

John Boydell and the depiction of Welsh scenery in reproductive prints, 1750-1850

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The majority of the prints in the Welsh Landscape Collection were created during a period of lively and copious production that followed the spectacular revival of British printmaking in the mid-eighteenth century and extended to about 1830.¹ This period saw British art rise to European prominence,² with the patronage of printsellers and publishers playing a significant role in this development by financially assisting newly independent artists, freed from dependence on aristocratic sponsorship, while disseminating their work to the public.³ But one publisher dominated the print trade. John Boydell (plate I) was a vastly successful entrepreneur of international renown,⁴ who capitalised on his intermediary role between the artist and consumer to both advance the cause of painters and engravers and encourage the public's taste for fine and reproductive art.⁵ His selection of paintings for publication and recruitment of gifted young engravers to reproduce them led to some of the most successful copperplates and exerted a considerable influence on the course of British art.⁶

The Welsh Landscape Collection consists of some 5,000 prints that the National Library of Wales has digitised and made freely available as an online resource. These images of Welsh scenery not only include views of towns, landmarks, such as castles, ecclesiastical buildings and manor houses, and the beauties of the natural environment, with pictures of rivers, lakes and mountains being abundant, but also industrial scenes, quarrying and factory interiors for example, and important events like King George IV's visit to Holyhead and the construction of the Menai Suspension Bridge. Although we find prints from the late-seventeenth to late-nineteenth centuries, as can be seen in figure 1, the bulk of the collection dates from between 1750 and 1850. In addition to the expansion of the print trade, this was also a period in which new printmaking techniques, including aquatint and lithography, were developed that

¹ Sven H. A. Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804: A Study of Art Patronage and Publishing in Georgian London* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 1.

² Timothy Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013), accessed 11 December 2016, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/3120](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3120).

³ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 1-2.

⁴ Winifred H. Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery* (New York: Garland Publishing (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), 1976), p. 3.

⁵ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 245.

⁶ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

advanced the art of reproductive engraving and many artists toured Wales to depict the topography of popular localities. All of these events are chronicled in the collection. In 2015, images from the collection were uploaded to Wikimedia Commons and a linked open data resource was created by adding the associated metadata to Wikidata in 2016.

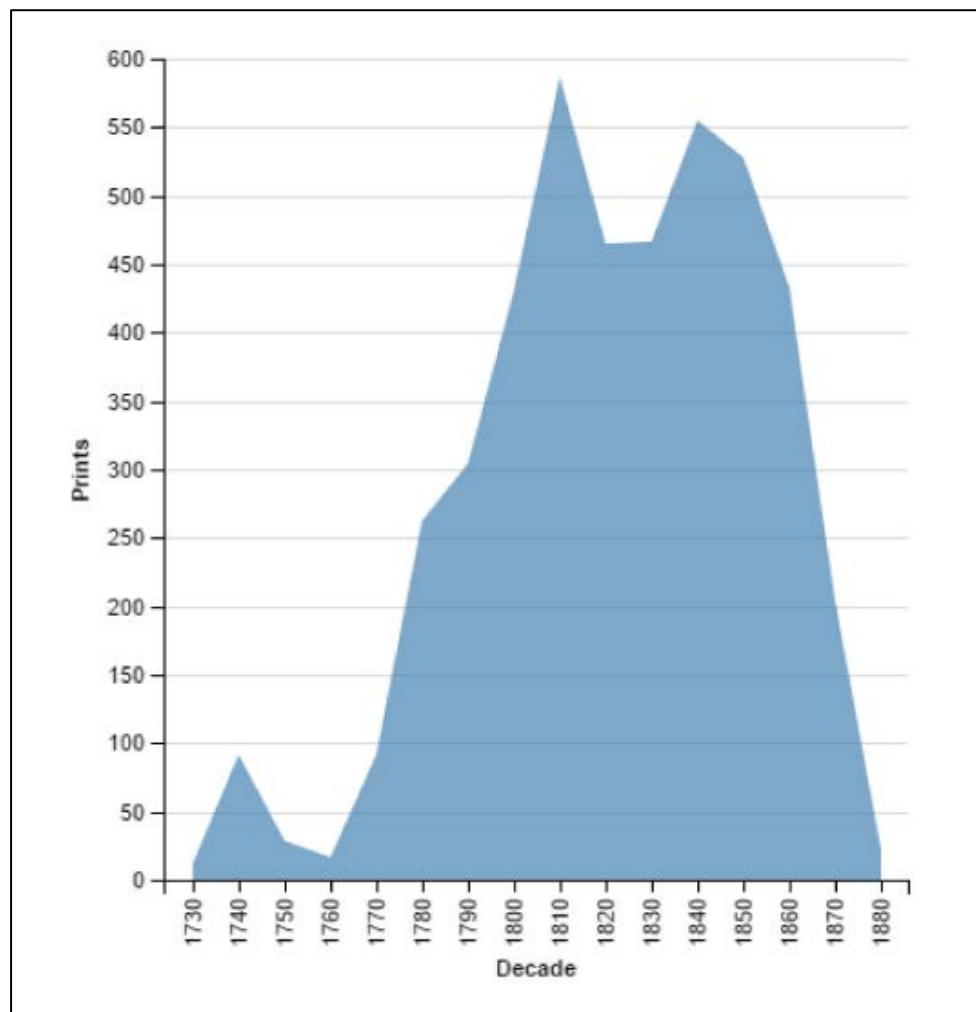


Figure 1: Prints in the Welsh Landscape Collection by decade of production (only decades with ten or more prints are shown).

One of the benefits of Wikidata is the ability to explore the relationship between the images and their creators using the SPARQL query language, which, as figure 2 shows, has highlighted the artists, engravers and publishers of works in the collection who are associated with John Boydell. Prints from throughout Boydell's career including examples of his work as an engraver, a publisher and above all a patron of the arts can be found in the Welsh Landscape Collection. This paper discusses Boydell's career and enduring connection to

Wales, drawing on the Welsh Landscape Collection to provide examples of his influence on the print trade during the second half of the eighteenth century and beyond.

