Old Bailey of 19 February 1817 William Blake was said to have helped to arrest David

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<sup>1345</sup> This could be the William, son of Charles and Jane Blake, christened 21 Nov 1890 or the William, son of Peter and Elizabeth Blake, christened Jan 1791 (BR (2) 832).

<sup>1346</sup> The drunken sailor could be the son of William and Mary Blake, christened 15 Feb 1790, or of Thomas and Catherine Blake, christened May 1790, or of Thomas and Sophia Blake, christened 5 Aug 1790, or the son of Charles and Jane Blake, christened 21 Nov 1790, or of Peter and Elizabeth Blake, christened Jan 1791 (BR (2) 832).

Ferguson (25), who, with James Cotton, was convicted for theft; Ferguson was sentenced to **death**.

#### **Witness (1821)**

William Blake was a witness at a trial at the Old Bailey on 10 January 1821.

#### **Victim of Hat Theft (1821)**

Thomas Johnson was indicted on 11 April 1821 at the Old Bailey for stealing a hat (5s) worn by William Blake but was **acquitted**.

#### **Of Islington and Pentonville (1821-27)**

The Sun Fire Office insured William Blake, Gent, at 3 High Street, Islington (1821-22), at 6 Brunswick Terrace, White Conduit Fields, Pentonville (1823-24), at 8 Upper Islington Terrace (1826), and at 17 Claremont Terrace, Pentonville (1827) <Guildhall Library>. By 1831 he was bankrupt, according to *Law Advertiser*, IX (1831).

#### **Driver of Edmonton Coach and Witness (1822)**

William Blake, driver of the Edmonton coach from London to Enfield, was a witness at a trial at the Old Bailey on 1 April 1822. He is probably the coachman who was a beneficiary of the will of Rebekah Bliss (1819) of Enfield.

#### **Gentleman of 3 High Street, Islington (1822)**

William Blake, 3 High Street, Islington, gent, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 18 November



## William Blake and His Circle

1822.<sup>1347</sup>

### **Hoop Binder, 3 Charles Street, Old Ground Lane (1822)**

William Blake, hoop binder, of 3 Charles Street, Old Ground Lane, stood bail December 1822 for Eleanor Hopwood who was accused of assault.<sup>1348</sup>

### **Stabbed (1822)**

George Vellum was indicted at the Old Bailey on 23 October 1822 for stabbing with intent to kill William Blake (a boy), who with other boys had been fighting with Vellum but was found **not guilty**.

### **Shopman and Witness (1822)**

William Blake, shopman to Mr Aldus of Berwick Street (probably a pawnbroker), was a witness in a trial at the Old Bailey on 4 December 1822.

### **Bricklayer (1822-32)**

In May 1820 William Blake of Pear Tree Lodge, Little Chelsea, builder and bricklayer, leased for 99 years the Lee Estate (Old Brompton Road and Gloucester Road) and built extensively there.<sup>1349</sup>

### **Baker (1823)**

Perhaps he is the William Blake who was convicted of selling bread deficient in weight, April 1818, he appealed it

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<sup>1347</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1348</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1349</sup> *Survey of London*, XXXVIII: South Kensington Museums Area (1975), 19. See BR (2) 844 for other activities of the bricklayer.

May 1818.<sup>1350</sup>

**6 Brunswick Terrace White Conduit Fields, Pentonville  
(1823)**

William Blake, 6 Brunswick Terrace White Conduit Fields, Pentonville, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 17 November 1823.<sup>1351</sup>

**Custom House Agent (1823)**

**DELETE**

**“the ‘William Blake, Esq. Sunbury House, Middlesex’ who  
subscribed to J.T. Smith’s Antiquities of Westminster  
(1807) or“**

**Baronet (1825)**

The death “In Hanover Square, aged 26, [of] Mary, eldest daughter of Sir William Blake, Bart”, was reported in *La Belle Assemblée: or, Court and Fashionable Magazine*, II, 10 (Oct 1825), 184.

**Gentleman of Claremont Square, Pentonville (1825-1827)**

William Blake, 6 Claremont Square, Pentonville, gent, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 9 November 1825 and 7 February 1827; he is probably the same as William Blake, 17 Claremont Terrace, Pentonville, gent, who was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 23 November 1827.<sup>1352</sup>

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<sup>1350</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1351</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1352</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

## William Blake and His Circle

### **Thief, Age 10 (1826)**

William Blake (10)<sup>1353</sup> and George Power (12) were convicted at the Old Bailey on 26 October 1826 for stealing a handkerchief (1s), but because of their youth they were sentenced to be merely **whipped and discharged**.

