Thomas Stothard, Milton and the Illustrative Vignette: The Houghton Library Designs for The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas

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As one of the most prolific book illustrators at the end of the eighteenth century, Thomas Stothard (1755–1834) produced a large number of illustrations for diverse editions of literary texts and for serially published collections such as, among others, James Harrison’s Novelist’s Magazine and The Lady’s Magazine but also for annuals such as the Southampton-based Thomas Baker’s diary-cum-almanac, The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas. Stothard’s extensive visualizations of scenes from British literature and his devising of particular forms and modes of illustrations helped booksellers issuing his work in their publications to create a sense of representational uniformity and coherence that had a significant impact on the late eighteenth-century formation of the literary canon. Stothard fashioned graphic house styles for the various series he illustrated, adapting different framing devices for each series he worked on. As part of booksellers’ desire to conceive of their published volumes as series, they not only adopted the same size, typography and illustrative formats for their publications, but they also furnished their editions with critical paratexts such as biographical memoirs, notes, glossaries and contextualizing prefaces to interconnect the productions of various authors. The iconotextual interpretations of particular, specifically selected moments from individual texts by illustrators such as Stothard, Henry Corbould and Edward Burney (as well as, to a lesser degree, William Hamilton, Henry Fuseli, William Blake and Angellica Kauffmann) resulted in effective media of product design but their commodity value also made them desirable visual media to consumer culture. These illustrations served as clearly

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recognizable branding devices, formally — through their designs — generating canons devised by the publishers of different series.\(^1\)

Stothard was more versatile than most of his illustrator colleagues and furnished designs for a great range of artefacts, while at the same time pursuing a successful career as a painter of the Royal Academy, of which, from 1792, he was a Fellow.\(^2\) From the mid-1780s, his heroic-sentimental style (indicating, according to his biographer, 'a taste and style formed in the school of [John Hamilton] Mortimer')\(^3\) became a trademark for a particular kind of illustration that was popularized in Britain by means of engraved vignette designs printed in pocket diaries and gift books.\(^4\)

In a career that spanned five decades, Stothard — in addition to producing illustrations for series such as John Bell's series of the British Poets — illustrated some of the finest editions of British classics such as Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. At the same time, he was commissioned to illustrate editions of the works of fashionable new authors, including Coleridge's *Christabel*. It is little known that the literary canon he illustrated for Baker's annual offered a large-scale visual interpretation of British literature from the Middle Ages to the most recent literary texts dating to the first and second decades of the nineteenth century. For the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* (1779–1826) he produced nine hitherto unstudied series of the works of Sir Walter Scott, as well as thirty-four further series illustrating works ranging from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to Robert Bloomfield's *Poems* and Thomas Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*.\(^5\)

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4 Stothard also developed ornamental devices, including scrollwork designs and decorative borders, as well as vignettes (not illustrating literary texts), featuring putti and animals that he would use both for Baker's title and as part of his ornaments for William Pickering's series of the British poets. The original wash-drawings for these designs are held by the British Museum.

5 The designs for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, published in the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* for 1784, remain untraced. Stothard illustrated the *Canterbury Tales* for John Bell's Edition of the Poets of Great Britain in 1782 and, in 1807, painted his 'Procession of the Canterbury Pilgrims'. See Betsy Bowden, 'Transportation to Canterbury: The Rival Envisionings by Stothard and Blake', *Studies in Medievalism*, 31 (2001), 73–111. He had also contributed a head vignette design illustrating the *Canterbury Tales* to the third volume of Joseph Ritson's *English Anthology*, 3 vols (London: T. and J. Egerton, 1794), iii, 1. It is equally little known that, as part of his work for the
Despite Stothard’s prominence as an illustrator of literary texts, scholars of visual art and literature have usually neglected his work in favour of that of his contemporary, William Blake; in addition, the enormous and daunting corpus of Stothard’s output — the detailed and comprehensive study of which would take years to complete — has not been properly assessed in terms of its significance for the study of cultural production and the visual and literary cultures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even limiting the scope of an account of Stothard’s work to his illustrations of literary texts (including not merely engravings published in books, in diaries, magazines and miscellanies, in the form of furniture prints, and on tickets for theatrical productions, to name just some of the printed publications featuring his work), the scholar undertaking such a project would be confronted with literally thousands of images requiring examination. Before such a large-scale investigation is feasible, detailed case studies of Stothard’s work for individual publications are needed.

