

BLAKE

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY



Blake and the In-Laws • Sentimentalism in *The Four Zoas* • Blake's Palette?

VOLUME 39

NUMBER 2

FALL 2005

Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

www.blakequarterly.org

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BLAKE/AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY is published under the sponsorship of the Department of English, University of Rochester. Subscriptions are \$60 for institutions, \$30 for individuals. All subscriptions are by the volume (1 year, 4 issues) and begin with the summer issue. Addresses outside the U.S., Canada, and Mexico require a \$15 per volume postal surcharge for surface delivery, or \$20 for airmail. Credit card payment is available. Make checks payable to *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly*. Address all subscription orders and related communications to Sarah Jones, *Blake*, Department of English, University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451. Back issues are available; address Sarah Jones for information on issues and prices, or consult the web site.

MANUSCRIPTS are welcome in either hard copy or electronic form. Send two copies, typed and documented according to forms suggested in the *MLA Style Manual*, and with pages numbered, to either of the editors: Morris Eaves, Dept. of English, University of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627-0451; Morton D. Paley, Dept. of English, University of California, Berkeley CA 94720-1030. No articles will be returned unless accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. For electronic submissions, you may send a diskette, or send your article as an attachment to an email message; please number the pages of electronic submissions. The preferred file format is RTF; other formats are usually acceptable.

INTERNATIONAL STANDARD SERIAL NUMBER: 0160-628x. *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* is indexed in the Modern Language Association's International Bibliography, the Modern Humanities Research Association's Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature, American Humanities Index, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, Current Contents and the *Bibliography of the History of Art*.

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“Tenderness & Love Not Uninspired”:
Blake’s Re-Vision of Sentimentalism
in *The Four Zoas*

BY JUSTIN VAN KLEECK

For Mercy has a human heart
Pity, a human face;
And Love, the human form divine,
And Peace, the human dress.
William Blake, “The Divine Image”

Pity would be no more,
If we did not make somebody Poor;
And Mercy no more could be,
If all were as happy as we;
Blake, “The Human Abstract”

William Blake’s epic poem *The Four Zoas* has been read in varying ways: as a dream, as a psychological account of fragmented consciousness, and as an attack on Newtonian science, to name a few. For those critics also focusing on the physical state(s) of the manuscript itself, *The Four Zoas* is everything from an abandoned and tragic failure to a remarkable experiment with flexible poetics. Blake’s eclectic, syncretic mythology and the “unstable” status of this unfinished work welcome these readings. Begun c. 1797 (the date on the title page) and revised until possibly 1810 or even later (see Bentley 157–66), the epic grows out of a revolutionary decade for society and for the literary practices that influenced many of Blake’s earlier writings. One such revolution that has been largely overlooked in studies of *The Four Zoas* is the changing view of sentimentalism, which was a philosophical and literary movement especially prominent throughout the eighteenth century.¹ Riding a wave started by earlier critics who targeted sentimentalism, radical writers focused on its emphasis on emotion and sympathetic benevolence between individuals. But they also attacked the tendency of sentimentalism, unless guided by reason, to weaken or (as some saw it) “feminize” society, to encourage hypocrisy and self-gratifying charity, and to foster a predatory system of victimiza-

tion. Their attack often took a gendered form, for critics saw sentimentalism as a dividing force between the sexes that also created weak victims or crafty tyrants within the sexes.

Blake points out these negative characteristics of sentimentalism in mythological terms with his vision of the fragmentation and fall of the Universal Man Albion into male and female parts, Zoas and Emanations. In the chaotic universe that results, sentimentalism is part of a “system” that perpetuates suffering in the fallen world, further dividing the sexes into their stereotypical roles. Although “feminine” sentimentality serves as a force for reunion and harmony, its connection with fallen nature and “vegetated” life in Blake’s mythology turns it into a trap, at best a Band-Aid on the mortal wound of the fall. For Blake, mutual sympathy in the fallen world requires the additional strength and guidance of inspired vision (initiating a fiery Last Judgment) in order to become truly redemptive, *effective* rather than merely *affective*. When recounting humanity’s “Resurrection to Unity” and “Regeneration” in *The Four Zoas* (4:4–5, E 301), Blake frequently uses sentimental conventions both to characterize fallen disorder and to show how it can be healed when incorporated into spiritual vision.

Although critics speak of the “Age of Sensibility,” the “cult of sensibility,” “sentimental literature,” and so forth, sensibility and/or sentimentality are often easier to describe than to define. Indeed, as Janet Todd points out in *Sensibility: An Introduction*, writers in the eighteenth century used the terms interchangeably and inconsistently (6).² However, we can identify some crucial distinctions between these terms and, even more importantly, distinguish many of the overall movement’s other key terms and features that will appear again when we look at *The Four Zoas*.

In general, “sensibility” refers most directly to physical feelings and emotions, as well as to the reification and display of emotional refinement. Sensibility thus values delicacy and associated acts such as crying, kneeling, fainting, and charity, and it is—as *sensibility* makes clear—based on the natural responsiveness of the bodily senses. “Sentimentality” also emphasizes emotions and the body, but in a slightly different way. Sentiments are rational or moral reflections, in sentimentalism usually connected to or inspired by the emotions and related to the propriety of certain behaviors; thus, sentimentality brings the mind into closer relationship with the natural senses. As Jerome McGann succinctly puts it, “sensibility emphasizes the mind in the body, sentimentality the body in the mind” (7).³ The close connection between these two terms grows even closer because “The adjective ‘senti-

I would like to thank Dennis Welch at Virginia Tech and John O’Brien and Jerome McGann at the University of Virginia for their helpful comments and suggestions during the preparation of this essay.

1. Although some scholars have noted the connection between Blake and sentimentality, most treatments of this subject are portions of a larger discussion, often related to gender and sexuality in Blake’s poetry (see my bibliography). One noteworthy article is Andrew Lincoln’s “Alluring the Heart to Virtue: Blake’s *Europe*,” in which the author examines “the rise of affective devotion or ‘the religion of the heart,’” “a religion grounded in affection [that was] seen as a most effective instrument of social harmony and control” (622, 623). Other helpful studies include Mary Kelly Persyn’s article on sensibility, chastity, and sacrifice in *Jerusalem*, and Judith Lee’s discussion of Blake’s Emanations.

2. Todd’s book serves its titular purpose extremely well for the general features of sentimentalism. For readers wishing to pursue this topic, some other important works on specific aspects of sentimentalism, such as its relation to culture/consumerism, politics, and sexuality, are listed in my bibliography.

3. Jane Austen exploits the varying connotations of sentimental terms in *Sense and Sensibility* (begun 1797, published 1811) so as to critique/parody the latter in contrast to the former; however, her novel still retains a great deal of sentimentality, positive and negative.

mental” became a catchall phrase for sensibility and sentimentality (Todd 9). What is most important to recognize is the emphasis given to the body, to the physical senses, as a legitimate source of behavior and knowledge.⁴

Given this prominence of the body, it makes sense that a key starting point for the sentimental movement in England is the empiricist, or “sensational” (Barker-Benfield 3), philosophy of John Locke. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke identifies the physical senses as the source of our ideas. Subsequent philosophers, such as the third Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson, developed Locke’s views with the addition of morality and aesthetics, helping to define sentimentalism as a distinct movement by advocating the cultivation of virtue. Benevolence is probably the most crucial element of the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson brand of sentimentalism, especially since benevolence was “in this period a ‘manly’ attribute opposing ‘womanish’ self-interest and fear” (Todd 25). David Hume and Adam Smith are other important figures, the latter especially so with his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). In this work, Smith views the emotions and sympathy between individuals as valid social forces: by “entering into” another person via our imagination, we can sympathize with that person and form a relationship (2). More strikingly, his discussion of “unsocial,” “social,” and “selfish” passions (part 1, chapters 3, 4, and 5 respectively) and their role as determinant factors in one’s “merit” or “demerit” in society (part 2) goes far toward systematizing sentimentality in regard to public displays of sentiment and subsequent social status. Given Smith’s apparent exchange-value approach to human feelings, it is not surprising that he later authored the great economic treatise *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

With these developments in sentimentalist philosophy, as well as in religion in general and Methodism in particular, literature became probably the most prominent venue in which the “cult of sensibility” practiced its art and expounded its principles.⁵ In France, Jean-Jacques Rousseau united sentimental philosophy with fiction and confessional, emphasizing the natural, sensual component of human nature, and he had a strong influence on English sentimentalists. In England, Samuel Richardson, Sarah Fielding, and Laurence Sterne in fiction, and Hannah More, Thomas Gray, and Edward Young in poetry, were just a few of the authors contributing to the vast corpus of sentimentalism and establishing a distinctive “language of affective meanings” (McGann 6). Although the amount of sentimental literature was enormous, we can cull

4. For this paper, I will use “sentimentality” for the faculty and “sentimentalism” for the movement that it fostered. For extended discussions and definitions of sentimental terminology, see Brissenden, chapter 2 and 98-118, and Hagstrum, *Sex and Sensibility* 5-10.

5. Barker-Benfield rightly identifies the “cult” (and its constituent cults) as not just a literary trope, but also as an “epiphenomenon” extending across the eighteenth-century cultural spectrum, from religion to social behavior; he is most concerned with this sentimental culture’s relationship to “the rise of a consumer society” (xix). Along with Barker-Benfield on sentimental religion, see Lincoln, “Alluring.”

out some of the specific values that are crucial for understanding Blake’s approach to sentimental literature. Sentimental writers sought a heightened sense of *pathos* through stock characters—virtuous heroines, benevolent heroes, wizened beggars, distressed children—and trademark scenes of weeping, charity, and especially hostility reconciled by emotional interaction among said characters. Authors tried to forge a sympathetic, *affective* relationship between text and reader by depicting these “natural victims” and the antagonistic society or characters hounding them (Todd 3); a good reader was expected to respond with the appropriate sentiment, while neophytes gained valuable instruction through reading. What sentimental literature exploits, even *requires*, for its effect/affect, then, is a dichotomy of victim and victimizer. It codifies, as it were, a “system” of suffering and division while trying to create (and teach) sympathetic affections. This dichotomy, however problematic it may be for sentimentalism’s ostensible goals of mutual benevolence, most clearly manifests in relation to gender—the expected qualities and behaviors of each sex. Gender differences, in fact, largely define the system of (sexual) virtue and antagonism, be it within a domestic family setting or within society as a whole. As R. F. Brissenden famously puts it, “The paradigm cliché” of sentimental literature is “virtue in distress” (94), the situation in which we find the two most enduring sentimental stereotypes: the chaste but embattled woman and the good-hearted but doomed man of feeling.

The status of women in sentimental literature is indeed a *pitiful* one. Largely because of women’s “unique sexual suffering” and “bodily authenticity,” sensibility “stressed those qualities considered feminine in the sexual psychology of the time: intuitive sympathy, susceptibility, emotionalism and passivity” (Todd 110). In the foundational novels of Richardson especially, weak and chaste women become ideal sentimental, virtuous heroines. Clarissa Harlowe, for example, “is the symbol of virtuous sensibility” in *Clarissa* because of her “ailing body,” which signifies that she is “too good for the world, and feels too much” (Mullan 111). Helping to clarify this ideal and set the sentimental standards, a dichotomy exists even within representations of women: wicked women, to contrast with the ideal heroines, “simply lacked femininity and acquired masculine traits” (Todd 80). What we most commonly find in sentimental fiction, then, are laudably passive women who face threats to their “virtue” from males or some masculine antagonistic presence—victims and victimizers, such as Clarissa and the rapist Lovelace. In the face of such victimization, we also frequently find women (Pamela and Mrs. Jervis in *Pamela*, for instance) who come together to share the heroine’s suffering, which surely plays off stereotypical views of women as more emotional and closer to the body. And all too often, the chaste embodiment of virtue struggles in vain against her victimizer until she finds “no place to rest but the grave” (Allen 128). The sinister nature of sentimental femininity emerges in what these views imply: sentimental heroines *need*, as it were, to be persecuted “because sensibil-

ity, and therefore virtue, is most excited, and therefore most manifest, when threatened" (Mullan 124).⁶ And the sexual dimension of virtue's distress is crucial, Hagstrum makes clear, because in many cases rape (threatened or carried out), "far from spoiling the sensuality [in a novel], actually heightens it for both sexes" (*Sex and Sensibility* 201). There is thus a dark subtext, as it were, in sentimental literature: much as occurs in some shocking views of rape ("She was asking for it"), the sentimental victim often seems complicit in, or even responsible for, her attack.

The "man of feeling" fares little better than his female counterpart. Because sentimentalism was originally a male construct (from Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, et al.) that appropriated "feminine" qualities of emotional and bodily responsiveness, male sentimental characters face fates similar to those of sentimental women. The man of feeling fills his role by his "outflowings of emotion," which "teach response more than virtuous action" (Todd 92), so any charitable acts play second fiddle to his hyperbolic sympathy. He therefore sheds tears at almost every turn and is nearly incapacitated by any and every scene that stirs his affections; he is mastered by, rather than master of, his overpowering senses and feelings. For example, during a pitiful story told by an insane mother, Harley in Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771) paid "the tribute of some tears," "bathed [her hand] with his tears," and then "burst into tears" when departing (26, 27).⁷ Weakened like Harley, the male sentimental "hero" can hardly stand up to the hostile and unfeeling society that opposes him, so that his heartfelt expressions of benevolence and tenderness make him an easy victim. In general, then, a man of feeling is irrevocably alienated from society because of his sentimentality, or he inevitably meets an early death, in either case accomplishing little or nothing for the greater good. Once again, the system of suffering becomes self-indulgent and self-sustaining, and the victims "invite" the forces attacking them in order to function as sympathetic characters. Gender identity and difference, both for female and male characters, thus play determinant roles in the "order" of this sentimental system.

When we turn to *The Four Zoas*, we find a similarly divided and antagonistic situation. In Blake's cosmological myth, the unity of Albion has given way to warfare between the sexes and all of the characters, wreaking havoc in the entire universal order and growing ever more calamitous. Blake begins his epic *in medias res*, in the world as we know it, and things are

far from harmonious or Edenic. The division of the androgynous Zoas into male Zoas and female Emanations is the most glaring evidence that something has gone horribly wrong. Besides the Zoas and Emanations, Blake's mythology grows chaotically larger as these parts of Albion's ailing (sentimental) body split and transform into Spectres, Shadows, Spirits, Orc the "reborn" Luvah, and countless sons and daughters of various sorts. As is implied here, the key concept is fragmentation.

The very presence of divided sexes is in fact catastrophic. This is the case, according to Blake, because in Eternity Albion is androgynous. However, the exact natures of Albion and the Zoas are only known by "the Heavenly Father," which makes the Eternal Self eternally tricky, especially when an "Individual" tries to understand it from below (*FZ* 3:7-8, E 301). While Blake asserts Albion's androgyny, his language and general presentation of Eternal life create a great deal of difficulty in regard to the "sex" of Eternal beings. Specifically, Blake's is a masculine (at least linguistically, at most ontologically) Eternity of Albion the "Man" and the "Eternal Brotherhood." As Leopold Damrosch explains, the consequence is that it appears as if "the female is fully integrated into the male" and that "The androgynous self [Albion] is, in effect, a male self with a female element within it" (182).⁸ The female is not separate but integrated, internalized, even more obviously than the male. Blake's writings frequently seem to bear this opinion out, especially when he deals with fallen life. For example, Ahania becomes Urizen's "Shadowy Feminine Semblance," and Urizen is "Astonishd & Confounded" to see "Her shadowy form now Separate," for now "Two wills they had two intellects & not as in times of old" (*FZ* 30:23, E 319; 30:45-48, E 320). The separation of an originally integrated portion of the self, whether that self is androgynous or to some extent masculine, makes the female extremely problematic in Blake's mythology, since he emphasizes its emanated, secondary nature. In its most negative forms, the female will become the dreaded "Female Will," while femininity itself is "a symbol of otherness" representing "Whatever Blake cannot reconcile himself to in the phenomenological world—bodies, matter, nature, physical space" (Damrosch 183, 188). Thus, Blake's females have a status similar to that of women in sentimental literature, being linked to the body, senses, and emotions, and in turn to the physical world, nature, and generation.⁹ Just as writers and critics of sentimentalism characterize the (emotional) body as a "feminine" realm, Blake associates the

6. Richardson, writing to Lady Bradshaigh, is even more explicit on this dire necessity in his sentimental fiction: "Clarissa has the greatest of Triumphs even in this world. The greatest, I will venture to say, even *in*, and *after* the Outrage [of her rape], and *because* of the Outrage that ever Woman had" (qtd. in Mullan 66).

7. An "Index to Tears" appeared in the first edition of *The Man of Feeling*, giving line and page citations for readers who wanted to study up on cause and effect, scene and response, in the sentimental system of weeping. See Mackenzie 110-11.

8. Critical opinion has long been divided on this issue and its implications for Blake's opinions, cosmology, and poetics. For instance, Irene Tayler sheds a more positive light than Damrosch on the gender equality of Blake's Eternal androgynous, while Anne K. Mellor and Susan Fox emphasize Blake's subordination of the female and the feminine.

9. For instance, Otto identifies Enitharmon as "the form/body of the fallen world" and "the shape of [all] the Zoas' loss," as well as "the body of imagination," while Vala is "the sexual body" and Enion "the sensitive body" (85, 79).

female identity with material, corporeal reality. As we shall see, although the female Emanations serve a crucial role in the fallen world (as its very "ground," as it were), they are essentially anomalies and indicators of its fallenness. But, as Helen P. Bruder also asserts, in "giving a form to sexual error," Blake was as much "a searching critic of patriarchy" as a "hectoring misogynist" (182).¹⁰ Although the female sex carries much of the fallen world's negative burden, the fallen male Zoas are by no means exemplars of "redemptive" behavior, and their depravity is inherently tied to their separate sexual identity as males. With the fall, and only with the fall, do the sexes become distinct.

But how does the presence of two sexes in *The Four Zoas* indicate both that Blake recognized the sexual tensions fostered and exploited by sentimental literature, and that he critiqued the sentimental system as a whole? We can answer this question by first examining reactions to sentimentalism, in particular the criticisms made by radical writers. These writers decried the negative influence of sentimentalism on human nature, an influence that they often traced back to the movement's conventional characters and behaviors. In turn, the harmful effects that radical writers censured shed light on *The Four Zoas* because they correspond in significant ways to Blake's portrayal of the fallen world and its sexually divided inhabitants.

Despite its enduring presence, even by the 1770s "sentimentality" was a derogatory label indicating affectation, self-indulgence, and overbearing shows of emotion. Particularly troubling for many was the feminized quality of sentimentalism, creating hyper-feminine women and effeminate men and thus weakening society as a whole. Sentimentalism's fetishizing of the feminine created a cultural dichotomy, with one group valuing the community-building power of "female qualities" and another group fearing effeminacy, advocating male dominance, and seeing woman's nature as "contingent" (Todd 20). The critics found feminine "self-indulgent physicality and ... self-contemplating vanity" in sentimental literature as a whole (62); even worse, they scorned it for adversely influencing readers—largely women.

The revolutionary events of the 1790s ushered in a new group of critics and sentimentalists, with radical writers fighting for social change and systemic reform rather than the indulgent cultivation of feelings. According to Chris Jones, "Radical writers of sensibility stressed qualities in direct contrast to the popular degenerate model of the 'man of feeling' in emphasizing action and intervention," retaining an emphasis on the emotions but dismissing "self-centred passions" for more universal feelings under the aegis of rational benevolence (9). Because "the whole [sentimental] movement had been branded with weakness and irresponsibility" (17), it was

both attacked and modified by revolutionaries such as William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, as well as later Romantics such as Jane Austen and William Wordsworth. As shown in *Songs of Innocence* (1789), Blake absorbed the culture of sentiment: his innocent speakers and pastoral lyrics, such as in "The Lamb" and "Nurse's Song," depict a heartfelt sympathy between individuals similar to the ideal of sentimentalism. Yet he also critiqued sentimental culture, as in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793) and *Songs of Experience* (1794). In *Visions*, the main characters both reflect and respond to sentimental stereotypes. We find the sentimental triangle of (here emboldened) rape victim, tyrannical rapist, and emotionally self-absorbed male in Oothoon, Bromion, and Theotormon. In *Songs of Experience*, Blake's weeping chimney sweeps ("The Chimney Sweeper") or fussy infants ("Infant Sorrow"), while pathetic images, confront a cold society—typified in "The Human Abstract"—that often professes sympathetic bonds but produces only a land of misery. These works, along with some of his commercial book illustrations,¹¹ help to place Blake within the cultural debate surrounding sentimentalism in the 1790s, even if he did not follow some of his contemporaries and launch an explicit campaign for or against the tradition.

Because Wollstonecraft attacks sentimental conventions while occasionally incorporating them into her arguments, her *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) and *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) provide excellent touchstones for the radical reworking of sentimentalism and for Blake's later critiques. As Dennis Welch has pointed out, she likely had some influence on Blake, who designed and engraved illustrations for her *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788). And although Michael Ackland suggests that Blake owed much to her *Rights of Woman* for his view of sexual relationships and his attempts to create harmony between the sexes, Ackland does not recognize some of the specific parallels between both of the *Vindications* and Blake's works.

In the *Rights of Men*, Wollstonecraft upbraids Edmund Burke for using "sentimental jargon, which has long been current in conversation, and even in books of morals, though it never received the *regal* stamp of reason" (62; all italics in the original henceforth unless noted otherwise). She identifies this jargon as an expression of blatant "sensibility," which she attacks for making men "resigned to their fate" and unable "to labour to increase human happiness by extirpating error, [which] is a manly godlike affection" (89). Sentimentalism values "sympathetic emotion" and "mechanical instinctive sensations" so much that it interferes with reason and active virtue. Wollstonecraft also finds that sentimentalism has created a split between and within the sexes, which has in turn corrupted society. Responding to the excesses of sentiment in

10. Alicia Ostriker gives a fine treatment of Blake and the woman question in her outline of the "four Blakes." While Blake's misogyny or lack thereof is an important topic, it is not crucial to my discussion.

11. Lincoln observes that Blake did engravings for works by sentimental novelists such as Richardson, Sterne, and Sarah Fielding ("Alluring" 630n30).

Burke's *Reflections*, she ridicules this "good natured man" for the "amiable weakness of his mind" (81). But the man of feeling is only one male creature crawling out of the sentimental swamp, for "mild affectionate sensibility only renders a man more ingeniously cruel" (79), thus creating overly malicious as well as overly weak men.

In the *Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft especially laments how women "become the prey of their senses, delicately termed sensibility"—she calls them mere "creatures of sensation"—as a result of "Novels, music, poetry, and gallantry" (177). Just as men are made either weak or cruel by sentimentalism, so women are made "either abject slaves or capricious tyrants" (158). The latter exhibit "artificial weakness" and have "a propensity to tyrannize" with their "cunning" in order to "excite desire" in men, who in their own right need to become "more chaste" (113). But, deluded by sentimental notions of ideal feminine chastity, men force women to be chaste and yet indulge themselves in novels, "whilst men carry the same vitiated taste into life, and fly for amusement to the wanton" after abandoning virtue (333). Clearly, Wollstonecraft recognizes how "the reveries of the stupid novelists" foster the debilitating "romantic twist of the mind, which has been very properly termed *sentimental*" (330). But when she speaks of a poet or artist "vibrating with each emotion" as he/she works (309) or makes her own impassioned appeals to sensibility (rational here, more traditional in her novels), it is hard not to see the continued influence of sentimentalism even on this radical writer.