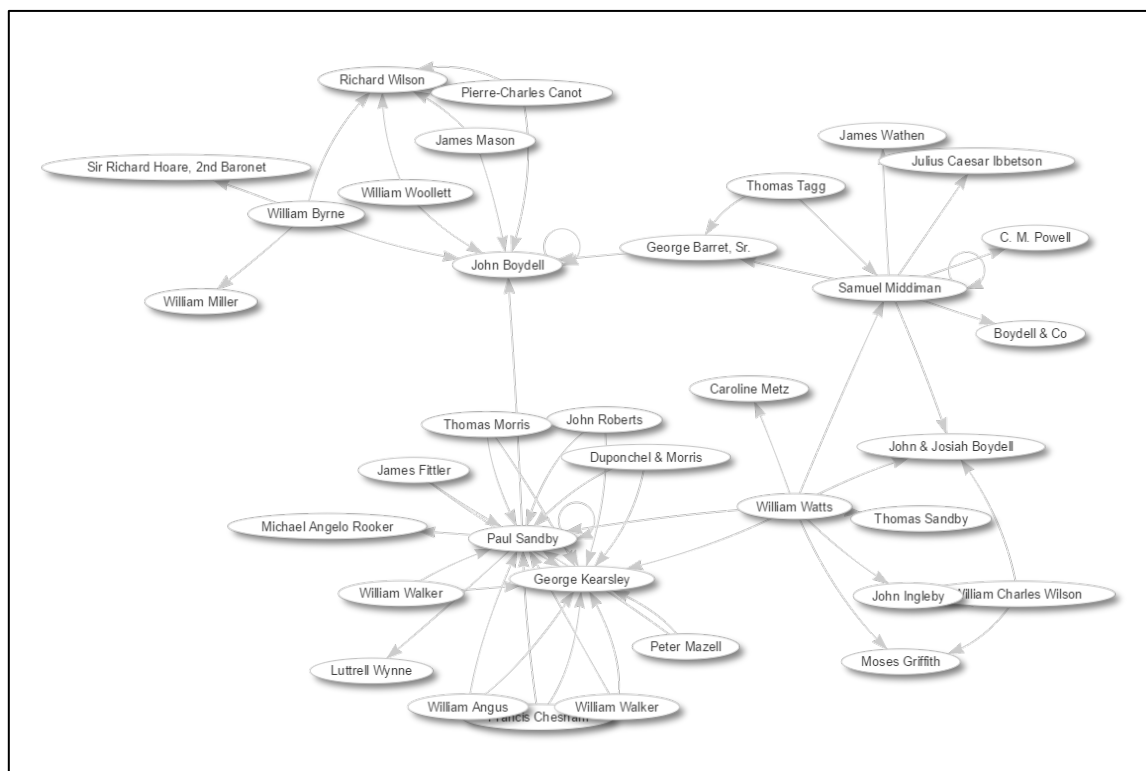


Figure 2: Relationship between John Boydell and other artists, engravers and publishers associated with the Welsh Landscape Collection.

John Boydell was born at Dorrington, Shropshire on 19 January 1720, the eldest child of Josiah Boydell and his wife Mary. The family relocated to Hawarden, Flintshire, where Josiah worked as land steward to Sir John Glynne, when John was twelve,⁷ and it was around this time that he started to make copies of book illustrations.⁸ It was not, however, until he returned to Hawarden after a stint as house steward to John Lawton MP during 1739 that he discovered his artistic vocation.⁹ In 1740, Boydell saw a recent print of Hawarden Castle that William Henry Toms engraved after a drawing by Thomas Badeslade (see plate II), and upon admiring it ‘to a great degree’ decided that he would ‘like to follow the art of engraving’.¹⁰

⁷ Clayton, ‘Boydell, John (1720–1804)’.

⁸ Shearer West, ‘Boydell, John’, *Grove Art Online*, (Oxford University Press), accessed 11 December 2016, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T010715>.

⁹ Clayton, ‘Boydell, John (1720–1804)’.

¹⁰ W. W. Bell Jones, ‘An autobiography of John Boydell, the engraver’, *Flintshire Historical Society publications* 11 (1925): p. 82, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1257984>.

The newly inspired Boydell moved to London in 1741 and was bound to Toms as an apprentice engraver for the next six years. At the same time, he enrolled at the St Martin's Lane Academy, where he took drawing class five nights a week in order to develop the competencies requisite of a professional engraver.¹¹ By 1746, Boydell had established himself as an independent engraver, working from a room at Durham Yard in the Strand that he rented from a stationer, Mr Wroughton,¹² after he engraved a large print of Penzance and paid his master an additional £30 to be released from the final year of his apprenticeship.¹³ His first two years of freedom were spent as a journeyman, producing inexpensive topographical prints, before returning to Wales to marry his sweetheart Elizabeth Lloyd in 1748.¹⁴ During his honeymoon summer Boydell visited Snowdonia and a number of Welsh castles to take the drawings that he engraved and published in 1749 and 1750 after he had returned to London and resumed his business.¹⁵ Twenty examples of these early works can be found in the Welsh Landscape Collection and plate III shows Boydell's *View of Snowden* in black and white and colour (a list of all the Boydell prints is available in the appendix). It is worth noting that although topographical views were regularly sold in colour at this time, they were black-and-white prints which were subsequently hand-coloured by artists.¹⁶

On his return to the Strand, Boydell worked hard for two years, publishing two prints at a time which he carried and offered for sale as he visited the print shops in the City of London in the morning and the West End printsellers in the afternoon.¹⁷ He saved £150,¹⁸ with which he purchased the Freedom of the City in the Worshipful Company of Stationers and set up shop under the sign of the unicorn, on the corner of Queen Street in Cheapside.¹⁹ In 1751, the commercial print shop was a relatively recent arrival on the high street but Boydell, nevertheless, foresaw an increase in the demand for fine reproductive engravings and established a fully equipped shop to capitalise on the commercial opportunities for the professional printseller in a rapidly expanding market. He specialised in the reproductive print trade, making and selling English prints whilst developing a network of contacts in

¹¹ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

¹² Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 9.

¹³ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

¹⁴ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'; Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

¹⁶ Antony Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking*, 2nd ed. (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 113-114.

¹⁷ Jones, 'Autobiography of John Boydell', p. 86.

¹⁸ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

¹⁹ Jones, 'Autobiography of John Boydell', p. 86.