A case study of a particular kind of illustration, the copper-engraved vignette, is offered in this essay. My aim is not primarily to attempt a genre-specific, book-historical account of The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas, as I have done this elsewhere, but to focus on hitherto unstudied work by Stothard for the annual held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University. I shall reproduce and contextualize some of the Houghton Library’s Stothard illustrations of Milton’s poems, ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’, designs of which Milton scholars have not previously been aware. They were engraved for inclusion in the pocket atlas number for the year 1826. These will be compared to an earlier set that was published in the 1788 number of The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas. My study will consider both the formal and ideational aspects of Stothard’s creative practice, offering both insight into Stothard’s development as a book illustrator and a record of the changes introduced to the formal conventions of a specific publication. The examination of Stothard’s early interpretive practice will

pocket atlas, he illustrated two popular French texts, Gil Blas and Telemachus. The latter had already been illustrated by Stothard in 1795; Fénelon, The Adventures of Telemachus, translated by John Hawkesworth (London: printed for C. and G. Kearsley, 1795). This quarto edition included twelve plates, nine of which Stothard had designed. Telemachus was illustrated in the pocket atlas for 1798.

establish how the illustrator sought to identify moods and modes in each literary text he represented visually.

In what follows, I approach illustrations of literary texts as a special kind of literary criticism that contributes, like other paratexts, to representing relationships, ideas and ideologies developed verbally in the medium of the literary text. Illustrations, while certainly ornamental, have a meaningful function in that they can representationally concentrate complex meanings and centralize patterns of coherence by making present in the visual medium prominent iconographic moments. I shall investigate the ways in which Stothard interpreted Milton's poems visually and created coherent iconographic narratives in the form of vignette designs.

The Pocket Atlas, Ephemerality and Value

Baker's Pocket Atlas is, in essence, an ephemeral print object distinct in use and status from a bound edition of a literary text such as could have formed part of an individual's personal library. Furthermore, the numbers of the diary reflected the publication's investment with business-related and cultural concerns. Each number negotiated the business of metropolitan life and its institutions, on the one hand, and the literary texts the vignettes interpreted visually, on the other. But, compared to illustrations in literary editions, the illustrations in the pocket diary were fugitive and anchored only in the reading public's consciousness of their literary character and referentiality. The ephemerality of the diary is defined by the disposability, at the year's end, of its parts, specifically its almanac and calendar sections. The almanac, diary pages and numerous informative sections on a great number of society- and business-related subjects to which a polite reader would need convenient access shaped the pocket atlas as a publication advertised for its usefulness. The calendar part of the pocket atlas featured Stothard's engraved vignettes at the heads of the monthly diary pages. These pages offered users ruled space to record appointments and other memoranda. This part, engendering the usefulness-aesthetic function that Baker, as the first pocket-bookseller to do so, had assigned to his publication, was encased by rubrics that would have been of use to the middle- and upper-class users. The parts both preceding and following the diary section informed them not only of political and societal matters but also furnished them with information regarding banking and the start and end of the academic year at the universities. Beyond the year for which they were issued, these useful sections and completed diary

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7 Apart from a short 'Almanack' in prime position, immediately following the table of contents, the annual volumes contained information organized under such headings as 'A List of the Mail Coaches', 'Lord Lieutenants of England', 'Table of Terms and Returns', 'Army and Navy Agents', a 'List of Bankers in London', a 'Table of Kings and Queens', and an extensive number of rubrics devoted to the House of Lords and the House of Commons, the Royal Family and the peerage.
pages transformed into mementos, records of the cultural, political and financial institutions of Britain and of the pocket diary owners' engagements of the year. At the end of every year, the diary's original primary character of usefulness became secondary in that its aesthetic content in the form of Stothard's vignettes, painterly representations of well-known literary texts, made it worthwhile to preserve the volume. Once a functionalized object, at that stage it was transformed into an object facilitating the leisurely contemplation of the subjects illustrated and the texts inferred.8

Both their very ephemeral nature and their attractiveness to collectors ensured that Stothard's miniature illustrations were preserved while other pocket diaries featuring less attractive or no visual apparatuses at all were discarded and only exist referentially in the newspaper advertisements that first introduced them to the buying public. Owners of these diaries frequently sought to preserve the vignettes, either by retaining the entire copy of the pocket atlas or by cutting the vignettes out and gathering them in grangerized albums.9 Apparently, the designs were also issued in two octavo volumes, copies of which remain untraced.10 In addition, collectors such as Robert Balmanno (1780–1861) or the retired coach-maker Benjamin Godfrey Windus,11 even during Stothard's life-time, acquired proof copies of his illustrations, while the wash-drawings for the engraved designs were carefully preserved in albums.

