Extra-Illustration and Ephemera:
Altered Books and the Alternative Forms of the Fugitive Page

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In “A Friendly Gathering: The Social Politics of Presentation Books and their Extra-Illustration in Horace Walpole’s Circle,” Lucy Peltz plays with the technical and metaphorical senses of “gathering” to reflect on the materiality and sociability of altered books in the Strawberry Hill set.¹ The practice of extra-illustration consisted in disbinding the book and cutting loose the gatherings of leaves that make up its quires in order to interleave them with additional pages or to inlay each page into windows cut through larger sized paper. The process is captured in Walpole’s correspondence: “Mr Bull is honouring me, at least my *Anecdotes of Painting*, exceedingly. He has let every page into a pompous sheet, and is adding every print of portrait, building, etc., that I mention and that he can get, and specimens of all our engravers. It will make eight magnificent folios, and be a most valuable body of our arts.”² Specimens collected and collated with the text documented the words on the page.

Altering the bibliographic codes of the book, extra-illustration reclaimed the codex from its commercial specifications as a stable and homogeneous object produced in a print-run of identical multiples, and turns it into a unique association object. In its monumentalizing aims and dimensions, extra-illustration could be considered an antidote against ephemera; however, transience is inherent to its dynamics. Its attempt to document the text with reproductions operated on the complementary fear that words are too frail a shrine, and yet

the impending dispersal of their referents might be mitigated by a virtual survival in the form of a paper specimen shored up on the page.

In this essay I will read the practice of extra-illustration against its grain to recuperate the ephemeral side of “the pompous sheet.” How does the extra-illustrated page as a composite object disbound from its gatherings relate to alternative forms of the printed page as a detached piece, a scrap, a caption appended to objects in the house, a series of occasional pieces rebound into new composite forms in the paper repository of the codex? I will focus on two complementary book collections, which gather together materials published by the Strawberry Hill Press. Housed in a cottage on the premises of Walpole’s gothic villa in Twickenham, this private press was established in 1757 to publish books, poems, tracts, and small detached pieces, from two odes by Thomas Gray to Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, from title pages to trade cards and labels for restricted circulation within an inner circle of Walpole’s friends and acquaintances.³ Such occasional publications were collected and arranged ‘in order for binding, from the common wish of collectors to complete their pursuits’.⁴ I will discuss one of these bound volumes, *A Collection of the Loose Pieces printed at Strawberry-Hill*, now at the Huntington Library.⁵ This gathering of private press publications is illustrated with engravings and other additional materials, some of which are also inserted in an extra-illustrated copy of Walpole’s *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole … at Strawberry Hill* (1784), now at the Lewis Walpole Library.⁶ Both volumes were produced by Richard

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⁴ John Bowle to Horace Walpole, 28 December 1782, HWC, XLII, 42.
⁶ Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex. With an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures,
Bull (1721-1805), whom Walpole considered chief among extra-illustrators. When he died, the Gentleman Magazine claimed that through the art of extra-illustration Bull “erected for himself a monument of taste”.\(^7\) Taken together these two volumes experiment with the possibilities of the codex as a means of textual transmission. While Bull’s extra-illustrated copy of Description exemplifies the role of illustration in supporting the book as a technology of memory, the complementary collection of Strawberry Hill papers documents the use of the codex as an archival repository for the preservation of loose pieces.

Bound books and unbound papers articulate very different temporalities of print: while the former claim to eternalize authors enshrined in monumental forms, the latter belong to the world of ephemera. Samuel Johnson presented ephemerae as transient printed matter, the fugitive productions of the moment. Written for a specific occasion, published on loose sheets, which became flying leaves, these writings were not expected to stand the test of time. Bound forms, by contrast, were designed to protect writing that would be to be preserved for posterity. Writing about the Harleian Collection, Johnson marked out the codex as the form that enabled ephemera to enter the order of the collection: “There is, perhaps, no Nation, in which it is so necessary, as in our own to assemble, from Time to Time, the small Tracts and fugitive Pieces, which are occasionally Published.”\(^8\) For Johnson, “papers of the day, the Ephemerae of learning, have uses often more adequate to the purposes of common life than

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more pompous and durable volumes.” In aligning the durable with the pompous, Johnson clarifies his appreciation for ephemera and points out the tension between the work’s content and its bibliographical codes. Binding may well determine the stability of a cultural form, protecting paper from recycling and the ravages of time; it transforms ephemeral matter, abstracts it from the everyday, and claims its significance beyond contingent occasions.

