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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 turned 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.

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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 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.

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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 ephemera 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 more pompous and durable volumes.”⁹ 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 determines 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’.¹⁰ 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

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virtues and actions of his dedicatee, Henry Seymour Conway, “can fade away.”¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ Contrast in scale, virtue, and durability is unpredictable and ephemeral. While 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.”¹⁴ 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. 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 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.¹⁵ 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 witnessed the performance of the press, these occasional pieces were inscribed in an economy of friendship and restricted circulation. The mobile properties of these unbound leaves reflect the volatility of objects as they move between collections.

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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 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*.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 items inserted in Bull’s *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill* are two hand-written lists of books and detached pieces published at Strawberry Hill tipped onto the flyleaf, followed by three 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 *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 *Description*. The collection of vignettes concludes with William Bentley’s decorations for the Strawberry Hill edition of Lucan’s *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

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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.¹⁷ 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. When title pages are placed in the middle or towards the end rather than the beginning or when they are separated from the contents page, the partitions of the book become volatile, showing the reversible

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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 Strawberry Hill* (90524:1), includes another vignette of the house which differs from the ones already encountered as detached decorations tipped on the preliminary pages. 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).¹⁸ This second title page faces a mezzotint of Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Walpole, a classical paratextual device to supplement writing with a gesture that points to the surrogate presence of the author. Yet the name and location 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, and an engraved view of the house, 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.¹⁹ Here, however, the proliferation of title pages destabilizes the form and boundaries of the book.

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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 eight of the corresponding collection of poems, followed by volume ten of the dramatic pieces (90524:34, 36, 37). Published as single sheets, these title pages are inserted in Bull's *Collection* as specimens of printing. However, their function as paratextual units marks the bookish metamorphosis of fugitive pieces they bring together as parts of a book under a collective identity defined by genre and a sequence subdivided into units of time measured by the monarch's reign. Encountering title pages without their accompanying texts suggests the potential destruction of the volumes that they were made for.²⁰ 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). Such book parts hybridize the collection. By collecting both fugitive pieces published as flying leaves and fragments of other books within its bindings, Bull's *Collection* reveals the hybrid drive of the codex as a microcosm. The book's identity as a unit of the library is complicated by its ambition to stand for the library itself. As it extends to include items produced or collected outside Strawberry Hill, the book becomes a heterotopia for its ambition to bring other libraries, collections, and books within the boundaries of Walpole's press and collection.

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.²¹ Following Lady Sophia Burrell's "Lines by an Anonymous Author, After seeing the Curiosities at

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Strawberry hill,²² 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.

(figure 1)

This notice demonstrates the nexus of printing, collecting, and book-making. Extra-illustrated books became a source of additional income for Kirgate. The printer mediated the press's restricted circulation within and outside Strawberry Hill, procured rare prints and other collectibles, and 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 inscribed "T.Kirgate, Printer at Strawberry Hill," published by Edward Edwards in 1784 (figure 2). Another copy of 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

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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 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; figure 2) is the first textual specimen of the Strawberry Hill Press to appear in Bull’s *Collection*, 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 of its inscription is even more perplexing when turning to the hand-written inscription underneath: “Printed at the Strawberry Hill Press, by a Swiss, who knew neither Printing nor French,”²⁶ 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

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Walpole's choice of his portrait to illustrate the bibliography of the Strawberry Hill press printed at the end of their copies of *Description*.²⁷ In Bull's *Collection* 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 placed last. 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.²⁸ 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 that originated as a newspaper poetry column, but became a fashionable medium of occasional verse practiced by Voltaire and Walpole, among others.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.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.