Despite their ephemeral nature, the vignettes are objects of value in two respects. Baker spent significant sums of money on acquiring the designs and

8 The pocket diary's utility-aesthetic duality is also reflected in the bindings in which the volumes were issued. The Houghton Library copy of the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for 1793 retains its green silk wrapper but is contained in a binding that is not the usual leather wallet binding featuring a closing mechanism consisting of a leather tongue which neatly fits into a loop; rather, it is a red-leather binding, with clasp and ornamental gilding. If the kind of binding selected for a particular diary is an indication of the diary's perceived status as object of use or collectible, then the Houghton Library's copy was treasured as a collectable item (in still pristine condition), rather than kept in the original cardboard slipcase that was usually issued by Baker. See G. Thomas Tanselle, Book-Jackets, Their History, Forms, and Use (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2011), pp. 65–66.

9 I have a number of these mutilated copies in my possession. Others, formerly owned by the playwright and novelist Elizabeth Inchbald, are held by the Folger Shakespeare Library.

10 See The Bookseller: A Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature, 3 June 1880, p. 618. The bookseller Bernard Quaritch had one of these copies available for sale in 1879, already then terming the volume 'scarce': '505 beautiful little engravings and vignettes illustrating the works of Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, S. Rogers, Oliver Goldsmith, &c.' (Catalogue of English Literature (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1879), p. 2123).

11 The Times for 17 February 1868 reported on the sale of the collection of prints of the late B. G. Windus of Tottenham, noting that Windus held in his possession 'the original series of illustrations to Ivanhoe, which appeared in the Pocket Atlas, 1821; illustrations to The Task, Atlas Pocket Book, 1801; the Lady of the Lake, Atlas Pocket Book, 1817; illustrations to The Triumphs of Temper, Atlas Pocket Book, 1796; and illustrations to Telemachus, Atlas Pocket Book, 1797, in morocco portfolios'. The lot sold for 125 guineas.
having the drawings that Stothard supplied engraved. In the process he invested, on an annual basis, far more than other publishers of small-format illustrated literary editions would. At the same time, he generated an archive of visual interpretations which offers the most comprehensive engagement on the part of one of the most respected book illustrators of his day with a canon of literary texts that was being formed at the time. In this regard, his contribution to the shaping of taste and reading practices — even though this has not previously been recognized — is not negligible but central.

To put the economic investment on Baker’s part in perspective, it is useful to contextualize the remuneration that Stothard received from Baker in light of his early illustrative work for the London-based bookseller James Harrison. According to Stothard’s biographer, Anna Bray, Harrison was the first to give Stothard regular employment as a book illustrator, from July 1780 to 1783. In the early 1780s, Stothard supplied both title- and head-vignette as well as full-page plate designs for the *Novelist’s Magazine*, the *Lady’s Poetical Magazine* and the *Universal Magazine*. Bray notes that Stothard produced 148 designs for the *Novelist’s Magazine* and that Harrison paid him one guinea per design. He furnished twenty-six designs for the *Lady’s Poetical Magazine* at one guinea each and received a payment of 7s. for each theatrical frontispiece that Harrison commissioned for his series of the British theatre. Bray states that ‘every separate border and vignette’ was priced at 6s. If, which I think unlikely, considering Stothard’s reputation of eminence from the mid-1790s, Baker throughout his long association with Stothard continued to pay the artist only 6s. per vignette, he would have had to pay him for the twenty-four vignettes illustrating the chosen literary text, two ornamental vignettes for the ‘Engagements’ and ‘Memorandum’ sections, a full-page frontispiece and a full-page design featuring an Atlas figure carrying the globe. Stothard would thus have derived an income of at least 8gn. 2s. (if the full-page plate designs are charged at the same rate as the theatrical frontispieces for Harrison), if not more. Despite similar encomia used in advertisements for both Harrison and Baker’s publications, the *Novelist’s Magazine* and the *Pocket Atlas* were retailed at significantly different prices. The former was advertised as ‘embellished with the largest and most superb set of interesting copper-plate prints [ … ] the world have ever produced’ and sold at 6d. The pocket atlas, by contrast, had a broader price spectrum, for Baker sold his diary at ‘3s. 6d., 5s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 10s. 6. and upwards, at the pleasure of the purchaser’.

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12 Bray, p. 7.
14 Bray, p. 12.
16 *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2 December 1784.
issued in a card slipcase, others sold at a higher price were issued in a wallet
binding, while yet more expensive ones were available in bindings featuring silk
or differently coloured morocco onlays and gilding.