France, from whom he imported continental stock.²⁰ This near exclusive focus on the sale of reproductive prints contributed to Boydell's early success and distinguished him from rival printsellers, most of whom also sold a selection of related items such as maps and atlases, instruction manuals for amateur artists and children's books.²¹

During the early years of his career Boydell focused, primarily, on the reproduction of landscape art,²² but after strong sales of *A Collection of One Hundred and Two Views, &c, in England and Wales*,²³ a low-cost portfolio of his own engravings which included some of the views from his honeymoon in Wales,²⁴ he diverted his efforts towards publishing and had virtually ceased engraving by 1760.²⁵ When Boydell gathered together 150 of his earliest prints for the 1790 edition of the *Collection*, he spoke modestly of the artistic merit of his own work, stating that 'he began to learn the Art of Engraving too late in life, to arrive at great Perfection,' particularly as he was apprenticed 'to a Master [Toms] who had himself never arisen to any great Degree of Perfection'. Moreover, he noted that 'there were no Engravers of any Eminence' in the country at that time and the volume was compiled 'to show the Improvement of the Art in this Country, since the Period of their Publication'.²⁶ A compendium of views like this volume was a precursor of both the Victorian parlour album, illustrated with steel engravings, and, later, the coffee table book, with greater emphasis given to the illustrations than the text, which merely interpreted the plates.²⁷ The success of this publication helped to demonstrate Boydell's business acumen to the Society of Antiquaries, who, in January 1756, appointed him as an agent to distribute their prints for a twenty percent commission.²⁸

²⁰ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 14-17. The prints produced in London at this time could not match the style or technique of imported prints after Italian and French landscapes. Indeed, many French engravers immigrated to London to fulfil the stimulated demand for continental prints.

²¹ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 29-30.

²² Rosemarie Dias, 'John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Promotion of a National Aesthetic' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003), p. 31, <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/2532>.

²³ At least three editions of this work were produced with a varying number of plates. It was first published c. 1755 as *A Collection of One Hundred and Two Views, &c, in England and Wales* and reissued in 1790 with 150 plates (Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 54 n. 24).

²⁴ The prints that are present in the Welsh Landscape Collection can be found as plates 54 to 62 of the 1790 edition.

²⁵ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 20; West, 'Boydell, John'.

²⁶ John Boydell, 'Advertisement', in *A Collection of Views in England and Wales, Drawn and Engraved by John Boydell. To which are Added, Engraved by the Same Hand, Some Miscellaneous Subjects After Various Masters* (London, Sold by John and Josiah Boydell, 1790), p. 4, accessed 23 January 2017, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (CW106857496).

²⁷ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 160-161.

²⁸ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720-1804)'; Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 53.

With the proceeds from his *Collection*,²⁹ and other ventures, such as the import of landscape prints after Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa and acquisition of second-hand plates to increase his stock, Boydell commissioned William Woollett to engrave *Destruction of the Children of Niobe* after Richard Wilson's historical landscape painting.³⁰ Woollett apparently received £120 for the plate, an unprecedented engraver's fee in 1761, and, thanks to strong sales on the continent, where his reputation was now established, Boydell allegedly made a profit of some £2,000,³¹ and was thus able to fund further speculative publishing ventures.³² But, through his commissioning of works by British engravers from the late 1750s onwards, Boydell also helped to establish a British school of reproductive engraving that reduced the dependency on imported prints and contributed to a rapid change in the print trade during the mid-eighteenth century.³³

While Boydell was developing his business strategy demand for reproductive prints was stimulated by the establishment of a British school of landscape painting.³⁴ Richard Wilson played an important role in both the early history of this school and artistic discovery of the Welsh landscape.³⁵ It is, however, necessary to understand that Wilson's influence on his contemporaries was shaped just as much by the reproductive engravings after his most celebrated works as his pioneering style of landscape painting.³⁶ The Welsh Landscape Collection includes the views that Wilson painted in the mid-1760s of Snowden Hill (engraved by Woollett, after *Snowdon from Llyn Nantlle* - see plate IV), Carnarvon Castle, the great bridge over the Taaffe, and Pembroke town and castle, which were published by Boydell as part of a popular set of six Welsh views in 1775.³⁷ The prints were issued with

²⁹ Boydell himself noted: 'To the Lovers of the Fine Arts, this Volume may be an Object of some Curiosity, as it was from the Profits of these Prints, that the Engraver of them was first enabled to hold out encouragement to young Artists in this Line, and thereby, he flatters himself, has somewhat contributed to bring the Art of Engraving to that wonderful State of Perfection in England, which at present gives its Artists so decided a Superiority over all the rest of Europe.' (Boydell, 'Advertisement', p. 4).

³⁰ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'; West, 'Boydell, John'; Louise Siddons, 'An English Art: Nationalist Rhetoric and Civic Virtue in Valentine Green's Mezzotint of John Boydell, 1772', *The British Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (2013), p. 72, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43492021>.

³¹ Martin Postle, 'Inspiration and Imitation: Wilson, London, and "The School of Rome"', in *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting*, ed. Martin Postle and Robin Simon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 128.

³² Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

³³ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 16-18.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁵ David H. Solkin, 'Wilson, Richard (1712/13–1782)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010), accessed 11 December 2016, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/29680](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29680).

³⁶ Postle, 'Inspiration and Imitation: Wilson, London, and "The School of Rome"', p. 126.

³⁷ Oliver Fairclough, 'An artist in his own country: Richard Wilson and Wales', in *Richard Wilson and the transformation of European Landscape Painting*, ed. Martin Postle and Robin Simon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 165.

dual language titles in English and French, indicating that they were produced for export, which allowed Boydell to save currency by importing French prints in exchange. Extensive export sales were achieved via a network of contacts that included major European printsellers like Pierre-Francois Basan in Paris, who was one of his best customers.³⁸ The importance of the French market in particular is emphasised by the two-part French-language catalogue that Boydell issued in 1779 and 1783.³⁹

Boydell's strategy of employing talented young engravers to reproduce popular paintings proved to be successful and by 1768 he had moved across the road to a larger shop at 90 Cheapside. These premises, on the corner of Cheapside and Ironmonger Lane, benefited from two street-facing shop windows and a grand second-floor showroom, which became something of a tourist attraction. This was the most impressive print emporium in London, and possibly Europe, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, functioning like an informal art gallery, with visitors being offered the opportunity to peruse a multitude of prints and view a collection of paintings by British and continental artists.⁴⁰