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A watercolour ‘Interior of the Printing house at Strawberry hill, with a Portrait of Mr Kirgate the worthy Printer’ marks the transition to Kirgate’s productions with a composition that foregrounds the agency of Walpole’s private printing press. Text composed to mark a visit to Strawberry Hill and playing with the trope of found writings activate a well-established tradition of occasional poetry, but their focus on the printing press is here emphasized by their anchoring to the watercolour, which emphasizes their place of production. The first poetical performance printed by Kirgate that Bull entered in *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill* is entitled “The printing-press at Strawberry-Hill to the Earl of Chesterfield” (90524:8).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.”³² Chesterfield’s association with Walpole included their contribution to *The World* in the mid-1750s, some of which Walpole collected in his *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 wish with a series of negatives. The poem acts as a surrogate for the missed encounter;³³ 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.³⁴ Chesterfield himself was dead by the time Bull gathered this poem in his collection of detached pieces. Its retrospective epitaphic dimension is strengthened by Bull’s choice to illustrate it with a monumental round portrait of Chesterfield engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi after a medal based on a classical bust by Joseph Wilton.³⁵ The poem and its addressee are followed by an engraving representing the interior of the

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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 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, taking on the characteristics of the voice of the author speaking out the lines that are being printed in front of its addressee.³⁶ 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.

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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, made a substitution, and surprised them with an alternative text, in which the press speaks to Lady Rochford instead.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 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."³⁹ 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*⁴⁰

The next item included in Bull's *Collection* 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

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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.⁴¹

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 inserted in between “Strawberry Hill. A new Song” (90524:22 and 24).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.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 *fête galante* atmosphere in which the press performances are inscribed is reiterated and confirmed in Walpole’s last reference to “some of *les amusements des eaux de Strawberry*” 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”: “THE PRESS at STRAWBERRY-HILL to Miss MARY and Miss AGNES BERRY” (90524: 33).⁴⁴

Engraved portrait prints engage in a special dynamic of text and image in Bull’s *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill*, with close parallels to his extra-illustrated *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’

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(90524:16).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.⁴⁶ Bull's decision to insert a 1774 engraved portrait of the cardinal facing the poem 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 add faces to 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. A profile portrait of David Garrick faces the beginning of his poem *To Mr. Gray, on his Odes* (90524:26), while an engraved portrait of Gray is inserted on the following page with a penned addition in the bottom left corner "Horace Walpole del.". Their position in the volume presents each looking at the page of letterpress, so that their eyes might have met had their gazes not been interrupted by the page of letterpress that mediates their encounter in the volume. The portraits perform a paratextual function: they both define the beginning and ending of the detached piece 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 (figure 3).⁴⁷ 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,

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both servants of ... King George the Second, both by him created knights of the most noble Order 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 to his beloved Memory.

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 (figure 3). 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 copies of the mezzotints to document Reynolds’s companion pieces hanging in the Gallery, where each portrait is placed in the middle of three paintings hung in mirrored niches left and right of the chimney. While from within their respective canvasses husband and wife seem to look at each other, in the architectural economy of the gallery their reciprocation of looks is obstructed by other paintings and the walls protruding between their respective niches.⁴⁹ The synoptic visual effect constructed by the symmetry of the hang around the chimney is dispersed when the paintings are listed in writing on separate pages in *Description*.⁵⁰ However, as a visual repository, the codex offered an alternative format that could bring the

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Waldegraves back together in print. While in Bull's extra-illustrated *Collection and Description*, the engraved portraits face each other in a page opening, in Walpole's larger copy of *Description* the two portraits are pasted facing each other on a single extra-illustrated page.⁵¹ What architecture, letterpress, and death separate the extra-illustrated codex can reunite.

The other example of a companion piece composed by the format of the codex brings together on facing sides of a page opening two engraved portraits that had not been intended as companion pieces: a mezzotint representing George John Lord Spencer, Viscount Althorp, by Samuel William Reynolds after John Hoppner (published in 1802) is juxtaposed to a mezzotint of Lavinia Bingham Countess Spencer by Charles Howard Hodges after Sir Joshua Reynolds (published in 1786) (figure 4).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 by different artists 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, while she looks at the reader. Their juxtaposed portraits are part of a series of portraits interleaved between pages 2 and 3 of an eight-page poem entitled *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).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 placed facing Jones's description of her on

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page 2.⁵⁴ Engraved portraits of the Spencer sisters, Lady Duncannon and Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, were also inserted to illustrate their appearance in the text. These insertions show how the poem acts as a prompt for a gallery of portraits, situating the author within the family circle.