The Houghton Library Material

The Houghton Library material is useful for an analysis of the formal,
representational and interpretive changes that Stothard’s work and the pocket
atlas underwent over the course of almost forty years. The artist’s designs of
moments from Milton’s ‘L’Allegro’ are part of a large body of designs for Baker’s
publication that is held by the Library. The collection includes one of two sets of
illustrations of scenes from James Thomson’s The Seasons that were published
in the Pocket Atlas for 1797.\textsuperscript{17} The Library holds a copy of the pocket atlas for
1793,\textsuperscript{18} the year in which Stothard supplied his first visual narrative of The
Seasons to Baker. In addition to the materials already mentioned, the Houghton
Library also holds a collection, in the form of an album compiled by Charles
Conway, of Stothard’s original coloured wash-drawings for numbers of Baker’s
pocket atlas illustrating John Moore’s Edward, George Crabbe’s Parish Register
and Village, Sir Walter Scott’s Marmion, Lord Byron’s Childe Harold and Samuel
Rogers’s Pleasures of Memory.\textsuperscript{19} The Library also has three copies of extra-
illustrated editions of Anna Bray’s Life of Thomas Stothard (1851), one volume
of which has pasted into it a complete set of vignettes from the Royal Engagement
Pocket Atlas for 1825, illustrating Rogers's Italy. Another includes a wash-
drawing of the Atlas design — an annually changing figure featuring either as a
frontispiece or on the title-page — for 1807.\textsuperscript{20} A single proof sheet of three diary
pages of the pocket atlas for 1820, featuring six vignettes illustrating Samuel
Rogers’s poem, Human Life (1819), is also bound into one of the extra-illustrated
copies of Bray’s Life of Stothard.\textsuperscript{21} These vignettes demonstrate Stothard’s skill
at grouping figures and focusing on scenes of social intercourse and community
as well as moments of reflection and the inscription of man’s existence in the
landscape. At the same time, they reveal that a significant change concerning the
level of quality characterizing the vignettes had occurred once William Angus

\textsuperscript{17} Houghton Library reference number: pf 74M-91.
\textsuperscript{18} Houghton Library reference number: Typ 705.93.754.
\textsuperscript{19} Houghton Library reference number: RMS Typ 791.
\textsuperscript{20} This drawing is contained in an extra-illustrated copy of Bray’s Life of Thomas Stothard (1851;
Houghton Library reference number: HOU Typ 805.51.2337).
\textsuperscript{21} Samuel Rogers, Human Life: A Poem (London: John Murray, 1819). The following vignettes
are printed on the proof sheet: ‘Many a tale told of his boyish days’ (January, recto), ‘All forgot
how oft the eyelids close’ (January, verso), ‘and writes on every tree’ (August, recto), ‘His Childrens
[stc] Childrens playing round his knees’ (August verso), ‘A Dance into the night: on the barn floor’
(October, recto), ‘On the fresh herbage near the fountain head’ (October, verso). The proof sheet
is bound into volume 1 of the extra-illustrated Life of Thomas Stothard (1851). Houghton Library
reference number: HOU Typ 805.51.2337.
(who had engraved Stothard’s vignettes from 1785 and who died in 1821) was replaced by W. and G. Cooke; as a result of Angus’s replacement, the tonal quality of the engravings deteriorated, and the introduction, in the early 1820s, of the steel-engraving did little to return to the high production standard of the engravings of the vignettes in the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century. In all, given the range and variety of material included, the grangerized volumes at the Houghton Library offer a good sense of Stothard’s work in the medium of the vignette in particular and of his illustrative versatility in general.

Throughout the more than forty years that Stothard was responsible for the production of the vignettes, their size varied only very slightly. Among the small vignettes Stothard produced for numerous publications (including the early head vignettes for the Lady’s Poetical Magazine, measuring $5 \times 8.6\text{cm}$), those for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas (measuring, on average, $2.8 \times 6\text{cm}$) need to be singled out for their technical skill. They are sophisticated miniatures, unrivalled in the period for their exquisite production quality. With their concentrated focus on scenes of sentiment and reflection, the designs ‘certainly bear eloquent witness to […] [Stothard’s] supreme ability of grouping his figures, and of telling his story by attitude, where facial expression is almost impossible, as well as his almost unvarying fidelity to the text’.22 Up until the 1820s, they were the smallest vignettes that Stothard designed, but in 1828 he contributed slightly smaller vignettes (measuring $2.9 \times 5.6\text{cm}$) to the first number of William Pickering’s The Bijou: An Annual of Literature and the Arts.23 While not visually rendering literary texts, Stothard’s earliest, zodiacal vignettes for Baker’s pocket atlas (published from 1781),24 were even smaller than those he contributed to The Bijou. Throughout Baker’s use of the vignettes for the Pocket Atlas, their format underwent change, transforming from the original oval used in the 1780s to an octagonal vignette shape in the 1790s and subsequently adopting the simpler, rectangular shape used in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