Although the word “ephemeral” is missing from Walpole’s writings, the concept is refracted through a rich lexicon in his paratexts. Johnson’s notion of ‘fugitive’ is captured in Walpole’s discussion of duelling, which ‘ought to be censured with more dignity, than a fugitive weekly paper can pretend to’. Originally published in *The World*, it was not selected among the writings collected under the title *Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose* (1758). This omission might signal a shift towards alternative connotations of the commonplace of *otium cum litteris*, in which self-deprecation shapes the ironic detachment of the aristocrat as amateur author. In his dedicatory letter to the collection Walpole describes *Fugitive Pieces* as ‘trifles’ and “idlenesses” hardly likely to survive if even the military virtues and actions of his dedicatee, Henry Seymour Conway, “can fade away.” A similar contrast structures Walpole’s preface to *Description*: Strawberry Hill is but “a paper Fabric and an assemblage of curious Trifles, made by an insignificant Man,” the implicit comparison here being with the prime-ministerial worth of his father and his Palladian mansion, Houghton Hall in Norfolk. However, measuring such works against the eminence of public life proves double-edged: “my panegyric might be turned into satire,” Walpole points out to Conway. Contrast in scale, virtue, and durability is unpredictable and ephemeral. While

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9 Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 145, 6 August 1751, 82.
10 *The World*, no. 113, 27 February 1755, p. 678.
12 Walpole, *Description*, i.
13 Walpole, *Fugitive Pieces*, cit.
writing fixes the trajectories of objects through collections, their “well attested descent” indicates both their genealogy and their fall: “the line is often continued by many insignificant names.” Binding offers the collection a stabilizing repository in the form of a paper archive. Extra-illustration renews the words’ relationship with their referents bringing a disappearing world within the book’s bindings. These paper surrogates supplement the reach of words when objects are dispersed and names lose their legibility.

_Description_ and _A Collection of the Loose Pieces pieces printed at Strawberry Hill_ articulate different approaches to contingency. In representing the house as an inventory of objects drawn up to establish their provenance and fix their location “with a view to their future dispersion,” _Description_ shares features with the auction catalogue, which opens up the collection to the market and reverts its specimens to the volatile exchange value of commodities. Walpole’s occasional verses and fugitive pieces have the ephemerality of “flying leaves.” These productions of the moment anchor writing and printing to a specific place of origin, presence, and exchange. Produced by Walpole’s private press at Strawberry Hill, often addressed to visitors to the house, and delivered to them while they witness the performance of the press, these occasional pieces are inscribed in an economy of friendship and restricted circulation. Yet the mobile properties of these unbound leaves intersect with the volatility of objects as they move between collections.

Reduced to specimens reproduced on paper, objects intersect with detached pieces in the dynamics of the paper archive. Discussing “A Collection of Prints Engraved by Various Persons of Quality,” Walpole gives an account of his practice of book making:

I have invented a new and very harmless way of making books, which diverts me as well, and brings me to no disgrace. I have just made a new book, which costs me only

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14 Walpole, _Description_, ii.
money, which I don’t value, and time which I love to employ. It is a volume of etchings by noble authors. They are bound in robes of crimson and gold; the titles are printed at my own press, and the pasting is by my own hand.\textsuperscript{16}

Walpole’s description identifies a spectrum of forms including the portfolio of prints, the scrapbook, and the extra-illustrated book. Bindings and title pages are the bibliographical codes that endow the portfolio of prints with the format of the codex and inscribe it in the order of books. Yet the decorative elements that define the book’s bibliographic codes are less stable than they might seem. The first item inserted in Bull’s \textit{Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill} is a handwritten list of books and detached pieces published at Strawberry Hill tipped onto the flyleaf, followed by four pages with initials, fleurons, and ‘head and tail pieces used in the Strawberry Hill Press’. At the top of the first page Bull placed an engraved profile head of ‘Antonius Magliabechus Florentinum’, drawn from a medal and used to illustrate Sir Joseph Spence’s \textit{Parallel; in the Manner of Plutarch: between a most celebrated man of Florence; and one, scarce ever heard of, in England} (1758), shortened to ‘Spence’s Parallel of Magliabechi and Hill’ in Walpole’s shorthand list at the back of \textit{Description}. The collection of vignettes concludes with William Bentley’s decorations for the Strawberry Hill edition of Lucan’s \textit{Pharsalia} (1760), starting with the vignette placed at the bottom of the address to the reader, which features a classical bust surrounded by monumental bound volumes on whose spines we can make out short-titles of works linked to the volume’s editor, Richard Bentley: ‘Terence’, ‘Free Thinkers’, ‘Phalaris’, ‘Milton’, ‘Boyle’. On the following page, Bull arranged the emblematic title page vignette for Bentley’s Lucan, a composition held together by a serpent-haired figure of Discord, with reproductions of medal portraits of the key characters on the sides, two trumpets inserted in a lyre at the top, and Strawberry Hill in the background, made more recognizable by a vignette

of Strawberry Hill itself pasted beneath it. A similar composition of initials, vignettes, and fleurons is also interleaved in Walpole’s extra-illustrated copy of *Description* to document the bibliography of Strawberry Hill listed at the end of the catalogue. These vignettes mark the boundaries of the book, the partitions between its discrete units, and their subject matter. Yet their paratextual function is subverted when they are inscribed in a decorative composition pasted on an extra-illustrated page. Abstracted from their bookish abodes and turned into elements of extra-illustration, these decorations suggest the reversibility of the book as a composite form.