A shift from portraits to classical iconography signals the transition from the genealogy to her artistic accomplishments of the bride. 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 (figure 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 Nathaniel Marchant* and printed 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. As a caption to the frontispiece to a collection of gems, the composition indicates the role of the jewel as a sign of conquest and possession. Applied to the nuptial occasion the lines suggest an identification of the bride with sculpture, a new acquisition to her husband's collection. Yet when the lines are read as a supplement to Jones's poem the allegory takes on an additional meaning. Inserted last of three engravings after her drawings extra-illustrated in Bull's *Collection*,⁵⁵ 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."⁵⁶ The reference to binding, then, stands not only for the nuptial vows, but also for the collaboration between drawing, sculpture, and

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engraving. The poem articulates the couple's combination of military and artistic virtues, for 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. Yet extra-illustration invites us to weigh Hayley and Jones against each other. Taken outside the marital emblem of manly valour and female art, Jones's claim that slavery is incompatible with the arts contradicts Hayley's caption. Neither the amateur nor the professional artist will flourish in a condition of captivity. Rather than an original artwork and a slavish reproductive copy, or an amateur drawing and a professional stipple-engraving, drawing and engraving can be emancipated from a condition of dependency and flourish only if they work on equal ground as sister arts.

Bull's *Collection of the Loose Pieces Printed at Strawberry Hill* shifts from an archive of specimens of printing to a record of the people associated with the Strawberry Hill set. With the passage of time, Walpole's ephemeral detached pieces signal the distance of writing and the ephemerality of the occasions and the people that inspired it. By inserting paper likenesses of the addressees facing relevant pages of letterpress the extra-illustrator supplements the ephemeral present tense of occasional writing in the attempt to remember, document, and recreate the events and social entertainments captured in the detached pieces published by the Strawberry Hill Press. While the specimens of letterpress document a disappearing social milieu, bringing engraved portraits within the bindings of Bull's *Collection* means recollecting this world through a corpus of images reproducing portraits otherwise dispersed across different collections.

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Depending on the ratio of text to images, the codex turns from a repository of loose papers into a paper gallery in which 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 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 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. Taking advantage of the possibilities of mechanical reproduction, Bull’s extra-illustration of detached pieces extends Strawberry Hill to a wider circle within the restricted circulation of the private press. 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

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these names with the faces of the departed, but also renews their singularity, restoring their status as customized objects.

¹ Lucy Peltz, "A Friendly Gathering: The Social Politics of Presentation Books and their Extra-Illustration in Horace Walpole's Circle," *Journal of the History of Collections* (2006), 1-17.

² Horace Walpole to William Cole, 16 June 1781, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. by W.S.Lewis et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983), 2: 273, hereafter abbreviated HWC.

³ A.T.Hazen, *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); Stephen Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & its Printing House: An Account and an Iconography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

⁴ John Bowle to Horace Walpole, 28 December 1782, HWC, 42: 42.

⁵ *A Collection of the loose pieces printed at Strawberry-Hill* (Twickenham: Strawberry Hill Press, 1800?), Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, 90524:1. The loose pieces are catalogued under the shelfmark: 90524:1-57, which will hereafter appear in the body of the text. See George Baker, *Catalogue of Books, Poems, Tracts, and Small Detached Pieces, Printed at the Press of the Honorable Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill* (London: Barker, 1810); Hazen, *Bibliography*, Detached Pieces, no. 63.