The aquatint plates from Paul Sandby's pioneering set of *XII Views in South-Wales* provide us with a particularly interesting example of Boydell's publishing activities. Sandby was the chief populariser of the aquatint process, which he named and developed, and these prints are the result of his earliest experiments with a newly discovered medium, well suited to the reproduction of watercolours.⁴¹ This volume was produced from drawings taken when he accompanied Joseph Banks on a botanical tour of South Wales in 1773 and published in September 1775, the first of Sandby's four sets of aquatint views of Wales.⁴² Boydell, who retained a great interest in Wales, published the early states but, nevertheless, he then withdrew from the venture, perhaps because the practical difficulties of producing the aquatint plates made the project commercially unfeasible, leaving Sandby to issue the later states of this set and the subsequent sets. However, the presence of two prints bearing

³⁸ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

³⁹ John Boydell, *Catalogue raisonné d'un recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux qui soient en Angleterre : les planches sont dans la possession de Jean Boydell, et ont été gravées par lui & les meilleurs artistes de Londres* (A Londres: Chez le propriétaire, graveur & marchand d'estampes, Cheapside, 1779 & Seconde partie, 1783), <https://archive.org/details/catalogueraisonn00boyd>.

⁴⁰ Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 17; Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

⁴¹ John Bonehill, Stephen Daniels and Nicholas Alfrey, 'Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain', in *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, ed. John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009), p. 18; Luke Herrmann, 'Sandby, Paul (bap. 1731, d. 1809)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006), accessed 11 December 2016, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/24613](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24613).

⁴² Bonehill, Daniels and Alfrey, 'Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain', p. 19.

Boydell's publication line that were subsequently included in the second set suggests that initially he had, perhaps, committed to publish the entire series.⁴³ Generally, it is possible to distinguish at a glance between the Boydell and Sandby prints due to the aquatint ground beneath the title being removed in those published by Sandby (for example see plates V and VI). In addition to these published states, there is also an example of the earlier state, before the aquatint ground was cleared and production details added, and, taken together, the three states offer an insight into the aquatint printmaking process.⁴⁴

Sandby's contemporaries considered his paintings and engravings to be among the leading sources of antiquarian knowledge,⁴⁵ and his views of the Welsh landscape were, indeed, particularly influential, helping to popularise Wales as a destination for touring artists.⁴⁶ In 1781, Boydell published a selection of Sandby's depictions of Wales in *A collection of one hundred and fifty select views, in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which was a re-issue of *The virtuosi's museum*, originally published in 1778 by George Kearsley, with additional plates from *The Copper-Plate Magazine*. He then published another edition with English and French parallel texts in 1782. As replication was a normal process in the publication of topographical prints, publishers did not, as standard, distinguish between works engraved from an original and those from an intermediary study, or even reproducing another print. A good example of such reuse is Sandby's image of Carew Castle (plate VII), which appeared in Grose's *Antiquities, XII Views in South-Wales*, and the *Antiquarian Repertory*. The simpler image used in the *Antiquities* suggests that it was produced from an intermediary study, while the *Repertory* plate is after either Sandby's original drawing or his more finished aquatint.⁴⁷

⁴³ *Conwyd Mill near Corwens* and *Valla Crusses near Llangollin* were published by Boydell in September 1775. *Conwyd Mill*, plate 5 in *Twelve views in north Wales*, was sometimes replaced by an unnumbered plate; one of the substitutes was *Abbey of Llan Egwerst or Vale Crucis, and Castle Dinas Bran*, apparently a later state of *Valla Crusses* (see British Museum Collection Database, *Views in Wales: Second set / Twelve Views in North Wales*,

'1864,0213.68' (British Museum), http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3061555&partId=1).

⁴⁴ British Museum Collection Database, *Views in Wales: First set / XII Views in Aquatinta ... in South Wales*, '1904,0819.635' (British Museum), http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3060114&partId=1.

⁴⁵ Felicity Myrone, "'The Monarch of the Plain': Paul Sandby and Topography", in *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, ed. John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009), pp. 59-60. This was a claim made by the Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Richard Gough in his *Anecdotes of British Topography* (1768).

⁴⁶ Herrmann, 'Sandby, Paul (bap. 1731, d. 1809)'; Bonehill, Daniels and Alfrey, 'Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain', pp. 19-20.

⁴⁷ Myrone, "'The Monarch of the Plain': Paul Sandby and Topography", p. 60-61. The *Antiquities* plate was engraved and published by Richard Godfrey on 2 January 1775 from a view by Sandby, stated to be taken in

Second-hand plates could be acquired at auctions, which were also important social events,⁴⁸ and being an active participant in London life gave Sandby the opportunity to sketch participants in the auction room, including John Boydell.⁴⁹

Throughout the period that he built his business empire Boydell was also a keen participant in the society of eighteenth century London. He was an active committee man serving as common councillor for his local ward of Cheap from 1758 until he was appointed as an alderman in 1782. Alderman Boydell, as he was henceforth often referred to, served as master of the Stationers' Company in 1783-4 and then as sheriff in 1785, but his greatest honour was being chosen as Lord Mayor of London for 1790-1. His wife Elizabeth had passed away in 1781, so Boydell's niece Mary, who had been running his household since Elizabeth died, served as his mayoress. Her brother, Josiah Boydell, became the Alderman's business partner in 1786.⁵⁰

In November 1786, the new partner Josiah held a dinner party at his Hampstead home, to which a number of prominent guests were invited, including his uncle John Boydell, Paul Sandby and the King's bookseller George Nicol. During the course of the evening a conversation occurred that led to the Boydells embarking on an ambitious project to produce a fine illustrated edition of Shakespeare.⁵¹ By early December,⁵² the Boydells and Nicol had prepared their proposal for a scheme that involved commissioning two series of Shakespearian oil paintings by the leading contemporary artists, to be displayed as a permanent exhibition at the purpose-built Shakespeare Gallery. Engravings, executed by the best British printmakers of the period, were commissioned after the paintings, with the larger series of pictures forming an imperial folio edition and the smaller series being reproduced as quarto prints to embellish a typographically magnificent edition of Shakespeare's dramatic

1772; the same image was executed by Sandby in 1774 and published in 1775 as plate X of *XII Views in South-Wales*; an intermediary study, which may have been either the original drawing made during Sandby's tour of Wales or the 1775 aquatint, was used for the *Antiquarian Repertory* plate that was engraved and published by Godfrey, 1 October 1779.