The numbers of the pocket atlas that Baker issued in the course of the 1790s established the publication’s high reputation for the technologically and qualitatively sophisticated and interpretatively sensitive engraved illustration of

24 St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post, 22 November 1781. The designs were engraved by T. Cook.
literary texts. The two principal competing titles, William Peacock’s *The Polite Repository* and John Godwin’s *Le Souvenir, or, Pocket Remembrancer*, could not rival the atlas in the specific province of literary illustration, due to the effective collaboration between Stothard and Angus and the skill with which Stothard, in addition to illustrating a large number of editions of literary texts, including Thomas Cadell’s and William Davies’s series of British poetry in the 1790s, provided fresh interpretative visualizations of the texts he illustrated. At this stage also, Stothard was heavily involved in the illustration of John Bell’s series of the *British Poets* and *British Theatre*, as well as with William Lowndes’s series of editions of dramatic texts.

With the exception of Thomas Gray’s ‘Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard’ (illustrated in the 1787, untraced number of Baker’s pocket diary), Matthew Prior’s ‘Henry and Emma’ (illustrated in the 1785 number of the atlas), and Milton’s poems, Baker selected longer narrative or poetic texts such as Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (for the 1794 number), Richardson’s *Sir Charles Grandison* (for an as yet unidentified number), and Hayley’s *The Triumphs of Temper* (for the 1796 number). He produced iconotextual miscellanies, impressionistic ‘Beauties’ that introduced well-known passages to the genteel purchasers of the diaries. In post-1800 sets of illustrations, Stothard repeatedly adopts specific organizing principles. Formally, while the number of the pocket atlas for 1788 included an interrupted one-line caption aligned with the top half of the oval (unlike the later number illustrating *The Hermit*, which features the caption as a continuous garland around the bottom half of the vignettes), the one for 1826 quadrupled that number but clustered these lines on one of the two ruled diary pages for each month. The later practice entailed an alternating reading of text and image; also, the spatial separation that had previously hardly mattered at all now required an attentive reading of both literary text and visualization but at separate moments rather than the original format’s association with a simultaneous reading of text and illustration.

**Stothard’s Vignettes of Milton’s ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’**

Stothard’s vignettes of iconographic moments from Milton’s poems were for the first time included by Baker in the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* for 1786, in an untraced number featuring designs illustrating the poet’s ode ‘L’Allegro’, which had originally been published in 1645. The advertisement for this number of the diary terms Stothard’s designs ‘beautiful Vignettes’, ‘descriptive of some of the most striking Picturesque Scenes in Milton’s celebrated Poem’, Milton’s ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’ had been popularly known before the 1780s through Handel’s musical settings of the poems, as well as other composers’

35 *General Evening Post*, 29 November 1785.
settings of the works, which were widely performed. As the 1786 number of the Pocket Atlas was printed in late 1785, the designs illustrating the poem were produced in the same year that Thomas Warton, in March, published his edition of Milton’s Poems on Several Occasions, ‘With Notes Critical and Explanatory’. Warton’s edition was considered ‘a durable monument, on which his name will appear’ and extracts from his notes, especially ‘Criticism on L’Allegro and Il Penseroso’, were reprinted in provincial newspapers. Both performances of the poems and Warton’s edition of Milton’s minor productions would have contributed to these works’ cultural currency.

Stothard returned to Milton’s poem for the 1788 number of the pocket atlas and used the oval shape of the early numbers of the publication as a framing device for his design. A. C. Coxhead’s generally unreliable study of Stothard does not record the fact that Stothard illustrated Milton’s poems more than once before 1800, but notes that he illustrated scenes from Milton’s companion pieces ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’ for the final number of Baker’s Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for 1826. While a copy of the 1788 volume is held by the British Library, Stothard’s set of watercolour drawings for the 1826 number of the atlas is held by the Houghton Library. Together with the proof sheets of some of the numbers of the pocket diaries in the Robert Balmano Collection in the British Museum, these designs provide the basis for a study of the ways in which Stothard re-read his earlier icono-textual interpretation of 1788 when he re-illustrated Milton’s poems in 1825. The availability, in the case of the designs for the last number of Baker’s publication, of both the original wash drawings and some of the proof sheets makes also possible an examination of the technical translation, through the medium of the copper-engraved vignettes, of the original work that Stothard supplied for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas.