Bespoke title pages are a common feature of the extra-illustrated book, a way of inflecting a unit of the codex to reflect an altered form, customizing a commercially produced object differentiated from its print run of identical multiples, and recording the additional agency involved in the intersection between the orders of the book and the orders of collecting. Title pages identify a book by providing bibliographic information such as the name of the author, the title, publisher, place and year of publication. Their position before the beginning of the text negotiates the threshold between what is inside and what is outside the book. However, their function is subverted when more than one title page is included in the binding, calling the book’s bibliographic details into question. The book is further destabilized when title pages are placed in the middle or towards the end rather than the beginning or when they are separated from the book’s contents. The partitions of the book then become volatile, showing the reversible seams of the paper archive. Such specimens point to the alternative lives of the page outside the order of the book, when it is disbound, disseminated, repurposed.

A number of bespoke title pages printed by the Strawberry Hill Press appear in Bull’s collection of detached pieces. The first, *A Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at*

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17 For Walpole’s copy see Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 49 3582, lwlpri6449, inserted before p. 87.
*Strawberry Hill* (90524:1), includes the press’s vignette of the house already encountered as a detached decoration tipped with others on the earlier preliminary page. A second title page, printed in 1791 on the Isle of Wight for J.Albin, reads *A Collection of the Separate Poems, and Other Detached Pieces; Printed at the Press of the Honorable Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill* (90524:2). This second title page faces a mezzotint of Sir Joshua Reynolds’s portrait of Walpole, a classical paratextual device to supplement the writing with a gesture that points to the surrogate presence of the author. Yet the name of the publisher in this case contradicts the title and questions the integrity of the collection as a record of the productions of the Strawberry Hill press. After two title pages, in reverse order comes the gothic frontispiece that Edward Edwards designed for the second edition of *Description*. This alternative inscription repurposes the frontispiece as a reference to the house and the collection rather than as a paratextual marker that signals the threshold of the text. These alternative or complementary possibilities disorient the reader, who might at this point wonder whether to expect the text of *Description*. Indeed, this frontispiece is extra-illustrated in the similarly redundant proliferation of preliminary papers that composes both Bull’s and Walpole’s extra-illustrated copies of *Description*. Randall McLeod has reflected on the cohesive role of redundancy in printing, which bridges the material discontinuities between discrete units and attempts to control the instability of book production. Here, however, the proliferation of title pages destabilizes the form and boundaries of the book.

Other title pages inserted in Bull’s *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill* appear in the middle of the codex and are harder to repurpose: *A Collection of the most Remarkable Tracts Published in the Reign of King George III, Vol. VI* faces the titlepage for volume 8 of the corresponding collection of poems, followed by volume ten of the dramatic pieces (90524:34-36). In this case, these single sheets stand as specimens of

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printing, but their function as paratextual units signals the bibliographic form taken by pamphlets inscribed in the order of the collection in the library. These title pages unify the collection of pamphlets and other detached pieces in a paper archive subdivided into units of time defined by the monarch’s reign; they signal the metamorphosis of fugitive pieces into the codex and of the collector into the book-maker. The volumetric absence of the writings that these titles announce can be supplemented by imagining or remembering their place on the book cases of the library at Strawberry Hill. Another title page inserted among the detached pieces produced by Walpole’s private press points outside of Walpole’s collection: 

*Collectanea: or a Collection of Advertisements and Paragraphs from the Newspapers, Relating to Various Subjects. Printed at Strawberry Hill by Thomas Kirgate for the Collector, Daniel Lysons* (90524:40). Elements designed for detached pieces located outside Strawberry Hill hybridize the collection suggesting its heterotopian horizon. Besides its function as a support for fugitive pieces, Bull’s *Collection* reveals the hybrid drive of the codex as a microcosm. Its role as a unit of the library is subverted by its ambition to stand for the library itself. By collecting within its bindings fragments of other books, it is predicated on unbound and disbound forms. Encountering the title page without the accompanying text signals the potential destruction of the bibliographic form that it was made for.\(^{20}\) As the work of the Press extends beyond the precincts of the Strawberry Hill library, the extraneous title page opens up a heterotopian dimension that includes other libraries, collections, and books within the boundaries of Walpole’s press and collection.

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After the title pages and views of the house, Bull inserted illustrations that document the places and agents involved in making Walpole’s books and detached pieces. Following Lady Sophia Burrell’s “Lines by an Anonymous Author, After seeing the Curiosities at Strawberry hill,” and Walpole’s notice to visitors, a printed note interleaved in the collection reverts the focus from the house to the press:

T. Kirgate, Domestic Printer to the late Earl of Orford, begs leave to inform … that his illustrated Book, the Description of Strawberry-Hill, to which you are a Subscriber, will be Raffled for on Wednesday the Third of June next, at Mr. S. Harding’s No 127, Pall-Mall, near Carlton-House, from one till Five o’Clock in the Afternoon, under the Inspection of some of the Subscribers.

Such Ladies or Gentlemen as cannot conveniently attend, are requested to appoint some Person to Raffle for them.