⁴⁸ Matthew Lincoln and Abram Fox, 'The Temporal Dimensions of the London Art Auction, 1780-1835', *British Art Studies* 4 (Nov 2016), doi:10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-04/afox-mlincoln.

⁴⁹ British Museum Collection Database, Characters sketched by P Sandby at Rysbracks Sale 1764, '1904,0819.723' (British Museum), http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3115439&partId=1&people=131356&peoA=131356-1-6&page=1.

⁵⁰ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720-1804)'.

⁵¹ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 69-70; Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720-1804)'.

⁵² Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720-1804)'. The proposal was announced in the press on 1 December 1786.

works, edited by George Steevens.⁵³ It was an ambitious project, financed single-handedly by the Boydells,⁵⁴ and while the lavish expenditure, which, according to Josiah Boydell's estimate, cost considerably over one hundred thousand pounds,⁵⁵ almost bankrupted them, it was very popular, with 20,000 people visiting the Shakespeare Gallery's opening exhibition in May 1789.⁵⁶ With thirty-four paintings by eighteen artists on display, the exhibition was 'for a time, the most talked-about artistic event in London'.⁵⁷

While John Boydell commissioned the paintings and Josiah established an engraving workshop for the project, their partner George Nicol managed the printing and publication of the nine-volume illustrated Shakespeare.⁵⁸ Their typographical desiderata are outlined in the *Shakespeare Gallery Catalogue*:

The principal object of the [typographical] improvements in the present Work, has been an endeavour, to retain the beauty of the best Printing, and yet to avoid the dazzling effect, which is so distressing to the eye of the Reader, in most of the fine Specimens of that Art.⁵⁹

To ensure that the text was printed to the highest standard Nicol recruited William Bulmer, a printer and typographer from Newcastle, whose reputation was established by his contributions to John Bell's *Poets of Great Britain* series, and set him up in business at the Shakespeare Printing Office, St. James, close to both the Gallery and Nicol's shop.⁶⁰ Although the three firms, owned by the Boydells, Nicol and Bulmer respectively, operated as independent entities they were, in fact, intimately linked through Nicol's marriage to Mary Boydell on 8 September 1787 and his son William Nicol being Bulmer's partner and

⁵³ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'; Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness*, p. 7; Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 71-72.

⁵⁴ Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Josiah Boydell, 'Preface', in *A Collection of Prints, From Pictures Painted for the Purpose of Illustrating the Dramatic Works of Shakspeare*, vol. I (London: John and Josiah Boydell, 1803).

⁵⁶ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

⁵⁷ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 91. A digital reconstruction of the interior of Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery in August 1796 has been created as part of the What Jane Saw digital heritage project and it can be accessed at: <http://www.whatjanesaw.org/index.php>.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵⁹ John Boydell, Josiah Boydell and George Nicol, 'Advertisement. 1790', in *A Catalogue of the Pictures, etc., in the Shakspeare Gallery, Pall-Mall* (London: Printed for the Proprietors, 1793), pp. xi-xii, <https://archive.org/stream/catalogueofpictu00boydiala#page/n13/mode/2up>.

⁶⁰ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 102-103. The Shakespeare Printing Office, 3 Russell Court, Cleveland Row, St James's was within 200m of both the Shakespeare Gallery, 52 Pall Mall and Nicol's shop at 58 Pall Mall.

successor.⁶¹ It is not surprising, then, to find a couple of prints from *Munimenta antiqua*, another collaboration between Nicol and Bulmer, in the Welsh Landscape Collection.

Numerous delays beset the production of the Shakespeare plates and this enabled the facilities available at the Shakespeare Printing Office to be used for other publications from the early 1790s.⁶² As a consequence, despite not having any examples from the illustrated Shakespeare, which are, of course, outside the scope of the Welsh Landscape Collection, we do have a number of prints from this period that were published by John and Josiah Boydell at the Shakespeare Gallery, Pall-Mall. Among them are ten engravings after works by John Ingleby, Moses Griffith and Thomas Sandby, first published by the Boydells between 1792 and 1795, and later included in the first sixteen plates of Richard Colt Hoare's *Views of noblemen's and gentlemen's seats*. Although the undated volume has the J. & J. Boydell imprint, it cannot have been issued earlier than 1806, since plates XVII to XLVI were first published by William Miller on 1 March 1806, and thus it is likely that Josiah Boydell alone completed and released the work, for this was more than a year after the death of John Boydell.

The final years of Boydell's life were difficult. Faced with bankruptcy, he applied to parliament for permission to hold a lottery that would offer the Shakespeare Gallery, together with its contents of paintings and prints, as the grand prize.⁶³ After the lottery act received Royal Assent, permitting the Gallery to be disposed of 'by way of chance',⁶⁴ proposals appeared on 5 April 1804, which explained that 22,000 tickets would be sold for three guineas each, with the sixty-second ticket drawn being awarded the grand prize.⁶⁵ Even though John Boydell died on 12 December 1804, about a month before the drawing of the lottery, ticket sales raised £78,000,⁶⁶ which enabled Josiah to service the firm's debts,⁶⁷ and continue in business, henceforth under the name Boydell & Co. He had, however, been ill for

⁶¹ Vivienne W. Painting, 'Nicol, George (1740?–1828)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), accessed 31 December 2016, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/40486](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40486); Peter Isaac, 'Bulmer, William (bap. 1757, d. 1830)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), accessed 31 December 2016, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/3928](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3928).

⁶² Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 158.

⁶³ Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness*, p. 8; Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 115-7.

⁶⁴ An Act to enable John Boydell, Esquire, one of the Aldermen of the City of London, and Josiah Boydell, his nephew and partner, to dispose of their collection of paintings, drawings, and engravings, together with the leasehold premises in Pall Mall, called the Shakspeare Gallery, by way of chance, 23d March 1804, 44, Geo. 3, c. vi, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=O6dFAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA236>.

⁶⁵ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, pp. 115-7.

⁶⁶ Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804)'.