Ackland is convincing, then, as he traces Blake's "protracted exploration of embattled sexuality" to Wollstonecraft (172), but he misses the strong critique of sentimentalism in Wollstonecraft's treatises and in Blake's poetry. Judith Lee comes much closer when she points to Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman* "as a paradigm for [Blake's] portrayal of women in an attempt to resolve the contradictions between traditional stereotypes and his revolutionary vision" (132). Sentimentalism is, I think, a key concern in Blake's writings because he addresses all of the major problems that fellow radicals found in this movement: sexual tensions, weakened or tyrannical men, victimized or manipulative women, and a system of self-indulgent suffering. We can see such problems in *The Four Zoas*, which treats contemporary social conditions in cosmological, mythological, and psychological terms.¹² At the most

12. Marshall Brown argues that Blake "resolutely continued the vein of sensibility," struggling to "convert the psychic economy of sensibility directly into a blinding vision of universal truth" (103). I feel that Brown is a little too enthusiastic and misses Blake's evident criticisms of sentimentalism, as well as the importance of the "psychic economy" evident in the fourfold myth of the Zoas, which are interdependent—harmoniously in Eternity and discordantly when fallen. Nevertheless, Brown's argument remains plausible in light of a letter that Blake wrote to his patron William Hayley on 16 July 1804 (and so after his time at Felpham). Thanking Hayley for some books, Blake writes, "[Samuel] Richardson has won my heart I will again read Clarissa &c they must be admirable I was too hasty in my perusal of them to perceive all their beauty" (E 754). Blake's statement here seems to put him entirely in sympathy with the

basic thematic level, Albion's fragmentation into the four Zoas and their further fragmentation into warring male and female identities point to what recent critics are beginning to see as a consequence of sentimentalism. According to Marshall Brown, "The sensible self is an unfathomable mystery," whose "Protean fragmentation" eighteenth-century writers treat at great length (86). Because sentimentality "reduces self as well as society to pure sentiment," a "fragmentation of personality" results "that forces us to adopt Sentimental responses" and puts us at the mercy of our senses and emotions (Allen 128, 122). The fragmentation of the sentimental self is also related to the divisions of the sexes in sentimental literature in a continual interplay of cause and effect, making it nearly impossible to pinpoint one as cause or effect. Similarly, for Blake, "sexual identity is the most defining yet problematic aspect of selfhood" (Bruder 183), and Albion's self becomes both sexed and problematic with the fall. Blake's awareness of the sexual nature of selfhood helps us to answer our question of how the two sexes in his mythology relate his work to sentimental literature: the personalities and behaviors of Blake's characters often seem to exhibit some of the trademarks of sentimentalism. In turn, the presence of sentimentality within the fallen world marks it as such, a sign that the androgynous Eternal Self has divided into two separate, alienated sexes. Blake's starting point in the myth of fragmented Albion thus projects the personal and social consequences of sentimentalism to a cosmic level and defines them as concomitant with the fall.

Indeed, the opening scene of *The Four Zoas* resembles many scenes in sentimental fiction. The action begins "with Tharmas Parent power" pouring out a flood of sorrow:

Lost! Lost! Lost! are my Emanations Enion O Enion
We are become a Victim to the Living We hide in secret
I have hidden Jerusalem in Silent Contrition O Pity Me
I will build thee a Labyrinth also O pity me (FZ 4:7-10, E 301)

sentimentality expressed (and codified) by Richardson, which could make him less likely to criticize sentimentalism in his writings. It also suggests that, despite engraving illustrations for sentimental authors (and perhaps reading some of their works along the way?), Blake actually read sentimental literature long after beginning his poem *Vala*. But because of this relative lateness, the majority of the poem itself still may be imbued with the radical spirit and its critique of sentimentalism as both a literary and a cultural phenomenon; later material, such as Night VIII, may be in question. In addition, we should also consider Blake's audience. Blake's positive comments on Richardson's novels, sent by Hayley with other books, may reflect his appreciation for Hayley's continuing support. This is not to charge Blake with disingenuousness or to ignore his obviously favorable response, but I think it is important to recognize that his opinions and views expressed in letters may at times be complicated. Finally, Blake's sentiments here also may be part of his personal development that culminated in a renewal of distinctly Christian vision in 1804, which he recounts in a letter to Hayley on 23 October 1804 (E 756-57) and which might make him more "susceptible" to the piety expressed by Richardson's heroines. Taking into account all of these factors, I think that we must rely primarily on internal evidence from *The Four Zoas* to gauge Blake's views on sentimentalism as they developed over the course of the poem's composition and revision.

Tharmas concludes his grief (temporarily) by saying, "The Men have recieved their death wounds & their Emanations are fled / To me for refuge & I cannot turn them out for Pitys sake" (4:15-16, E 301). With his repetition of "Pity" and his sense of victimization, it seems as if we are meeting a true man of feeling. Moreover, Tharmas appears "Trembling & pale" as he sits "weeping in his clouds" (4:28, E 301), which the illustration for page 5 depicts clearly enough (illus. 1; note the presence of the water, perhaps a "sea of tears"?). His debilitating "Despair" leads him to fear "self murder" (4:37-38, E 302), as if his sympathy for the Emanations is so strong that he cannot survive it. Tharmas's ensuing inability to act—which so often happens to a weakened, effeminate man of feeling—occurs many times throughout the poem, as for example when he argues with Los in Night IV and suffers an emotional chiasmus of tears, wrath, pity ("with many a sigh"), wrath again, and then more tears (48:21-24, E 332). Since Tharmas is usually interpreted as the senses and "the organizing principle of the self" (Damrosch 141), his condition is a terrible and consistent indicator of the state of things in Albion and in the poem.

So here we have Tharmas, the sensory bedrock of humanity and the first male character we meet in the fallen world, pouring out his sea of tears and bewailing the pity that washes over him. And in the same opening scene, Tharmas's Emanation Enion responds affectively to his woe with her equally troubled emotions. "Thy fear has made me tremble thy terrors have surrounded me," she says, and these terrors lead her to expect (or resign herself to?) destruction: "I am almost Extinct & soon shall be a Shadow in Oblivion / Unless some way can be found that I may look upon thee & live" (FZ 4:17, 22-23, E 301). This threatening loss of identity manifests the serious danger of excess sentiment pointed out by Brown and Allen. Enion's affective sympathy for, and with, Tharmas is so complete that it puts her under the control of her feelings, leaving her unable to maintain her sense of self against the onrushing tide of his woe and fear. Although Enion cries out to him, he is powerless to help her, completely divided and himself a victim of humanity's disorder. He can only turn "round the circle of Destiny" before sinking "down into the sea a pale white corse / In torment" and flowing "among [Enion's] filmy Woof" (5:11, 13-14, E 302). The direct result of this dissolution is even more tragic: the Spectre of Tharmas ("insane & most / Deformd" [5:38-39, E 303]) is born from his corpse and is clothed by Enion's *laboring* for "Nine days" and "nine dark sleepless nights" at her loom (5:23, E 302). In his spectrous form, Tharmas becomes a tyrannical male, "pure" and "Exalted in terrific Pride," while describing Enion as a "Diminutive husk & shell" and as "polluted" (6:8-10, E 303). As with so many persecuted heroines of sentimental fiction, her pollution does not dissuade him from "Mingling his horrible brightness with her tender limbs," a rape that in turn transforms her into "a bright wonder that Nature shudder'd at / Half Woman & half Spectre" (7:8-10, E 304)—and then into a mother.

This first scene of *The Four Zoas* incorporates three of the most prominent sentimental stereotypes: the weakened man of feeling, the abused woman driven to destruction, and the brutally abusive male, a cast hearkening back to that of *Visions*. One example of a comparable interaction between such types appears in Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*, which shows that these gender stereotypes are both sentimental in nature and part of a sentimental exchange system.¹³ The scene in question occurs when Miss Atkins, a prostitute, narrates her woeful tale to the hero, Harley. In this sentimental economy, the price of goods is paid with tears, so Harley dutifully weeps himself to the point of being dumb, which in turn causes Miss Atkins's "fortitude ... to fail at the sight" (Mackenzie 50). Although the bartering begins with the woman here, the affective exchange of a sad story and subsequent emotional responses is similar to that in *The Four Zoas*: Tharmas's lament, Enion's fearful answer, and Tharmas's dissolution into Enion's woof. When Miss Atkins's father bursts into the room and explodes with rage over the lost honor of his daughter, we see the sort of antagonistic male that Blake transforms into the Spectre of Tharmas. Miss Atkins, having established her status as victim in her tale, faces further hardship as she falls "prostrate at [her father's] feet" and *begs* him for "the death she deserves." Unlike Blake's Spectre, however, Miss Atkins's father "burst[s] into tears" and does not punish (or rape!) her. Matters end happily when even this hostile male "[mingles] his tears with hers" (51). Despite the different endings—an exemplary sentimental encounter in the novel versus a critical representation of sentimentalism's dark side in the poem—both Mackenzie and Blake depict how characters influence each other through an exchange of sentiment, and both do so by using three sentimental stereotypes.

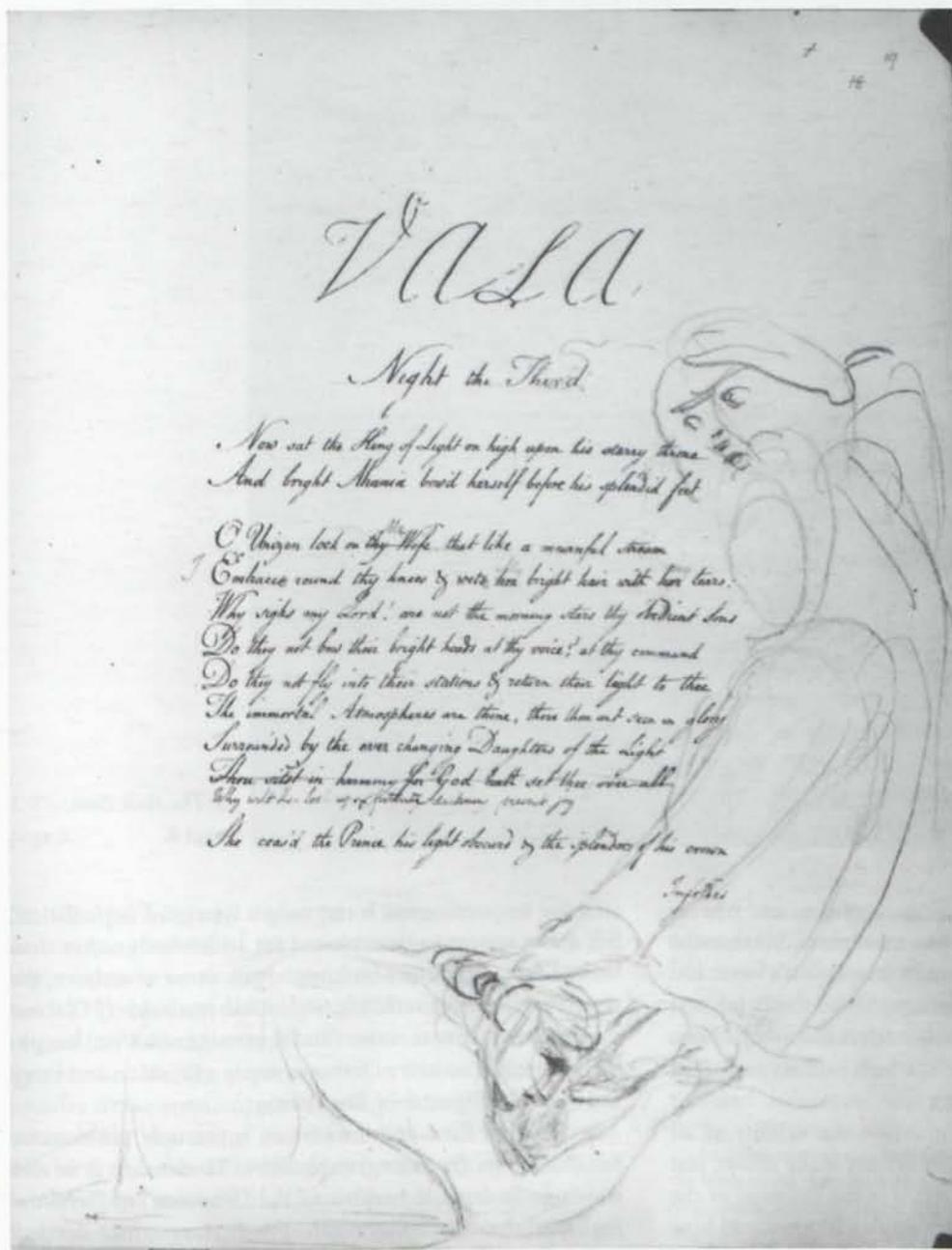
Perhaps an even more striking instance of sentimental "exchange" between characters in *The Four Zoas* comes at the end of Night II. This scene opens with Los and Enitharmon sowing contention between Urizen and Ahania as Enion laments and Urizen—having already puffed himself up as "God the terrible destroyer & not the Saviour"—watches helplessly in dread (FZ 12:26, E 307). Los begins with a self-pitying account of being "forsaken" and "mockd" by the very lowest creatures in nature (34:21, E 323). Less than sympathetic, Enitharmon calls him her "slave," paradoxically "strong" while she is "weak" (34:46, E 323). Because Los had earlier abused Enitharmon and then repented out of pity for her suffering (11:3, E 306; 12:40-43, E 307), his subsequent "enslavement" to her shows a remarkable parallel to Wollstonecraft's point about apparently weak, sentimental women often being made tyrants by male oppression. Los has certainly fallen under Enitharmon's newfound power, for he can only languish "in deep sobs ... till dead he also fell" when she deserts him (34:54, E 323). Blake accentuates the

13. According to Barker-Benfield, Smith's social-exchange sentimentalism provided a major source for Mackenzie: "Mackenzie lived in the Edinburgh of Hume and Smith and his novels preached the latter's theory of moral sentiments" (142).

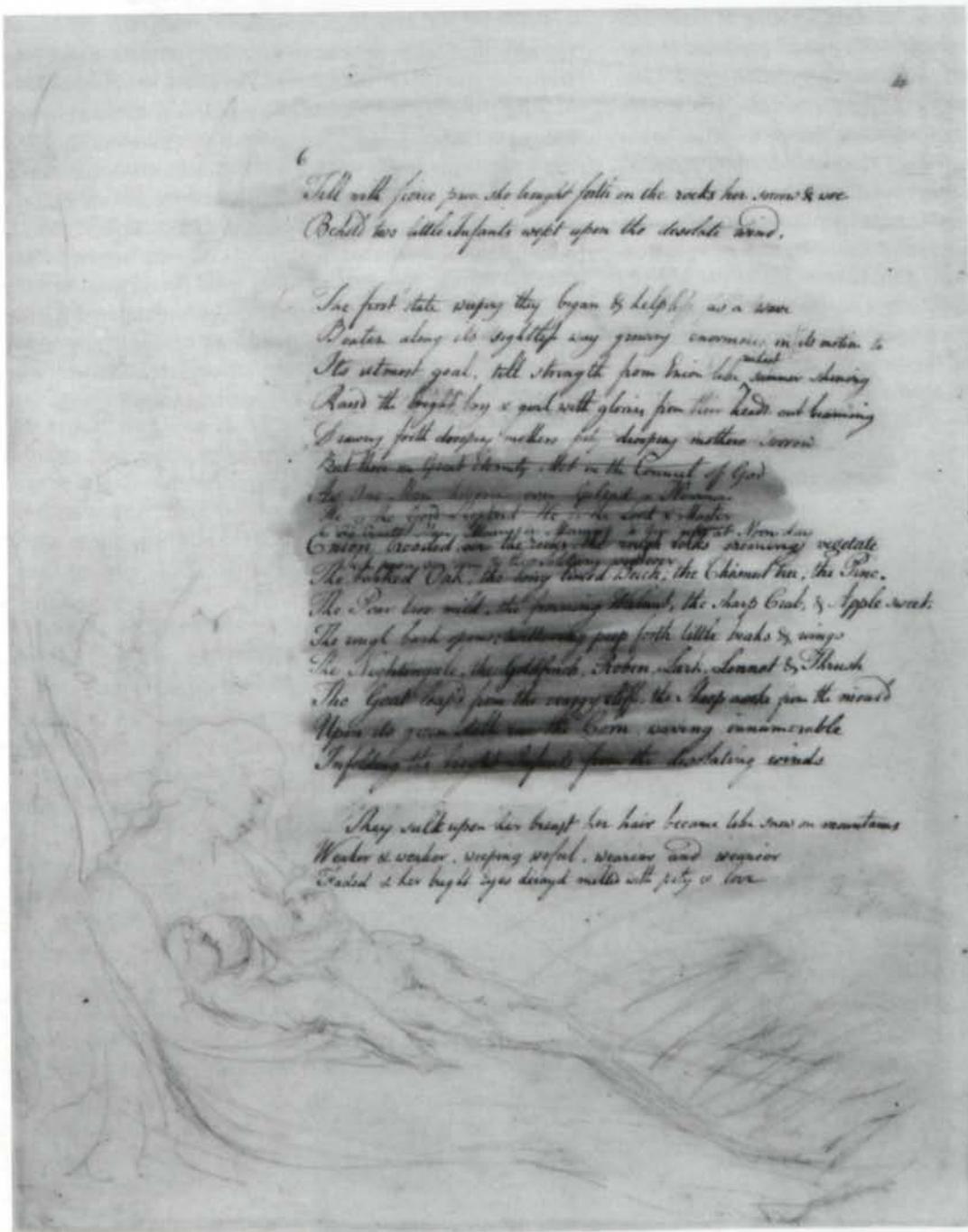
cunning nature of her control, labeling her song of exaltation over Los's grief a "Rapturous delusive trance" produced by her delight at having power over Los and other men (34:93, E 324). Responsive to his counterpart's rising emotions, Los revives through the song and finds sufficient energy to drive Enion and Ahania (her female rivals?) "into the deathful infinite" (34:97, E 324). This situation exemplifies what Wollstonecraft so zealously argues, that sentimentality pushes the sexes apart and fosters a system of emotional manipulation and physical cruelty based on their gender differences.

In this same scene, Enion utters her famous "Experience" lament and paints a series of pathetic pictures such as "the dog ... at the wintry door, the ox in the slaughter house" and "the captive in chains & the poor in the prison, & the soldier

in the field" (FZ 36:4-10, E 325); these are all sufferers whom she identifies and sympathizes with, in contrast to those who rejoice in and ignore the misery. The affective power of Enion's song is clear, for Ahania hears and, as if haunted by the images in Enion's lament, "never from that moment could ... rest upon her pillow" (36:19, E 326). But when Ahania comes to Urizen in the opening of Night III, it seems that Enion's weakness (she sings from "the margin of Non Entity" [36:17, E 326]) has also affected her: Ahania subjects herself before Urizen's throne, pleading with her male counterpart in vain (illus. 2). While the sentimental imagery employed by the Emanations in their songs is worth noting, more important is the way in which the characters affect each other with that imagery. Los cries and dies, Enitharmon sings in pride and



2. *The Four Zoas*,
page 37.

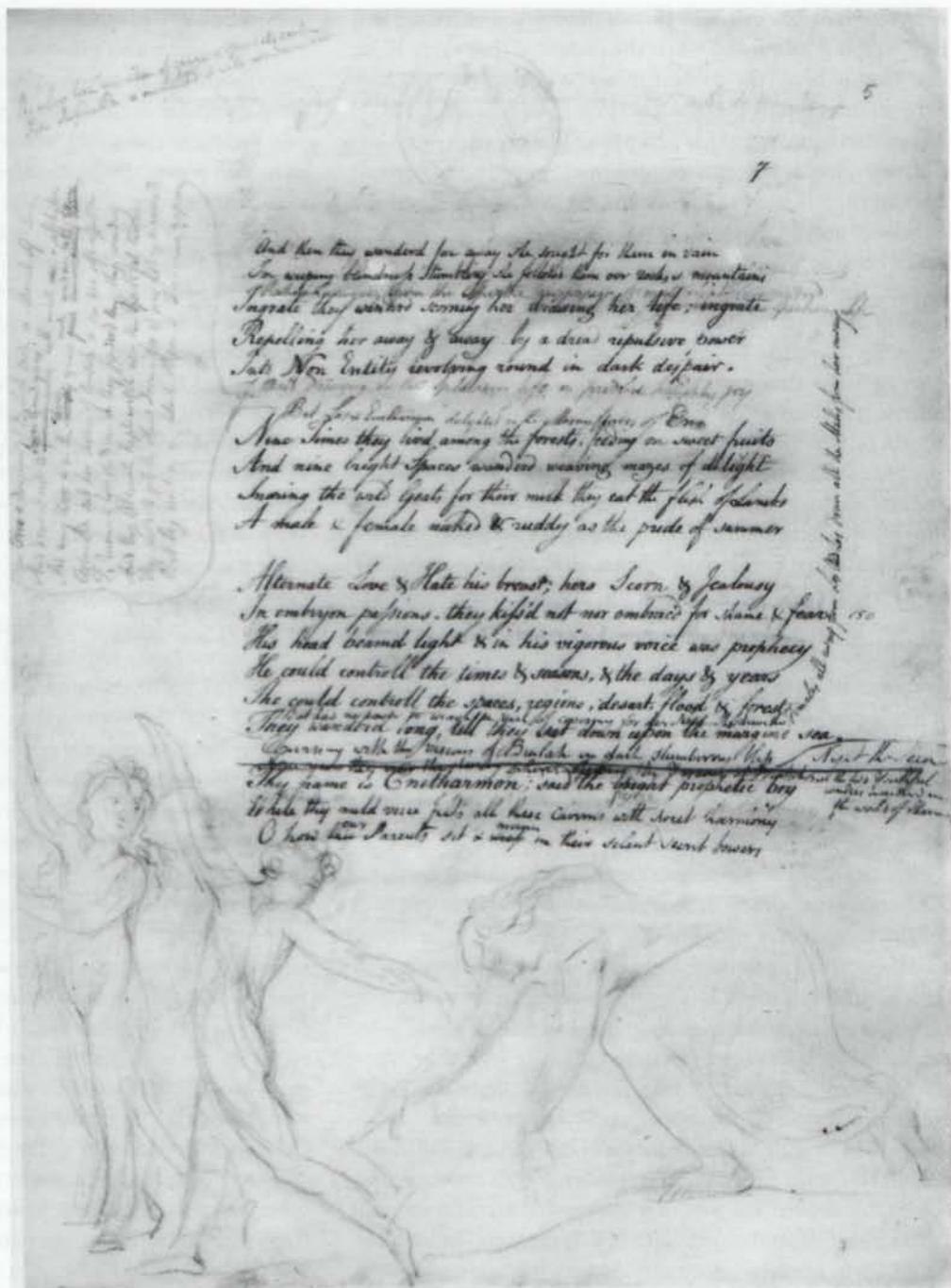


3. *The Four Zoas*,
page 8.

revives him, Enion wails over Los's antagonism, and Ahania is moved to seek her counterpart in meekness. Much as he does in Night I, when Tharmas melts into Enion's wool and is immediately reborn as his own antithesis (the hypocritical rapist Spectre), Blake here problematizes our sympathetic identification with these characters, which is likely to be our first reaction. Forced to question our emotional, heartfelt response, we may also begin to question the validity of all such responses and their causes. Further, Blake shows just how complicit each type of character is in the suffering of the others, how they actually transform *into* each other, and how they instigate each other's actions. The sentimental system of

affective responsiveness is not only a system of exploitation, but also a system to be exploited for selfish ends rather than benevolent community building. And, as we saw above, the novelist's system of suffering feeds itself: just as every Clarissa needs a Lovelace to threaten (and thus make manifest) her pathetic heroism, so every Oothoon needs a Bromion and every Enion needs a Spectre of Tharmas.

In *The Four Zoas*, sentimentalism is not only problematic because of its fracturing, exploitative tendencies; it is also consistently negative because of the "feminine" or "feminizing" qualities that many eighteenth-century critics decried. Fallen life is, in many ways, "sentimental" for Blake because



4. *The Four Zoas*,
page 9.

“it is inseparable from the world of Generation, of mothers and weeping babies, of the matter and substance which are supposed to be nonentity but in fact seem all too real” (Damosch 170). Mothers and weeping babies are the stock in trade of sentimentalism, prototypically weak creatures that so easily provoke affective responses. Thus, Blake consistently associates sentimental images of birth, children, the family, and nature with “vegetating” and the continual fall from Eternity. The birth of Los and Enitharmon after Enion’s rape in Night I is ostensibly a moment of potential happiness. Indeed, the illustration on page 8 (illus. 3) depicts a rather beautiful image of two tiny babes suckling their smiling mother’s breasts. But

the text makes clear that these babes are the physical manifestations of Enion’s “sorrow & woe” (FZ 8:1, E 304). They exploit her “drooping mothers pity” and, “in pride and haughty joy,” they draw her “Into Non Entity” as she gives “them all her spectrous life” (8:7-9:8, E 304), a situation depicted in the very next illustration (illus. 4).¹⁴ In addition, Enitharmon’s song

14. Blake washed a passage from this scene that more closely associates the birth of the children with animal and vegetable life, all of which relate to the verb “vegetate” (see E 823-24). Although likely meaning to cancel this passage, Blake associates physical birth with “vegetating” elsewhere, such as with the “vegetated body” (104:37, E 378).

over the dead Los in Night II includes images of nature and the "weeping babe," and when she exclaims, "For every thing that lives is holy," the context throws a remarkably negative light on this famous Blakean assertion (34:81, 34:80, E 324).¹⁵ As Enitharmon sings of her new power and her desire for control, following as it does the problematic portrayal of her and Los's birth, it is hard to join in and exclaim that physical life is indeed "holy."