May 27 1801

Printed by J. Barfield, No. 91, Wardour Street. Printer for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

(fig.1)

This notice demonstrates the nexus of printing, collecting, and book-making. Extra-illustrated books became for Kirgate a source of additional income. The printer mediated the press’s restricted circulation within and outside Strawberry Hill, procured rare prints and other collectibles, but also manufactured customized copies on behalf of others. Subscription and raffle emphasize the sociability of extra-illustration as a society entertainment. Bull’s name inscribed in handwriting with an added personal closing note indicates his participation in a restricted set for whom the customized copy would function as a personal object—despite the apparent randomness of the method of acquisition. Behind the interleaved notice is a portrait

21 Clarke, The Strawberry Hill Press, pp. 121-134.
22 [Lady Sophia Burrell], Lines Sent to Mr Walpole, by an Anonymous Author, after Viewing the Curiosities at Strawberry Hill, 1790 (Newport: J. Albin, 1791), Huntington Library, 90524:3. A footnote reads “They were written by Lady Burrell, who permitted Mr Bull to have twelve Copies printed, six of which were sent to her ladyship”; another copy is pasted in the flyleaf of Walpole’s copy of Description, see 49 3582, lwlpr 16002.
inscribed “T.Kirgate, Printer at Strawberry Hill,” published by Edward Edwards in 1784 (fig. 2). This portrait is also extra-illustrated in Bull’s copy of Description, with an interleaved manuscript note by Edwards accompanying this and other portraits, which spells out the rules of its restricted circulation: “Mr Walpole has no more than two proofs & has only printed off a few impression on purpose to oblige some of his curious Friends & acquaintances. & must particularly beg that it may not be parted with so that it may be copied.” In Bull’s extra-illustrated Description, the portrait is inscribed above John Carter’s drawing “Inside of the PRINTING-HOUSE at Strawberry hill.”23 A version of the interior also appears in Bull’s Collection of the Loose Pieces printed at Strawberry Hill, though on the following page due to the difference in format between the two volumes.24 These illustrations connect the collection of detached pieces with the extra-illustration of the house. While in the extra-illustrated house they come to towards the end, following the textual order of Description, here they are part of the preliminary papers. The repetition and permutation of these specimens calls attention to their properties as detached pieces. Despite their textual anchoring, their placement is ephemeral, mobile, and reversible. Their place in materials gathered to document the house and the press blurs the boundaries between volumes and thus questions the uniqueness of extra-illustrated books as customized objects.

Sequence is key to the story presented by the collection. “Vers, que Louis XV trouva sous son assiette, en 1751” (90524:7; fig. 2) is the first textual specimen of the Strawberry Hill Press to appear in Bull’s Loose Pieces, although it was not the first to be printed by the press; it is pasted under Kirgate’s portrait, although it was not printed by Kirgate.25 The logic

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23 Kirgate’s portrait is reproduced in 33 30, copy 11, lwlp15763; see also lwlp15761 for the page-view, which includes the interior of the printing house (lwlp15764), and the interleaved manuscript (15762). All items tagged lwlp followed by a number are digitally reproduced as part of The Lewis Walpole Library Digital Collection at images.library.yale.edu.


25 In Journal of the Printing Press, Walpole records the first item to have been Gray’s Two Odes, see Horace Walpole, Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill, now first printed from the MS of Horace Walpole, ed. Paget Toynbee (London: Chiswick Press for Constable and Houghton Mifflin, 1923), p. 3, hereafter abbreviated JPO, p.3, which also records the first printer as William Robinson.
of its inscription is even more perplexing when turning to the handwritten inscription underneath: “Printed at the Strawberry Hill Press, by a Swiss, who knew neither Printing nor French,” a reference to Johann Heinrich Müntz, resident painter at Strawberry Hill until 1759. Identifying the hand behind the act of printing marks its role as a social entertainment. The attribution functions as a disclaimer, for it dissociates Kirgate’s professional printing, from his predecessor’s amateur and occasional productions. To subsume this specimen under the portrait of Kirgate, the longest-serving printer at Strawberry Hill, means to record the inconsistencies of the press’s beginnings before higher standards are set by the employment of a professional figure. Kirgate’s identification with the press is confirmed by Bull’s and Walpole’s choice of his portrait to illustrate the bibliography of the Strawberry Hill press printed at the end of their copies of Description. In Bull’s Loose Pieces Kirgate marks the beginning and the ending of the printing press, with the portrait preceding the specimens of text printed at Strawberry Hill and his “Farewell to the Press” (90524:46) described as “the last thing printed at Strawberry Hill, October 1797” in a hand-written caption. This is the paratextual logic that governs Bull’s framing of the detached pieces.

Composed for a particular occasion and addressed to a particular person, the lines that Louis XV allegedly found under his plate participate in a French tradition of “vers de société” or “pièces galantes.” The occasion is constitutive of this kind of poetry, as Nicole Masson has observed. The third person of the title distances the reader from Louis XV, while inviting him to participate vicariously in the spectacle of the king at his table; by contrast, the second person in the poem transfers the address to the reader, although the private press’s small print run and restricted circulation limits its remit. “Pièces fugitives en vers et en prose,” the generic title often used to collect these poems under a shared heading, delineates a tradition

26 Huntington Library, 90524:7, catalogued by Hazen, A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press, Detached Pieces, no. 5. Walpole records Müntz printing on 18 August 1757, see JPO, p. 3.
27 Lewis Walpole Library, 33 30, copy 11, lwpr15761 and lwpr15763; 49 3582, lwpr16446 and lwpr16448, inserted after D, p.86.
that originated as a newspaper poetry column, but became a fashionable medium of occasional verse practiced by Voltaire and Walpole, among others.\textsuperscript{29} Bull’s decision to place this poem first among the detached pieces printed at Strawberry Hill suggests the importance of the French tradition of fugitive poetry. Indeed, the first detached piece Walpole mentions authoring and printing in his Journal of the Printing Office is a sonnet he composed in French; it was drawn from a French epigram on killing time, and printed by Müntz.\textsuperscript{30} His little knowledge of French may have proved as problematic as his lack of experience in printing. To denounce his language errors is to declare the limits of sociability and the divide between invention, composition, and execution, as well as between liberal and mechanical execution.