⁶⁷ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 117.

several years prior to inheriting the firm and it did not regain its position as a leading printselling establishment. After Josiah died in 1817, an auction of the stock realised over £40,000 and paid off the outstanding debts, before John Hurst and Joseph Robinson purchased the remaining stock and leasehold of 90 Cheapside in 1819 and continued the business as successors to Messrs. Boydell.⁶⁸

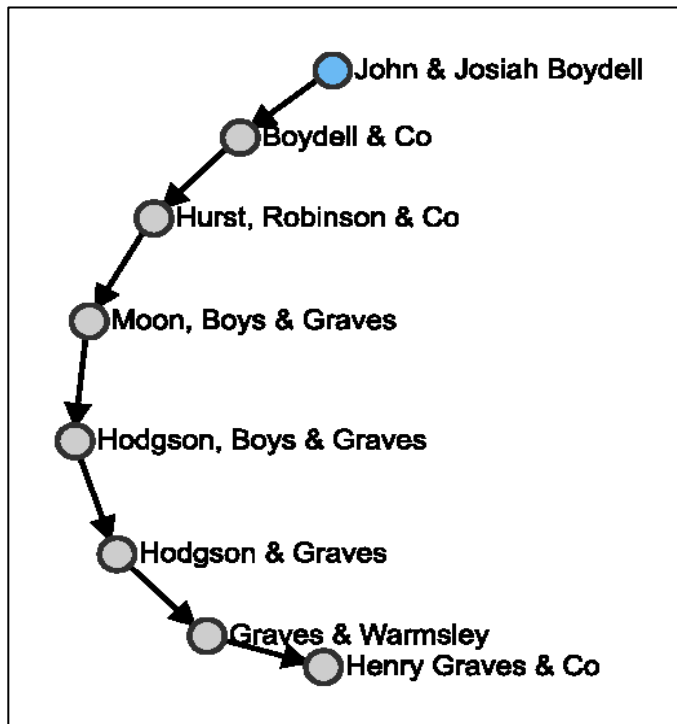


Figure 3: Successors to John & Josiah Boydell.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 241-3.

This new iteration of the business traded as Hurst, Robinson and Co. until 1828, when the firm changed hands again due to financial difficulties. Henry Graves, general manager of the Hurst, Robinson and Co. print department, formed a new partnership with Sir Francis Graham Moon and Thomas Boys at 6 Pall Mall. Moon, Boys and Graves became one of the leading London printsellers,⁶⁹ and in 1829 they issued a substantial *Catalogue of Engravings*, which included several views of Wales previously published by Boydell.⁷⁰ In 1834, after Moon had retired, Richard Hodgson joined the partnership, which was now known as Hodgson, Boys and Graves. After a series of subsequent name changes and reconfigurations the firm operated successfully through the late nineteenth century as Henry Graves and Company and it was inherited by the art critic Algernon Graves upon his father's death in 1892.⁷¹ All of the successors to John & Josiah Boydell are shown in figure 3. These successor companies, which managed to endure until the reproductive print was rendered obsolete by photography, together with the many images of the now familiar Welsh scenery are part of John Boydell's legacy and testimony to the fact that his influence over the reproductive print trade and artistic depiction of Wales continued long after his death.

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17 April 2017

⁶⁹ Susanna Avery-Quash, 'Henry Graves (1806–1892)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) accessed 17 Jan 2017, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/11309](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11309).

⁷⁰ Moon, Boys and Graves, *A Catalogue of Engravings, by the Most Esteemed Artists, after the Finest Pictures and Drawings of the Schools of Europe* (London: Moon, Boys and Graves, 1829), https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008269090.

⁷¹ Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 243.

Appendix: Prints in the Welsh Landscape Collection associated with John Boydell

Date	Title	Engraver	After	Publisher
Four views in Flint Shire, Engrav'd by John Boydell (London: John Boydell, 1752).				
1749	A view near Holywell	J. Boydell		J. Boydell
A collection of views in England and Wales, drawn and engraved by John Boydell (London: John Boydell, c. 1755).				
1749	A north-west view of Caernarvon Castle [b&w. - plate 54]	J. Boydell		J. Boydell
	" [col.]	"		"
	A west prospect of Conway Castle, in Caernarvon Shire [b&w. - plate 56]	"		"
	A north west view of Rhuddlan Castle, in Flint Shire [b&w. - plate 57]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
1750	Another Prospect of Caernarvon, taken on the east side [b&w - plate 55]	"		"
	"	"		"
	A North View of Denbigh Castle, in north Wales [b&w. - plate 58]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
	A view of Snowden, in the vale of Llan Beris, in Caernarvon shire [b&w. - plate 59]	"		"
	" [b&w.]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
	Gaunant Mawr, a great waterfall near Snowden [b&w. - plate 60]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
	A view of Penmaen Mawr in Caernarvon Shire [b&w. - plate 61]	"		"
	" [col.]	"		"
	Rhaiader Fawr, A great cataract, three miles from Penmaen Mawr [b&w. - plate 62]	"		"
	"	"		"
[Four views by Barret]				
1773	A view of part of Hawarden Castle in Flintshire	George Barret, Sr.		J. Boydell
	A view of Hawarden Castle in Flintshire	"		"
	A view of part of Snowden in Carnarvonshire	"		"
XII views in aquatinta from drawings taken on the spot in South-Wales (London: J. Boydell, 1775).				
1775	Chepstow Castle in Monmouthshire [plate I]	P. Sandby		J. Boydell
	"	"		P. Sandby
	The south gate of Cardiff castle in Glamorgan shire [plate II]	"		"
	St. Quintins castle near Cowbridge in Glamorgan shire [plate III]	"		"
	North west view of St. Donats castle in Glamorganshire [plate IV]	"		"
	"	"		s.n.