In the absence of the original wash-drawings for the 1788 number of Baker’s annual, it is useful to consider the wash-drawings (now held by the Graphic Arts Department at the Princeton University Library) that Stothard produced for

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27 Critical Review, 59 (1785), 332.
28 See Hereford Journal, 28 April 1785.
29 Coxhead, Thomas Stothard, p. 54. The date of publication of Stothard’s designs for ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’ is confirmed by a French review of the atlas number: ‘Les vignettes, gravées par A. Fox, d’après Stothard, et dont le sujet est tiré des poèmes de Milton, l’Allegro et il Penseroso, sont un des principaux ornements de ce joli almanach’ (Journal Général de la littérature étrangère [Paris: chez Treutel et Würzt, 1826], p. 21).
30 British Library shelfmark: RB 23.a.33599.
31 Houghton Library reference number: FMS Typ 603.
32 Call number: GC 168. For a brief account of these drawings, see Nauny Finlay, ‘Parnell’s “Hermit”: Illustrations by Stothard’, The Scribnerian, 18.1 (1985), 1–5.
the 1790 number of the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*. That the designs for the latter number of Baker's annual belong to the early stage of the publication's existence is evidenced by Stothard's allusive sketches of Thomas Parnell's early eighteenth-century poem, *The Hermit*. The dimensions of these oval designs are slightly smaller than the size adopted for the 1793 vignettes. Above all, in terms of execution, they appear to be quickly produced sketches rather than the more elaborately finished, monochrome wash-drawings of his designs of *The Seasons*. Later, nineteenth-century designs are even more finished, and Stothard frequently applied colours to enliven his designs, a practice that he increasingly used at the turn of the century for ventures such as the full-page drawings for John Aikin's edition of *The Faerie Queene*.

In his designs of iconographic moments from *The Hermit*, Stothard superimposes ink outline drawings onto the areas of tonality he had created with a greyish water-colour wash; he builds up tonality first, creating layers of depth and basing his designs on a faint underlying pencil sketch. At times, the dividing lines between different areas of grey tones are not sufficiently clear and he therefore applies ink to emphasize line and tonal contrasts. In these early designs for the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* he relies extensively on his engraver, Angus, to interpret and medially translate the complex conceptualization of the designs. The vignette designs thus are largely allusive rather than specific: they depend on the dynamic and productive relationship between artist and engraver to realize Stothard's artistic vision (Figure 1). The second vignette for December is perhaps one of the most successful, as it creates a diverse range of different tonalities which would have been very difficult to differentiate in the engraved medium.

While tonally effective, the engraved designs for the 1788 number of the pocket atlas are characterized by the wooden execution of the figures. By the time Stothard designed his illustrations for Parnell's poem, his drawing of figures in miniature had significantly improved and they appear animated, rather than statuesque, on the printed page. It should be borne in mind also that the period from 1784, the year in which Stothard furnished Baker for the first time with a set of literary illustrations, up to the publication of his illustrations of *The Hermit*, was a time during which he perfected the miniaturization of his subjects in the vignette medium. He had, of course, used the vignette form for Harrison's *Lady's Poetical Magazine, or, Beauties of British Poetry* (1781–82), but the vignettes he produced for the publication were still significantly larger than those printed in the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*.

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33 The published number, containing Stothard's printed vignettes, is held by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (call number: 1992 S17).

34 The coloured wash-drawings of these designs are held by the British Museum.
As part of a comparative study of the Milton designs in the pocket diary numbers for 1788 and 1826, I examined the British Library copy of the pocket atlas for 1788, seeking to identify in which ways a sequential order, to be found in later series of vignettes, was established in Stothard’s illustrations. To do this, I checked each line against the text of ‘L’Allegro’ and realized that, despite the clear statement on the Contents page of the volume that the vignettes illustrated ‘L’Allegro’, the vignettes do in fact represent visualizations of moments from ‘Il Penseroso’. Surprising as this discovery is, it explains what appeared odd to me — that Baker would choose to have the same short poem illustrated twice within a couple of years of the publication of the first set in 1786. In any case, both the untraced number of the pocket atlas for 1786 and the designs for 1788 provide