The genres of found writings become symbolic of the press itself in a series of poems composed to mark a visit to Strawberry Hill. The next poetical performance entered into Bull’s \textit{Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill} is a piece entitled “The printing-press at Strawberry-Hill to the Earl of Chesterfield” (90524:8).\textsuperscript{31} On 5 June 1770 Walpole recorded the poem’s occasion in his Journal of the Printing Office: “Lord Chesterfield coming to Strawberry hill, in the Library found on the table the following verses printed.”\textsuperscript{32} Chesterfield’s association with Walpole included their contribution to \textit{The World} in the mid-1750s, some of which Walpole collected in his \textit{Fugitive Pieces} in 1758. Despite the title’s dedication, the poem shifts addressee: “O! Twit’nam, wou’d the friend of Pope but bless / with some immortal Page thy favour’d Press.” The choice of the optative inflects the

\textsuperscript{29} This is the title of the poetry section published in \textit{Mémoire de France} from July 1736; see also \textit{Recueil de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers par Mr de Voltaire} (Paris, 1740), \textit{Elite de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers} (Paris, 1769-70).
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Vers sur cette expression ordinaire, tuer le temps}, Huntington Library, 90524:25 ; JPO, p. 3 ; Hazen, \textit{A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press}, Detached Pieces, no. 1.
\textsuperscript{31} Hazen, \textit{Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press}, Detached Pieces, no. 21.
\textsuperscript{32} JPO, p. 16.
wish with a series of negatives. The poem acts as a surrogate for the missed encounter; its insistence on place and proximity conveys the absence of the author: with Pope dead and Walpole indisposed, agency is transferred onto the printing press itself. The press’s wish is implausible because, in his *Letters to his Son*, Chesterfield had denounced the bibliomaniac crave for scarce books, and indicated that good books are “the commonest sort,” rather than items produced by private presses for restricted publication. Chesterfield himself was dead by the time Bull gathered this poem in his collection of detached pieces. The retrospective epitaphic dimension of the poem is strengthened by Bull’s choice of illustration: facing the poem is a monumental round portrait engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi after a medal based on a classical bust by Joseph Wilton. The poem is followed by an engraving representing the interior of the library at Strawberry Hill. Prompted by the setting of the poem as an object found in the library, this inscription acquires additional canonical signification. Bull’s decision to place this 1770 production so early in the collection indicates his desire to inscribe Chesterfield and Pope in the Strawberry Hill Press. The inscription is sealed by the poem’s juxtaposition with the library, but since the wish was not realized and the poem is printed on a loose sheet, the attempt to inscribe it within the order of the book and the library is precarious. The poem’s deictics attempt to establish proximity to a place from which it is twice removed since the loose sheet has wandered from its origin and entered a collection with a title page composed on the Isle of Wight.

Demonstrations of the printing press take on the performative title of “The Press Speaks,” followed by the name of the addressee, in a series of poems published between 1757

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33 For printing in lieu of a missed encounter, see also ‘The Master of Otranto being in durance and not able to receive the Fairy Blandina’, 90524:30; Hazen, *A bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, Detached Pieces, no. 23.

34 ‘I am apt to think that you will find something better to do, than to run to Mr. Osborne’s at Gray’s Inn, to pick up scarce books. Buy good books, and read them; the best books are the commonest’, *Letters written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his son, Philip Stanhope, published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London: Dodsley, 1774), II, 354; this denunciation of bibliomania is quoted in Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, III, 301.

and 1788. In these poems the press is presented as a fictitious character endowed with authorial agency on the occasion of visits to the printing-house. The use of prosopopoeia animates the spectacle of the printing press. Like an automaton, the machine blurs the boundaries between mechanical and human composition and takes on the characteristics of the voice of the author as it speaks out the lines that are being printed in front of its addressee. The first recorded exercise occurred in August 1757. Walpole describes this performance as part of “les amusements des eaux de Straberri”:

My Lady Rochford, Lady Townshend, Miss Bland and the new Knight of the Garter dined here, and were carried into the printing-office, and were to see the man print. There were some lines ready placed, which he took off: I gave them to my Lady Townshend; here they are;

The press speaks;
From me wits and poets their glory obtain:
Without me their wit and their verses were vain.
Stop, Townshend, and let me but print what you say;
You, the fame I on others bestow, will repay. ³⁷

Having agreed to a subsequent request to see the printer set the types and print lines from The Fair Penitent, Walpole’s printer distracted the visitors so as to make a substitution, and surprise them with an alternative text, in which the press speaks to Lady Rochford instead, to the delight of the visitors. ³⁸ Neither of the texts printed on this occasion figures in Bull’s Collection, but he does include “The Press speaks, for Madame de Boufflers” and “for