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, Curiosities, &c.* (Strawberry Hill: Printed by Thomas Kirgate, 1784), Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Farmington, Conn., Folio 33 30 copy 11, digitized copy available at <http://findit.library.yale.edu/catalog/digcoll:2799659>.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine* 76.1 (1806), 289; on Richard Bull, see Lucy Peltz, "Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769-1774," *Walpole Society* 66 (2004), 1-161.

⁸ Samuel Johnson, "An Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces," in *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, the Hardeman Miscellany; or, A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library*, 8 vols (1744-1746), 1: ii; this passage is used as an epigraph by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll, "Introduction: 'Fugitive Pieces' and 'Gaudy Books': Textual Historical and Visual Interpretations of Ephemera in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Bucknell University Press, 2013). See also Paula McDowell, "Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of 'Ephemera' and 'Literature' in Eighteenth-Century British Writing," *Book History* 15 (2012), 48-70.

⁹ Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 145, 6 August 1751, 82.

¹⁰ *The World*, no. 113, 27 February 1755, 678.

¹¹ Horace Walpole, *Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose* (Twickenham: Strawberry Hill Press, 1758), iii-iv. The aristocratic associations of *otium cum litteris* are evident in Walpole's mention of William Powlett, Marquis of Winchester's "Essays, or some things called, his idleness," in *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, 2 vols (Twickenham: Strawberry Hill Press, 1758), 1: 105, a work also dedicated to Henry Seymour Conway.

¹² Walpole, *Description*, i.

¹³ Walpole, *Fugitive Pieces*, cit.

¹⁴ Walpole, *Description*, ii.

¹⁵ Ruth Mack, "Paper Castle, Paper Collection: Walpole's Extra-Illustrated Copy of the *Description of . . . Strawberry Hill*," in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, ed. Michael Snodin with the assistance of Cynthia Roman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 107-15.

¹⁶ Horace Walpole to William Mason, 7 May 1775, HWC, 28:195, quoted in Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press*, p. 17; "Etchings by Amateurs, Vol. 1" is printed on the book's spine, see HWC, 28: 195n5; Allen T. Hazen, *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library*, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 3: 149-150, no. 3588.

¹⁷ For Walpole's copy see Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Folio 49 3582 (Oversize), lwlpr16449, inserted before 87. Digitization of Walpole's copy is available at <http://findit.library.yale.edu/catalog/digcoll:2804005>.

¹⁸ On Reynolds's portraits of Walpole, see David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings*, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 458-459, nos. 1819-1821.

¹⁹ Random Cloud, "Information on Information," *Text* 5 (1991), 241-281.

²⁰ On extra-illustration as book destruction, see Lucy Peltz, "Facing the Text: the Amateur and Commercial Histories of Extra-Illustration, c. 1770-1840," *Owners, Annotators, and the Signs of Reading*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2005), 91; Jon Klancher, "Wild bibliography: the rise and fall of book history in the nineteenth century," *Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences: Knowledge and Cultural Institutions in the Romantic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 98.

²¹ Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press*, 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*, Folio 49 3582 (Oversize), lwlpr 16002.

²³ Kirgate's portrait is reproduced in *Description*, Folio 33 30, copy 11, lwlpr15763; see also lwlpr15761 for the page-view, which includes the interior of the printing house (lwlpr15764), and the interleaved manuscript (lwlpr15762).

²⁴ Both drawings are reproduced in Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press*, 14-15.

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), 3, hereafter abbreviated JPO, which also records the first printer as William Robinson.

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, 3.

²⁷ *Description*, Lewis Walpole Library, Folio 33 30, copy 11, lwlpr15761 and lwlpr15763; *Description*, Folio 49 3582 (Oversize), lwlpr16446 and lwlpr16448, inserted after *Description*, 86.

²⁸ Nicole Masson, *La poésie fugitive au XVIII siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2000), 18.

²⁹ This is the title of the poetry section published in *Mémoire de France* from July 1736; see also *Recueil de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers par Mr de Voltaire* (Paris, 1740), *Elite de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers* (Paris, 1769-70).