55 British Library shelfmark: RB33.a.10097.

56 In the order of their appearance in the pocket atlas, Stothard illustrated the following lines from ‘Il Penseroso’: ‘Hail Divinest Melancholy’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 11); ‘Or the Belmans drousie charm’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 85); ‘Be seen in some high londly tow’r’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 86); ‘Of turneys and of trophies hung’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 116); ‘The Cherub Contemplation’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 94); ‘And the mote Silence hisl long’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 55); ‘While rocking Winds are Piping loud’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 128); ‘Or usher’d with a shower still’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 127); ‘And as I wake, sweet music breathe’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 151); ‘And add to these retired Leisure’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 49); ‘And let some strange mysterious dream’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 147); ‘There in close covert by some Brook’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 139); ‘And every herb that sips the dew’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 172); ‘Find out the peaceful Hermitage’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 168); ‘To arched walks of Twilight Groves’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 133); ‘To behold the wandring Moon’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 57); ‘Come pensive Nun, devout and pure’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 31); ‘And of those Demons that are found’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 93); ‘Where glowing embers through the room’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 79); ‘Where I may oft oul-outwatch the Bear’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 87); ‘Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 105); ‘And made hell grant what love did seek’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 108); ‘Or the Tale of Troy divine’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 100), and ‘To something like Prophetic strain’ (‘Il Penseroso’, l. 174).
the first illustrations of Milton's odes at a time when editions of Milton's works included only elaborate designs (some by Stothard himself) of scenes from *Paradise Lost*. Edward Burney contributed a design of 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' to an edition of *Paradise Regained* and Milton's minor poems in 1796, but these vignettes offer visualizations of the poet's personified deities which do not possess the dynamism of the designs of *Comus*, 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' that Stothard produced for an edition of Milton's poems of 1799.

Apart from the fact that the early engraved vignettes are simpler in composition and less sophisticated tonally than the vignettes of subsequent years, Stothard's images anthropomorphize Milton's allegorical personifications. They represent man as seeking isolation for the purposes of internalization and reflection. In his vignettes, Stothard captures an impressionistic array of external objects such as towers and ruins associated with loneliness. He domesticates Milton's myth of Melancholy by understanding Silence in terms of mood, rather than as 'The Cherub Contemplation' ('Il Penseroso', l. 54), the inspiring companion of 'Divinest Melancholy' ('Il Penseroso', l. 12) (Figures 2a and 2b). By contrast, he renders the speaker's experience of 'breath[ing] music' as a result of his indulging in melancholy musing in the mythic-iconographic terms of a group of instrument-playing (classical) figures. Milton associated Melancholy with the pleasures of the imagination and reflection. Following the music-producing group of figures in the first vignette of May, Stothard visualizes individuals who are detached from the communal, social existence of man. Milton's speaker seeks out spaces of isolation and 'retired Leisure' ('Il Penseroso', l. 49), an environment where his speaker can remain 'in close covert by some Brook' ('Il Penseroso', l. 139), develop a close relationship with the natural landscape, 'Find out the peaceful Hermitage' ('Il Penseroso', l. 168), and eventually — as indicated by the first vignette for the August diary pages — be absorbed entirely into nature. From being in the foreground, the individual in the various guises that Milton has him adopt retreats to the background. He seeks only Melancholy's company, and in Stothard's designs is seen both in domestic and natural settings and intent on experiencing 'something like Prophetic strain' ('Il Penseroso', l. 174), the song that Milton identified with 'the soul of Orpheus' ('Il Penseroso', l. 105).

Stothard's keying one-line captions to the vignettes facilitated a text–image relationship of sorts: readers had to establish a connection and interrelationship between the caption that rarely consisted of more than four words and the image above the caption. However, frequently the modal reading of the images, focusing on identifying coherence among the illustrations as an impressionistic

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58 Proof sheets of these illustrations are in the Balmanno Collection in the British Museum.
Figure 2a  January vignette (verso), *The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for the Year MDCCCLXXXVIII* (Southampton: published by T. Baker, 1787). Reproduced from a copy in the author’s collection.

Figure 2b  December vignette (recto), *The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for the Year MDCCCLXXXVIII* (Southampton: published by T. Baker, 1787). Reproduced from a copy in the author’s collection.
anthology of the most beautiful moments in a text, replaced the more complex, dynamic reading together of text and image. Once Stothard shifted to a different pattern of illustration for the 1826 number of Baker’s publication, reducing the number of illustrations supplied by half, the text reproduced on the first monthly diary page and facing the illustration gained in prominence and significance — not least through an increase in the number of lines from one to four. Both spatially and in terms of length, its appearance was highlighted more strikingly than previously. The mirroring layout of the diary pages, with the first monthly page facing the second one, encouraged a reading of both vignette and expanded text dynamically. The text not only served as a detached and fragmented commentary on the image, as in the earlier series, but it breathed life into the image, revealing an imaginative depth and textual connection that previously would only have been understood by readers intimately familiar with the illustrated text.