### **John William Blake, Silversmith, of 16 Long Acre (1826-1835)**

John William Blake, 16 Long Acre, silversmith, was insured by the Royal Sun Alliance Insurance Group 1 February 1826, 6 February 1828, 5 February 1830, 1 February 1833, 4 February 1835.<sup>1354</sup>

### **Thief, Age 16 (1827)**

William Blake (16)<sup>1355</sup> and John Mahane (12) were convicted at the Old Bailey on 5 April 1827 for stealing a waistcoat (3s) from Jacob Russell, a pawn broker in Fore Street, and sentenced to be **transported for 7 years**.

### **Footman (1827)**

The Will of William Blake, footman, of Highgate, Middlesex, was dated 28 May 1827 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob 11/1725).

### **Hairdresser of 7 Wyndham Street, Marylebone (1828)**

William Blake of 7 Wyndham Street, Marylebone, hair dresser, stood bail May 1828 for his wife Elizabeth Jane Blake

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<sup>1353</sup> The pickpocket does not correspond to any William Blake in *BR* (2).

<sup>1354</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1355</sup> The waistcoat thief does not correspond to any William Blake in *BR* (2).

to keep the peace.<sup>1356</sup>

### **Murderer (1829)**

William Blake, murderer, is referred to in *Morning Journal*, 26 February 1829 and the *Times*, 28 August 1829.

**MATHEW, Mrs [Harriet]**, wife of A.S. Mathew

Mrs Mathew subscribed to [Elizabeth Blower], *Maria: A Novel* (1785) with an engraving by Blake, to Amelia Bristow, *The Maniac* (1810), to *The Spiritual Works of the Celebrated Francois Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai*, tr. Richard Houghton, Vol. I (1771), and to [A. Gomersall], *Eleanora, A Novel, in a Series of Letters*, Vol. I (London, 1789) <Biography Database>.

### **New Contemporary References to William Blake After 1831**

On **27 October 1843**, the young Quaker Barclay Fox “called on Linnell, a very clever painter. He showed us Blake’s Illustrations of Dante done in the style of Campo Santo, a sort of mad genius, poor and gifted.”<sup>1357</sup>

### **P. 849**

**Endnotes 150 and 159,  
letters of 1 Feb 1804 and 3 Aug 1805: To “Cowper Museum,  
Olney, Buckinghamshire” ADD:**

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<sup>1356</sup> London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>1357</sup> *Barclay Fox*, ed. R.L. Brett. (London: Bell and Hymes, 1979), 359.

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on deposit since 1996 in Buckinghamshire County Record Office

**P. 855**

**To footnote 65 at end ADD:**

The sentence in Hayley's letter is quoted in the anonymous review of Hayley's *Memoirs* in *Literary Chronicle*, No. 213 (14 June 1823), 369-370.

**Pp. 860-861**

**footnote 19 about Cromek's letter of May 1807  
at the end ADD:**

A transcription by R.H. Cromek's son Thomas (in Thomas's MS "Memoirs" of his father [1865] now in Princeton University Library) differs in many minor ways from that in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1852); abbreviations are expanded, lay-out is altered (e.g., the first paragraph in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is divided into three), "yours exclus<sup>y</sup>" is altered to "exclusively yours". I take it that T.H. Cromek's source was the *Gentleman's Magazine* version and that consequently his version has no authority.

**P. 862 footnote 19**

**After "1411" ADD:**

T.H. Cromek wrote c. 1862 in his Memoir: "I was the person who put the letter in the hands of Allan Cunningham [d. 1842]. Where it is now I know not" (Princeton University Library).

**P. 867**

**To end-note 39 at the end ADD:**

The quotation from Hayley's letter of 11 June 1802 about

“The kind indefatigable Blake” is also given in the Anon. review in *The Literary Chronicle*, No. 213 (14 June 1823), 369-370.

**P. 869**

**Delete end-note 96**

**P. 869**

**To the end of endnote 97, ADD:**

It is reprinted in Anon., “Table-Talk.—Old Age of Artists. (New Mon)”, *Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines* [Boston], XIV (1 Nov 1823), 107-111.

**P. 871 footnote 37**

**For “T.H. Cromek’s great-grandson Mr. Paul Warrington”**

**READ:**

in Princeton University Library

**P. 871**

**for “in the possession of” SUBSTITUTE:**  
which passed from

**and ADD:**

in 2009 to Princeton University Library.

**P. 872**

**To end-note 60 about Etty's letter of 25 March 1830 (p. 525 above) ADD:**

Allan Cunningham's son Francis offered this letter to Swinburne in his letter of 3 Nov 1866 (*Uncollected Letters of Algernon Swinburne*, ed. Terry L. Meyers (London: Pickering

William Blake and His Circle

and Chatto, 2005), Vol. 1, pp. 81-82).