	View up Neath river from the house at Briton Ferry in Glamorganshire [plate V]	"		"
	"	"		"
	Pembroke castle [plate VI]	"		J. Boydell
	"	"		P. Sandby
	Part of the remains of Llanphor, near Pembroke [plate VII]	"		"
	"	"		"
	Manerbawr Castle in Pembrokeshire [plate VIII]	"		"
	Manerbawr Castle, from the inward court [plate IX]	"		"
	Carey castle in Pembrokeshire [plate X]	"		"
	Benton castle: looking down the Reach to Milford Haven [plate XI]	"		"
	Episcopal Palace at St. David's [plate XII]	P. Sandby	L. Wynne	J. Boydell
	"	"	"	P. Sandby
<hr/>				
<i>XII Views in North Wales</i> (London: P. Sandby, 1776).				
1775	Conwyd Mill near Corwens in Merioneth Shire, between Llangollin and Bala	P. Sandby		J. Boydell
	Valla Crusses near Llangollin, belonging to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn bart	"		"
<hr/>				
<i>Six views in Wales</i> (London: J. Boydell, 1775).				
1775	Carnarvon Castle, the Birthplace of Edward II, in North Wales	W. Byrne	R. Wilson	J. Boydell
	Pembroke town and castle: in South Wales	J. Mason	"	"
	The great bridge over the Taaffe, in south Wales	P-C. Canot	"	"
	Snowden Hill, and the adjacent Country in North Wales	W. Woollett	"	"
<hr/>				
A collection of one hundred and fifty select views, in England, Scotland, and Ireland (London: John Boydell, 1783).				
1775	Wynn Stay in Denbighshire: the seat of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, bart	P. Sandby	M. A. Rooker	G. Kearsley
1776	Edwinsford, the Seat of R. Banks Hodgkinson Esq	W. Watts	P. Sandby	"
	"	"	"	"
1778	Benton Castle, Milford Haven	W. Watts	"	"
	Caernarvon Castle	W. Watts	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Chepstow Castle in Monmouthshire	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Conway	W. Watts	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	East view of the inside of Cardiff castle	P. Mazell	"	"
	Hubberstone Priory, Pembrokeshire	P. Mazell	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Landaff cathedral	W. Watts	"	"
	North East View of Pembroke	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"
	Queen's Gate, at Caernarvon	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"

1779	Abbey of Llan Egwerst	T. Morris	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Benton Castle	J. Fittler	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Harlech Castle in Merioneth-Shire	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Inside view of Chepstow castle	F. Chesham	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Snowdon, in Caernarvonshire	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"
	The new bridge, on the River Dee: near Chirk castle	P. Mazell	"	"
	View of the copper works at Neath	W. Angus & W. Walker	"	"
	West view of Chepstow bridge	J. Roberts	"	"
1788	Benton Castle, Milford Haven	W. Watts	"	"
n.d.	The Eagle Tower, Caernarvan Castle	Duponchel & Morris	"	"

Select views in Great Britain. Engraved by S. Middiman from Pictures and Drawings by the most eminent Artists (London: John and Josiah Boydell, c. 1813).

1784	View in the Isle of Anglesea	W. Watts	C. Metz	S. Middiman
1786	View near Caernarvon	S. Middiman	G. Barret, Sr.	"
1787	View of Llangollen Vale	S. Middiman & T. Tagg	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	View near Landaff	S. Middiman	C. M. Powell	"
1788	View on the River Wye	"	J. Wathen	J. & J. Boydell
1789	View near Neath, Glamorganshire	S. Middiman		"
	"		"	"
	"		"	"
	"		"	"
1792	View of Oystermouth in Swansea bay		"	"
1813	Monk's Rock, Tenby	S. Middiman	J. C. Ibbetson	Boydell & Co
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"

A collection of forty-eight views of noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, towns, castles, churches, monasteries, and romantic places in north and south Wales (London: John and Josiah Boydell, 1806).

1792	Bleach works at Llewenni: as at first intended to be built for the honble Thos Fitzmaurice, Denbighshire	W. Watts	T. Sandby	J. & J. Boydell
	Copper Works near Holywell. Belonging to the Mona Compy., Flintshire	W. Watts	J. Ingleby	"
	Cotton Works near Holywell. Belonging to Messrs. Douglas & Compy	W. C. Wilson	J. Ingleby	"
	Cotton Works near Holywell, Flintshire	W. Watts	J. Ingleby	"
	Downing. The Seat of Thos. Pennant Esqr., Flintshire	W. C. Wilson	M. Griffith	"
	Greenfield brass mills, near Holywell, Flintshire	W. C. Wilson	J. Ingleby	"
	Llewenni Hall: the seat of the honble Thos Fitzmaurice, Denbighshire	W. Watts	M. Griffith	"