³⁶ ‘The Press Speaks’ is discussed by Clarke, The Strawberry Hill Press, pp. 39-44.
³⁷ Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 25 August 1757, HWC, 9: 215-216, JPO, p. 3 and Hazen, Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press, Detached Pieces, no 2 and 5. For other instances of ‘The Press Speaks’, see below, and 18 June 1764, HWC, 10: 127 for the spectacle of the printing press as part of tourist tour including Vauxhall.
³⁸ JPO, p. 4.
Madame Dusson” (90524:21), with an explanation of the occasion recorded in handwriting
“these two pieces were printed in 1763, when the two ladies dined at Strawberry Hill.”
Walpole provided more detail in a letter to George Montagu, in which he recounted his
hospitality, including the breakfast, the French horns and clarinets in the Great Parlour, and
the “little gentillesse” offered by his printing press:

as the French ladies had never seen a printing-house, I carried them into mine; they
found something ready set, and desiring to see what it was, it proved as follows:

THE PRESS SPEAKS.

*For Madame de Boufflers* …

*For Madame Dusson*

The next item included in Bull’s *Loose Pieces* features poems composed on the occasion of
another French visit in June 1769. Facing an oval engraved portrait of Emilie de Breteuil,
Madame du Châtelet are poems printed on the occasion of another French visit in June 1764.

“Last Tuesday all France dined there,” Walpole commented to Montagu:

At the gates of the castle I received them dressed in the cravat of Gibbins’s carving,
and a pair of gloves embroidered up to the elbows that belonged to James I. the
French servants stared and firmly believed this was the dress of English country
gentlemen. After taking a survey of the apartments, we went to the printing-house
where I had prepared the enclosed verses, with translations by Monsieur de Lisle, one
of the company.

The poems “to Madame du Chatelet,” “To Madame de Damas, learning English”; “To
Madame de Villegagnon. On the seizure of her cloaths by the custom-house officers”; “to
Madame de la Vaupaliere” were printed on a single sheet, which Bull had cut in half and

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40 Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 17 May 1763, HWC, 10: 70-71.
41 Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 11 May 1769, HWC, 10: 278-9.
inserted in between “Strawberry Hill. A new Song” (90524:22 and 24).\textsuperscript{42} The performance of the printing press is part of Walpole’s enactment of a seventeenth-century persona: the collector animates the collection, taking seventeenth-century curiosities out of their glass cabinets in order to wear them and thus bring them back to life. In this context, the speaking press becomes part of a performance of anachronisms that mixes natural and artificial curiosities.\textsuperscript{43} Walpole’s visitors are central to his Parisian social milieu, a network of daily social entertainments detailed in his Paris Journal and in his correspondence with Madame du Deffand. The \textit{fête galante} atmosphere the press performances are inscribed in is reiterated and confirmed in Walpole’s last reference to “some of \textit{les amusements des eaux de Strawberry Hill}” in a letter sent to Lady Ossory on 19 October 1788: “the Berries were to come and see my printing-press. I recollected my gallantry of former days, and they found these stanzas ready set”: “\textsc{The Press at Strawberry-Hill to Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry}” (90524:33).\textsuperscript{44}

Engraved portrait prints engage in a special dynamic of text and image in Bull’s \textit{Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill}, with close parallels to his extra-illustrated \textit{Description}. Some engraved portraits re-enact an event. This is the case of ‘Vers présentés à sa Majesté le Roi de Suede, A Ruel le samedy 9 Mai 1771, par Madame la Duchesse d’Auguillon douairiere, en lui montrant le Portrait du Cardinal de Richelieu’ (90524:16).\textsuperscript{45} In a letter to Denis Diderot, Baron Grimm explains that the poem was addressed to the King of Sweden after the Duke of Nivernois had read out some of his fables,
as the Duchess showed the king a portrait of Armand du Plessis Cardinal de Richelieu. Bull’s decision to insert a 1776 print of the cardinal facing the poem, therefore, documents and recreates the connection between the poem and the painting, while the addition of an engraved portrait of the King of Sweden at the end of the poem offers a referent for the poem’s addressee. Poems are often framed by engraved portraits that document the names mentioned on the page, with likenesses of the addressees often facing the letterpress, as if supplementing the power of language to make people visible to the eyes of the readers by way of apostrophes, while portraits of authors more often face the end of the poem, as if acting as signatures. Such is the case of the engraved portraits of David Garrick and Thomas Gray framing Garrick’s To Mr. Gray, on his Odes (90524:26). In all these cases the portraits acquire a paratextual function: they both define the beginning and ending of detached pieces and create a partition that separates out units of letterpress.