The birth of Orc in Night V is particularly troubling in this respect. In reaction to Orc's too-close relationship with his mother Enitharmon, Los the father "bound down her loved Joy" with "the chain of Jealousy" out of "Love of Parent Storgous Appetite Craving" (FZ 60:22-61:10, E 341). However, both parents suffer "all the sorrow Parents feel" and return in vain to free their son; even the narrator is overcome, only capable of making a trademark sentimental comment to the reader: "all their lamentations / I write not here but all their after life was lamentation" (62:10, E 342; 63:8-9, E 343). Once again, Blake makes it impossible for us to feel true sympathy for his characters. As in "Infant Sorrow," we react negatively to these parents because of their complicity in their bound child's suffering; nor can we fully sympathize with the child Orc, since birth itself is suspect as a continual fragmentation of fragments. Rather than encourage our sympathy with parents or child, Blake exploits sentimental conventions in order to call them into question, here with babes and weeping parents as representations of the *basis* of sentimentality, the physical or "vegetated" body itself.¹⁶

When in Night II Blake describes how "Luvah was cast into the Furnaces of affliction & sealed" while "Vala fed in cruel delight, the furnaces with fire" (FZ 25:40-41, E 317), he shows how the war between the fallen sexes is itself the reason why birth in the fallen world is vegetative and deformative.¹⁷ Once again, we can see here the sentimental system at work, with a male subjected to a cruel, cunning female whom he himself "nurtured" and "fed ... with my rains & dews" until she mutated from an "Earth-worm" to "A scaled Serpent" to "a Dragon" to "a little weeping Infant" (26:7-27:2, E 317). Although this male figure pities a smaller, fragile creature (the worm), his actions are part of a system that transforms pitiable and sentimental objects into deadly dragons. Indeed, his complicity is obvious (albeit not to him), for he proudly calls himself the "King" of the female as he narrates her metamorphosis (26:5, E 317). The sexual symbolism and tension in this passage are powerful, becoming almost disturbing in the

illustration of deformed sexual creatures accompanying it (illus. 5).¹⁸ Blake also presents a situation that Wollstonecraft describes in her attack on sentimental literature: male oppression, especially in the form of improper education and reading, produces conniving women who exploit male desire so as to gain power. Blake, however, articulates this argument in nightmare images. The females in Blake's fallen world are, like Wollstonecraft's, most often either helpless or deceitful, while the males are weak, hypocritical, or cruel. Despite sentimental sympathies, there is no true harmony.

I have spoken of sentimentalism and its sexual strife as a negative, even predatory "system" in *The Four Zoas* because I think that Blake compels us to see it in this way. Although characters of both sexes are guilty of powermongering, sentimentalism by Blake's time is closely aligned with femininity. But Blake will not let us forget that pity and sentimentality have also become bound up in a social "law" operating under the moral law of Urizen, fallen reason. The social exchanges of Adam Smith and "bartering" with tears in *The Man of Feeling* are only two examples of what Blake seems to recognize. Even worse, in fallen life, the Pity that has "a human face" too easily becomes the hypocritical Pity that "would be no more / If we did not make somebody Poor" ("The Divine Image" 18:10, E 12; "The Human Abstract" 47:1-2, E 27). Sympathy degenerates into a source of control, not of affection.

This law of sentimentality appears most explicitly in *The Four Zoas* during Urizen's travels in Nights VI and VII. In Night VI, the tyrannical Urizen at one moment looks like a sympathetic character, "Writing in bitter tears & groans," except that he writes "in books of iron & brass" containing his laws of moral virtue (FZ 70:3, E 347). (It is inviting to see Urizen's tears and groans as part of what he writes, as if he were truly codifying laws of sentimentality like one of Wollstonecraft's "stupid novelists.") While doing so, he views "The ruined spirits once his children & the children of Luvah" in the Abyss (70:6, E 347). In what follows, Blake again sets up a sentimental tableau only to undercut it quickly. As if fed by Urizen's woe, each soul in the Abyss "partakes of [another's] dire woes & mutual returns the pang" (70:16, E 347). Despite these affective responses, which would potentially ease the terrors of the void, the ultimate response is the outbreak of war! When Urizen later comes upon Orc and expresses sympathy, the chained boy calls his bluff: "Curse thy hoary brows. What dost thou in this deep / Thy Pity I contemn scatter thy snows elsewhere" (78:42-43, E 354). But Urizen is persistent,

15. This assertion is used much more positively at the close of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (plate 27, E 45), in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (8:10, E 51), and in *America a Prophecy* (8:13, E 54).

16. The problematic nature of childbirth in a world of systematized sexuality is an enduring concern for Blake. David Aers notes that, in *Visions*, "The activity of begetting children is ... engulfed in [a] closed world and the infant's sexual life is doomed [in the] ghastly circle of 'The Mental Traveller'" ("Blake: Sex, Society and Ideology" 30).

17. "Infant Sorrow" is again a helpful parallel, exemplifying how tensions between parents are directly "reborn" in their offspring.

18. In this series of designs from manuscript p. 26, perhaps the most famous and most reproduced, we can see breasts on the top figure, a woman gripping an erased penis and scrotum in the next figure, and a vagina in the next figure. Many other illustrations to the poem, especially in Nights II and III, are even more dramatically representative of the sexual strife that characterizes the fallen world. These accompanying designs, with their various bodiless and fetishized genitalia or their startling acts of copulation, only manifest and intensify the fighting, frustrations, and entrapments that occur between characters in the text.

Vala encircled round the furnace where Luvah was clos'd
In joy she heard his howlings, & forgot he was her Luvah
With whom she waked in bliss, in times of innocence & youth

Hear ye the voice of Luvah from the furnace of Urizen

If I indeed am Valas King, & ye O sons of Mer
The workmanship of Luvah's hands; in times of Everlasting
When I cutt' forth the Earth-worm from the old & dark obscure
I nurtur'd her I fed her with my rains & dew, she grew
A scind Serpent, yet I fed her till she hat'd me
Day after day she fed upon the mountains in Luvah's sight
I thought her thus the Wilderness, a dry & thirsty land
And I command'd springs to rise for her in the black desert
Till she became a Dragon wing'd bright & poisonous
I pond all the fountains of the heavens to quench her thirst

And



and when he begins to instruct his captive audience (Orc), the "Moral Duty" (80:3, E 355) that this lawgiver expounds includes rules for manipulating the powerless and poor with false shows of emotion until they are "as spaniels ... taught with art" (80:9-21, E 355). "Spaniels" could apply equally to men of feeling and to helpless female victims in the "art" of sentimental literature. What is most interesting here is that Urizen's laws, his freezing "snows" of pity, are the very same as Ahania's "laws of obedience & insincerity," which Urizen abhorred in Night III (43:10-11, E 329). However, to be more accurate, Ahania's laws are in fact Urizen's laws, since she is his feminine portion now separated from him. Thus, when she confronted him in Night III with his own sublimated laws, hoisting him on his own (phallic) petard, he reacted with typical violence by throwing her "from his bosom" and "far into Non Entity" (43:24-44:5, E 329).¹⁹ Again we find the fragmented self and the sexes caught in a sort of whirlpool of origins and causality.

For Blake, all systems and laws, especially of morality and human behavior, are threads in the web of Urizen and are thus dangerous. This is particularly true of sentimentalism because, as Urizen's lesson to Orc in Night VII makes clear, affect can be manipulated for tyrannical ends far too effectively. The "sexual code" of sentimental law is also troubling in relation to *The Four Zoas*, since it inculcated self-repressive "delicacy" even while praising natural responses and maintaining an intimate association between that virtue and sensual desire (Barker-Benfield 299; Hagstrum, *Sex and Sensibility* 75). But sentimentalism is even more craven and harmful when one engages in its practices for the wrong reasons. The case of Los in Night IV illustrates this point. Los and Tharmas confront each other, each recounting his tale of woe and pity at the separations that have occurred, and then Tharmas bids Los to build the universe—that is, to give Urizen a *physical body*. Completing his task in seven ages of woe, Los sees the form that he has created and, "terrified at the shapes / Enslav'd humanity put on *he became what he beheld* / He became what he was doing he was himself transform'd" (FZ 55:21-23, E 338; my italics). Through Los's calamity, Blake presents the ultimate danger of trying to "enter into" another along the lines expounded by sentimentalists, who based the act on a sympathetic reaction to another individual's worldly, visible hardship and, in the case of Smith, connected it with social standing.²⁰ Because Los reacts to Urizen's *physical* shape as it forms before him, he cannot penetrate the suffering, pathetic body, and so he gets trapped by the superficial. To become what one beholds in this way "defines a lapse of imagination. It is a romantic figure of *visionary catastrophe*" (McGann 66;

my italics), so Los actually loses his vision and gets transfixed by pity and fear—he himself becomes an object of physical suffering. Blake shows the impossibility of Smith's sentimental "entering into" another by making Los a failed visionary, doomed by his own sympathy and infected by the object of his pity. In terms of sentimentalism, this would correspond to acting out of sympathetic benevolence but not looking deeper into the causes of such suffering, an error that, Blake implies, drags the sympathizer farther into the miserable (fallen) system. That is, it is ineffective and essentially self-indulgent sympathy, emotion for its own sake. For Blake, as we shall see, Los's (physical rather than visionary) response also corresponds to pitying the "vegetated" body of error that suffers rather than the spiritual individual within.²¹

Although sentimentality in *The Four Zoas* is a telltale sign of fallenness, Blake's attitude at times seems ambivalent, and he is not wholly committed to exposing it as a Urizenic corruption. The deciding factor is how it is used. Further, the connection of sentimentality to the female Emanations does not automatically lead Blake to reject *all* forms of sentiment as pernicious. Ahania and Enion play crucial roles in the epic's push toward regeneration precisely *because* of their emotional, affective, and sympathetic natures (in contrast to Enitharmon and Vala, the manipulative females). They are truly the most consistent voices calling for unity, while the males only remind them of their emanated being, wallow in helpless self-pity, or lash out in destructive wrath and war. Although these Emanations are raped, beaten, and driven to non-existence for their efforts, they are like a sentimental "glue" that keeps Albion's fragments from separating completely. Along with the song of Enion discussed above and her first speech in Night I, in which she laments her separation from Tharmas, Ahania's speech to Urizen in the opening of Night III is significant. Indeed, Ahania is the first character to speak of the "Eternal Brotherhood" that has been lost, and she begs Urizen to "Listen to her who loves thee lest we also are driven away" (FZ 41:9, E 328; 42:8, E 328). Urizen, of course, will have none of this, so her appeal gets her promptly cast into Non Entity. Nevertheless, as the chaos within Albion grows ever more perilous, Ahania and Enion lurk in the shadows as reminders of the real reason for the suffering that every character endures.

Interestingly, Ahania and Enion have positive roles by virtue of their relation to nature and the fallen world. While this relationship reflects the social (and sentimental) view associating the emotions and the physical body with femininity, McGann points out that "the destructive nature of nature" is also part of the Christian tradition Blake writes within (151). As a result, nature has a "redemptive mechanism"—hence the in-

19. See Otto on the significance of the phallus in *The Four Zoas* and its relation to Urizen's religion/law.

20. Stephen Cox calls Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* "a treatise on the educational process that enables people of sensibility to internalize social expectations and incorporate them into consciousness, idealizing yet personalizing them" (67).

21. It is worth noting briefly here that the truly *visionary* "entering into" others that Los does and advocates in Blake's later epic *Jerusalem* reflects the central, heroic role that he gained in Blake's mythology from the minor Prophecies and *The Four Zoas* to *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. Los seems to have learned much between the epics.

carnation, the belief that the spiritual/divine is born through the corporeal body in order to redeem it. In this respect, even Enitharmon and Vala (including her most fallen forms, Rahab and Tirzah) are "positive" or "redemptive." As Ackland notes, Enitharmon's "realm is nature, and nature remains part of the Divine Humanity"; even "the triumph of Vala [in Night VIII; see below] can serve paradoxically as a prelude to apocalypse, for any consolidation of error makes it more readily identifiable and remediable" (180). The feminine realm of corporeality, physical emotion, and sentiment is, like the fallen body of Albion that it comprises, potentially redeemable, a stage (or even an early form of a Blakean "State") in the regenerative process.

While McGann and Ackland are both correct in identifying the positive function of the females and nature in Blake's myth, Ackland in particular is too prone to stress their "redemptive role" and to miss the larger point that Blake makes with his use of Emanations and a gendered, generative nature. Although he wrote poems like "On Another's Sorrow" and chided a cold, unfeeling culture, Blake was equally aware that "Innocence" in the world is the state of childhood, not of Eternity. Consequently, fallen existence is a reality, but it is *not* a positive reality; it is a trap, a slumber or death of Albion and every individual that must be overcome for a return to Eternity. Again, it is all too easy in a fallen world to "become what one beholds," to see one's vegetative body as the real body, and to remain "dead." In a society practicing the *art* of sentiment, this lapse of spiritual vision becomes even easier. Thus, sentimental pity and benevolence, however positive they may be in ameliorating fallen hardship, are not enough for regeneration in Blake's works. For him, regeneration (poetic, personal, and universal) requires *inspired* vision, which the weakening and exploitative tendencies of sentimentalism, along with its reification of the physical or natural, prevent. Social misery does gain Blake's critical attention, but, as Martin Price comments, "Blake is less concerned with exposing injustice than with finding a vital response to it" (401). In the examples I have discussed from *The Four Zoas* thus far, Blake has certainly exposed the problems inherent in a system of sentiment, its part in the battle between the sexes, and its use as a tool for oppression. And Ahania and Enion's positive sentimentality does not solve these problems, for it too is a product of the fall; thus, they can only propose "facile modifications rather than fundamental changes either in the behavior of the zoas or in their own behavior" (Lee 134). The question, then, is how to move beyond the sentimental world all together.

We can answer this question by looking at the first step taken toward Eternity in *The Four Zoas*. This moment comes with the embrace of Los and the Spectre of Urthona in the conclusion of Night VIIa. Although Blake's incorporation of this material late in the composition process creates many bibliographic, textual, and narrative challenges, the scene is important here because it serves as a re-vision, in both its success and its failure, of the sentimentality expressed thus far in the poem. At this point in the plot, an unprecedented event

occurs after a vivid series of splits and unions and outbursts of the dead:

But then the Spectre enterd Los's bosom Every sigh & groan
Of Enitharmon bore Urthonas Spectre on its wings
Obdurate Los felt Pity Enitharmon told the tale
Of Urthona. Los embracd the Spectre first as a brother
Then as another Self; astonishd humanizing & in tears
In Self abasement Giving up his Domineering lust
(FZ 95 [85]:26-31, E 367)²²

Enitharmon's sighs and groans, as well as her tale, seem to precipitate this embrace, much as Los's pity and tears do. The key, however, is that Los embraces the Spectre "as another Self," perhaps implying that he sees the Spectre as a being who shares an intimate bond with him, not as an *object* or *other* whom he merely sympathizes with.²³ But the Spectre speaks as a Spectre, calling himself Los's "real Self" (95 [85]:38, E 368) and Los a mere "form & organ of life" (86:2, E 368). Los responds furiously that he feels "a World within / Opening its gates," and he bids the Spectre to enter his bosom *with Enitharmon* to learn "Peace" and "repentance to Cruelty" (86:7-12, E 368). For the first time, a male character urges action that is redemptive and regenerative—and not out of simple pity, for himself or for another, but because of something stronger "within."

Unfortunately, the reunion of this fragmented fragment is incomplete because (at least in part) "Enitharmon trembling fled & hid beneath Urizens tree" (FZ 87:1, E 368). After she plays the Eve to Los's Adam and tempts him to eat the fruit of the Tree of Mystery, all three of the characters fall into helpless self-blame for the fall. But this is still a momentous occasion because Los experiences a renewal, however fleeting, of vision. Continuing with his intimations of a "World within," he sees Enitharmon "like a shadow withering / As on the outside of Existence" and tells her to "look! behold! take comfort! / Turn inwardly thine Eyes & there behold the Lamb of God / Clothed in Luvahs robes of blood descending to redeem" (87:41-44, E 369). The rest of this scene wavers between positive and negative action, the latter most evident in Enitharmon's fear of the Lamb of God and her desire to use the spectres of the dead as "ransoms" (98 [90]:24, E 370). But, after the ambiguous refusal of Los and Enitharmon to sacrifice their children (discussed below), Los draws Urizen out of the war raging around

22. Erdman's edition contains an error for the page numbering at this point: he prints "95 [87]" (E 367) for what should be "95 [85]," since the text is from p. 85 of the manuscript. I have silently corrected the error in subsequent citations.

23. As Dennis Welch points out to me, the meaning of "another Self" is highly ambiguous here—is the Spectre an other self or an aspect of Los's self? The implication of "humanizing" may also be important if we think of Albion's status as the "Universal Humanity," so that Los may be becoming eternally human rather than physically human; compare Tharmas in Night IX (132:36ff., E 401). These instances of ambiguity (so characteristic of Blake), along with the lateness of this added passage, may help to explain why the embrace fails to initiate regeneration directly.

them and feels "love & not hate," beholding Urizen as "an infant" in his hands (98 [90]:65-66, E 371). Los is now able to envision the regenerated Urizen, to perceive the spiritual body within the hoary old man who has been stirring up universal antagonism, rather than the mere corporeal form.

What this scene indicates is that sentimental sympathy is essentially stagnant without Blakean vision. When Los appropriates sentimental qualities like pity, benevolence, and a desire for reunion with his suffering counterparts, he does so on the basis of his vision of "the Lamb of God" within every individual, not just because those counterparts are miserable. He sees their shared error and the need to rectify it. His visionary moment may be fleeting, but it is truly the first indicator of a potential regeneration to come. Blake's use in this scene of the same sentimental conventions and discourse that have caused so much trouble in the earlier Nights serves to revitalize them, for they are now a part of vision, inspiration, and prophecy—they introduce hope into a world that is still fallen and at war.

Because Los's moment of vision in Night VIIa is powerful for the light of hope it brings into *The Four Zoas*, it seems fitting and yet troubling that the next Night opens with the creation of Albion's fallen body and the descent of "the Lamb of God clothed in Luvahs robes," i.e., Jesus the Savior in physical form (FZ 101:1, E 373). The first moment of redemptive vision by Los the Eternal Prophet serves as a catalyst, as it were, for the final consolidation of error. Although Los can "behold the Divine Vision thro the broken Gates / Of [Enitharmon's] poor broken heart," and Enitharmon can "see the Lamb of God upon Mount Zion," Urizen can only see his enemy Luvah and gather forces for more war (99:15-17, E 372).²⁴ Jesus comes as the "pitying one" to "Assume the dark Satanic body" and to give Albion "his vegetated body / [which is] To be cut off & separated [so] that the Spiritual body may be Reveald" (104:14, E 377; 104:13, E 377; 104:37-38, E 378), but this can only occur when human existence has reached its nadir. In other words, Jesus must suffer crucifixion by the forces of Mystery or Rahab, who is both a degenerated form of Vala (the "Dragon" that Luvah nurtured and the exemplar of a female tyrant) and the "Fruit of Urizens tree" (109 [105]:20, E 378). This crucifixion is "the triumph of Vala" (Ackland 180) and the final consolidation of error, the dead body of Jesus providing the most visible form of error possible.

Arguably, the crucifixion also largely results from the hypocritical system of sentiment (moral law) that Rahab practices and Urizen inspires. The song of the Females of Amalek,

Rahab's daughters, evidences Rahab and Urizen's hypocritical sentimentality at its most obvious, which seems fitting in the context of this Night. "O thou poor human form O thou poor child of woe / Why dost thou wander away from Tirzah why me compell to bind thee," the Females of Amalek sing over their bound victims, terrifying them with knives and tears (FZ 109 [105]:31-32, E 378). Their song eerily recalls Enion's song in Night II, which makes the image of demonic, knife-wielding singers even more startling; it also heightens our awareness of how crocodile tears of pity can be frightfully hard to distinguish from true tears. Blake later punctuates this ambiguity, making such crocodile tears truly degenerative when Urizen's pity for, and embrace of, the Shadowy Female causes him to mutate into a scaly monster (106:22ff., E 381; illustrated on page 70 of the manuscript).

Blake problematizes sentimentality once again, here in the form that the Females of Amalek give it, by directly following the song (as if the two were causally related) with the crucifixion of the Lamb of God on the Tree of Mystery, the tree of Rahab and Urizen (FZ 110 [106]:1-3, E 379). The sight is catastrophic, leaving even the newly inspired Los "despairing of Life Eternal" while Rahab glories "in Delusive feminine pomp questioning him" (110 [106]:16, E 379; 105 [113]:43, E 380). But Los struggles through his despair and persists in advocating self-recognition and repentance even to Rahab, speaking to her "with tenderness & love not uninspired" (105 [113]:44, E 380). His inspiration leads him to pity her *for her error*, an error that he himself shares but can now work to rectify (105 [113]:51-52, E 380). Although Rahab refuses to heed his words, his hope remains. And later, when Ahania cries out at the death around her, Enion seems to draw on Los's hope as she comforts Ahania, her fellow sufferer, with a prophecy of the universal return to "ancient bliss" (114 [110]:28, E 385).

These positive threads woven into the vegetated fabric of Night VIII are, with the hypocritical and negative threads, all tied to sentimentalism, with Los's tear shed for Rahab's stubborn persistence in error and Enion's sympathy for her companion in misery. But the proliferation of the word "vision" in these events further emphasizes the change that has occurred in that sentimentalism. "Sentimentality," as it is now practiced by Los the inspired prophet, has in fact been remade into "vision" by being taken to a spiritual level, by piercing the vegetated body in order to sympathize with and work to redeem the trapped spiritual body.²⁵ But the vegetated body remains, and the vegetated things in the natural world that serve as the objects of systematized sentiment have to be burned

24. It seems significant here that Los beholds the divine vision *through* Enitharmon's heart, again intimating that he has gained the vision necessary to see into the physical body to find the spiritual body within—and to see *through* that body to the divine. Enitharmon, on the other hand, sees the Lamb of God as external, outside herself (and others) at this point; only after weaving bodies for the spectres into "the Female Jerusa[le]m the holy" can she see "the Lamb of God within Jerusalem Veil" (104:1-2, E 376).

25. This emphasis on "vision" in Night VIII combines with Blake's increased, and to some extent disjunctive, focus on Jesus "the pitying one" in this Night to help reveal Blake's attitudes towards sentimentalism that his July 1804 letter to Hayley makes even more problematic. Blake's renewed Christian vision/faith seems to make him more convinced of the need for forgiveness of sins and pity for sinners, but this forgiveness and pity must be *spiritual* acts born from a recognition of "the Lamb of God" within each person.

away like the error that they manifest. There has to be a Last Judgment. Thus, as Night IX opens, Jesus stands over Los and Enitharmon and separates "Their Spirit from their body" (FZ 117:4, E 386).²⁶ This separation seems to liberate and inspire Los anew, for he initiates the Last Judgment by tearing down the sun and moon, "cracking the heavens" so that the "fires of Eternity" can spread over the material universe and consume the error that has been given final form via the crucifixion (117:9-10, E 386).

Blake's apocalypse is almost beautifully frightful in its violence, far surpassing his source in Revelation and implying just how powerful error is to him. His own prophetic wrath is unmistakable, and he often seems deliberately to target the figures that sentimentalism reified and realized in its culture. While Blake gives victims such as slaves, prisoners, and suffering families the chance to torment their oppressors in the opening melee (FZ 122:38-123:32, E 392-93), even these victims, as vestiges of fallen human life and objects of worldly *pathos*, have to go along with everything else. To accomplish this, the Zoas and Emanations must all join together to play their rightful roles. Although the labors of Urizen, Tharmas, and Urthona are quite striking as humanity and the fallen world get completely "reprocessed" into a feast for the Eternals, the most frightening apocalyptic image that Blake presents here is the winepresses of Luvah. To prepare the Last Vintage, the sons and daughters of Luvah dance and laugh, accompanied by various creatures around the presses, as they tread upon "the Human Grapes [that] Sing not nor dance" but instead "howl & writhe in shoals of torment in fierce flames consuming" and amidst various instruments of torture (136:5-39, E 404-05).²⁷ Then, at last, with the world as we know it utterly annihilated, "the evil is all consumd" and Albion is again "Man"—regenerated, visionary, and alive with the harmony and order of the universe within him (138:22, E 406).