**P. 872**

**To end-note 49 about the *London Literary Gazette* ADD:**

The same passages appear in Anon., *London Literary Magazine and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c*, No. 681 (6 Feb 1830), 85-86 (quotes ¶8-10, 23 [omitting the first sentence]-24, 36-49). The *Literary Gazette* review was partly reprinted in Anon., “Sketch of Blake, the Painter”, *Spirit of the English Magazines*<sup>1358</sup> [Boston], 3 S, IV, 1 (1 April 1830), 25-30 and in Anon., “From the Literary Gazette. The Family Library, No. X”, *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* [Philadelphia and N.Y.], XVI (June 1830), 498-501.

**P. 873**

**To end-note 65, at end ADD:**

Anon., “Visions of Blake the Artist”, *Rural Repository, or Bower of Literature* ... [Hudson, N.Y.], VII, 4 (17 July 1830), 30-31, quotes ¶37 from [Cunningham’s] “Lives of the Painters”.

**P. 874**

**To end-note 2 about Mrs Hemans’ poem ADD:**

The poem and its footnote saying that it was “suggested by the closing scene in the life of the Painter Blake, as beautifully related by Allan Cunningham”, is quoted in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, XXXI (Feb 1832), 220, *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, XX, 118 (April 1832), 449, *Christian Messenger* [N.Y.], I, 29 (19 May 1832), 232, and *Lady’s Book* [Philadelphia], V (July 1832), 30.

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<sup>1358</sup> The volume title page calls it *The Atheneum; or Spirit of the English Magazines*.

In a letter of 3 February 1832, Mrs Hemans wrote: “I should be very glad to know how you like the little scene I have taken from the life of Blake the painter, which appears in this month’s Blackwood” (Henry F. Chorley, *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans...* [Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1836], 236 – there were other editions of Saunders and Otley in London, 1836 and N.Y. and London, 1836

**P. 910**

**index, "Hercules Buildings"**

**For "1790-1800" READ:**

1791-1800

**P. 926**

**index, "Poland Street"**

**For "1785-1790" READ:**

1785-91

**Plate 63**

**For "1790 to 1800" READ:**

1791 to 1800

**Appendix IV**

**Engravings by and after Blake 1773-1831**

**Addenda**

1799 Anon., *Cabinet of the Arts* (reprinted from  
*Bellamy's Picturesque Magazine*[1793])

1803 *European Magazine*, XLIII, frontispiece

**Appendix VI**



**"My Name is Legion: for we are many":  
"William Blake" in London 1740-1830  
Of Portland Place (c. 1774-1852)**

According to the 1811 Journal of Horace Walpole's protégée Mary Berry, on Sunday [Oct] 27th, her sister "Agnes and I went to Mr. Blake's to see his drawings, which are admirable. He sketches in every style, and always well. I never saw more perfect amateurs."<sup>1359</sup>

**Appendix VII  
Blake's Writings<sup>1360</sup>  
Contemporary Copies**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Prints or Pages</b>	<b>Copies<sup>1361</sup> Known</b>
1783	<i>Poetical Sketches</i>	London	76 pages	10
1788	<i>All Religions are One</i> <sup>1362</sup>	London	10 prints	1
1788	<i>There is No Natural Religion</i>	London	19 prints	12 <sup>1363</sup>
1789	<i>Songs of Innocence</i>	London	31 <sup>1364</sup> prints	26

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<sup>1359</sup> Mary Berry, *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783-1852*, ed. Lady Maria Theresa Villiers Lister Lewis (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1866), II, 486.

A footnote identifies the artist as "The late William Blake, Esq., of Portland Place and Danesbury Welwyn. His remarkable talent for drawing has been transmitted, and in a still higher degree, to his daughters, whose works have excited the greatest admiration, both in private and at the Amateur Exhibitions."

<sup>1360</sup> Omitting manuscripts, which of course were not for sale.

<sup>1361</sup> Only copies distributed during Blake's lifetime are included here.

<sup>1362</sup> *All Religions are One* and *There is No Natural Religion* were apparently etched in 1788 and printed in 1794.

<sup>1363</sup> All known copies are fragmentary.