³⁰ *Vers sur cette expression ordinaire, tuer le temps*, Huntington Library, 90524:25; JPO, 3; Hazen, *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, Detached Pieces, no. 1.

³¹ Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, Detached Pieces, no. 21.

³² JPO, 16.

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 ed., 4 vols (London: Dodsley, 1774), 2: 354; this denunciation of bibliomania is quoted in Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron* (London, 1817), 301.

³⁵ British Museum Collections online, S, 7.17, accessed 11 April 2016.

³⁶ "The Press Speaks" is discussed by Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press*, 39-44.

³⁷ Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 25 August 1757, HWC, 9: 215-216, JPO, 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, 4.

³⁹ JPO, 11, Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, Detached Pieces, no. 12.

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.

⁴² The whole sheet is reproduced by Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press*, 43.

⁴³ Alicia Weisberg Roberts, "Singular Objects and Multiple Meanings," in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, 88-89.

⁴⁴ Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, 19 Oct 1788, HWC, 34: 26-27; JPO, p. 20; Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, Detached Pieces, no.36; see also JPO, 17 on lines printed for Lady Elizabeth Berkeley's visit 10 June 1775.

⁴⁵ Mme du Deffand wrote to Walpole to ask for the printing, which she wanted to place in the drawer of a writing desk that she was going to send to Mme d'Aguillon, see Mme du Deffand to Horace Walpole, 27 October 1771, HWC, 5:124, and 129 for Walpole's response.

⁴⁶ *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, 15 vols, new ed. (Paris, 1829-1831), 7 : 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).

⁴⁷ Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, nos 1808 and 1897, 456, 474-5.

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, lwlpr16856, where they are listed no 4 and 19.

⁵⁰ *Description*, 48-49 and 50.

⁵¹ *Description*, Folio 33 30 copy 11, lwlpr 15577 and 15578; for the portraits facing each other on the extra-illustrated page in Walpole's copy, see *Description*, Folio 49 3582 (Oversize), lwlpr 16276, in both cases extra-illustrating *Description*, 48-49.

⁵² Mannings, *Reynolds*, 428, no. 1682, painted for her father, Sir Charles Bingham, then acquired by her sister Anne Bingham.

⁵³ William Jones, *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, *Bibliography of Strawberry Hill*, Detached Pieces, no.28.

⁵⁴ Mannings, *Reynolds*, 89, no. 174 for Charles Bingham and p.88, no. 173 for Anne Bingham.

⁵⁵ The others being her portrait of Henrietta Ponsonby, Lady Duncannon, one of Lord Spencer's sisters, engraved by Bartolozzi in 1787 and Mariano Bovi after Lavinia Bingham, "Bacchante" (1791), with the following publication line: "Drawn by Lavinia Countess Spencer," and engraved by "M. Bovi late pupil of F. Bartolozzi" in 1791, included in Walpole's *A Collection of Prints Engraved by Various Persons of Quality*, 2 vols, 2:30-31, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, <http://findit.library.yale.edu/catalog/digcoll:2801487> (Hazen, *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library*, 149-150, no. 3588).

⁵⁶ *The Muse Recalled*, 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, included in Walpole's *A Collection of Prints Engraved by Various Persons of Quality*, is discussed in Walpole's "Advertisement," *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 2nd ed., 4 vols (1765-1771), 4: 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, lwlpr13868, is reproduced in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, 156, Figure 170.

⁵⁷ *The Muse Recalled*, 7-8, stanza X.

⁵⁸ 90524:17-18. I have discussed the label as part of the repurposing and extra-illustration of Thomas Gray's "Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes" in "Gray's Ode and Walpole's China Tub: The Order of the Book and the Paper Lives of an Object," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45.1 (Fall 2011), 105-25.

⁵⁹ Weisberg Roberts, "Singular Objects and Multiple Meanings," 97.