	Llewenni Hall: the seat of the honble Thos Fitzmaurice, Denbighshire	W. Watts	M. Griffith	"
	Wrexham church, Denbighshire	W. Watts	M. Griffith	"
1795	A distant view of Rudland Castle, church bridge & harbour, Flintshire	W. C. Wilson	M. Griffith	"
	Greenfield Hall, near Holywell, Flintshire	W. C. Wilson	J. Ingleby	"
1806	Abergevenni	W. Byrne	R. C. Hoare	W. Miller
	Banchor i.e. Bangor	"	"	"
	Beavmaris i.e. Beaumaris	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Caerdyf	"	"	"
	Conwy	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Cydweli	"	"	"
	Dinas Emrys	"	"	"
	Ewenith	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Landaf	"	"	"
	Lanhever	"	"	"
	Lanwadein	"	"	"
	Llanelwy. St. Asaph	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Maenor Pyr	"	"	"
	Maenor Pyrr	"	"	"
	Margan	"	"	"
	Menevia, St. David's	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Penbroch	"	"	"
	Powis	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Raidergwy	"	"	"
	Snowdon	"	"	"
	Stratflur	"	"	"
	Traeth Mawr	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
	Usk	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"
<hr/>				
<i>Munimenta antiqua: or, observations on ancient castles</i> (London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co. for G. Nicol, 1799).				
1799	Cromlech at Plas Newydd in Anglesey	J. S. Storer	Caroline Metz	G. Nicol
	Double cromlech, near Trevor in Anglesey	"	"	"
<hr/>				
<i>Picturesque Views in England and Wales</i> (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838).				
1834	Llandberis Lake. Wales	J. T. Willmore	J. M. W. Turner	Hodgson, Boys & Graves
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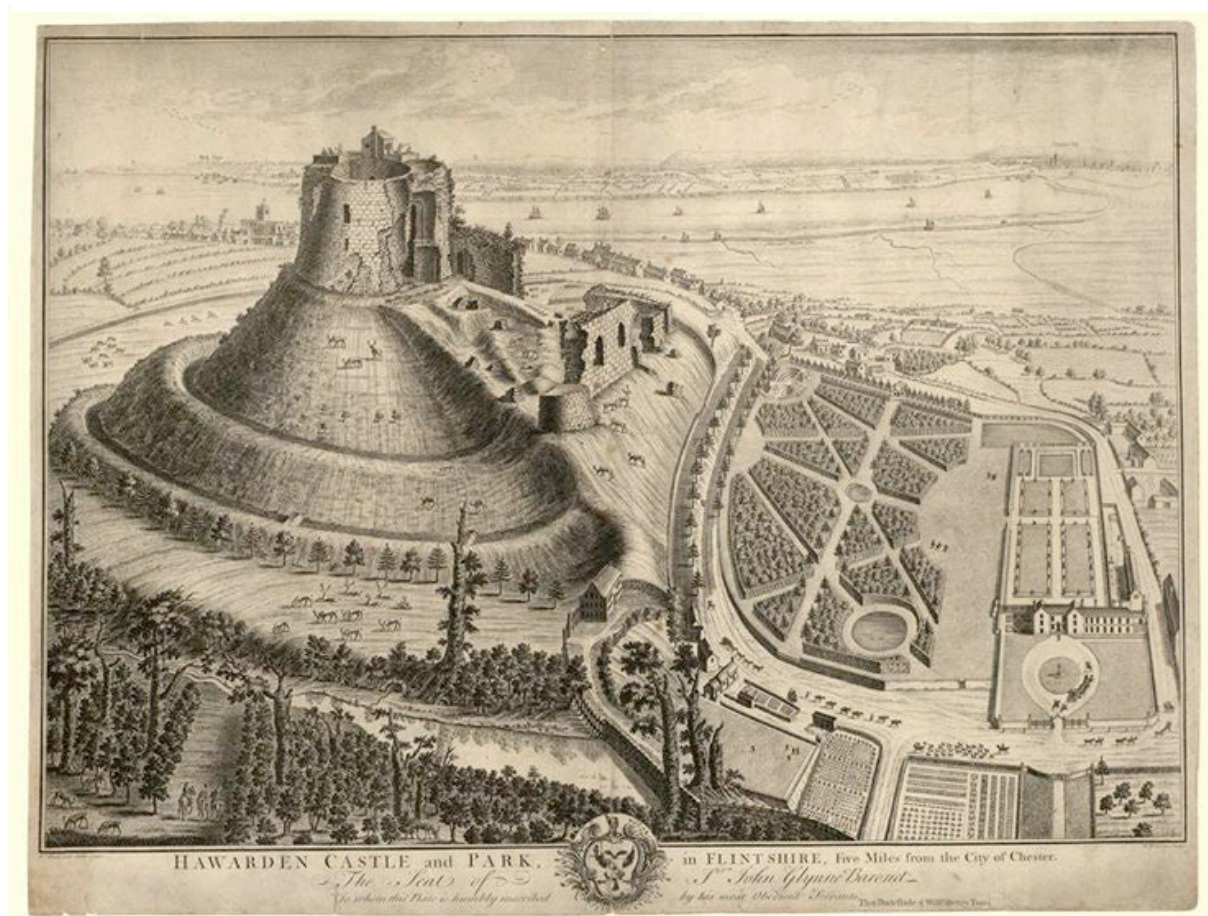
Plate I: John Boydell's reputation in the London art scene was firmly established by the publication of his portrait (Bruntjen, *John Boydell, 1719-1804*, p. 42).



Valentine Green, after Josiah Boydell, *John Boydell*, published July 1772. Mezzotint, 446 x 331 mm (paper size). National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D13738, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw65089/John-Boydell>.

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Plate II: The print of Hawarden Castle that inspired John Boydell to become an engraver.



William Henry Toms, after Thomas Badeslade, *Hawarden Castle and Park, in Flintshire*, 1740. Engraving, 394 x 558 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1130184>.

Plate III: John Boydell, A view of Snowden, in the vale of Llan Beris, in Caernarvon shire, 1750.



a) Engraving, 315 x 468 mm (b&w). National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1133543>.



b) Engraving, 314 x 468 mm (col.). National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1133885>.

Plate IV: William Woollett, after Richard Wilson, *Snowden Hill and the adjacent Country in North Wales*, ca. 1775. Engraving, 361 x 522 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1131022>.



Plate V: Paul Sandby, *Pembroke Castle*, plate VI of *XII Views in South-Wales*, published by John Boydell, September 1775. Aquatint, 186 x 258 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1133081>.



Plate VI: Paul Sandby, *Pembroke Castle*, plate VI of *XII Views in South-Wales*, published by Paul Sandby, 1 September 1775. Aquatint, 187 x 261 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1129547>.



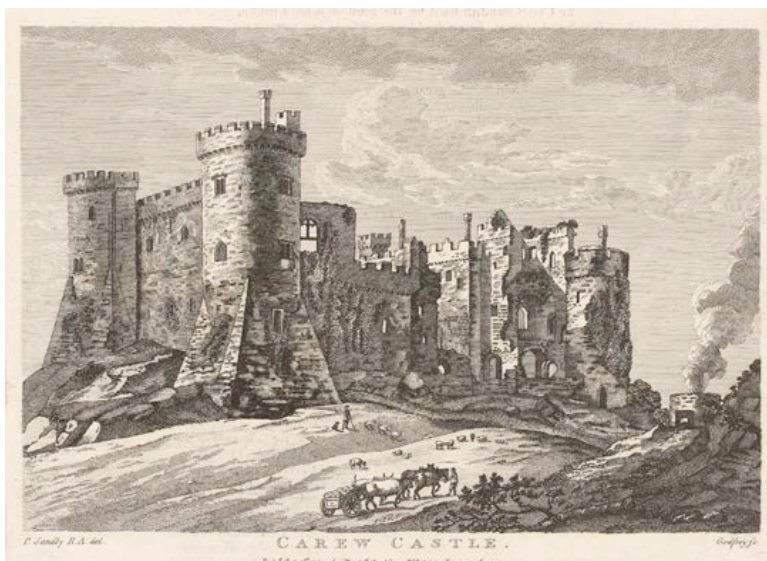
Plate VII: Three prints of Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire that reproduce a drawing taken by Paul Sandby during Joseph Banks' tour of Wales in 1773.



a) Richard Godfrey, after Paul Sandby, 'Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire', from Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* 1773-1787, vol. 4, published 2 January 1775. Engraving, 104 x 153 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1132752>.



b) Paul Sandby, 'Carew Castle in Pembrokeshire', plate X of *XII Views in South-Wales*, published by Paul Sandby, 1 September 1775. Aquatint, 182 x 255 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1129077>.



c) Richard Godfrey, after Paul Sandby, 'Carew Castle', from *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1775-1784, vol. 2, published 1 October 1779. Engraving, 151 x 218 mm. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1132168>.