1789	<i>The Book of Thel</i>	London	8 prints	17 <sup>1365</sup>
1790-93	<i>The Marriage of Heaven and Hell</i>	[London?]	27 prints	9
1791	<i>The French Revolution</i> , proof	London	20 pages	1
1793	<i>To the Public</i>	[Lambeth]	2? prints	1
1793	<i>For Children: The Gates of Paradise</i>	Lambeth	18 prints	6
1793	<i>Visions of the Daughters of Albion</i>	[Lambeth]	11 prints	18
1793	<i>America</i>	Lambeth	18 prints	15
1794	<i>Europe</i>	Lambeth	18 prints	12
1794	<i>Songs of Experience</i>	[London]	25 prints	2
1794	<i>Songs of Innocence and of Experience</i>	[London]	54 prints	28
1794	<i>The First Book of Urizen</i>	Lambeth	28 prints <sup>1366</sup>	9
1795	<i>The Song of Los</i>	Lambeth	8 prints	6
1795	<i>The Book of Ahania</i>	Lambeth	6 prints	1
1795	<i>The Book of Los</i>	Lambeth	5 prints	1
1809	<i>Blake's Chaucer: The Canterbury Pilgrims</i>	London	1 page	2
1809	<i>A Descriptive Catalogue</i> advertisement	London	1 page	1

<sup>1364</sup> The number of prints in *Songs of Innocence* varies. In late copies, pl. 34-36 and 53-54 were transferred from *Songs of Innocence* to *Songs of Experience*.

<sup>1365</sup> John Flaxman owned untraced copies of *America* (S), *The Book of Thel* (S), *Europe* (N), *First Book of Urizen* (K), *For Children* (F), and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (S).

<sup>1366</sup> In *The Book of Urizen*, the number of prints varies from 24 to 28.

1809	<i>Exhibition of Paintings in Fresco</i>	London	4 pages	2	
1809	<i>A Descriptive Catalogue</i>	London	72 pages	13	
1810	<i>Blake's Chaucer: An Original Engraving</i>	London	4 pages	3	
1811	<i>Milton</i>	London	50 prints <sup>1367</sup>	4	
1820	<i>Jerusalem</i>	London	100 prints	5	
1821?	<i>On Homers Poetry</i>	London	1 print	6	
1822	<i>The Ghost of Abel</i>	London	2 prints	5	
1824?	<i>Laocoon</i>	[London]	1 print	2	
1826?	<i>For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise</i>	London	21 prints <sup>1368</sup>	9	

### Appendix VIII

#### Blake's Watercolours, Temperas, and Large Colour Prints<sup>1369</sup>

Date	Butlin #
1775-80	#75
1779	#51-3, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64-5, 67
1779-80	#184
1780	#84 1-7, 101-4, 104A, 108-9
1780-84	#185
1780-85	#116, 127, 133, 146
1783	#144

<sup>1367</sup> Three copies of *Milton* lack 1 to 5 prints.

<sup>1368</sup> Two copies of *For the Sexes* lack pl. 19 or 19-20.

<sup>1369</sup> Excluding copies of designs by others (e.g., the effigies in Westminster Abbey), minor sketches, and untraced undated works <#835-82>, mostly sketches. All dates are approximate. All are watercolours save those identified as temperas or sketches.

- 1784 #187-8  
 1785 #90, 155-8, 160-1  
 1785-90 #87-8, 91  
 1785-1 #201 1-116, Notebook sketches  
 1806  
 1789 #198 1-12, *Tiriel*  
 1790-93 #245-7, 258  
 1790-95 #189-90, 243A  
 1791 #244 1-10, Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories*  
 sketches  
 1792-93 #255  
 1793 #59, 66, 69, 256  
 1793-94 #257  
 1795 #289-92, 294-304, 306-7, 310-13, 316-18, 320-7  
 (all Large Colour Prints), #658 (tempera)  
 1795-97 #330 1-537, Young, *Night Thoughts* watercolours  
 1795- #191-2, 342, 661 (tempera)  
 1800  
 1796 #338  
 1796- #337 1-144, *Vala* or *The Four Zoas*, pen and  
 1807 pencil, chalk, pen, and watercolour  
 1797-98 #335 1-116, watercolours for Gray, *Poems* (1790)  
 1799 # 341, 380, 384, 396-9, 402, 404, 406, 413-15, 419,  
 428 (all save #341 temperas)  
 1799- #379, 381-3, 385-95, 400-1, 403, 410-12, 417-18,  
 1800 420-1, 423-5, 425A, 426-7, 429-32 (all but #379  
 temperas)  
 1800 #368, 409 (tempera), #416 (tempera), #422  
 (tempera), 446, 458, 484, 495, 506, 517, 524  
 1800-3 #343 1-18 (tempera, heads of the poets), #441, 447,  
 453, 455, 459, 494, 496, 499, 503, 508-9