I have focused here on the violence of Blake's Last Judgment and its human tinder because the apocalypse presents, I think, his ultimate revision of sentimentality and the entire movement that it fostered. Every human life—from victim to victimizer, from youth to elder—has to be trodden in the

26. The fact that Jesus then disappears as an agent in Night IX, both in the text and in the drawings (he appears once, on p. 129, while Blake presents him in four large drawings in Night VIII), is significant, from an interpretational perspective, in light of what is to come. It is as if the blood and gore of Blake's Last Judgment cannot directly incorporate the presence of the "pitying one," however much the divine hand may be guiding what occurs. From a bibliographic perspective, this change of Jesus from visible victim/savior to a *deus absconditus* also seems to support Bentley when he gives the current Night VIII a later date than the greater part of Night IX (164-66); such a late date would make the centrality of Jesus in Night VIII a reflection of the increasing Christian focus in Blake's later writings (as in *Milton and Jerusalem*).

27. In Revelation 14:20, the winepress in John's vision seems almost banal compared to Blake's: "And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs."

winepresses or baked in the ovens of the Zoas—and, as the feast implies, actually consumed by Eternal beings. Blake challenges us to mimic Los, to use our visionary capacity to see through the vegetated world and the (necessary) violence of its consummation in order to reveal the spiritual "World within." Because even Los, the most inspired Zoa, fails to maintain that redemptive vision continuously and to change the system of error, something more extreme is required. Blake therefore envisions existence falling to its nadir with the crucifixion, which then must be followed by the utter transformation and redemptive consumption of those familiar objects that might otherwise elicit sympathy and prevent such a Last Judgment.

We can, I think, see the persistence of this fallen sentimentality in Los and Enitharmon's refusal to sacrifice their children at the end of Night VIIa. Their pity for their children seems praiseworthy, especially when contrasted with the "Storgous Appetite" that leads to Orc's binding in Night V. However, those newborn human souls that they pity in Night VIIa have to be thrown into the winepresses or sown in the ruins of the universe; even parental love is a tie to the fallen world. Their pity may be another critique of sentimentalism because, as Barker-Benfield observes, "the aggrandizement of the affectionate family and, at its heart, mothering," were central components of sentimentalism through their cultivation of desired social affections (276). However, as he also describes, the emphasis placed on a sentimental family often led to "parental self-indulgence" and disabling sensibility instead of greater communal sentiments. Wollstonecraft speaks to this very problem when she condemns spoiling mothers who "for the sake of their *own* children ... violate the most sacred duties, forgetting the common relationship that binds the whole family of earth together" (290). Admittedly, Blake is more extreme, but it seems that Los and Enitharmon are still guilty of an affection that holds them back from their Eternal places and from working for the greater good. These parents pity their children as pathetic, corporeal beings, as spectres with physical bodies; they refuse to make the sacrifice of *all* physical things—and of all sympathetic attachments to them—that the final Night shows is required for the regeneration of humanity.

According to Blake's mythology, the status of the Emanations and of (sentimental) females as a whole necessitates that they become undifferentiated from their male counterparts in order to reconstitute the androgynous Zoas. Blake expresses this point in the poem's closing lines: "Urthona is arisen in his strength no longer now / Divided from Enitharmon no longer the Spectre Los" (FZ 139:4-5, E 407). Once again whole, Urthona can forge the armor that Albion wears in the "intellectual War" of Eternity (139:8-9, E 407). But what exactly does "whole" imply for Urthona and the other Eternals in terms of the sexes, specifically the female sex? Blake does say that both Enitharmon *and* the male "Spectre Los" have disappeared as distinct, sexed identities. Nevertheless, here again we meet one problem of describing Eternity from the

realm of Generation, since the "fallen" language that Blake uses is also gendered language. The masculine singular pronoun "his" in lines 4 and 8, referring to "arisen" and undivided Urthona, further casts the Eternal state as vigorous and masculine in contrast to the delusive, "feminine" lower states that have been the major arena for the poem's action. While both of the separated sexes have apparently reunited into single androgynous beings, Blake's masculinized language here and throughout makes it *most* apparent that the females have been reintegrated or re-internalized. And, as Albion tells Urizen shortly before the Last Judgment occurs, the Zoas are "Immortal" while the Emanations are simply "Regenerate" (122:12, E 391). Peter Otto thus questions the ending of *The Four Zoas*, which he sees as representing "a Urizenic ideal" in part because the Emanations are "now indistinguishable from their male counterparts" (337-38). However, the poem contains numerous reminders—some from the Emanations themselves—that the Emanations are *emanated* and hence secondary, just like the physical body they are associated with. Indeed, this "disappearance" of the female is in many ways the most telltale sign of regeneration based on Blake's association of femininity with the entire fallen world. As a result, he makes it apparent that the Emanations have returned to their places as portions of the Zoas after the apocalypse; once this is accomplished, the Zoas can function harmoniously within Albion and Albion can rejoin the "Eternal Brotherhood."

The re-internalization of the Emanations, with the destruction of sentimental stereotypes, is the final move that Blake makes in his re-vision of sentimental conventions and the sentimental system. This re-vision, an incorporation of passive sentimentality into active inspired vision, is by no means Blake's central agenda in *The Four Zoas*, but it is as much a part of his "Dream" as it is a part of the fallen world. Sentimentality may, at its best, reduce the sting of the fall, but it can do nothing to regenerate humanity without the strength of vision to guide it. In his later prophecies and other writings, Blake emphasizes this point more explicitly against the backdrop of Eternity, as Los's inspired mission and message come to center on pity and forgiveness of sin amidst continued sentimental, hypocritical oppression. Only through the regeneration of worldly sentimentality, which Blake seems to trace through the nine Nights of *The Four Zoas*, can a visionary prophet redeem the fallen world with tenderness and love that are inspired, not selfishly or superficially pitying, not tools for manipulation. As Blake puts it in terms of his mythology, "Tharmas gave his Power to Los Urthona gave his strength" (FZ 111 [107]:31, E 383).

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"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

BY ANGUS WHITEHEAD

Henry Banes was the brother-in-law of William and Catherine Blake as well as their landlord at 3 Fountain Court, Strand, from 1821 until 1827. This paper will focus primarily upon the contents of Henry Banes' will, a document hitherto unknown to Blake scholarship.¹ As well as explicitly referring to, and providing new information about, William and Catherine Blake, Banes' will throws new light on the Blakes' relationship with their relative and landlord. The will also contains information pertinent to a clearer understanding of Catherine Blake's financial affairs and how and where she was living in the spring of 1829, approximately eighteen months after the death of her husband. In addition, the document provides the dates of the decease of Henry Banes and his wife, Catherine Blake's sister, Sarah Banes, and evidence of Sarah's residence at 3 Fountain Court from 1803 until March 1824. Sarah's established presence at this address may partially explain William and Catherine Blake's choice of residence on removal from their apartment at 17 South Molton Street in 1821.

It has been previously assumed that, apart from Blake's younger sister, Catherine Elizabeth Blake, William and Catherine Blake had no surviving family relations. I will argue that the circumstances surrounding Banes' choice of "sole Executrix" of his will suggest that Henry and Sarah Banes may have had a daughter and therefore that William and Catherine Blake may have been survived by a niece, named Louisa (or Louiza) Best, née Banes.² Finally, the sole witness of Henry

Banes' will, the artist John Barrow, will be conclusively identified as the publisher of Blake's commercial engraving "Mrs Q" (1820).

Henry Banes, William and Catherine Blake's Relation and Landlord

In about 1860, Blake's biographer, the 32-year-old Alexander Gilchrist, visited Fountain Court, on the south side of the Strand, in order to research William and Catherine Blake's last residence. At 3 Fountain Court Gilchrist encountered a "dirty stuccoed" building that had "suffered a decline of fortune"³ (illus. 1). The front room on the first floor, the Blakes' former reception room, showroom and printing studio, was vacant and "in the market at four and sixpence a week, as an assiduous enquirer found."⁴ The rest of the house was "let out ... in single rooms to the labouring poor."⁵ During his visit, Gilchrist could have encountered a number of the 36 inhabitants recorded in the 1861 census return for 3 Fountain Court. Amidst the "excessive noise of children,"⁶ he may have called on and conversed with William Jones, wine porter, George Caudle, vellum binder, Mary Huntley, laundress, James Stone, onion dealer, William Wilby, police constable, William Jones, carman, James Haywood, fishmonger, and Thomas Curtis, water gilder, and their respective families.⁷ However, it seems unlikely that anyone then living either at this residence or elsewhere in Fountain Court had been a fellow lodger or neighbor of William and Catherine Blake over 30 years earlier.

Few details concerning, or indeed derived from, those "humble but respectable"⁸ former neighbors of the Blakes were included in Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, published posthumously in 1863.⁹ Had such figures been traced, their accounts might have complemented those of the less materially humble figures that Gilchrist did interview or correspond with concerning Blake's last years, including John Linnell, Samuel Palmer and Frederick Tatham. Indeed, few of the 20 or so biographies of William Blake published between 1893 and 2001 have enhanced our knowledge and understanding of what the Blakes did and whom they associated with

The first two sections of this paper derive largely from chapter 3 of my MA dissertation "'My Present Precincts': A Recreation of the Last Living and Working Space of William Blake: 3 Fountain Court, Strand 1821-7," MA in Blake and the Age of Revolution, University of York, October 2002, directed by Michael Phillips. I am grateful to G. E. Bentley, Jr., for generously sharing his own findings concerning Henry Banes. I also wish to thank Michael Phillips and Keri Davies for reading and commenting so helpfully on earlier drafts of this paper. Finally thanks to John Barrell, Robert Essick, Sarah Jones, David Linnell, Angela Roche and David Worral for advice on minute particulars.

1. Although the original will written by Henry Banes has not been traced, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury probate copy has (see below).

2. "Louisa" is the spelling used in the 1841 census return for 3 Fountain Court, Strand (Public Record Office HO 107/731/3 15). "Louiza" is the spelling used in the PCC copy of the will of Henry Banes, proved 14 February 1829 (PRO PROB 11/1751 [Liverpool Quire 51-100, folio 79]).

3. Gilchrist 282.

4. Gilchrist 282.

5. Gilchrist 282.

6. Gilchrist 308.

7. 1861 census [7 April 1861] return for 3 Fountain Court, Strand, PRO RG 9/179/68.

8. Gilchrist 308.

9. Gilchrist does refer to a "humble female neighbour, [Catherine Blake's] only other companion" present at Blake's death who "said afterwards: 'I have been at the death, not of a man, but of a blessed angel'" (Gilchrist 353). The neighbor's description of Blake's death resembles a line in Sydney Cumberland's letter to his father George Cumberland c. November 1827 in which he reports that Catherine Blake told his brother George that Blake "died like an angel" (BL Add. MSS. 36512, ff. 52-53, n.d., cited Bentley, *Blake Records* [hereafter referred to as BR (2)] 475).



1. Frederick William Fairholt, 3 Fountain Court woodcut, illustration to Frederick William Fairholt, "Tombs of the English Artists. No. 7.—William Blake," *Art Journal* 4 (1858): 236. City of Westminster Archives Centre.

in Fountain Court during the significant intervals between playing host to or visiting friends, fellow artists and patrons.¹⁰ Even the second edition of G. E. Bentley, Jr.'s *Blake Records* (2004) provides little new information concerning those who lived and worked alongside William and Catherine Blake during their six year residence in the court. According to Gilchrist, "for two years together" Blake did not venture outside Fountain Court.¹¹ Surviving records for the period 1821-27 suggest that Blake spent months rather than years without leaving the precincts of the court.¹² However, the likelihood that Blake did spend such relatively long and uninterrupted periods within its environs means that any new information concerning William and Catherine Blake's last residence and neighborhood is of no small importance to Blake scholarship.

One fellow resident well placed to throw light on the Blakes' life and work during this period is Henry Banes, William and

10. See Bentley, "Appendix 1: Principal Biographies of Blake," *Stranger* 447-51.

11. See Gilchrist 259-60.

12. See *BR* (2) 375-459.

Catherine Blake's brother-in-law and landlord at 3 Fountain Court. However, few biographers of William Blake have succeeded in tracing more than Banes' name. In a letter to the Quaker poet Bernard Barton of 3 April 1830, John Linnell, Blake's friend and patron during the 1820s, describes William and Catherine Blake's last shared residence as "a private House Kept by M^r Banes whose wife was sister to M^r Blake."¹³ Linnell's only other recorded reference to Henry Banes is found in the final line of a "Note by J[ohn]. L[innell]. sen[ior]. on strip of paper" "1855?", transcribed by Linnell's son John Linnell, Jr. Bentley describes this note as "clearly the heads of what Linnell meant to tell Gilchrist of Blake's life."¹⁴ The line reads "[Blake] died at his Brother in Laws first floor 3 F[ountain] Court[.]"¹⁵ Beyond this "head" Linnell does not appear to have provided Gilchrist with any further information concerning Blake's last landlord. Gilchrist's allusion to Banes in a description of Blake's final residence as "a house kept by a brother-in-law named Baines [sic]"¹⁶ merely reiterates Linnell's two statements cited above.

Since Gilchrist, few further details concerning Henry Banes have been traced. Almost a century after the publication of Gilchrist's *Life*, Paul Miner consulted the Poor Rate books for the parish of St. Clement Danes and discovered that "Henry Baines' or 'Banes' ... is listed [as ratepayer] for the house [i.e., 3 Fountain Court] during the period of Blake's occupancy."¹⁷ In his recent biography of Blake, *The Stranger from Paradise* (2001), Bentley offers a little more information concerning Henry Banes. The biography features a reconstruction of the Boucher family tree in which Sarah Boucher is first identified as the sister of Catherine Blake who married Henry Banes. The location and date of the marriage are given as St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, 10 November 1788.¹⁸ Bentley also records the location (but not the date) of Henry Banes' baptism, also in the parish of St. Bride.¹⁹ In addition, Henry Banes' place of

13. Cited *BR* (2) 526-27. Frederick Tatham in his ms. "Life of Blake" (c. 1832) refers to Henry Banes as Blake's "Wifes brother" (cited *BR* [2] 680). As Ruthven Todd observes: "presumably this is an error for brother-in-law" (Gilchrist 389).

14. *BR* (2) 430fn.

15. *BR* (2) 430fn.

16. Gilchrist 282. Gilchrist almost certainly received this information from John Linnell. Between 1803 and 1822 the Poor Rate collectors responsible for Fountain Court consistently recorded Henry Banes' surname as "Baines" in their rate books (see illus. 2). However, Banes' marriage record (illus. 7), the only traced document to feature his signature, entries in contemporary trade directories (illus. 4) and poll books (illus. 3), as well as Banes' own will (illus. 5) all suggest that "Banes" is the correct spelling.

17. Paul Miner, "William Blake's London Residences," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 62.11 (November 1958): 544.

18. Bentley, *Stranger* xx.

19. Presumably Bentley assumed that St. Bride's, Fleet Street, the parish in which Banes married, was also the parish of his baptism. However, *FamilySearch*, the records of the *International Genealogical Index* available online <<http://www.familysearch.org>>, contains no record of a Henry Banes baptized at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. Bentley's assertions concerning the date and location of Banes' burial are, as will be demonstrated below, mistaken.

burial is given as "St Andrews, Holborn" and the year of his death as 1837.²⁰ In the second edition of *Blake Records*, Bentley gives the (correct) date of Henry Banes and Sarah Boucher's marriage as 16 December 1788, as well as details concerning the banns, the curate who performed the marriage and the identity of one of the three witnesses.²¹ Bentley also expands upon Miner's findings concerning the identity of the ratepayers for the property: "The Rate Books confirm that the ratepayers were Henry and Mary Baines (or Banes) from 1820 to 1829."²² In an attempt to reconcile the discrepancy between the first names given to Banes' wife in the marriage certificate of 1788 and the rate book entries almost forty years later, Bentley suggests that "Perhaps Catherine's sister Sarah Boucher ... was also called 'Mary' after her mother, Mary Davis Boucher."²³

A letter from Blake to John Linnell recently discovered by Michael Phillips provides the sole recorded reference to Henry Banes by Blake.²⁴ The letter, postmarked "25 · NO 1825", begins:

M^r Banes says his Kitchen is at our service to do as we please. Still I should like to know from the 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 [cited Phillips 140].

20. See Bentley, *Stranger* xx. Bentley cites the second edition of *Blake Records* as the source of this information (*Stranger* xix). In *Blake Records*, Bentley states that "Henry Bain (not Baines) was buried in St Andrew's Church, Holborn, in 1837, according to Boyd's Burial Index in Guildhall" (BR [2] 50fn). As I demonstrate below, Henry Bain (actually buried at Bunhill Fields) cannot have been Blake's landlord at Fountain Court. *Boyd's Burial Index* is an unpublished index of London and Middlesex burials in parish register transcripts, compiled by Percival Boyd (1866-1955). Boyd only indexed burial registers which had been transcribed and were easily accessible. With the help of the College of Arms, Boyd copied about a quarter of a million burials between 1538 and 1852, including a large part of the registers of Bunhill Fields nonconformist burial ground. See Anthony Camp, "Our Greatest Indexer—Percival Boyd," *Practical Family History* no. 72 (December 2003): 22-24. In the introduction to his *Burial Index* Boyd remarks, "Those who use this index are warned that it must be treated as a 'lucky dip,' if you find what you want, well & good; if you don't [sic], you have searched nothing." I am indebted to Valerie Hart, Reference Librarian, Guildhall, for this information. The only other reference to Henry and Sarah Banes in *The Stranger from Paradise* occurs on 392, where Bentley cites the passage from Linnell's letter of 3 April 1830, discussed above.

21. BR (2) 751fn. See also BR (2) 49-50. However, the mistake is replicated in the Boucher-Butcher genealogy, BR (2) xxxiv.

22. BR (2) 751. Bentley explains in a footnote that the rate books for St. Clement Danes, Savoy Ward, recorded: "Henry Ba[i]nes for 1820-22, 1826-28; Mary Banes for 1823; and both for 1824 and 1825" (BR [2] 751fn). Bentley goes on to state that in the Poor Rate books 3 Fountain Court "is specifically called a 'House' to distinguish it from the warehouses in the area ..." (BR [2] 751fn). This does not appear to have been the case and would not have been necessary, as the 16 residences in Fountain Court were separated from the warehouses of Beaufort Wharfs by a flight of stairs. See Whitehead illus. 1 and 8.

23. BR (2) 751fn.

24. For discussion of the letter, see Phillips, Whitehead 27-28, Bentley, "William Blake and His Circle" 5, 10-11, 32.

Phillips demonstrates that the new letter refers to preparations for a specially organized printing session of the *Illustrations of the Book of Job* using Blake's rolling press at 3 Fountain Court. The printing session was to be conducted by a fine art plate-printer, an employee of the copperplate printer James Lahee, and overseen by Blake and perhaps Linnell. It must have taken place in late November-early December 1825, immediately after the engraving and final proofing of the plates and immediately before the printing of the 315 sets of the *Illustrations of the Book of Job* at Lahee's premises at No. 30 Castle Street East, Oxford Market. As Phillips observes:

It was now the moment to confer with Lahee's plate-printer to supervise with him the printing of master impressions for each of the 22 plates. The plate-printer would then be able to return to the Castle Street works and left to get on with it.²⁵

This printing session, lasting no longer than a few days, would normally have been conducted at Lahee's Castle Street works. However, as Blake was evidently incapacitated by illness at this time and therefore unable to travel so far, 3 Fountain Court was proposed as an alternative location. Banes' "Kitchen" in the basement of 3 Fountain Court, as opposed to Blake's printing studio in the front room on the first floor, appears to have been proposed by Linnell as the most suitable area of the house in which to conduct the printing session. As Blake's letter indicates, Banes readily agreed to this proposal. However, due to the considerable technical difficulties involved in dismantling Blake's printing press, moving it from the Blakes' front room to Banes' basement and reassembling it there (which Blake describes as "no slight job"), the press almost certainly remained where it was. Therefore, in the event, it seems that Banes' basement was never utilized as a temporary printing studio (see Phillips). Nevertheless, as Bentley suggests, the fact that Banes was willing to give up his kitchen to accommodate his brother-in-law's printing shows that "The relationship of Henry Banes and William Blake was clearly a friendly one."²⁶

New Information Concerning Henry Banes

The entries for 3 Fountain Court, Strand, contained in the Poor Rate books for the parish of St. Clement Danes, Savoy Ward, reveal that Henry Banes was the sole recorded ratepayer for the property from May 1803, when his name replaced that of "Mary Wood" (see illus. 2).²⁷ With the exception of the

25. Phillips 153.

26. Bentley, "William Blake and His Circle" 5.

27. Poor Rate book for St. Clement Danes Parish, Savoy Ward, 1803, City of Westminster Archives Centre (hereafter referred to as COWAC), microfilm B224. 1803 is of course the year William and Catherine Blake returned from Felpham to London, and then to their lodgings on the first or second floor of 17 South Molton Street. Perhaps Blake visited Henry and Sarah Banes at their new residence in 1803-04 while passing through the Strand. See Blake's letters to Hayley, 26 October 1803 (Erdman [hereafter cited as "E" followed by page number] 738), 29 September 1804 (E 755).

20 John Morgan	13. 4	16. 0	16: 0	3. 3. 4 16: 0
18 Eliz th Crump	12	15.	15:	2 17 0 15
<i>Henry Banes</i>				
25 Mary Wood	16. 0	10. 1. 0	1: 0: 10	3 19 2 1: 10
20 John Luntin	13: 4	16. 0.	16: 0	3 3 4 16: 0
<i>John Luntin</i>				
20 J ^r . Carstairs	13: 4	16. 0.	16: 0	3 3 4 16: 0
20 Ann Hepworth	13: 4	16. 0.	16: 0	3 3 4 16: 0

2. 1803 rate book, Savoy Ward, Parish of St. Clement Danes entry for Henry Banes, 3 Fountain Court, Strand; COWAC, B224. City of Westminster Archives Centre.

WESTMINSTER POLL.			135				
and St. Mary le Strand.							
Names.	Residence.	Occupation.	Burdett	Kinnaird	Romilly	Maxwell	Cartwright
Brown, Thomas	11, Water street	Carpenter					
Bartlett, John	10, Milford lane	Whitesmith					
Baker, Edward	13, Wych street	Plumber					
Burbidge, Robert	Plough, Beaufort's build.	Victualler					
Banes, Henry	3, Fountain court	Wine cooper					
Baker, James	14, Newcastle court	Gentleman					
Bingley, Wm.	13, New Inn	Gentleman					
Bolton, Robert	59, Stanhope street	Staymaker					
							Hunt

3. Poll book entry for Henry Banes, 3 Fountain Court, wine cooper, *The Poll Book for Electing Two Representatives in Parliament for the City and Liberty of Westminster, June 18, to July 4, 1818* (London: J. J. Stockdale, 1818) 135. Institute of Historical Research Library, University of London, with kind permission.

period 1823-25,²⁸ Banes remained sole ratepayer until early 1829, when "Richard Best" replaced him.²⁹ Banes gave the location of his residence as "3, Fountain court" when his vote was recorded in the Westminster Poll Books for 1818, 1819 and 1820 (see illus. 3).³⁰ These three surviving poll books also reveal Henry Banes' trade. For the period 1818-20, he is recorded as a "wine cooper" or "vintner."³¹ The 1821 *Book of Trades* defines a wine cooper as:

a person employed in drawing off, bottling, and packing wine, spirits or malt liquor. In London, many persons follow this business only; it is common for persons of the first consequence to employ the wine-cooper to take charge of their wines.³²

Banes' professional connection with the wine trade suggests that he may have occasionally provided wine for his brother-and sister-in-law.³³ Gilchrist records that Blake was an unorthodox and sporadic wine drinker who:

28. See note 22.

29. For example, see St. Clement Danes, Savoy Ward, Poor Rate books, COWAC, B224 (Poor Rate, 13 May 1803) and B126-27 (Poor Rate, 1 January, 20 April 1829). As discussed above, during the period 1823-25 "Mary Banes" is recorded as either co- or sole ratepayer (see BR [2] 751fn).

30. Information kindly extrapolated and printed out from the *Westminster Historical Database: Voters, Social Structure and Electoral Behaviour*, ed. Charles Harvey, Edmund M. Green and Penelope J. Caulfield (Bristol: Bristol Academic P, 1998) by Amanda Norman at COWAC. In the general election of July 1818, Henry Banes voted for the law reformer Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Francis Burdett, the campaigner for free speech and prison reform, as Member of Parliament for Westminster. Romilly won the Westminster seat. However, in November 1818, days after the death of his wife, Romilly committed suicide. Consequently, another election for the Westminster seat was held in February 1819. At this election, Banes voted for the Whig candidate George Lamb. The death of George III on 29 January 1820 brought parliament to an end and a general election was held the following month. In this election, Banes voted for George Lamb's opponents Burdett and the moderate radical (and friend of Byron) John Cam Hobhouse. Burdett and Hobhouse won and continued to serve as Members of Parliament for Westminster well into the 1830s.