At the heart of Bull’s Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill are two examples of illustration that take advantage of the structure of the codex to remediate the visual format of the companion piece. The first is a striking juxtaposition of two mezzotint portraits of the Earl and Countess of Waldegrave by James McArdell after Sir Joshua Reynolds facing each other on the page (fig. 3). In the collection of detached pieces the two portraits come after a design of the coat of arms, the motto, and the list of titles of James, Earl Waldegrave facing Walpole’s printing of the epitaph: “Underneath this monument are the remains of the two first Earls of Waldegrave, father and son, both of the name of James, both servants of … King George the Second, both by him created knights of the most noble Order

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46 Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu’en 1790, new edn (Paris, 1829), VII, 222-223. The French fable is also represented among the productions of the Strawberry Hill Press: Bull’s Collection includes The Magpie and her Brood, A Fable, from the Tales of Bonaventure des Periers, Valet de Chambre to the Queen of Navarre; addressed to Miss H (90524:15).
of the Garter” (90524:14).48 The obituary concludes with the expression of the grief of the survivors:

O Death, thy sting is to the living! O Grave, thy Victory is over the unburied, the wife
--- the Child --- the friend that is left behind? Thus saith the Widow of this
incomparable Man, his once most happy Wife, now the faithful Remembrancer of his
Virtues, Maria Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, who inscribes this tablet.

Answering questions posed in the first letter to Corinthians--“O Death, where is thy victory?
O grave, where is your sting?” (1 Cor 15:55–57)–the funerary inscription memorializes the
name of Maria Countess Waldegrave in the act of mourning. Upon turning the page, her
portrait in profile faces that of her deceased husband in print across the other side of the page
opening. The dark background of the mezzotints conveys the somber tone of a reciprocation
of looks that can live on only through the mediation of print. This effect is retrospectively
produced by the arrangement of the collection, for the mezzotints were published in 1762,
before the Earl’s death. Their signification is more open-ended in the context of Description.
In their extra-illustrated copies both Bull and Walpole insert them to document Reynolds’s
companion pieces hanging in the Gallery, where they look at each other across other
paintings: each portrait is placed in the middle of three paintings hung in mirrored niches left
and right of the chimney.49 This synoptic visual effect is dispersed when the paintings are
listed in writing. In Description they are entered on separate pages,50 but what writing
separates extra-illustration can reunite, taking advantage of the visual possibilities of the
codex. As in the collection of detached pieces, the recreation of the effect depends on the
format of the codex. In his extra-illustrated Description Bull chose to take advantage of two
facing pages to reproduce the effect of a companion piece as a page opening, whereas in

48 Hazen, Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press, Detached Pieces, 16.
49 The hang on the wall can be reconstructed thanks to a drawing extra-illustrated in a 1774 copy of Description, 49 2523, lwpr16856, where they are listed no 4 and 19.
50 Description, pp. 48-49 and 50.
Walpole’s copy the two portraits are pasted facing each other on a single extra-illustrated page.\textsuperscript{51}

The other example of a companion piece composed by juxtaposing two prints brings together on facing sides of a page opening two portraits that had not been intended as companion pieces: a mezzotint engraved portrait of George John Lord Spencer, Viscount Althorp, by Samuel William Reynolds (after John Hoppner and published in 1802) is juxtaposed to a mezzotint of Lavinia Bingham Countess Spencer by Charles Howard Hodges (after Sir Joshua Reynolds, published in 1786) (fig.4).\textsuperscript{52} Unlike the Waldegrave portraits hanging in the Gallery at Strawberry Hill and their engraved reproductions, this matrimonial composition brings together mezzotints engraved at different times from paintings produced for different occasions and belonging to different collections. Neither the paintings, nor the mezzotints were meant to look at each other. The sitters’ postures resist the extra-illustrator’s composition: he looks downwards to the left, directing the readers’ eyes outside the page and the codex; she looks at the reader. Their juxtaposed portraits are interleaved between pages 2 and 3 of an eight-page poem entitled \textit{The Muse Recalled, an Ode, occasioned by the Nuptials of Lord Viscount Althorp and Miss Lavinia Bingham}, composed by his former tutor, the oriental scholar Sir William Jones in 1781 (90524:32).\textsuperscript{53} Facing the title page is a portrait of “The Right Honourable Countess Spencer” engraved by Bartolozzi in 1787 from a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds; on the following pages Bull inscribed a mezzotint portrait of her father, Sir Charles Bingham, the author facing the poem’s beginning, and a portrait of her sister Anne, “Miss Bingham,” also engraved by Bartolozzi after a painting by Reynolds, which is