- 1800-5 #433, 477, 514, 662 (tempera)  
 1801 #353 (miniature), #369, 372, 376 (miniature), #327  
 1-8 (Milton, *Comus*, Thomas set), #530  
 1801-4 #354 (miniature}  
 1802 #347 (miniature), #355-8  
 1803 #405 (tempera), #436, 450-2, 456, 463, 475, 507,  
 511-12  
 1803-5 #435, 437, 439, 457, 460-1, 468, 470, 474, 476,  
 482-3, 488-9, 491, 505, 510, 515, 519, 521  
 1805 #306 (tempera), #434, 438, 440, 442, 445, 448-9,  
 462, 464, 467, 469, 471, 473, 478, 485-7, 490, 493,  
 497-8, 500-2, 504, 518, 520, 522, 525, 611, 633,  
 638, 651 (tempera)  
 1805-6 #550 1-16, 18-20 (Job watercolours, Butts set)  
 1805-9 #649 (tempera), #664  
 1806 #466, 472, 513, 531, 547 1-2, 4-5 (Shakespeare  
 folio [1632]), #613, 616, 639  
 1807 #529 1-12 (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Thomas set),  
 #548, 620, 641  
 1808 #536 1-12 (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, the large Butts  
 set), #642, 653 (tempera), #672 (tempera)  
 1809 #377-8 (miniatures), #523, 538 1-6 (Milton, *On the  
 Morning of Christ's Nativity*, Thomas set), #547 3,  
 6 (Shakespeare folio [1632]), #652, 655, 657, 659-  
 60 (#652, 655, 657, 659-60 are temperas), #663  
 1810 #667-71 (temperas)  
 1810-27 #648 (tempera)  
 1811 #672-3 (temperas), #675  
 1812 #676  
 1815 #542 1-6 (Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's*

- Nativity*, Butts set)
- 1816-20 #543 1-12 (Milton, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*),  
#544 1-12 (Milton, *Paradise Regained*), #545
- 1819 #692 1-132, a-c ([Small] Blake-Varley  
sketchbook), #729, 734, 737 (sketches for  
Visionary Heads), Large Blake-Varley Sketchbook,  
89 pp.<sup>1370</sup>
- 1819-20 #693-6, 696A-B, 697-713, 715-28, 730-33, 735-6,  
738-47, 749-67 [sketches for Visionary Heads
- 1820 #714, 748, 763A [sketches for Visionary Heads],  
#769 1-20 [sketches for Virgil], 770, 788
- 1820-25 #546, 768 (sketch for Visionary Head), #778, 808-  
10 (temperas)
- 1821 #551 1-21 (Job watercolours, Linnell set), #552,  
803
- 1821-3 #553
- 1821-7 #17, 21 (Job watercolours, Butts set), #556
- 1822 #479, 538 1-3 (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Linnell set)
- 1823 #557 ii, 1-57, vii (Job sketchbook)
- 1824 #774
- 1824-7 #812 1-102, 817 (all for Dante), #827 1-5 (for Book  
of Enoch), #829 1-29 (watercolours for Bunyan,  
*Pilgrim's Progress*)
- 1825 #480-1, 549, 674 (tempera), #681, 775-6, 785, 811
- 1826 #777 (sketch for Upcott's autograph album), #805-7  
(temperas)
- 1826-7 #828 1-11 (illustrated manuscript copy of Genesis)

## Appendix IX

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<sup>1370</sup> Reproduced in the Christie Catalogue of 21 March 1989; not in Butlin.

**Blake's Library**<sup>1371</sup>

**Aeschylus**, *The Tragedies*, tr. R. Potter, 2 vols., Second Edition (1779) <**PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY**>

[**Anon.**] *The Life & Death of that Pious, Reverend, Learned, and Laborious Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Richard Baxter, who departed this life Decemb. 8, 1691, and of his age 77* (1692) <*Anonymous*>

**Bacon, Francis**, *Essays Moral, Economical, and Political* (1798), annotated <**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY**>

**Bacon, Francis**, *The Tvvo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficiencie and aduancement of Learning, diuine and humane* (1605), annotated <**untraced**>

**Barry, James**, *An Account of a Series of Pictures, in the Great Room of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, at the Adelphi* (1783) <**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY**>

**Berkeley, George**, *Siris: A Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries Concerning the Virtues of Tar Water, And divers other Subjects ...* (1744), annotated <**TRINITY COLLEGE** (Cambridge)>

**Blair, Robert**, *The Grave, A Poem. Illustrated by Twelve Etchings Executed from Original Designs* [designed by Blake, engraved by Schiavonetti] (1808), 2 copies <**untraced**>

Burke, Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of*

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<sup>1371</sup> According to John Linnell, Blake "sold all his collection of old prints to Mess Colnaghi & Co." about 1821 (*BR* (2), 527). However, his library may have stayed intact, for a number of his books were acquired after his death, chiefly by Frederick Tatham and Samuel Palmer, including Aeschylus, *Tragedies* (1779), Bacon, *Essays* (1798), Berkeley, *Siris* (1744), Dante, *Inferno* (1785), Homer, *The Iliads* (c. 1611), Lavater, *Aphorisms* (1788), Swedenborg, *The Wisdom of Angels, Concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom* (1788) and ... *Concerning Divine Providence* (1790), and Watson, *An Apology for the Bible* (1797).