31. As Henry Banes was married in 1788, it is likely that he was at least 50 when he entered his name, trade and address in the Westminster Poll Book for 1818.

32. Anon., *The Book of Trades and Library of Useful Arts* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips, 1821) 117. I have found no entry for Henry Banes, wine cooper or vintner, in any trade directory for the period. It is therefore possible that he was employed at a nearby public house such as the Coal Hole in Fountain Court or the Plough at the intersection of Herbert's Passage and Beaufort Buildings. A more likely employer may have been Banes' neighbor Samuel Edwards at 8 Fountain Court, at the end of the court and therefore nearest the warehouses of Beaufort Wharfs. Edwards was a wine merchant operating from nearby 8 Beaufort Buildings (1779-1814) and 5 Robert Street, Adelphi (1815-26) (see *Kent's Directory* [London: Henry Kent Causton, 1779-1826]). In the rate books Edwards' property is distinct from the other 15 properties in the court in being designated a "cellar" (see, for example, COWAC, B236).

33. It seems most likely that Banes, as landlord of the property, occupied the ground and basement floors of the house (see Dan Cruickshank and Neil Barton, *Life in the Georgian City* [London: Viking, 1991] 53-62).

Bancroft Mrs. 20, Southampton-row
Banes Mr. Hen. 3, Fountain-ct. Strand
Banes Wm. Esq. 21, Newington-pl. Kenni

4. *Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805-6-7* (London: W. Holden, 1805), entry for Henry Banes, 3 Fountain Court, Strand. Cambridge University Library; by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

professed a liking to drink off good draughts from a tumbler, and thought the wine glass system absurd: a very heretical opinion in the eyes of your true wine drinkers. Frugal and abstemious on principle, and for pecuniary reasons, he was sometimes rather imprudent, and would take anything that came his way.³⁴

Two London directories of the period provide further evidence of Banes as resident, rather than merely ratepayer, at 3 Fountain Court. "Banes Mr. Hen. 3, Fountain-ct. Strand" is listed in the residential section of *Holden's Triennial Directory* for 1805-06-07 and 1808-09-10 (see illus. 4).³⁵ Such appearances in the residential rather than the commercial section of Holden's directory suggest that Banes, at least during the early years of his residence at Fountain Court, may have been a man of some substance who did not need to advertise his trade.

William and Catherine Blake, arriving 18 years after their brother-in-law became ratepayer for 3 Fountain Court, were almost certainly not Henry and Sarah Banes' first lodgers. Burial records for St. Clement Danes, the local parish church of the inhabitants of Fountain Court, Strand, reveal evidence which suggests that at least one other family was lodging with Henry and Sarah Banes before the Blakes' arrival. According to these records, a Martha Walker, recorded as resident at 3 Fountain Court, was buried aged three weeks in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes, Strand, on 8 January 1816.³⁶ Although I have discovered no information concerning Martha's parents, it seems likely that they were lodgers at Henry and Sarah Banes' house in early 1816.

34. Gilchrist 312-13. Gilchrist's source may have been Samuel Palmer, who told John Clark Strange a similar account (cited BR [2] 727). John Linnell, a regular visitor to Blake's rooms at Fountain Court, may also have taken an interest in Blake's landlord's profession. Alfred T. Story, in his *Life of Linnell*, recounts how Linnell "was very careful in choosing his wine. He would go down to the docks himself and make his selection and when he had obtained the order for it, he would fetch the cask himself and never lose sight of it until it was safely deposited in his cellar" (Story 2:40-41). When visiting 3 Fountain Court, Linnell may have joined Mr. Banes and Mr. Blake in a glass (or indeed a tumbler) of wine.

35. *Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805-6-7* (London: W. Holden, 1805) n. pag., and *1808-9-10* (London: W. Holden, 1808) n. pag. The 1808 edition appears to be a reprint of the 1805 edition.

36. Burial register of St. Clement Danes, Strand, COWAC, SCD 16, burial no. 1042.

Henry Banes' Will

A transcription of Henry Banes' will has recently come to light (see illus. 5 and 6).³⁷ It is clear from the contents of this document that Banes rewrote his will on 9 December 1826, over two years after the death in March 1824 of his wife, Sarah Banes, who had been the "sole Executrix" of his previous will.³⁸ Jane Cox observes that, during the early nineteenth century, "wills were witnessed by whoever happened to be in the house."³⁹ An artist named John Barrow witnessed Henry Banes' will. The will reads as follows:

I, Henry Banes of No. 3 Fountain Court Strand in the parish of St. Clement Danes in the county of Middx being in good health and sound mind and memory do make this my last Will and Testament in manner following after my just debts & funeral expenses are paid 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 apparel⁴⁰—I also give & bequeath to Louiza Best the remaining part of my household goods as aforesaid with the Clock & my Watch & silver plate (& pictures what is worth her acceptance)⁴¹ 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 Louiza Best my sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament—H. Banes Dec^r 9th 1826 witness John Barrow.

Henry Banes died on 20 January 1829. Just over a fortnight later, on 6 February 1829, Louisa Best and her son Thomas gave their testimonies under oath as to the authenticity of the will at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Doctor's Com-

37. The document, made by a clerk at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Doctor's Commons, for the court's registers (PRO PROB 11/1751, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related probate jurisdictions: will registers, Liverpool Quire Numbers 51-100), was consulted at the National Archives, Kew. The fact that Banes left a will that was proved by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury suggests that he was a comparatively prosperous individual at the time of his death. However, according to the Probate Act book for [February] 1829, Banes' estate was valued at just £100. "Henry Banes—On the fourteenth day the will of Henry Banes late of Fountain Court, Strand in the Parish of Saint Clement Danes in the Parish of Middlesex deceased was proved by the Oath of Louiza Best (wife of Richard Best) the sole Executrix to whom Administration was granted having been first sworn duly to administer. £100 Resworn at the Stamp Office 14th June 1830 Under £200" (PRO PROB 8/222 [14 February 1829]).

38. It is possible that Henry Crabb Robinson's visit to 3 Fountain Court two days earlier, during which Robinson informed Blake of the death of his friend, the sculptor John Flaxman (see BR [2] 452-53), may have prompted Banes to rewrite his will.

39. Cox 24.

40. Italics indicate that this sentence is an insertion by Banes.

41. I have underlined this section to indicate a deletion (crossing out) by Banes.

mons, near St. Paul's. A week later, on 13 February, Thomas Best returned to Doctor's Commons, accompanied by the Bests' lodger and sole witness to Henry Banes' will, John Barrow, who gave his testimony. The will was proved the following day.

Appeared Personally Louiza Best wife of Richard Best of Fountain Court Strand in the County of Middlesex watch finisher Thomas Best of the same place print colorer and John Barrow of the same place artist and being sworn on the Holy Evangelists made oath as follows and first the said Louiza Best for herself saith that she is the sole Executrix named in the last Will and Testament hereunto annexed of Henry Banes late of Fountain Court in the Strand aforesaid deceased who died in the mourning of the twentieth day of January last past and she further saith that in the evening of the same day deponent and her son the said Thomas Best proceeded to search for the last Will and Testament of the said deceased and the said will now hereunto annexed was found by him the said Thomas Best folded up but not contained in any Envelope in a Drawer (which was kept locked) in the Kitchen of the deceased's house and in which drawer the deceased kept many private papers and both these deponents jointly say that after the said Will was so found as aforesaid they perused & examined the same and then observed the former Will of the said deceased written at the back of the said last will to be crossed thro with a pen in manner as the same now appears with the word "Will" written at the foot thereof and the deponent the said Louiza Best for herself lastly saith that Sarah Banes the deceaseds wife and the sole Executrix and Legatee named in the said former Will of the deceased died in the Month of March in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty four and the deponents the said Thomas Best and John Barrow for themselves jointly say that they knew and were well acquainted with the said Henry Banes deceased for several years before and down to the time of his death and also with his manner and character of handwriting and subscription having often seen him write and subscribe his name and having now carefully viewed and perused the said last Will and Testament of the said deceased the same beginning thus "I Henry Banes of No 3 Fountain Court Strand in the parish of Saint Clement Danes in the county of Middlx" ending thus "I also constitute the said Louiza Best my sole Executrix of this my last Will & Testament" and thus subscribed "H Banes" and dated Dec^r 9th 1820 [sic] and having also particularly noticed the interlineation of the words "I also beg Mr Blakes acceptance of my wearing apparel" between the 10th and 11th lines and the words "& silver plate" between the 13th and 14th lines of the said will they the deponents lastly saith that they do verify and in their consciences believe the whole body [illeg.] and contents of the said will and the said written[?] interlineations respectively as well as the said subscription to the said will to be all of the proper handwriting and subscription of the said Henry Banes deceased—*Louiza Best—Thomas Best*. on the sixth day of february 1829 the said Louiza Best (wife of Richard Best) and Thomas Best were duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit before me *John Danberry Surr*. Prest.[?] *John Box* not. pub. On the 13th day of february 1829 the said Thomas Best was

pursuant to the said Statute and two of the said executors and two of the said legatees
 having first examined the probate and execution of the said will and also the
 letters of administration with the said will annexed, of the goods of the said deceased,

Henry Banes

I **Henry Banes** of Sts Fountain Court
 Strand in the parish of St. Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex being in
 good health and sound mind and memory do make this my last will and
 testament in manner following after my just debts funeral expenses are
 paid I give & bequeath to Catherine Blake half my household goods consisting
 of Bedsteads Beds pillows Bolsters & other pillows Cases Cables Chairs &
 Cratery & £20 in lawful money of Great Britain I also give & bequeath
 to Louiza Best the remaining part of my household goods as aforesaid with the
 cloth & my watch & silver plate & pictures whatsoever in my possession
 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 do
 constitute and appoint the said Louiza Best my sole executrix of this my
 last will and testament H. Banes Dec: 9th 1826 Witness John Barrow.

Appeared Personally Louiza Best wife of Richard
 Best of Fountain Court Strand in the County of Middlesex Walter Stindler
 Thomas Best of the same place print colour and John Barrow of the same place
 artist and being sworn on the Holy Evangelists made oath as follows and first the
 said Louiza Best for herself saith that she is the sole executrix named in the last will
 and testament annexed of Henry Banes late of Fountain Court in the
 Strand aforesaid deceased who died in the morning of the twentieth day of January
 last past and she further saith that in the evening of the same day deceased and she
 the said Louiza Best proceeded to search for the last will and testament of the
 said deceased and the said will now annexed was found by them the said
 Louiza Best folded up but not contained in any envelope in a drawer which
 was kept locked in the kitchen of the deceased's house and in which drawer the
 deceased kept many private papers and both the said deponents jointly say that
 after the said will was so found as aforesaid they privately examined the
 same and then observed the former will of the said deceased written at the...

part of the said last will to be proved true with a pen in manner as the same
 now appears with the word "Dill" written at the foot hereof and the deponent
 the said Louisa Dot for herself lastly saith that Sarah Bancs the deponent's wife
 and the sole executrix and legatee named in the said former will of the ...
 deponent died in the Month of March in the year one thousand eight hundred
 and thirty four and the deponent the said Thomas Dot and John Barrow for
 themselves jointly say that they knew and were well acquainted with the said
 Henry Bancs deponent for several years before and soon to the time of his death ...
 and also with his manner and character of handwriting and subscription during
 after said time write and subscribe his name and having now carefully viewed
 and perused the said last will and testament of the said deponent the same ...
 beginning thus "I Henry Bancs of No 3 Fountain Court Strand in the parish
 of Saint Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex being thus 'aloe ...
 testament' and thus subscribed "H Bancs" and dated Dec: 5th 1820 and having
 also particularly noticed the interlineation of the words "aloe by H: Bancs" after
 amendment of my wearing apparel" between the 10th and 11th lines and the words
 "silver plate between the 13th and 14th lines of the said will they the ...
 deponents lastly saith that they do verily and in their consciences believe the whole
 body series and contents of the said will and the said written interlineations
 respectively as well as the said subscription to the said will to be all of the proper
 handwriting and subscription of the said Henry Bancs deponent & H Louisa ...
 Dot H Thomas Dot on the said day of February 1829 the said Louisa Dot
 (wife of Richard Dot) and Thomas Dot were duly sworn to the truth of ...
 this affidavit before me John Daubney Esq: Just: of the Peace ...
 on the 13th day of February 1829 the said Thomas Dot was sworn and the said
 John Barrow duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit the several attestations ...
 appearing therein having been first made before me John Daubney Esq: Just: of the Peace
 John S. Glemie Just: Pub:

Proved at London 14th February 1829 before the respectable John Daubney Esq:
 of Law and Esquire by the oath of Louisa Dot (wife of Richard Dot) the sole
 executrix to whom admou was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

T. S. Glemie Esq: Just: Pub:

resworn and the said John Barrow duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit the several alterations appearing therein having been first made Before me *John Danberry Surr. Prest.[?]*, *John S. Glennie* not. pub.

PROVED at London 14th February 1829 before the worshipful John Danberry Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the oath of Louiza Best (wife of Richard Best) the sole Executrix to whom admn was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

The Death of Sarah Banes, *née Boucher*, and the Identity of "Mary Banes"

As observed above, Henry Banes married Catherine Blake's sister, Sarah Boucher, at St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, in late 1788.⁴² The marriage register for the parish of St. Bride confirms that Henry Banes, bachelor, married Sarah Boucher, spinster, in this parish on 16 December 1788 (see *illus. 7*).⁴³ With Sarah Banes, *née Boucher*, conclusively identified as Banes' wife, it is puzzling that a "Mary Banes" rather than a "Sarah Banes" is recorded as sole ratepayer, and therefore the Blakes' landlady, at 3 Fountain Court for 1823 and co-ratepayer with Henry Banes for 1824-25.⁴⁴ Bentley has suggested that "Mary" may have been a name Sarah Banes was familiarly known by.⁴⁵ However, at the proving of Banes' will, his legatee and "sole Executrix" Louisa Best testified that Sarah Banes died in March 1824, a year before "Mary Banes" is last recorded as ratepayer for the residence. Such evidence initially suggests that Sarah and "Mary Banes" are unlikely to have been one and the same person. However, the appearance of "Mary Banes" in the Poor Rate book in 1825, a year after Sarah Banes' death, may have been due to a failure by the Poor Rate collector to amend his entry for 3 Fountain Court, Strand, in the ledger for that year. After 1825, "Mary Banes"

42. See *BR* (2) 49.

43. Guildhall Library Ms 6542/2, 1386. As Bentley observes, the curate of St. Bride's, John Pridden, officiated at the ceremony (see *BR* [2] 49). Pridden's father was a bookseller in Fleet Street. As well as performing his clerical duties, Pridden was also an antiquary, amateur artist and architect (see *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* Part 2, 1752-1900, vol. 5 [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953] 197). The banns for the marriage of Henry and Sarah Banes were read on the three preceding Sundays: 30 November, 7 December and 14 December 1788 (Guildhall Library Ms 6544/4). The witnesses were William Shepherd, W. Finch and E. Boucher. As Bentley suggests, E. Boucher is almost certainly Sarah's sister, Elizabeth Boucher (1747-91) (see Bentley, *Stranger* 63fn, *BR* [2] 50). The signatures of William Shepherd and W. Finch as witnesses at other weddings at St. Bride's suggest that they were parish or church officials rather than friends or relatives of the couple. See, for example, the marriage record for William Meredith and Hannah Price, 1 December 1788 (Guildhall Library Ms 6542/2, 1383). Indeed, in the record of the baptism of William Shepherd and his wife Elizabeth's son, Joseph Gardner Shepherd, St. Bride's, 20 December 1789, William's occupation is recorded as "parish clerk" (see St. Bride's baptismal register, Guildhall Library Ms 6541/2).

44. COWAC, B246-48.

45. *BR* (2) 751fn.

does not reappear in the Poor Rate book entries for 3 Fountain Court. Nor is "Mary" named as a beneficiary or executrix in Henry Banes' will, written in 1826. Therefore, "Mary" may indeed have been the name Sarah Banes was familiarly known by.⁴⁶

The discovery that Catherine Blake's sister, Sarah Banes, was a fellow resident with William and Catherine at 3 Fountain Court from 1821 until her death in March 1824 suggests that Sarah's presence may have been a consideration in the Blakes' choice of residence on leaving 17 South Molton Street. Perhaps Sarah, then in her mid-60s, was ill and therefore welcomed her younger sister Catherine's company and care. Three years later, Sarah's death may very well have altered living arrangements at 3 Fountain Court. It is possible that after March 1824, William and Catherine Blake and Henry Banes, widower, spent more time in each other's company. As the new letter reveals, the Banes' and the Blakes' use of their respective living spaces at 3 Fountain Court may have been considerably more fluid than previously realized.⁴⁷ The wording of his will suggests that Banes had few, if any, other living relatives. His significant bequest to Catherine, and the wording of his legacy to Blake at the time of the writing of his will in late 1826, "I beg Mr Blakes acceptance . . ." suggest a cordial relationship between Henry Banes and his brother- and sister-in-law. It is also likely that, from the spring of 1824 onwards, Banes, as a widower, required less personal living space and could therefore have invited other households to lodge at his house.⁴⁸

The Death of Henry Banes and His Bequest to Catherine Blake

In *The Stranger from Paradise*, Bentley claims that Henry Banes died in 1837.⁴⁹ However, Banes' will now makes clear that he died almost a decade earlier, on the morning of Tuesday 20 January 1829.⁵⁰ Both Catherine and William Blake,

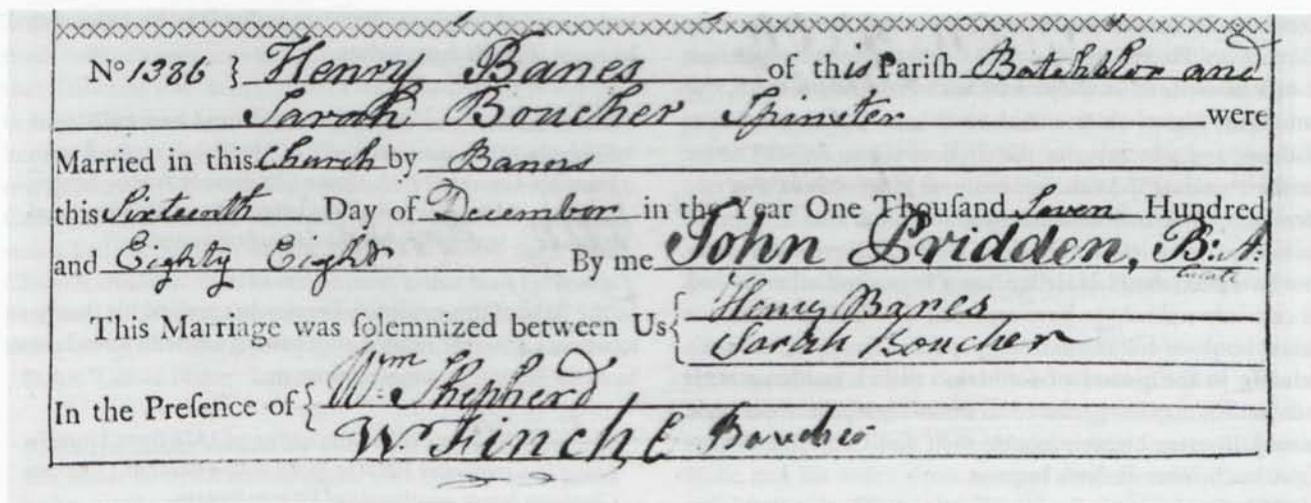
46. Conversely, perhaps a relation of Henry Banes named Mary Banes may have lived at 3 Fountain Court and have left or died between her last appearance in the Poor Rate book on 6 October 1825 and Henry Banes' composition of his new will on 9 December 1826.

47. See Whitehead 27-28; Phillips 138-42.

48. See Samuel Calvert's anecdote concerning his father, the "Ancient" Edward Calvert, which suggests that another lodger occupied the floor above William and Catherine Blake at 3 Fountain Court (cited *BR* [2] 438-39). Calvert's anecdote refers to an incident that must almost certainly have occurred after Sarah Banes' death, as his father is unlikely to have met Blake before late 1824 (see Lister 10). Bentley suggests that the incident may have occurred during "the winter of [i.e., between February and March] 1826" (*BR* [2] 438).

49. Bentley, *Stranger* xx. See also *BR* (2) xxxiv, 50fn, 884.

50. Although we now know the date and location of Banes' death, both the date and location of his burial remain elusive. There is no record of the burial of a Henry Banes during late January to early February 1829 in the burial registers of Bunhill Fields or the parishes of St. Bride, Fleet Street (where Banes was married), St. Andrew, Holborn (the burial place claimed by Bentley), St. Clement Danes (the parish church for Fountain



7. St. Bride's, Fleet Street, parish register for December 1788, showing marriage of Sarah Boucher and Henry Banes (Guildhall Library Ms 6542/2). By permission of Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

prominent among Banes' few surviving relatives, and lodgers at his house for a period of approximately seven years, are recorded as legatees in his will. The discovery of a new contemporary reference to William Blake is a relatively rare event and clearly of interest to Blake scholars. However, the legacy Henry Banes intended to leave to William Blake appears comparatively slight. In Banes' will, other names take precedence. Of these, Catherine Blake has received some, if minor, attention in biographical studies of her husband. Richard and Louisa Best and their family and the artist John Barrow are relatively unknown.⁵¹ Due to their apparent proximity to Blake in his final years, these names merit further consideration.

In his will, 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." During the four years of her widowhood, Catherine enjoyed the material support of several of her late husband's friends. She also derived some income from the sale of items from her remaining stock of her husband's works.⁵² Nevertheless, Banes'

bequest to Catherine is materially significant. In the spring of 1829, such a legacy would have been welcome to a widow whose financial situation at that time would almost certainly have been modest, perhaps even precarious.⁵³ However, did Catherine Blake receive Banes' bequest? No record of Catherine's inheriting a portion of her brother-in-law's estate has been traced. This is not altogether surprising. Most surviving records relating to Catherine Blake's financial circumstances in the period from her husband's death in August 1827 to her own death in October 1831 derive from the account books of John Linnell. After Blake's death, Linnell both bought, and helped Catherine to sell, a number of those of her husband's works still in her possession.⁵⁴

In September 1827, a month after Blake's death, Linnell also provided a home and employment (as housekeeper) for Catherine.⁵⁵ This arrangement came to an end in the late spring of 1828, when Linnell sold his town residence and studio at 6 Cirencester Place, Fitzroy Square, and moved with his

Court, Strand), St. George, Hanover Square, St. Anne, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. James, Piccadilly, St. Paul, Covent Garden or St. Margaret, Westminster.

51. Richard Best is referred to by Bentley as the ratepayer who replaced Henry Banes in 1829 (BR [2] 751fn). The identity of John or J. Barrow has been briefly discussed by Robert Essick and David Worrall (see Essick 199; Worrall 169, 180n1).

52. In addition, Blake's painting and printing materials were almost certainly still in Catherine's possession. Catherine may also have retained Blake's domestic copperplate rolling press. According to Linnell's journal, the press arrived at his residence at 6 Cirencester Place on 30 August 1827. Catherine followed on 11 September (see BR [2] 468, 471). It is unclear whether the press accompanied Catherine when she moved to Frederick

Tatham's residence in the late spring of 1828. Much of her furniture appears to have been sold at this time (see BR [2] 791). This may have been because Tatham did not have as much space available for Catherine and her possessions as Linnell had had at his residence. If Catherine's press was also sold by Linnell in 1828, Tatham, in his printing of posthumous copies of Blake's illuminated books such as *Jerusalem* copies H, I and J (c. 1832), may have used another press such as, perhaps, that of fellow "Ancient" Edward Calvert. See Lister 24.

53. In terms of his bequest, Henry Banes appears to have been comparatively generous towards his sister-in-law. However, one wonders why Catherine left 3 Fountain Court, Banes' house and her home for approximately six and a half years, on 11 September 1827, only a month after her husband's decease (see BR [2] 471). Perhaps Banes could not afford to have Catherine occupy the best floor of the house rent-free.