\textsuperscript{51} 33 30 copy 11, lwplr 15577 and 15578; for the portraits facing each other on the extra-illustrated page in Walpole’s copy, see 49 3582, lwplr 16276, in both cases extra-illustrating \textit{D}, pp. 48-49.
\textsuperscript{52} Mannings, Reynolds, no 1682 p. 428, painted for her father, Sir Charles Bingham, then acquired by her sister Anne Bingham.
\textsuperscript{53} William Jones, \textit{The Muse Recalled, An Ode, Occasioned by the Nuptials of Lord Viscount Althorp and Miss Lavinia Bingham, Eldest Daughter of Charles Lord Lucan, March 6, 1781} (Strawberry Hill: Printed by Thomas Kirgate, 1781); Hazen, \textit{Bibliography of Strawberry Hill}, Detached Pieces, 28.
placed facing Jones’s description of her on page 2. Engraved portraits of Lady Duncannon
and Georgiana Countess Spencer were also inserted to illustrate their appearance in the text.
The end of the poem is illustrated with a stipple engraving of Cupid and Psyche drawn after a
classical gem by Lavinia Bingham and engraved by Bartolozzi (fig.5). The engraving’s
classical hymeneal iconography materializes Jones’s play with naturalia and artificialia in
the poem, where he compares his writing with the jeweller’s craft: “first, I with living gems
enchase / the name of Her.” Bull’s choice of illustration absorbs the modern scene within a
classical collection, repurposing a stipple engraving that was used as a frontispiece to A
Catalogue of One Hundred Impressions from Gems, engraved by Nathanial Marchant and
published by James Edwards in 1792. An inscription by William Hayley reads: “to guard the
willing captive he has made / love seeks from sculpture no inglorious aid; / and fondly binds
her gem’s expressive charm / a graceful amulet! on Beauty’s arm.” This classical nuptial
emblem doubles up as an allegory of art. Applied to the nuptial occasion the lines suggest an
identification of the bride with sculpture, a new acquisition for the collection. Yet when the
lines are read as a supplement to Jones’s poem the allegory takes on a different meaning.
Inserted last of three engravings after her drawings in Bull’s Loose Pieces, the plate honors
the spouse as an amateur artist, retrospectively fulfilling Jones’s reference to the “new forms
of dignity and grace” that “Lavinia’s pencils shall disclose.” The reference to binding, then,
stands not only for the nuptial vows, but also for the collaboration between drawing and
sculpture. The poem articulates the couple’s combination of military and artistic virtues, for

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54 Mannings, Reynolds, no 174, p. 89 for Charles Bingham and no. 173, p. 88 for Anne Bingham.
55 The others being Mariano Bovi after Lavinia Bingham, ‘Bacchante’ (1791), with the following publication
56 The Muse Recalled, p. 5, stanza VII, and footnote: ‘Lady Althorp has an extraordinary talent for drawing
historic subjects, and expressing the passions in the most simple manner’. Work by Lavinia Bingham, Countess
Spencer, is included in Walpole’s A Collection of Prints Engraved by Various Persons of Quality (Hazen, A
Catalogue of Horace Walpole’s Library, pp.149-150, no. 3588). Walpole comments on Lavinia Bingham’s
works in his ‘Advertisement’, Anecdotes of Painting in England (1771), IV, viii; she also figures in Walpole’s
manuscript list of ‘Works of Genius at Strawberry Hill by Persons of rank & Gentlemen not Artists’, extra-
illustrated in A Description of the Villa (1774), Lewis Walpole Library, 49 2523, lwplr13868, in reproduced in
S, Fig 170 p. 156.
thanks to his territorial and maritime safeguarding “commerce with fleets shall mock the waves / and Arts, that flourish not with slaves.” 57 The engraving’s inscription inflects the theme of captivity to indicate the artistic constraints of drawing, limited as it is by the demands of copying and by the reproductive medium of stipple engraving, which associates the name of the amateur artist to that of the chief stipple engraver of the day. As the poem prompts a gallery of images, the collection shifts from an archive of specimens of printing to a record of the people associated to Strawberry Hill. Depending on the ratio of text to images, the function of the codex shifts between an repository of loose papers and a paper gallery.

As an association object, Bull’s Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill supplements the absence and distance of writing by way of illustration. Inserting paper likenesses of the addressees facing relevant pages of letterpress involves an attempt to remember, document, and recreate the events and social entertainments captured in the detached pieces published by the Strawberry Hill Press. The specimens of letterpress document a disappearing social milieu. Bringing portraits within the bindings of Loose Pieces means recollecting this world through a corpus of images dispersed across different collections. Within a paper gallery, then, the role of the “fugitive”, “loose”, “detached pieces” changes: in their referential role as documents, they participate in the category of labels, another genre produced by the Strawberry Hill Press represented in Bull’s collection. 58 Alicia Weisberg Roberts invites us to consider “appending texts to objects as an inversion or corollary of extra-illustration.” 59 While labels provide the provenances and social lives of objects on display at Strawberry Hill, inscribing them within emerging orders of knowledge, in their function as flying leaves copies of the detached poems can be dispersed and

57 The Muse Recalled, pp. 7-8, stanza X.
rearranged in other collections. They can follow their referents and addressees and function as souvenirs of people, occasions, and related objects, reassembled in different configurations in other collections. Or they can call for collections of prints to be inscribed within collections of specimens of the Strawberry Hill Press and bring to Strawberry Hill reproductions of paintings hanging elsewhere. The different possibilities of the letterpress as a paper archive are signalled by the duplications and differences between *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill* and *Description*. The extra-illustrated collection of the house also includes the first companion piece of the Waldegraves in its effort to document the contents of the gallery itemised in the text, but not the retrospectively fabricated pairing of Lord and Countess Spencer, whose original paintings were not part of the Strawberry Hill collection. *Loose Pieces* extends Strawberry Hill to a wider circle within the restricted circulation of the private press, taking advantage of the possibilities of mechanical reproduction. Engravings and copies abstract unique objects from their places and make them available to the virtual collection of a museum of words. If the codex abstracts individual specimens from their ephemeral moments to preserve them for different times when the specific names and occasions might have lost their significance and legibility, extra-illustration supplements these names with the faces of the departed, but also renews their singularity, restoring their status as customized objects.