*our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (date unknown), annotated <**untraced**>

"**Bysshes** Art of Poetry" (date unknown) <**untraced**>

**Cennini, Cennino**, *Di Cennino Cennini Trattato della Pittura Messo in Luce la Prima Volta con Annotazione dal Cavaliere Giuseppe Tambroni ...* (1821), annotated <**untraced**>

**Chatterton, Thomas**, *Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Bristol by Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century, Third Edition; To Which Is Added an Appendix, Containing Some Observations upon the Language of These Poems; Tending to Prove, that They Were Written, Not by Any Ancient Author, but Entirely by Thomas Chatterton* (1778) <**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY**>

**Chevrier, François Antoine**, *The Political Testament of the Marshal Duke of Belleisle* (1762) <**Charles Feinberg**>

[**Claude, Jean**], *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the French Protestants, to which is added, the Edict of the French King, prohibiting all Public Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in his Kingdom ... with the Form of Abjuration the Revolting Protestants are to Subscribe and Swear to* (1686) <**Anonymous**>

**Cumberland, George**, *The Captive of the Castle of Sennaar An African Tale: Containing Various Anecdotes of the Sophians Hitherto Unknown to Mankind in General* (1798) <**untraced**>

**Cumberland, George**, *Some Anecdotes of the Life of Julio Bonasoni, a Bolognese Artist, Who Followed the Styles of the Best Schools in the Sixteenth Century, Accompanied by a Catalogue of the Engravings, with Their Measures, of the Works of that Tasteful Composer. And Remarks on the General Character of his Rare and Exquisite Performances.*



*To Which is Prefixed, A Plan for the Improvement of the Arts in England* (1793) <untraced>

**Cumberland, George**, *Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that Guided the Ancient Artists in Composing Their Figures and Groupes ...* (1796) <untraced>

**Dante**, ed. Alessandro Vellutello (date unknown) <untraced>

**Dante**, tr. Henry Francis Cary (date unknown) <untraced>

**Dante**, *A Translation of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri, in English Verse, with Historical Notes, and the Life of Dante ... by Henry Boyd* (1785), annotated <CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY>

**Dryden, John**, *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, M.DC.LXVI. An Historical Poem: containing The Progress and various Successes of our Naval War with Holland, under the Conduct of his Highness Prince Rupert, and His Grace The Duke of Albemarl. And describing The Fire of London* (1668) <Anonymous>

**Duché, Jacob**, *Discourses on Various Subjects*, 2 vols. (1779) <untraced>

**Falconer, William**, a Sailor, *The Shipwreck, A Poem. The Text Illustrated by Additional Notes, and Corrected from the First and Second Editions, with A Life of the Author, by James Stanier Clarke* (1804) <untraced>

**Gay, John**, *Fables, With a Life of the Author and Embellished with Seventy Plates*, 2 vols. (1793) <untraced>

**Gordon, William**, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America: Including an Account of the Late War; and of the Thirteen Colonies, from their Origin to that Period*, 4 vols. (1788) <untraced>

**Hallett, Joseph, Junr.** [Vol. I:] *A Free and Impartial Study of*

*the Holy Scriptures recommended: Being Notes on Some Peculiar Texts; with Discourses and Observations on The following Subjects, viz. I. Of the Quotations from the Old Testament in the Apocrypha. II. Of the Septuagint Version of the Bible, and the Difference between the Citations, as they lie in the New Testament, and the Original Passages in the Old. III. Christians not bound by any Authority of the Law of Moses in the Ten Commandments. IV. Of the Doxology at the End of the Lord's Prayer. Of Blessing the Eucharistical Elements, and of Grace before and after Meat. V. The Son of God knows the Hearts of Men; and, of Anger, Catechising, c. VI. A Passage in Bishop Pearson on the Creed, and another in Bishop Patrick's Commentaries examin'd. VII. Of the Soul; its Immortality, Immateriality, &c. with the Impossibility of proving a Future State by the Light of Nature; and of the Place where Good Men shall dwell after the Resurrection (1729). [Vol. II.] A Second Volume of Notes and Discourses: Containing I. A New List of Errors noted in the present Hebrew Copies of the Old Testament. II. Notes on several Texts of Scripture. III. Discourses on the Reality, Kinds, and Number of our Saviour's Miracles, occasion'd by Mr. Woolston's Six Discourses. The Meaning of the Word, God, and the Doctrine of Providence. The Nature of Sacrifices; particularly of the Sacrifice of Christ. The Original of Evil. The Nature of Ordination. A Review of the former Volume, particularly relating to the Passage in Bishop Pearson on the Creed, concerning the Meaning of the Word, Almighty, in the Sixth Article; and to the Nature of Anger (1732) [Vol. III.] A Third Volume of Notes on Several Texts of Scripture; and Discourses on The original Meaning of the Ten Commandments. The Lord's Day. Moral and Positive Duties.*