54. See BR (2) 474-88, 504, 790-93.

55. BR (2) 754.

family to 26 Porchester Terrace, Bayswater.⁵⁶ Before vacating Cirencester Place, Linnell appears to have found Catherine a new home (and employment) with Frederick Tatham, the son of the Blakes' old friend, the architect Charles Heathcote Tatham, and a member of the circle of young artists known as the "Ancients."⁵⁷ With Catherine no longer his fellow resident, employee or immediate responsibility, Linnell appears to have played a less active role in her life.⁵⁸ He therefore may not have been aware of Henry Banes' legacy to Catherine and is certainly unlikely to have recorded details of it in his account books or his journal. Any papers of Frederick Tatham's relating to the period of Catherine Blake's residence with him, which may have referred to Banes' legacy, have not been traced. It seems highly probable then that Catherine did receive her brother-in-law's bequest.

In *The Stranger from Paradise*, Bentley asserts that Catherine remained at Frederick Tatham's residence and did not move to her own lodgings until "early 1831."⁵⁹ However, a transcription of a letter from Tatham to an unnamed correspondent, and two letters from Catherine herself to Sir George O'Brien Wyndham, third Earl of Egremont, suggest that Catherine

had moved to lodgings two years earlier.⁶⁰ In his letter, dated 11 April 1829, Tatham writes:

But to answer your enquiry, which would have been done before, but that in consequence of M^{rs} Blake's removal from Fountain Court to N^o 17. Upper Charlotte St Fitzroy Square, a wrong address was put on the letter at Fountain Court and it was only received by her the day before yesterday.⁶¹

In the light of this evidence, Bentley has revised his theory as to where Catherine resided after leaving Linnell's town house. In *Blake Records* he suggests that:

Catherine Blake moved in the spring of 1828 from Linnell's house in Cirencester Place to lodge with a baker at 17 Upper Charlotte Street, south-east of Fitzroy Square.

Shortly thereafter she moved in with the Tathams in Lisson Grove to look after them According to Tatham, "She then returned to the lodging in which she had lived previously". She had returned to Upper Charlotte Street by the spring of 1829, for on 11 April Frederick Tatham wrote "of M^{rs} Blake's removal ... to N^o 17. Upper Charlotte S."⁶²

As I hope to demonstrate in a paper currently in preparation, several details in this passage require further revision. However, Henry Banes' will does appear to confirm Bentley's suggestion that Catherine Blake moved from Tatham's residence to her own lodgings before 11 April 1829. Catherine Blake was almost certainly living at Frederick Tatham's residence in late January-early February 1829, when she learned of the death of her brother-in-law Henry Banes. As Louisa Best was granted probate as executrix just over three weeks after Banes' death, Catherine could have received her portion of the estate as early as late February or early March 1829. Although it is likely that Catherine knew of Banes' bequest to her before his death, I contend that either news of, or her acceptance of, her legacy

56. Story 1:248; David Linnell 116.

57. David Linnell 116. David Linnell does not cite a source for this information. However, in response to my query, he replied "The meeting between F. Tatham and Linnell is recorded in Linnell's journal. 29th March 1828 ... 'Mr. F. Tatham dined at Hampstead. Mrs Blake's move is not mentioned ... But as Linnell was getting rid of Cirencester Place and needed Mrs Blake to move out it is reasonable to assume that this was discussed over dinner—especially as she moved to live with Tatham" (email, 15 March 2005). David Linnell has also suggested that if Catherine had moved into independent lodgings on leaving Cirencester Place, Linnell would almost certainly have helped with her rent (email 17 March 2005). No such payments are recorded in Linnell's account book entries for the period 1828-30 (see BR [2] 791-93).

58. In his journal, Linnell records a visit to Catherine Blake on 19 September 1828, almost six months after she had left Cirencester Place (see BR [2] 488). His next recorded visit took place on 27 January 1829, when Catherine told him "that M^r Blake told her he thought I sh^d pay 3 gs. a piece for the Plates of Dante—" (BR [2] 493). On 3 March 1830, Linnell accompanied Haviland Burke to Catherine's residence in order to purchase "two Drawings 8 gs. two Prints of Job & Ezekiel 2 gs & the color^d Copy of the Songs of Innocence & Experience making 20 gs" for John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick (see BR [2] 509). According to Bentley, Linnell also called on Catherine on 3 August and 3 September 1830 (see BR [2] 534). However, on checking the relevant volume of Linnell's journal (collection of the Manuscripts Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 8-2000), Nicholas Robinson, Curator of Manuscripts at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, could find no entry referring to Linnell's visiting Catherine on 3 August 1830 (email 5 April 2005). By early 1831, as Bentley observes, "Catherine had become suspicious and mistrustful of Linnell's motives" (BR [2] 537). There is no record of John Linnell and Catherine Blake's meeting again before her death on 18 October 1831. However, Linnell records payments to Catherine in April, 6 July (via Tatham), 16 September 1828 (via Tatham); 26 January (for drawings by Blake and Fuseli), 15 May 1829 (via Tatham for "Homer's Iliad & Oddesey Trans by Chapman"); 25 August 1831 (for copies of Blake's *Poetical Sketches* and *Descriptive Catalogue*) (see BR [2] 791-93).

59. Bentley, *Stranger* 444.

60. See BR (2) 495-96, 498. Tatham's letter is transcribed by Thomas Hartley Cromek, son of Blake's former employer Robert Cromek, in his ms. "Recollections of Conversations with Mr John Pye" (1865) 56-58 (see BR [2] 871n37). Dennis Read has identified Tatham's correspondent as an acquaintance of William and Catherine Blake, the engraver John Pye (see Dennis Read, "An eminent but neglected genius: An Early Frederick Tatham Letter about William Blake," *English Language Notes* 19 [September 1981]: 30). If Pye was Tatham's correspondent, it is difficult to reconcile Pye's sending a letter for Catherine to Fountain Court in early 1829 when he had called on her at Cirencester Place a year earlier (see BR [2] 482). Is it possible that Catherine returned to live at Fountain Court for a brief period between the spring of 1828 and the spring of 1829? Conversely, Pye, aware of Catherine's leaving Cirencester Place, but unsure of her address in early 1829, and unaware of Banes' recent death, may have sent his letter to Catherine's previous residence, 3 Fountain Court, assuming her brother-in-law would ensure she received it.

61. BR (2) 495. Tatham, possibly for the sake of brevity, omits any reference to Catherine Blake's having formerly resided either with John Linnell or himself. However, see note 60.

62. BR (2) 754-55. However, Bentley also suggests that Catherine moved from the Tathams' to private lodgings in "early 1830" (BR [2] 755).

in the spring of 1829 influenced Catherine's decision to move from Tatham's residence to her own lodgings. Bentley suggests that Catherine was "kept ... out of want for the rest of her life" in July 1829 when Lord Egremont generously paid her £84 for her late husband's watercolor *The Characters in Spenser's "Ferie Queene."*⁶³ However, if approximately three months earlier Catherine had received her legacy of £20 together with "Bedsteads Beds & pillows Bolsters & sheets & pillow cases Tables Chairs & crockery," then Banes' bequest, rather than Egremont's purchase, initially may have put Catherine out of need by facilitating her move to her own lodgings.

In his "Life of Blake," Tatham wrote:

[Catherine Blake] resided for some time with the Author of this 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.⁶⁴

It is unclear what Tatham is referring to when he writes of "such changes." Bentley appears to interpret this passage as meaning that Catherine's move to her own lodgings was due to infirmity.⁶⁵ However, both the new evidence of Henry Banes' legacy to Catherine and the likelihood of her removal from Tatham's residence at a considerably earlier date than has previously been recognized suggest that other factors may have influenced Catherine's decision to move out of Tatham's chambers.⁶⁶ Indeed, Banes' legacy coupled with Lord Egremont's purchase may have been the reason for Catherine's withdrawal of her application to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution around January 1830 and for her return of Princess Sophia's gift of £100, its being something "she could dispense with."⁶⁷

A New Reference to William Blake

Following the passage in his will outlining his legacy to Catherine Blake, Henry Banes inserted: "I also beg Mr Blakes accep-

tance of my wearing apparel." In the early nineteenth century, the bequest of clothes in wills was a common practice. As Jane Cox has observed, "Clothes were much more expensive and prized Coats ... and even shirts and underwear might be left to relatives and friends."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, when writing his will in December 1826, it must have been particularly evident to Henry Banes that both Blake as the wearer and Catherine as the likely repairer of her husband's coats, trousers, shirts, and other costly "wearing apparel" could make effective use of such a bequest.⁶⁹

A year earlier, on his first visit to the Blakes' two rooms in Fountain Court, Henry Crabb Robinson recorded of William Blake that: "Nothing could exceed the squalid air both of the apartment & his dress."⁷⁰ Robinson also intimates that both Blake and his wife's dress were of an "offensive character," despite the couple's "air of natural gentility."⁷¹ Around 1832, Tatham posed the question "Had poor half starved Blake ever a suit of clothes beyond the tatters on his Back?"⁷² However, Gilchrist, perhaps citing the recollections of Linnell, George Richmond or Samuel Palmer, observed that:

In [Blake's] dress there was similar triumph of the man over his poverty to that which struck one in his rooms. Indoors he was careful, for economy's sake, but not slovenly: his clothes were threadbare, and his grey trousers had worn black and shiny in front, like a mechanic's. Out of doors he was more particular, so that his dress did not, in the streets of London, challenge attention either way. He wore black knee breeches and buckles black worsted stockings, shoes which tied, and a broad-brimmed hat. It was something like an old-fashioned tradesman's dress. But the general impression he made on you was that of a gentleman, in a way of his own.⁷³

68. Cox 28.

69. Similarly, Sarah Banes' garments may have been given to Catherine after Sarah's death in March 1824.

70. H. C. Robinson, *Diary* 17 December 1825, cited *BR* (2) 426. In the revised diary entry written a quarter of a century later for his "Reminiscences" (1852), Robinson states that Blake's "linen was clean" (cited *BR* [2] 698).

71. Robinson, *Diary* 17 December 1825, cited *BR* (2) 426. This statement seems reminiscent of George Cumberland's note on visiting Blake at 17 South Molton Street on 3 June 1813: "Called Blake—still poor still Dirty" (cited *BR* [2] 316). On 21 April 1815, George Cumberland, Jr., reported to his father "found [Blake] & his wife drinking Tea, durtyer than ever ..." (cited *BR* [2] 320).

72. Cited *BR* (2) 676-77.

73. Gilchrist 313. This description may partially derive from a passage in a letter from Samuel Palmer to Gilchrist, cited in Gilchrist's *Life*, which describes a visit Palmer and Blake made to the Royal Academy c. 1825. "Blake in his plain black suit and rather broad-brimmed, but not quakerish hat ..." (Gilchrist 283). In a letter to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, dated 6 December 1860, Thomas Woolner records an anecdote a woman who met Blake as a child had told him. In that anecdote, which Bentley suggests occurred in late 1821, Blake is described as "a poor old man, dressed in such shabby clothes ..." (cited *BR* [2] 382). However, this had not always been the case. According to Frederick Tatham, 30 years earlier the Blakes had owned "clothes to the [valued] amount of [£]40 ..." (*BR* [2] 676).

63. *BR* (2) 499.

64. Frederick Tatham, "Life of Blake" ms. (cited *BR* [2] 690).

65. See *BR* (2) 755; Bentley, *Stranger* 444.

66. Perhaps, as had been the case a year earlier when Catherine left Linnell's residence, the decision to move was not entirely of her own making. Despite Tatham's close friendship with Catherine between 1827 and 1831, the relationship appears to have shown signs of occasional strain. Joseph Hogarth records a heated disagreement between Catherine and Tatham which appears to have occurred at some point after Catherine's departure from Tatham's residence during spring 1829 (see *BR* [2] 493-94). However, this does not appear to have been a factor in Catherine's move. I suspect that by "such changes" (*BR* [2] 690) Tatham may be referring to the domestic changes which are likely to have accompanied his marriage, which must have taken place some time before Catherine's death in the autumn of 1831. Gilchrist, who interviewed and corresponded with Tatham, states that Catherine Blake "died in Mrs Tatham's arms" (Gilchrist 357).

67. *BR* (2) 502; A. C. Swinburne, *William Blake* (1868), cited *BR* (2) 462-63.

Henry Banes, having married in the 1780s, is likely to have been of a similar age, and evidently not of a dissimilar build, to Blake. Although a tradesman, Banes was wealthy enough to pay the rates, appear in the residential section of *Holden's Triennial Directory* and leave a provable will. As a consequence, one can imagine that Banes, in bequeathing his wearing apparel to Blake, had intended to leave his brother-in-law a number of presentable garments to replace those Gilchrist described as "the common, dirty dress, poverty, and perhaps age, had rendered habitual."⁷⁴

Louisa Best: William and Catherine Blake's Niece?

Henry Banes left the remainder, and clearly the majority, of his estate to his appointed "sole Executrix" Louisa Best, wife of Richard Best, watch escapement maker.⁷⁵ Banes left Louisa:

the remaining part of my household goods as aforesaid with the clock & my watch & silver plate (& 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.

The precise identity of Louisa Best, Henry Banes' "sole Executrix," is unclear. An examination of Banes' will provides little explicit evidence that at the time of writing his will in December 1826 he expected to be survived by any children. It is possible that Louisa Best was Henry Banes' niece. Conversely, she may have been an acquaintance or lodger whom Banes

had grown fond of and wished to acknowledge in his will. But, as we have seen, Banes did not merely leave Louisa Best a bequest; he made her, rather than his sister-in-law Catherine Blake, sole executrix. A possible explanation for Banes' choice of Louisa as executrix could be that he deemed the position and its responsibilities too onerous for Catherine (who would have been 64 in late 1826). However, this does not satisfactorily explain why Louisa inherited the majority of Banes' estate.

A more straightforward explanation may lie in the possibility that Louisa Best was a more intimate relation of Henry Banes than Catherine Blake. I suggest that whereas Catherine was Banes' sister-in-law, Louisa could have been his daughter.⁷⁶ At my request, Philippa Hoskin of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, the repository of the records of the Prerogative Court of York, examined a transcript of Henry Banes' will. Hoskin observed that the absence of the word "daughter" in the will in no way precludes the possibility that Louisa Best was the daughter of Henry Banes.⁷⁷ She added that the context of the will suggests that its writer was a widower leaving the majority of his estate to his daughter. Although Louisa Best is not explicitly named as the daughter of Henry Banes, neither are the other legatees (William and Catherine Blake) named as Banes' brother- and sister-in-law.⁷⁸ Indeed, the fact that in her testimony at the proving of Banes' will Louisa was not obliged to testify to the intimacy or longevity of her relationship with Henry Banes, as her son Thomas and her lodger John Barrow were, again suggests that Louisa was Banes' daughter. In addition,

74. Gilchrist 316.

75. Richard and Louisa Best had five children: Charles Best, born 1 April 1805, baptized Old Church, St. Pancras (St. Pancras parish church, Euston Road) 1 May 1805; Charlotte Louisa Best, born 16 August 1807, baptized Old Church, St. Pancras 14 August 1808; Elizabeth Best, born 19 December 1809, baptized 18 July 1817, Old Church, St. Pancras; Thomas Best, born 4 December 1813, baptized 18 July 1817, Old Church, St. Pancras; Richard John Best, born 20 March 1815, baptized 18 July 1817, Old Church, St. Pancras (see *IGI*; London Metropolitan Archives X030/004; X100/34). No reference to the marriage of a Louisa and Richard Best prior to 1805 has been traced. In the PCC copy of Banes' will, Louisa and her son Thomas Best are recorded as resident at 3 Fountain Court "on the sixth day of february 1829" (PRO PROB 11/1751), just over a fortnight after the death of Henry Banes. This evidence suggests that the Bests were resident at Banes' house before his death. In editions of *Robson's London Directory* 1833-38, Richard Best is described as a "watch escapement maker" conducting business from 3 Fountain Court, Strand (see, for example, *Robson's London Directory* [London: William Robson, 1835] 348). It is curious that Richard Best is not listed as watch escapement maker in directories before this date. However, if Banes also left his house to Louisa Best, such a bequest could have enabled Louisa's husband to launch his own business. In 1839 Louisa Best replaced Richard Best as ratepayer for 3 Fountain Court (COWAC, B272). Richard Best is not listed in the 1841 census entry for the property. Therefore it seems likely that he died around 1839. However, the firm of "Richard Best, Watchmaker," appears to have remained at 3 Fountain Court, along with Louisa Best and several of her children, until 1844 (see *Post Office London Directory* [London: Kelly & Co, 1844] 233). By 1845 William Walker replaced Louisa Best as ratepayer (see COWAC, B306).

76. John Linnell describes 3 Fountain Court as "a private House Kept by M^r Banes" (*BR* [2] 526-27). As suggested above, Banes' legacy to Louisa Best may therefore have included the leasehold to 3 Fountain Court. This is suggested by the fact that Louisa remained resident at this address after Banes' death and after the death of her husband c. 1839. In the 1841 census entry for 3 Fountain Court, Louisa Best describes herself as "ind[e]pendent" (PRO HO 107/731/3 15). If Banes was the owner or leaseholder of 3 Fountain Court, the property, as real estate, would have passed automatically to the next of kin without explicit reference in Banes' will.

77. Banes' will is comparatively brief and makes no provision for the eventuality of a legatee's predeceasing him, as occurred with William Blake.

78. In reply to my query, Stephen Freeth, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Guildhall Library, London, wrote: "I have searched the baptism register of the parish of St Bride, Fleet Street (Guildhall Library Ms. 6541/1) but unfortunately no entry for Louisa or Louiza Banes was found. The years 1789 to 1792 were searched. I also checked the International Genealogical Index (both the microfiche version and the web site) but no reference to Louisa Banes of the parish of St Brides, Fleet Street was found" (email, 2 October 2003). The *International Genealogical Index* contains no other baptismal record for a Louisa (or Louiza) Banes, daughter of Henry and Sarah Banes. However, nor does the *IGI* include a record of the marriage of a Richard and Louisa Best. If Henry and Sarah Banes and Richard and Louisa Best were living in London, records of the baptism of Louisa Banes and the marriage of Richard and Louisa Best may survive in the registers of the 10-20% of London parishes not currently covered by the *IGI*. See Keri Davies, "William Blake's Mother: A New Identification," *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 33.2 (fall 1999): 38n14.

in his will Banes makes no bequest to Louisa's husband Richard Best. Instead he stipulates that his legacy to Louisa is "for her whole and sole use or disposal." Banes does not use this phrase in his bequest to Catherine Blake. It seems likely that by including this phrase, Banes intended to ensure that his only daughter maintained control over her legacy despite her marriage to Richard Best. Banes' choice of Louisa as "sole Executrix" would have ensured that, as a married woman, her entitlement to and share of the estate was protected. It is also interesting to note that in the record of the proving of the will cited above, Louisa is the authority for the fairly precise (to the month) dating of the death of Sarah Banes almost five years earlier. This might be deemed a detail that a daughter of Henry and Sarah Banes could be relied upon to remember.

According to the marriage register for St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, Henry and Sarah Banes were married on 16 December 1788. The 1841 census return for 3 Fountain Court, Strand, records that Louisa Best was 50 years old in the summer of that year.⁷⁹ It is therefore likely that she was born between 1790 and 1791. That Louisa Best was born a year or two after the marriage of Henry and Sarah Banes also supports the theory that Louisa was Henry and Sarah's daughter. Sarah Banes' relatively mature age at the time of her marriage (approximately 31) in 1788 suggests that Louisa may have been Henry and Sarah Banes' only surviving child.⁸⁰ In *Blake Records*, Bentley observes that: "Blake and his wife had twenty brothers and sisters, but none of them is known to have had children"⁸¹ If Louisa Best is the daughter of Henry Banes, then she is the only niece of William and Catherine Blake traced to date.⁸²

We cannot be sure when Louisa Best and her family moved to 3 Fountain Court, Strand. However, it seems significant that during the proving of Banes' will on 6 February 1829,

79. PRO HO 107/731/3 14-17 [6 June 1841].

80. See Boucher-Butcher family tree, Bentley, *Stranger* xx.

81. *BR* (2) xxxvi.

82. None of Blake's surviving writings contains a reference to a "Louisa" or "Louisa Best." However, in the table of contents of the volume of William Wordsworth's *Poems* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1815), which Henry Crabb Robinson loaned to Blake in late 1825, "I Met Louisa" ["To Louisa"] is one of the 32 titles marked "X" (E 665). But, as David Erdman observes, Robinson "may have put the X's in the list of contents before he lent it to Blake" (E 887).

If Louisa Best's age was recorded slightly inaccurately in the 1841 census return for 3 Fountain Court, as that of her son Thomas Best appears to have been, then she may have been born as early as the summer of 1789. *IGI* records give the date of Thomas Best's birth as 4 December 1813. However, the 1841 census return for 3 Fountain Court records Best's age as 25 on 6 June 1841, suggesting that he was born in 1815 or 1816. Could the infant Louisa Best, possibly the daughter of Catherine's sister, Sarah, and the only traced offspring of William and Catherine Blake's siblings, have been born at the time of the composition, relief etching, printing and coloring of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* (1789)? See images of mothers and babies on both plates of *The Echoing Green*, *A Cradle Song*, *Spring*, *Infant Joy*; also the texts of the three latter poems. See also *Infant Sorrow* and the image of mother and child on the plate of *The Fly* in *Songs of Experience*.

barely a fortnight after Henry Banes' death, Louisa, her son Thomas and her husband were described as resident at this address. This detail, coupled with Louisa and her son Thomas' testimony that they searched for and found Banes' will on the evening of the day of his death (20 January 1829), suggests that the Best family may have been living at 3 Fountain Court before Banes' death. If Henry Banes had been ill for a period of time before his death, Louisa, in all likelihood Banes' only daughter, may have moved to Banes' house along with her husband and children in order to care for her father.

If, as has been suggested above, Louisa Best was William and Catherine Blake's niece, her sons Thomas and Richard were two of the Blakes' grandnephews. In his testimony recorded in the probate copy of Henry Banes' will, Louisa Best's 15-year-old son Thomas describes himself as a "print colorer."⁸³ Twelve years later, in the 1841 census return for 3 Fountain Court, Thomas and Richard both gave their occupation as "artist."⁸⁴ Their parents Richard and Louisa Best were the recorded rate-payers for 3 Fountain Court between 1829 and 1845. The fact that Louisa Best was appointed sole executrix in Henry Banes' will in December 1826 suggests that Louisa and her family, if not immediate relatives, were almost certainly fellow lodgers or regular visitors of Henry Banes at Fountain Court during the early-mid-1820s. William Blake, John Barrow and the artists who visited them at 3 Fountain Court between 1821 and 1838 may have inspired Thomas and Richard Best to become first print colorers and later artists.⁸⁵ Thomas and Richard,

83. PRO PROB 11/1751.

84. PRO HO 107/731/3 15. I have traced no record of Richard Best Jr. as a print colorer. However, it seems likely that as Thomas and Richard both described themselves as artists in 1841, they were both (apprentice?) print colorers c. 1829. They may have been employed as print colorers at Rudolph Ackermann's Repository nearby at 96 Strand. However, another source of training and employment is discussed below. Between 1834 and 1839 a Thomas Best, painter of domestic scenes, residing at Beaufort Buildings, exhibited one painting at the Royal Academy and three at the Society of British Artists (Graves, *Dictionary of Artists* 24). The eastern side of Beaufort Buildings backed onto the western side of Fountain Court, Strand, which included the residence of the Best family. The street was often used in trade and other directories to distinguish Fountain Court, Strand, from the three other Fountain Courts in early nineteenth-century London. Best's sole exhibit at the Royal Academy, "Miss Cust" (exhibited 1834), may have been a portrait of Charlotte, Mary or Emily, daughters of Christopher Cust, the Bests' (and formerly the Blakes' and the Banes') neighbor at 7 Fountain Court, Strand (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:187; *IGI*; St. Clement Danes [Savoy Ward] rate books for 1822-29, e.g., COWAC, B126-27). Another painting by Thomas Best, "Trentham," a Bay Race Horse Galloping up on Newmarket Heath, was auctioned at Christie's, London, on 21 November 1986 (information kindly supplied by the Witt Library, Somerset House).

85. Gilchrist observes that after Blake's death, "Aided by Mr. Tatham [Catherine Blake] also filled in, within Blake's lines, the colour of the engraved books" (Gilchrist 357). See also references to Catherine's coloring of copies of Blake's works in J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (1828) (cited *BR* [2] 609) and Frederick Tatham, ms. "Life of Blake" (c. 1832) (cited *BR* [2] 690). Could the Best brothers also have assisted Catherine and have been third and fourth hands in the coloring and finishing of any copies of Blake's illuminated books still in Catherine's possession c. 1827-31?

who in August 1827 were aged 13 and 12 respectively, whether they were the grandsons of Henry Banes or merely the sons of Banes' acquaintance Louisa Best, could very well have visited the Blakes' two rooms on the first floor of 3 Fountain Court. On the panelled walls of the Blakes' front room, which served as both reception room and printing studio, the Best brothers would have seen a "good number" of temperas and water-colors.⁸⁶ They may also have observed William and Catherine Blake as they drew and painted or while they printed, colored and finished copies of the illuminated books.

John Barrow, Publisher of "Mrs Q"

Henry Banes' will also provides new information concerning the identity of the publisher of one of Blake's last commercial engravings. John Barrow's signature as witness of Henry Banes' will in December 1826, and his testimony at the proving of Banes' will in February 1829, reveal that the wine cooper and the artist, and later lodger at 3 Fountain Court, had been "well acquainted ... for several years."⁸⁷ It is now

86. See George Richmond's description of the interior of 3 Fountain Court, cited *BR* (2) 753.

87. PRO PROB 11/1751. J. Barrow exhibited 21 works at the Royal Academy between 1797 and 1836 (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:129-30). According to Graves, Barrow also exhibited four enamels at the [Royal] Society of British Artists' gallery in Sussex Street (Graves, *Dictionary of Artists* 16). However, Jane Johnson lists eight works exhibited by Barrow at Sussex Street between 1824 and 1837 (Johnson 27). I wish to thank Catherine Taylor at Cambridge University Library for this information. The Society of British Artists was formed in 1824 and Barrow appears to have been a founding member. Blake as well as Barrow would have been acquainted with two of the society's first presidents, Thomas Heaphy and James Holmes (see E 773; *BR* [2] 345). The Royal Academy exhibition catalogues for 1831, 1835 and 1836 and the Society of British Artists' exhibition catalogues for 1832 and 1836 record Barrow as resident at Fountain Court (Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130, Johnson 27). David Worrall has observed that "Remarkably, Barrow's final residence—between 1831 and 1836—was Fountain Court, Strand, Blake's last address" (see Worrall 180n1). Even more remarkably, in *Robson's Directory of 1832* (London: William Robson, 1832) n. pag., John Barrow is recorded as an "artist" resident at 3 Fountain Court, Strand. Barrow's address in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue for 1829 is recorded as 26 Denton Street, St. Pancras (Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130). St. Pancras is the parish in which Louisa Best and her family appear to have been resident before moving to Fountain Court (see note 75). However, at the proving of Banes' will at Doctor's Commons on 13 February 1829, Barrow testified that he was resident at "Fountain Court Strand" (PRO PROB 11/1751). As stated above, Barrow was sole recorded witness at the writing of Henry Banes' will. If, as Jane Cox suggests, "wills were witnessed by whoever happened to be in the house" (Cox 24), Banes' choice of John Barrow as witness may suggest that Barrow was a lodger at 3 Fountain Court as early as December 1826. In that case it is possible that he may have moved to 3 Fountain Court soon after Sarah Banes' death in March 1824. However, Banes' house may not have provided adequate space for two separate artists' studios. Evidence suggests that Banes had another lodger on the second floor of 3 Fountain Court (see *BR* [2] 439). However, as I will demonstrate in a forthcoming paper, this was unlikely to have been John Barrow. Therefore, it seems likely that Barrow occupied the first floor of 3 Fountain Court only after Catherine's removal in mid-

clear that in early-mid-1820, over six years before witnessing Henry Banes' will, John Barrow had employed Banes' brother-in-law William Blake to engrave the late François Marie Huet Villiers' portrait of George IV's former mistress, Mrs. Harriet Quentin (illus. 8).

According to the engraving's imprint, the publisher of Blake's engraving, entitled "Mrs Q," was "I. Barrow." In *The Separate Plates of William Blake* (1983), Robert Essick suggests that I. Barrow "was either the J. Barrow who exhibited enamels and miniature portraits in London from 1797 to 1836, or John Barrow, who exhibited portraits at the Society of Artists from 1812 to 1816."⁸⁸ As David Worrall has observed, Essick's first identification is confirmed by the fact that between 1820 and 1825 J. Barrow, portrait painter, and J. Barrow, publisher, resided at the same address.⁸⁹ The publisher's address featured in the imprint of the second state of "Mrs Q" and its companion print "Windsor Castle" (1821) is "Weston Place, St. Pancras." According to the catalogue for the Royal Academy exhibition of 1822, J. Barrow, miniature painter, is recorded as residing at 1 Weston Place, St. Pancras.⁹⁰ Nine years later, in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue of 1831, "J. Barrow" is recorded as resident at "[3] Fountain Court, Strand."⁹¹ As observed earlier, at the proving of Banes' will Barrow testified that he had been "well acquainted with ... Henry Banes ... for several years before and down to the time of his death."⁹² It

September 1827 (see *BR* [2] 471). Even if Barrow was not resident at Henry Banes' house in December 1826 when witnessing Banes' will, the fact that he was sole witness to Banes' will clearly suggests a friendship between the two men. This relationship between Banes and Barrow, miniature painter, Royal Academy exhibitor and member of the Society of British Artists, suggests that Banes may have taken an active interest in both Barrow and Blake's works. It may be significant that in his will, Henry Banes bequeathed Louisa Best "pictures" (PRO PROB 11/1751).

88. Essick, *Separate Plates* 199. There appears to be little evidence for G. E. Bentley, Jr.'s claim that the publisher of "Mrs Q" was the "notoriously radical print-seller" Isaac Barrow (Bentley, *Stranger* 356).

89. Worrall 180n1.

90. Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130. Another "John Barrow, painter" is recorded as resident at Weston Place, St. Pancras, in Royal Academy exhibition catalogues from 1812 to 1816 and 1823 (Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130). In 1815 John Barrow exhibited a painting of "Mr J. Barrow, Senr." at the Royal Academy exhibition for that year (Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130). Therefore, it seems likely that "John Barrow" was the son or nephew (and quite possibly the apprentice) of "[J]ohn. Barrow." It is of course possible that "John Barrow" was the publisher of "Mrs Q." However, the established link between John Barrow Sr. and Blake through Henry Banes, the use of the initial "I." for "J." in the two prints and "J." in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue entries, and Banes, Barrow and Blake's similarity in age, suggest that John Barrow Sr. employed Blake.

91. Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:130. Just over two years after witnessing Henry Banes' will, when providing testimony at the proving of the will, Barrow was recorded (alongside Richard Best, Louisa Best and their son Thomas) as a fellow resident at 3 Fountain Court. According to his burial record, Barrow, who resided at 3 Fountain Court until his death, was 81 years old when he was buried in St. Clement Danes' churchyard on 25 March 1838 (see COWAC, SCD 19, burial no. 1069). Therefore, having been born around 1757, Barrow was an exact contemporary of Blake.

92. PRO PROB 11/1751.



8. William Blake, "Mrs Q," after François Huet Villiers. Stipple etching/engraving with mezzotint. Second state (1820), impression 2C. British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, BM cat. no. ps 293666. © Copyright, the Trustees of the British Museum.

seems quite possible that during a period in which little work was available for the majority of artists and engravers, Henry Banes persuaded his friend John Barrow to commission his brother-in-law, William Blake, to engrave "Mrs Q."⁹³

It is intriguing to think of John Barrow, a miniature painter, first employing Blake to engrave a commercial fancy print and then publishing it. However, evidence suggests that Barrow was not just a miniaturist. In May 1828 the 28-year-old Theodore Lane, widely regarded as a painter and engraver of great promise, died when in a freak accident he fell through a skylight at the horse repository in Gray's Inn Road. Three years after Lane's death his associate, the sporting journalist and author Pierce Egan, recalled that at the age of 14, Lane:

was apprenticed to a Mr Barrow at Battle Bridge⁹⁴ a colourer of expensive prints, and who was considered a man of ability in that line. It was during his apprenticeship that Lane first displayed a taste for drawing His juvenile sketches on first being shown to Mr Barrow, he (Mr B.) was very much pleased with them, and in the kindest manner pointed out to Theodore those defects which first arise from youth and inexperience. LANE gratefully profited by his instructions.

Mr Barrow saw, or thought he saw, in those early sketches that sort of talent indicative of future greatness; and he therefore encouraged him to proceed with the most unremitting industry until he overcame all the difficulties which every artist has to surmount on his first entrance into life. Mr Barrow always entertained an opinion that one day or another the proud initials of R.A. might be added to his name.⁹⁵

93. In his ms. "Autobiography" Linnell describes Blake when he met him in June 1818 as "having scarcely enough employment to live by at the prices he could obtain everything in Art was at a low ebb then" (Linnell, "Autobiography," f. 57, cited BR [2] 341). In 1822, William Collins RA wrote to the Royal Academy Council, "recommending to the charitable consideration of the President & Council Mr William Blake an able Designer & Engraver laboring under great distress—" (Minutes of the Royal Academy Council, 28 June 1822, cited BR [2] 384-85).

94. Battle Bridge is the former name of King's Cross, an area which borders the parish of St. Pancras. 17 Spann's Buildings, St. Pancras, is recorded as the address of J. Barrow, miniature painter, in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogues between 1808 and 1815 (Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:129-30).

95. Pierce Egan, "Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Mr Theodore Lane," *The Show Folks* (London: M. Arnold, 1831) 34. Egan had provided the letterpress to accompany Lane's 36 etchings entitled *The Life of an Actor* (1825) and Lane illustrated with etchings and woodcuts Egan's *Anecdotes of the Turf, the Chase, the Ring and the Stage* (1827). Lane appears to have been a neighbor of Barrow's at Spann's Buildings (see Egan, *Show Folks* 35). As observed above, Barrow appears to have lived at 17 Spann's Buildings from 1808 until sometime between 1815 and 1820 (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:129-30). Lane is recorded as resident at this address in 1816 (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 2:381). Lane also painted a portrait of "Mr Barrow" exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1826 (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 2:381). Another apprentice of Barrow appears to have been the miniaturist E. Preston, who between 1824 and 1843 exhibited 24 portraits at the Royal Academy, Society of British Artists and the New Watercolour Society. Preston also exhibited his portrait of "Mr Barrow" at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1826, the year Lane exhibited his portrait of the same subject (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 3:202).

It is significant that Egan describes John Barrow as "a colourer of expensive prints," the profession to which Barrow's later fellow residents at 3 Fountain Court, Strand, Thomas and Richard Best were apprenticed. John Barrow, print colorer and miniature painter, may have been the J. Barrow who in 1782 traded as printseller, publisher, and very possibly the engraver of satirical prints at 11 St. Bride's Passage, Fleet Street.⁹⁶ This address faced St. Bride's Church, where Henry and Sarah Banes would marry six years later. By November 1782, J. Barrow had moved a few blocks west to Dorset Street, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street. It was from this address that he published a satirical engraving, possibly his own, *The American Rattlesnake Presenting Monsieur His Ally a Dish of Frogs*.⁹⁷ Detlef Dörrbecker refers to this print as an example of serpent symbolism utilized in the early 1780s by "various British caricaturists to deride the rebellious and 'serpent form'd' colonists" in America. As Dörrbecker suggests, such a print may have been one of the sources for Blake's design for the title page of *EUROPE a PROPHECY* (1794).⁹⁸ John Barrow may also have been the "J. Barrow" who designed, engraved and published a mezzotint portrait on what appears to be a business flier or trade card for "John Barrow, Jeweller" in 1813, suggesting markedly different political sympathies (illus. 9). The imprint continues: "Drawn & Engraved by J. Barrow. / Whose Country is the World and / Whose Religion is to do good. / John Barrow Jeweller &c. / Published 1st Nov^r 1813."⁹⁹ The second and third lines of the imprint are a slight misquotation from "WAYS AND MEANS of Improving the Condition of Europe, Interspersed with Miscellaneous Observations," chapter 5 of part two of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, published in 1792. "Independence is my happiness, and I view things as they are without regard to place or person; my country is the world, and my religion is to do good."¹⁰⁰ No publisher's address is

96. See George 5:846n3 and cat. nos. 6010 and 6014. For other prints published by J. Barrow, see George, cat. 5, 5985, 5986, 6004, 6023, 6029, 6167, 6168, 6175, 6208, 6229, 6251, 6261.

97. George, cat. 5, 6039.

98. See Detlef Dörrbecker, ed., *William Blake: The Continental Prophecies*, Blake's Illuminated Books, vol. 4 (London: Tate Gallery Publications/William Blake Trust, 1995) 171. The engraving is reproduced in the same volume (251, supplementary illustration 3).

99. British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, cat. no. 1872-11-9-423. I have been unable to trace a John Barrow, jeweller, trading in London in 1813. However, entries for a Henry Barrow, wholesale jeweller of 12 Thavies Inn, Holborn, appear in *Underhill's Biennial Directory for the Years 1816 and 1817* (London: Underhill, 1816) n. pag., and *Kent's Directory, 1817* 25. According to the Royal Academy exhibition catalogues, John Barrow lived in Leather Lane, Holborn, between 1797 and 1801 (see Graves, *Royal Academy* 1:129). There is also a will for a John Barrow, jeweller, of Tottenham Court Road, PRO PROB 11/989 (proved 26 July 1773).

100. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1969) 228. For the significance of the second part of Paine's *Rights of Man* for Blake two decades earlier, see Michael Phillips, *William Blake: The Creation of the Songs From Manuscript to Illuminated Printing* (London: British Library, 2000) 47. This quotation and the fact that the engraving bears some resemblance to Paine suggest that the second and third lines of the imprint may apply to Paine and not to "[ohn]. Barrow." Com-



9. J[ohn]. Barrow, "John Barrow" [possibly Thomas Paine], 1813, mezzotint/etching, British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, BM cat. no. 1872-11-9-423. © Copyright, the Trustees of the British Museum.

included in the imprint. However, it is significant that the print has the initial appearance of a non-satirical portrait, while at the same time containing the tangible if oblique radical dimension of a (mis)quotation from Paine. As discussed below, "Mrs Q" and "Windsor Castle," while similarly at first glance non-satirical commercial fancy prints, in their subject matter, titling and dates of publication suggest a publisher with radical sympathies.¹⁰¹

pare Thomas Sharp's engraving of Paine, after George Romney (1793) (National Portrait Gallery, D15322). See also James Godby's engraving of Paine, after an unknown artist (1805) (NPG, D5445).

101. A number of satirical prints on the subject of "the Queen's affair" (discussed below) have been attributed to Barrow's apprentice Theodore

Essick has described "Mrs Q" as "a conventional fancy print of very little importance to Blake's graphic oeuvre."¹⁰² However, as Worrall has suggested, the subject and date of publication of this print indicate the likelihood that "Mrs Q" acquired radical connotations absent in the majority of contemporary color-printed portraits of Regency ladies.¹⁰³ Bentley has observed that by the time of her return to England and her trial in mid-1820, Queen Caroline had become for a significant portion of the middle and lower orders of British society "a symbol of suffering from arbitrary power, the darling of English democrats and republicans."¹⁰⁴ George IV, already far from popular, was, in the light of his own numerous infidelities, widely condemned for his hypocrisy in bringing charges of adultery against his wife. The King's more notorious extramarital affairs were publicly recalled in satirical prints. For example, Harriet Quentin, the wife of Colonel George Quentin of the 10th Hussars, and former mistress of George IV, was represented as the infamous "Mrs Q" in numerous prints published between June 1820 and February 1821.¹⁰⁵ The date of Barrow's publication of William Blake's engraving of "Mrs Q," 1 June 1820, four days before Caroline's landing at Dover after six years in negotiated exile and five days before she reached London, suggests that Blake had completed the plate in or before May 1820. As Worrall concedes, the probable date of the plate's execution and publication is slightly early for an explicit identification of "Mrs Q" as an expression of popular support for Caroline on her return to England.¹⁰⁶ However, a

Lane. See the series of etchings *The Queen's Alphabet: Horrida Bella! Pains and Penalties Versus Truth and Justice* (London: G. Humphrey, 1820) (George, cat. 10, 13948).

102. Essick, *Separate Plates* xxvii.

103. "Mrs Q," the title the print was published under, had gained popular currency by summer 1820 (see Worrall 176).

104. Bentley, *Stranger* 356. Linda Colley describes the championing of Caroline as a "nationwide campaign" (Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1992] 365). In the summer of 1820, although Samuel Taylor Coleridge considered himself a "Queenite," Henry Crabb Robinson described himself as merely "an anti-Kingite" (Hibbert 576).

105. See George, cat. 10, 13733, 13785, 13889, 13891, 13896, 13897, 13986, 13991, 14023.

106. However, the Milan Commission, the government's official inquiry into Caroline's conduct, had been progressing for some years (see Hibbert 528-42). By the late spring of 1820, Caroline, provoked by the decision of her husband and the British government to exclude her from the liturgy and not to recognize her as Queen, had started on her journey from Rome back to England (Hibbert 549). Thus the likely return of the Queen must have been public knowledge for some time before she reached Dover in early June. Essick describes "Mrs Q" as executed in "Stipple etching/ engraving with mezzotint" (Essick, *Separate Plates* 191). In addition, much of the top half of the plate has not been engraved. If free of other work, Blake would have been able to finish such a plate relatively quickly. It is therefore possible that he was employed by Barrow to complete the stipple engraving of "Mrs Q" in the weeks preceding Caroline's arrival in order to capitalize on the renewed topicality of the subject.

François Huet Villiers died in late July 1813. Therefore his portrait of Harriet Quentin must have been painted at least seven years before



10. Georges Maile, "Windsor Castle," [Elizabeth Henrietta Conyngham, Lady Conyngham] after "L. B." [John Barrow?]. Stipple etching/engraving with mezzotint (undated proof). British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, BM cat. no. C.IX/Sub 1/P. 5 [1852/10/9/580]. © Copyright, the Trustees of the British Museum.

closer exploration of the subject and date of the companion print may provide further evidence of a political, as well as financial, motivation in Barrow's publication of "Mrs Q."

Barrow was almost certainly the designer, as well as the publisher, of the companion print to "Mrs Q," "Windsor Castle," engraved by Georges Maile, which bears the imprint date 1 June 1821 (illus. 10).¹⁰⁷ The significance of this companion print has not been explored. In 1906 Joseph Grego remarked, "It is regrettable that but little is known to have been recorded of the charmer introduced as 'Windsor Castle.'"¹⁰⁸ Geoffrey Keynes identified "Windsor Castle" as a portrait of the Marchioness of Huntly.¹⁰⁹ However, Elizabeth Henrietta Conyngham, Lady Conyngham, eldest daughter of the first Marquis Conyngham, did not become the Marchioness of Huntly until her marriage to Charles (Gordon), tenth Marquis of Huntly, at the Royal Lodge, Windsor, on 20 March 1826.¹¹⁰ By the early

Blake's engraving of it (see Essick, *Separate Plates* 198-99). As a fellow miniature painter possibly acquainted with Villiers, Barrow may have had access to or perhaps even owned the portrait and may have regarded the approaching trial of and the widespread sympathy for the Queen as an opportunity to market an engraving of Villiers' miniature. Whether or not this was the case, Worrall successfully demonstrates that the image was later recontextualized by radical publishers in the light of subsequent events (see Worrall). It is unclear if Blake played any part in the subsequent mezzotint engraving, printing and hand coloring of this plate. It is possible that Maile was responsible for the mezzotint work and Blake for the stipple work on both plates (see Essick, *Separate Plates* 198).

107. The imprint of "Windsor Castle" indicates that the designer was "I. B." The publisher is the same as that on the imprint of "Mrs Q," "I. Barrow" of Weston Place, St. Pancras. On both plates, the detailed work on the face compared with the significantly less detailed engraving on the rest of the plate might suggest that the engraver was working from a design of the sitter's head and shoulders (perhaps a miniature) rather than a three-quarter-length drawing.

108. Joseph Grego, *Mrs Q and "Windsor Castle" with a Note on the Plates by Joseph Grego and Memoirs of the Life of the Celebrated Mrs Q by Edward Eglantine, Esq.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Limited, 1906) 11.

109. Geoffrey Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (Dublin: Emery Walker, 1956) 84. Essick and Worrall follow Keynes' identification. See Essick, *Separate Plates* 198; Worrall 175. Worrall briefly discusses the plate in order to underline "the cross reference between Windsor and Quintin" (Worrall 175).

110. Vicary Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, Duncan Warrand, Lord Howard de Walden, eds., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 14 vols. (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1982 [microprint edition]) 2:685. An engraver's proof of "Windsor Castle" (illus. 10) is labelled in an unidentified hand: "A daughter of the Marquis Conyngham" (British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, C.IX/Sub 1/P. 5). This suggests the sitter is Lady Elizabeth or, less probably, her younger sister Lady Harriet Maria Conyngham. Freeman O'Donohue identifies the sitter as Elizabeth Henrietta (Conyngham), Marchioness of Huntly, "When Lady E. Conyngham" (Freeman O'Donohue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits, Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 6 vols. [London: British Museum, 1908-25] 2:594). This may partially explain the mistitling of G. Engelmann's later lithograph (?) based on Blake's "Mrs Q." See Worrall 183n28. See also Sir Thomas Lawrence's portraits of Lady Elizabeth Henrietta Conyngham

autumn of 1820, Lady Elizabeth's mother Elizabeth, Marchioness Conyngham, began to be portrayed in satirical prints as George IV's current mistress.¹¹¹ The King's lavish gifts to the Marchioness and other members of the Conyngham family provoked widespread comment.¹¹² It was even suggested that the young and attractive Lady Elizabeth Conyngham was the true object of the King's affections.¹¹³ Barrow's design for "Windsor Castle" portrays young Lady Conyngham at a piano, presumably at the King's "overblown rural retreat"¹¹⁴ (in itself a subject of contemporary controversy) in Windsor Great Park. Windsor Castle is visible in the background. The title of the plate may also allude to the political crisis of April 1821, three months before George IV's coronation, caused by the King's proposed appointment, without government consultation, of the Rev. Charles Richard Sumner, tutor to Marchioness Conyngham's three sons, to a vacant canonry at Windsor. The King's preferment of a member of the Conyngham household to such a position was widely regarded as an infringement of ministers' privileges and almost forced the resignation of Lord Liverpool's government.¹¹⁵ It seems quite possible that "Windsor Castle" could have been engraved,

with a small harp (finished 1824), oil on canvas (the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon); and Lady Harriet Maria Conyngham (c. 1825), oil on canvas (the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), reproduced in Kenneth Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence: A Complete Catalogue of the Oil Paintings* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989) 172.

111. The relationship appears to have begun in mid-1820. However, those close to the King believed the relationship to be "warmly affectionate rather than hotly passionate" (see Hibbert 629). See the satirical prints *K_G CUPID in the Corner—Playing Bopeep*, published 16 September 1820, Benbow, St. Clements Church Yard, Strand; *The R—J Cascade or Pumping Ship on Board the Yatch*, published October 1820, J. Fairburn, Broadway, Ludgate Hill; George, cat. 10, 14030. See also the following publications: "Lady C*****m," *The Memoirs of Lady C*****m* (London: H. Price, 1820); Anon., *New Inventions! The Conyngham Trap ... De monts' Machine ... The Majocchi Mouthpiece; or, Non Mi Ricordo Whistle* ([London?] 1820).

112. See Hibbert 628-29 for the cost of the numerous items of jewelry George IV bestowed upon Marchioness Conyngham. See also George, cat. 10, 13893 [October 1820].

113. See Hibbert 631; Parissien 91. For a satirical print on the subject, see "The Royal Foraging Cap or New Windsor Uniform" [W. Heath], published 11 October 1820 by S. W. Fores, 41 Picadilli. Dorothy George has described the print as follows: "A fashionably dressed man, walking in Hyde Park, draws back in astonishment on meeting Lord Conyngham, riding a spirited horse and wearing a marquess's coronet, surmounted by antlers with bells. The former says: *Why my Lord I never saw you so Gracefully set off in my life before, where the Devil did you get that beautiful Charger. Conyngham: It was a present from the _____ to my wife & a rare stallion it is, he has also presented my daughter with a similar pony. Answer: Indeed!!! Why I never heard before that he had mounted them both!!!*" (George, cat. 10, 13892). For satirical prints on the influence of the Conyngham family on George IV, see George, cat. 10, 13826, 14181, 13889 and 14366. A year earlier George had been portrayed in more than one publication dallying "not only with Mrs Quintin but also with her two daughters" at the Royal Cottage at Windsor (see Worrall 174-75).

114. The phrase is Steven Parissien's; see Parissien illus. 15.

115. See Hibbert 633-34.

printed and hand colored in the six weeks between the controversy over the proposed appointment of Sumner in mid-April and the publication of this plate in early June 1821.