*The Agapae of Love-Feasts. The End of this World. Circumcision and Baptism Schism and Heresy. The Restoration of the Jews. With Two Parables* (1736)

<untraced>

**Hay, Alexander**, *The History of Chichester; interspersed with Various Notes and Observations on the Early and Present State of the City, The Most Remarkable Places in its Vicinity, And the County of Sussex in General: with an Appendix, Containing the Charters of the City; also an Account of all the Parishes in the County, their names, patronage, appropriations, value in the king's books, first-fruits, &c.* (1804), Large Paper <untraced>

**Hayley, William**, *The Life, and Posthumous Writings, of William Cowper, Esqr. ...* Vol. I-II (1803), Vol. III (1804)

<untraced>

**Hayley, William**, *The Triumph of Music; A Poem: In Six Cantos* (1804) <untraced>

**Hayley, William**, *The Triumphs of Temper; A Poem: In Six Cantos. Tenth Edition, Corrected* (1799) <untraced>

**Hayley, William**, *The Triumphs of Temper, A Poem: In Six Cantos, Twelfth edition, Corrected. With New Original Designs, By Maria Flaxman* (1803) (inscribed to Mrs Blake)

<BRITISH LIBRARY>

**Homer**, *The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, Translated into English Blank Verse, by W. Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq, In Two Volumes, Containing the Iliad [Odyssey, and The Battle of the Frogs and Mice]* (1791) <untraced>

**Homer**, *Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo. The Iliads of Homer Prince of Poets. Neuer before in any languag[e] truely translated. With a Com̃ent vppon some of*

*his chiefe places; Donne according to the Greeke* By Geo. Chapman [c. 1611] <**Bibliotheca La Solana**>

**Hurdis, James**, *Poems*, 3 vols. (1808) <untraced>

**La Motte Fouqué, Frederic Heinrich Carl Baron de**, *Sintram and His Companions: A Romance, from the German* [by Julius C. Hare] (1802) <untraced>

**Lavater, John Caspar**, *Aphorisms on Man Translated* [by J.H. Fuseli] *from the Original Manuscript* (1788), annotated <**HUNTINGTON LIBRARY**>

**Locke, John**, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (date unknown), annotated <untraced>

**Modena, Leo**, a Venetian Rabbi, *The History of the Present Jews Throughout the World. Being An Ample tho Succinct Account of their Customs, Ceremonies, and Manner of Living, at this time, Translated from the Italian To which are Subjoin'd Two Supplements, One concerning the Samaritans, the other of the sect of the Carriates from the French of Father Simon, with his Explanatory Notes* (1707) <**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**>

**Orpheus**, *The Mystical Initiations; or, Hymns of Orpheus Translated from the Original Greek: with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Life and Theology of Orpheus; by Thomas Taylor* (1787), annotated <**BODLEY**>

**Percy, Bishop Thomas**, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our Earlier Poets, (Chiefly of the Lyric Kind.) Together with some few of later Date*, 3 vols. (1765) <**WELLESLEY COLLEGE**>

**Quincy, John**, *Pharmacopœia Officinalis & Extemporanea. A Complete English Dispensatory, In Four Parts. Containing, I. The Theory of Pharmacy, and the several Processes therein.*

*II. A Description of the Officinal Simples, with their Virtues and Preparations, Galenical and Chymical. III. The Officinal Compositions, according to the last Alterations of the College: Together with some Others of Uncommon Efficacy, taken from the most Celebrated Authors. IV. Extemporaneous Prescriptions, distributed into Classes suitable to their Intentions to Cure. To which is Added, An Account of the Common Adulterations both of Simples and Compounds, with some Marks to detect them by. The Ninth Edition, much enlarged and corrected (1733) <Anonymous>*

**Raphael Sanzio** of Urbino, *Historia del Testamento Vecchio Dipinta in Roma nel Vaticano da Raffaele Urbino et intagliata in rame da Sisto Badaloccis et Giovanni Lanfranchi Parmigiana al Sig Anniballe Carracci (1698) <untraced>*