Both "Mrs Q" and "Windsor Castle" are examples of the widely popular early nineteenth-century genre of the commercial fancy print. These companion prints bear little resemblance to the numerous political caricatures targeting George IV that circulated during this period. However, both prints portray women who were widely considered notorious recipients of the King's lavish favor, if not examples of his infidelities, past and present.¹¹⁶ Significantly, John Barrow chose to publish each print at a moment of political crisis early in the reign of George IV. Barrow's commission and publication of both "Mrs Q" and "Windsor Castle" can therefore be interpreted in the context of the widespread criticism of George IV's infidelities, extravagance and what was widely perceived as the pernicious influence of members of his intimate circle.¹¹⁷ In the light of events preceding and succeeding the engraving, printing and publication of "Mrs Q" and "Windsor Castle," John Barrow and William Blake can be seen, as David Worrall has suggested, as "caught up ... in the latest phase of English radical activism."¹¹⁸ However, although William Blake was clearly the engraver of "Mrs Q," his own opinions concerning "the Queen's affair" are unknown. Bentley observes that "The Queen's progress across France to defend herself against the scandalous divorce proceedings in the House of Lords was eagerly reported in *The Courier* and elsewhere in May and June of 1820."¹¹⁹ However, the *Courier's* discussion of the Queen's departure from France on the Dover packet on the evening of Sunday 4 June 1820, which George Cumberland read to Blake two days later at 17 South Molton Street, can hardly be described as eager reporting.¹²⁰ The writer explicitly questions Caroline's wisdom in hastily rejecting Lord Hutchinson's proposal and Henry Brougham's advice that she should remain abroad and avoid a public trial and instead choosing to return to England under the wing of the radical MP Alderman Matthew Wood. "Her MAJESTY may perhaps find herself in the hands of a faction to whom it is a matter of equal indifference whether they celebrate their orgies under the name of Radical Reform, the Manchester Massacre, or the Queen of ENGLAND."¹²¹ No record has survived of Blake

116. Although it was common practice to omit the names of sitters from such prints, the particular titles of both companion prints (presumably decided upon by Barrow) also suggest that neither "Mrs Q" nor "Windsor Castle" are merely fancy prints, but rather explicitly make reference to contemporary controversies concerning the monarchy.

117. An anonymous copy of Blake's engraving was used as an illustration to "Edward Eglantine" [William Benbow], *Memoirs of the Life of the Celebrated Mrs Q* (London: William Benbow, 1822). See Essick, *Separate Plates* 199-200; Worrall 177-79.

118. See Worrall 180.

119. *BR* (2) 370.

120. BL Add. MSS. 36520H, f. 384, cited *BR* (2) 370.

121. "The Queen's Journey," *Courier* Tuesday evening, 6 June 1820.

and Cumberland's reaction to the *Courier's* account.¹²² In the publication of "Mrs Q" and "Windsor Castle," John Barrow appears to have expressed support for Queen Caroline and criticism of George IV, sentiments held by numerous working and middle class British citizens. However, although his motives for engraving "Mrs Q" in 1820 are likely to have been primarily commercial, Blake's own opinions concerning the return and trial of Queen Caroline remain unclear.¹²³

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed new information principally derived from the will of Henry Banes which throws light on our knowledge and understanding of the last years of William and Catherine Blake at 3 Fountain Court and those of Catherine Blake in widowhood. The date of the commencement of Henry Banes' period of residence at and as ratepayer of 3 Fountain Court, Strand, has been established. I have identified Banes' trade and cited evidence that suggests that William and Catherine Blake were not Henry and Sarah Banes' first lodgers at 3 Fountain Court. An examination of Banes' will has established the month and year of the death of Sarah Banes, the sister of Catherine Blake and the wife of Henry Banes. It is now clear that Sarah Banes was living at 3 Fountain Court when William and Catherine Blake moved there as lodgers in 1821, but that she died approximately three years later. The same source has provided the correct date for the death of Henry Banes.

Henry Banes' will also reveals that, in the spring of 1829, Catherine Blake almost certainly received a significant legacy. I have suggested that this legacy is likely to have been an important factor in Catherine's decision to move from Frederick Tatham's residence to her own lodgings in the early spring of 1829. The will also contains a brief reference to William Blake that complements other contemporary allusions to Blake's state of dress in the mid-1820s and suggests a seemingly cordial relationship between Banes and his brother- and sister-in-law. On the basis of evidence derived from Banes' will, I have suggested that the "sole Executrix" of Banes' estate, Louisa Best, may very well have been Henry and Sarah Banes' only surviving child. If this is the case, then Louisa Best, née Banes, daughter of Sarah Banes, née Boucher, is the only traced child of either William or Catherine Blake's siblings and therefore the only known niece of, as well as a second traced surviving

122. George Cumberland's son, Sydney Cumberland, wrote to his mother Elizabeth Cumberland on 29 June 1820 that the following day his father would go "to the opera with Mr Norton when he expects a view of the Queen who it is reported will be there" BL Add. MSS. 36507, f. 311. See also David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977) 524.

123. This appears to be one of the few commercial engraving commissions acquired and executed by Blake after June 1818 without Linnell's assistance in any capacity (see *BR* [2] 823).

immediate relative of, William and Catherine Blake.¹²⁴ Finally, the discovery that the miniaturist, print colorer and engraver John Barrow was witness to Henry Banes' will and well acquainted with him for some years throws light upon the identity and political sympathies of the publisher of Blake's "Mrs Q" and the designer and publisher of its companion print "Windsor Castle." Blake's employment by John Barrow as engraver of "Mrs Q" can also be set in a new context. It is likely that Barrow's choices of publication date and subject (two attractive young women publicly associated with the King's lavish lifestyle and infidelities) of both "Mrs Q" and its companion print "Windsor Castle" reflect his own political opinions concerning George IV and Queen Caroline during 1820 and 1821. Therefore, William Blake's employment as engraver for a publisher of John Barrow's sympathies may indeed indicate an association between Blake and radical print culture in the early 1820s. However, Blake's own motives in accepting and completing this commission remain ambiguous.

124. William Blake's sister, Catherine Elizabeth Blake (1764-1841), is the only immediate relation of William and Catherine Blake known to have survived them (see BR [2] 555). If Louisa was William and Catherine Blake's niece, then she as well as Catherine Elizabeth Blake had some claim on the Blakes' estate. Frederick Tatham claimed, with no corroborating evidence, that Catherine Blake bequeathed "The remaining stock of [Blake's] works, still considerable ... [and] her few effects" to Mrs. Tatham and himself (Gilchrist 357; see also BR [2] 690).

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Blake's Only Surviving Palette?

BY JOYCE H. TOWNSEND, BRONWYN ORMSBY,
JULIA JONSSON, AND MARK EVANS

On 17 September 1927, the leading Blake scholar Geoffrey Keynes wrote to Eric Maclagan, then director of the Victoria and Albert Museum:

Dear Maclagan,

The American dealer, Gabriel Wells, recently bought the palette used by Blake during the brief period when he used oils. He put it in an exhibition at the Burlington F.A.C. where it attracted a good deal of attention (tho' relics of this kind do not excite me much!) It seems to have a good pedigree.

Wells has now gone back to the U.S.A., and wishing to give the object to some public institution, has left it to my discretion.

The Vict. & Albert seemed to me to be the best place, tho' Binyon suggests that the London Museum might also have a claim. Would you express an opinion? It can go to the Vict. & Albert if you wish.

Yours sincerely

Geoffrey Keynes¹

Constable had presented Reynolds' palette to the Royal Academy in 1830,² and the display of materials and physical relics of artists was not unknown in the 1920s. A few months earlier, the V&A had displayed the spectacles and etching needle of Samuel Palmer (1805-81) in its retrospective Blake exhibition.³ Keynes referred to the 1927 exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club commemorating the centenary of Blake's death. Of modest scale but superlative quality, this was ac-

Nicola Costaras of the V&A made the palette available for examination. Catherine Higgitt and Raymond White of the National Gallery Scientific Department gave valuable help in interpreting the GC results.

A shorter version of this paper, entitled "William Blake's Only Surviving Palette?" and with the same authors, was published in the *V&A Conservation Journal* 49 (spring 2005): 20-21.

1. V&A Archive, RP/1927/7280.

2. Royal Academy 04/1344. Constable bought the palette at Sir Thomas Lawrence's sale. He had it from Sir George Beaumont, who had been given it by Reynolds.

3. A. H. Palmer, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings, Etchings & Woodcuts by Samuel Palmer and Other Disciples of William Blake* (London: V&A, 1926) 25-26. Both had been given to the V&A in 1923 (E. 3979, 3980-1923).

companied by a deluxe illustrated catalogue, and included a fragment of a copperplate for Blake's *America*, and a plaster cast of the artist's head⁴ formerly owned by the son of George Richmond (1809-96), a leading member of the Ancients, followers of William Blake who included Palmer.

The palette, not in the catalogue, was evidently a late addition to the 1927 exhibition. Its owner was a Blake dealer of some repute. Keynes was told⁵ that the palette had belonged to the dealer Francis Harvey, who handled numerous works by Blake during the 1860s, including some from the studio sale of Frederick Tatham (1805-78), another of the Ancients, who had inherited Blake's studio contents from the artist's widow.⁶

The palette (illus. 1-2) was received in a presentation case, today labeled "Palette used by William Blake in 1780. Given by Mr. Gabriel Wells." There is paint on both sides and it is inscribed around the thumbhole on the "reverse" "William Blake/28/Broad Street/1780." Blake submitted his entry to the Royal Academy in 1780 from that address,⁷ and moved shortly afterwards. Basil Long, then Keeper of Paintings at the V&A, concluded that "the authenticity of the relic appears reasonably likely," and recommended its acceptance as a gift.⁸

We analyzed material from this palette towards the end of a research project on Blake's temperas, watercolors and color prints,⁹ to compare them with Blake's painting materials. The analytical methods used, namely polarizing microscopy, energy-dispersive x-ray analysis, FTIR microscopy and gas chromatography, are described elsewhere.¹⁰ There was no visual evidence to suggest that the palette had been reused after a long interval, or that the paint was inconsistent with an eighteenth-nineteenth-century date.

It resembles oil paint, and because of the inscribed address it has always been assumed to date from c. 1780, the brief period during Blake's training when he used oil, a medium he strongly criticized and therefore avoided for the rest of his life. Analysis (table 1) confirmed that it includes linseed oil in many colors, poppy oil in some, and a mixture of these, or possibly walnut oil, in others. These oil types are typical of artists' oil paint, both hand ground in the late eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, and supplied in tubes

4. L. Binyon and A. G. B. Russell, *Catalogue, Blake Centenary Exhibition* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1927) 53, 63 respectively.

5. V&A Archive, RP/1927/7280: F. A. C. Bathurst to Geoffrey Keynes, 28 September 1927.

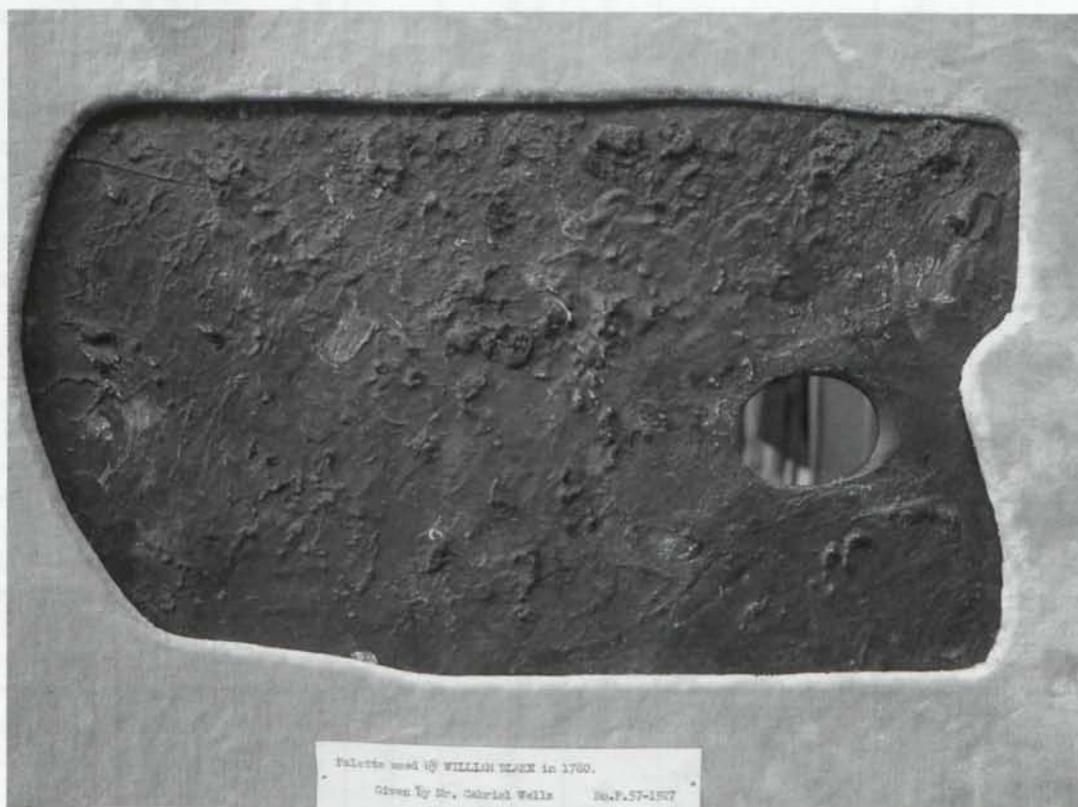
6. A. Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1863) 1:367.

7. A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 8 vols. (London: Henry Graves and Co./George Bell and Sons, 1905-06) 1:298.

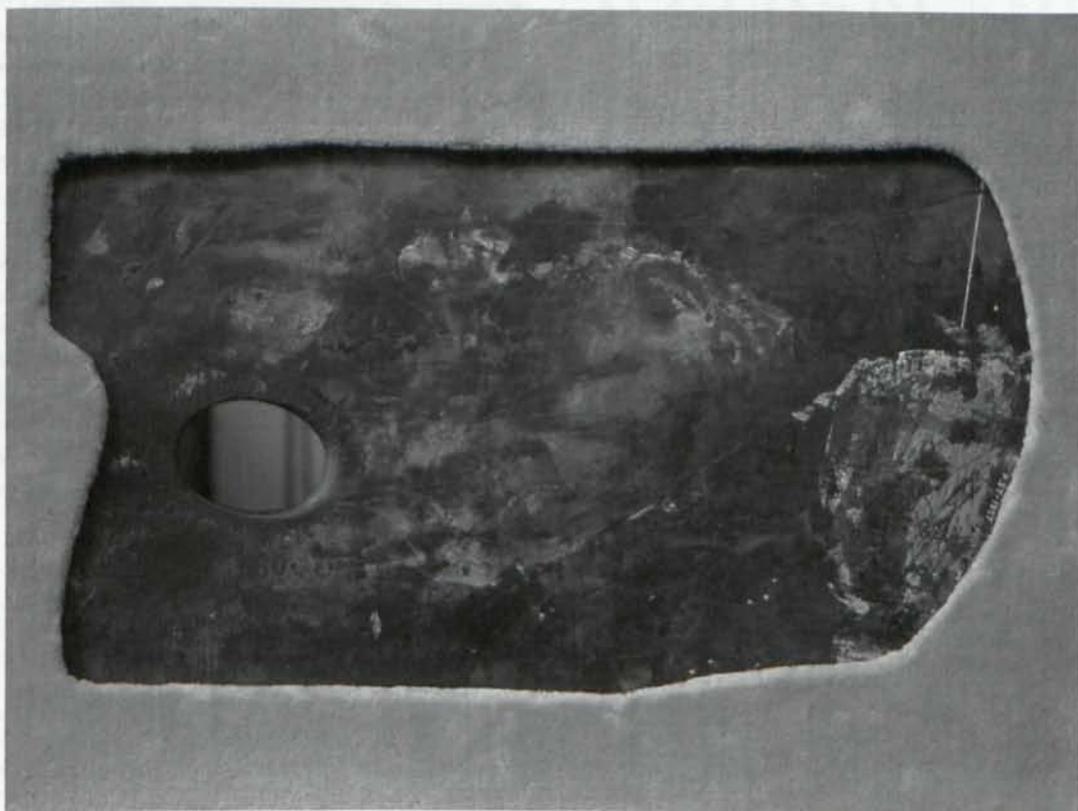
8. V&A Archive, RP/1927/7280: memorandum from Basil Long to Eric Maclagan, 1 October 1927.

9. J. H. Townsend, ed., *William Blake The Painter at Work* (London: Tate Publishing, 2003).

10. J. H. Townsend, "Analytical Methods," Townsend, ed., *William Blake* 45-51.



Palette used by WILLIAM BLAKE in 1780.
Given by Mr. Gabriel Wells No. P.57-1927



1-2. Front (top) and reverse (bottom) of the palette V&A P57-1927. Victoria and Albert Museum, © V&A Images. (Editors' note: Color versions of the images can be viewed on the journal's web site, <<http://www.blakequarterly.org>>).

Table 1: Analytical results for palette V&A P57-1927.

Sample	Description	Polarizing light microscopy (PLM)	EDX results	FTIR results	GC results					GC conclusions
					Az/Sub	Az/Seb	Az/P	P/S	O/S	
1	White ground from reverse		Zn S (Al Si) Zinc white, kaolin	Oil Possibly calcined kaolin	3.76	15.27	0.28	1.96	0.66	Linseed oil. Low Az/P ratio. Some oleate possibly from added non-drying oil and/or hindered drying on reverse
2	Black from reverse		Pb Al Si Ca P Zn Ca Mn Fe Ba K Lead white, kaolin, chalk or gypsum, zinc white, barytes, bone black, umber and/or Prussian blue?	Oil, zinc soap peak Lead white, possibly calcined kaolin, trace of chalk, barytes, trace bone black, Prussian blue	2.56	11.05	1.82	1.18	0.00	Linseed oil
3	Red from front		Pb Ca Ba Fe Si (Al P) Lead white, chalk, barytes, kaolin, Mars color, traces of bone black	Oil Kaolin, Mars colors or bone black; trace chalk, barytes, gypsum	2.35	11.88	1.93	0.75	0.06	Linseed oil. Low P/S ratio is unusual and may be due to small sample size
4	Green from front	Acicular yellow lead chromate, and a pale or faded green lake	Pb Ca Ba Cr Mn Fe Si lead white, chalk or gypsum?, barytes, umber, lead chromate	Oil Some barytes, possibly umber, Prussian blue a better match than chrome yellow, some gypsum	2.50	11.09	1.39	1.44	0.09	Linseed oil
5	Orange from front	Orange lead chromate, rounded and some acicular particles, lead white	Pb Cr Ca Lead white, chalk or gypsum?, lead chromate	Oil, small amount of wax Trace lead white, possible evidence of chrome orange, gypsum	1.95	10.50	0.77	1.04	0.02	Linseed oil. Low Az/P may be linked to zinc/lead soap formation. No evidence of wax
6	Bright red from front	Vermilion	S Hg Pb Si Ca Mg (Al) Vermilion, lead white, kaolin, talc, chalk or gypsum?	Oil, zinc soap peak No strong evidence of any pigment	3.25	10.69	1.09	2.88	0.28	Poppy or walnut, or possible mixture of poppy with linseed oil
7	Bright yellow from front	Acicular lead chromate	Pb Al Si Na Ca Ba Zn Cr Fe Lead white, kaolin, chalk or gypsum?, barytes, zinc white, lead chromate	Oil Chrome yellow, barytes, Pb white, possible calcined kaolin	3.51	12.98	0.47	2.49	0.20	Walnut or mixture of linseed and poppy oil. Low Az/P may be linked to zinc/lead soap formation
8	Blue from front	Traditional Prussian blue, white pigment(s)	S and Pb Al Si Ca Ba K Fe (Na) Lead white, gypsum, kaolin, barytes, Prussian blue	Oil Prussian blue, barytes, gypsum	2.77	13.43	6.23	1.26	0.00	Linseed oil, high azelaic acid content, possibly from contamination
9	Dull yellow from front	Deep pink lake on a very transparent base, chalk, some bone black and vermilion, and a small amount of traditional Prussian blue	Si Fe Al (K Na) Natural yellow ochre, kaolin?	Oil Natural yellow ochre and kaolin	2.83	10.91	0.86	3.94	0.00	Poppy oil. Low azelaic acid content may be linked to lack of lead in the sample
10	Dark red from front	Bone black, sienna, small amount of acicular lead chromate, possibly a deeper yellow than in s7	Al Si Pb and S Ca Fe (Ba K Na) Kaolin, lead white, chalk or gypsum?, iron oxide or Mars red, Al-based red? lake	Oil Possible synthetic oxide, possible Al-based red? lake	2.68	10.22	3.15	1.58	1.65	Linseed oil, some oleate possibly from added non-drying oil. High azelaic acid content possibly from contamination
11	White from front	Ultramarine, lead white	Pb Si (Al Ca Na) Lead white, chalk or gypsum, ultramarine	Small amount oil Lead white	3.92	13.86	1.98	3.83	0.83	Poppy oil, some oleate
12	Black and ground from front			Oil	2.88	12.88	2.24	2.28	0.18	Linseed or walnut, or may be mixture of linseed and poppy
13	Blue from front		Si Al Na S Mg Ca Ba (K Pb) Ultramarine, chalk or gypsum?, talc, barytes	Oil Ultramarine and barytes	2.92	12.12	0.79	1.89	0.04	Linseed oil. Low azelaic acid content may be linked to lack of lead in the sample

later in the nineteenth century. In this palette the poppy oil, known to yellow less than linseed oil, was not strongly associated with the white and blue paint that would have benefited most from it. The variations in azelate/palmitate as well as oleate/stearate ratios seen in the gas chromatography results probably stem from differential drying of the paint, which was much thicker than would be found on a painting. The results may also have been affected by pigment-medium interactions such as the formation of zinc soaps, occasionally identified by FTIR, as well as the possible addition of non-drying oils.

At least one shade of yellow and one of orange lead chromate were identified with optical microscopy, and supported by EDX and FTIR results. These could not have been used by Blake or anyone else c. 1780. Yellow lead chromate (chrome yellow) was patented in 1814, and a pale yellow shade has been found in a Turner oil exhibited early that year, while the darker yellow and orange shades were probably available only later, in the 1820s.¹¹ These remain the earliest occurrences of lead chromate in the British collection at Tate, and in the literature on British art. Zinc white was produced in a useful form for oil medium in 1834, the earlier variety being too transparent for the purpose.¹² The traditional form of Prussian blue, found here, was used by J. M. W. Turner c. 1800-1840s.¹³ Constable (1776-1837), in contrast, was using the modern, fine-grained form by the end of his life,¹⁴ as indeed was Turner (1775-1851).¹⁵ The Pre-Raphaelites used the modern form in the early 1850s.¹⁶ The other pigments found on the palette were available throughout Blake's lifetime and well beyond. These observations suggest a date of use of c. 1834-45 for the palette.

The connection with Harvey implies that the palette was in existence by the 1860s, a period when Blake had a small following, and his work fetched correspondingly low prices. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that it is a deliberate fraud, of mid-nineteenth-century date. If it has a genuine connection to Blake, it could have been used by one of the Ancients, who had acquired it from Blake's widow, herself an artist. Our limited analyses of the paint used by Richmond and Palmer have shown that, like Blake himself, they used a mixture of animal glue and plant gums in their paintings during his last years, in the 1820s.¹⁷ Few of their later works have

been analyzed, but a Richmond self-portrait of 1853 is catalogued as in oil,¹⁸ so their use of this medium is possible. The only certain conclusion is that the paint on the palette could not have been used by William Blake.

18. National Portrait Gallery, oil on canvas on board, 35.2 x 27.3 cm.; NPG 2509.

11. J. H. Townsend, "The Materials of J M W Turner: Pigments," *Studies in Conservation* 38 (1993): 231-54.

12. R. D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600-1835. A Study of English Documentary Sources*, 2nd ed. (London: Heinemann-Butterworth, 1982) 179.

13. Townsend, "Materials" 246.

14. S. Cove, "Constable's Oil Painting Materials and Techniques," *Constable*, ed. Leslie Parris and Ian Fleming-Williams (London: Tate Gallery, 1991) 493-518.

15. Townsend, "Materials" 246.

16. J. H. Townsend, J. Ridge, and S. Hackney, eds., *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques 1848-1856* (London: Tate Publishing, 2004) Appendix 1.

17. Townsend, ed., *William Blake* Appendix 6 (188).