**Reynolds, Sir Joshua**, *The Works Containing His Discourses, Idlers, A Journey to Flanders and Holland, and His Commentary on Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting; Printed from His Revised Copies, (With His Latest Corrections and Additions) To Which is Prefixed An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, By Edmond Malone, Second Edition Corrected, 3 vols. (1798) <annotated Vol. I in BRITISH LIBRARY>*

**Shenstone, William**, *The Poetical Works, With the Life of the Author, and a Description of the Leasowes, Embellished with Superb Engravings (1795) <CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY>*

**Spurzheim, J.G.**, *Observations on the Deranged Manifestations of the Mind, or Insanity, With Four Copper Plates (1817), annotated <untraced>*

**Stedman, Capt. J.G.**, *Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the*

*Wild Coast of South America; from the year 1771 to 1777: elucidating the History of that Country, and describing its Productions, Viz. Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots; with an account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea, illustrated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author, 2 vols. (1796) <untraced>*

**Swedenborg, Emanuel**, *A Treatise Concerning Heaven and Hell, and of the Wonderful Things therein, as Heard and Seen by the Honourable and Learned Emanuel Swedenborg, Translated from the Original Latin [by William Cookworth & Thomas Hartley], Second Edition (1784), annotated <HARVARD UNIVERSITY>*

**Swedenborg, Emanuel**, *The Wisdom of Angels, Concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom. Translated from the Original Latin [by Dr N. Tucker] (1788), annotated <BRITISH LIBRARY>*

**Swedenborg, Emanuel**, *The Wisdom of Angels Concerning the Divine Providence. Translated from the Latin [by Dr N. Tucker] (1790), annotated <CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY>*

**Tatham, Charles Heathcote**, *Etchings, Representing the Best Examples of Ancient Ornamental Architecture; Drawn from the Originals in Rome, and Other Parts of Italy, During the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796 (1799) <untraced>*

**Tatham, Charles Heathcote**, *Three Designs for the National Monument, Proposed to Be Erected in Commemoration of the Late Glorious Victories of the British Navy (1802) <BRITISH LIBRARY>*

**Thomas, Joseph**, *Religious Emblems, Being a Series of Engravings on Wood, Executed by the First Artists in that Line, from Designs Drawn on the Blocks Themselves By J.*

*Thurston, Esq. The Descriptions Written by the Rev. J. Thomas*  
(1809) <untraced>

**Thornton, Robert John**, *The Lord's Prayer, Newly Translated from the Original Greek, With Critical and Explanatory Notes by Robert John Thornton, M.D. With a Frontispiece from a Design by Harlow ..., Addressed to the Bible Societies for Distribution* (1827), annotated  
<HUNTINGTON LIBRARY>

[**Townsend, George**], *A Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757 In a Series of Seventy-five Humourous and Entertaining Prints, Containing All the most remarkable Transactions, Characters and Caricatures of those two memorable Years. To which is annexed, An Explanatory Account or Key to every Print, which renders the whole full and Significant* (1757?) <Michael Phillips>

[**Walpole, Horace**], *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of Their Works, In Two Volumes. A New Edition* (1792) <HARVARD UNIVERSITY (Widener Library)>

**Watson, Richard**, Lord Bishop of Landaff *An Apology for the Bible, in a Series of Letters, Addressed to Thomas Paine, Author of a Book entitled The Age of Reason, Part the Second, being an Investigation of True and of Fabulous Theology, Eighth Edition* (1797), annotated <HUNTINGTON LIBRARY>

[**Wesley, John and Charles**], *Hymns for the National Fast, Feb. 8, 1782* (1782) <CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY>

**Winkelman, Abbe [J.J.]**, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks: with Instructions for the Connoisseur, and An Essay on Grace in Works of Art. Translated from The German Original By Henry Fusseli [Fuseli]* (1765)

<CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY>

[**Wolcot, John**], *Works of Peter Pindar* (date unknown)

<untraced>

**Wordsworth, William**, *The Excursion, Being a Portion of the Recluse, A Poem* (1814) annotated <untraced, Blake's notes are in **DR WILLIAMS'S LIBRARY** (London)>

**Wordsworth, William**, *Poems Including Lyrical Ballads, and the Miscellaneous Pieces of the Author. With Additional Poems, A New Preface, and a Supplementary Essay. In Two Volumes. Vol. I* annotated <CORNELL UNIVERSITY>

**Young, Edward**, *The Complaint; or, Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality. To which are added, A Glossary, A Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job, and A Poem on the Last Day. A New Edition, corrected* (1796) <untraced>