Unlike other copies of Stothard’s wash-drawings I have examined, the set illustrating Milton’s poems for the 1826 number of the pocket atlas is richly coloured, especially the frontispiece design which introduces Milton flanked by two female figures representing ‘il Penseroso’ (on the left) and ‘L’Allegro’ (on the right) (Figure 3). Stothard’s effective and nuanced playing with the darkness (rendered in shades of blue) associated with ‘il Penseroso’ and the light beige wash on the right, the area occupied by ‘L’Allegro’, as well his physically connecting the figure of Milton through the holding of hands with both figures, represents one of the most beautiful visualizations of the two poems. At the same time, its range of colours and tonalities would have posed special difficulties for the engraver who had to translate the image into a monochrome plate.

For the vignettes of the 1826 number Stothard selected six four-line passages from each poem for illustration. The traditional juxtaposition of the sprightly, cheerful and light-hearted with the ethereal, dream-like and sublime is neutralized in Stothard’s series of vignettes. While ‘L’Allegro’ celebrates man’s happiness as a social being, ‘Il Penseroso’ seeks the company of Melancholy and other personified deities only for the purpose of inspiration, a detachment from the world that will distance the individual further from those who cultivate their attachment to each other and to the external landscape. Stothard’s iconotextual narrative renders the poems as companion pieces rather than as texts that are diametrically opposed to each other and contrasting. His vignettes illustrate the existence of man and the various moods and states of mind of which man is capable. The continuous change entailed by the cycle of the year encourages the tracing of change in man’s life. Far less intent on the isolation of man or the spatial containment of the imagination,

as the earlier 1788 illustrations of 'Il Penseroso' had been, Stothard's iconotextual narrative for the 1826 number of the atlas is organic and a positive rendering of man as a contented being who is social but at the same time also contemplative. None of the images of the sublime and the transcendental or a striving for the esoteric are given; instead, man is encouraged to dream — the emblematic figure of the dreamer being taken up repeatedly by Stothard throughout his work for the pocket atlas. In Stothard's vignettes 'the light fantastic toe' ('L'Allegro', l. 34) is as much part of man as human beings frequenting the 'arched walks of twilight groves' ('Il Penseroso', l. 133).

Stothard visualizes a moment of mirth in 'L'Allegro' (ll. 30–33),40 when Euphrosyne, one of the three graces and the goddess of mirth and joy, as well as other deities, including the 'Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty', are depicted in the pleasant setting of the pastoral that Milton fashions for a world from which 'loathed Melancholy, | Of Cerberus and blackest midnight born', has withdrawn (Figure 4a). Stothard gives Milton's abstractions human form, personifies them and captures these figures' carelessness in his parade of happy dancing and music (Figure 4b). A similar scene of dancing and enjoyment is

40 The lines quoted by Stothard are: 'Sport that wrinkled Care derides, | And Laughter holding both his sides. | Com, and trip it as you go | On the light fantastick toe' ('L'Allegro').
introduced in another vignette which depicts 'many a youth, and many a maid,
| Dancing in the Chequer'd shade' (Figure 4c). In yet another vignette the
illustrator representationally moves from the real pleasures of pastoral gambol
to the world of dreams, which conjures up scenes of knightly virtue and
courtship,

With store of Ladies, whose bright eies
Rain influence, and judge the prize,
Of Wit or Arms, while both contend
To win her Grace whom all commend. (‘L’Allegro’, ll. 122–25)

Stothard translates Milton’s internalization of the mood of ‘L’Allegro’ into its
external manifestations of people gathering and enjoying each other’s company.
His visualizations of the modal qualities of ‘L’Allegro’ conceive of the allegorical
remit of Mirth as a way of life through which social man is able to share
communally innocent and ‘unreproved pleasure free’ (‘L’Allegro’, l. 40). Unlike
the ‘vain deluding joys’ (l. 1) of ‘Il Penseroso’, individuals are not detached from
the pastoral happiness that Mirth inspires and that informs dreams and solitary
contemplation.

Stothard’s Vignettes and the Canon

A comparison of different realizations, in the vignette format, of interpretations
of one and the same text is useful in that it establishes in which ways Stothard’s
designs for the pocket atlas constituted both coherent series of images and
different interpretations of the same literary text, whereas the fewer images he
usually contributed to full-text editions of an author’s work did not invite this
type of coherent reading independent of the literary source text. In an edition,
illustrations would have been complementary paratexts offering interpretive aids,
supporting the reading process, and advocating specific interpretations of the
text. In general terms, illustrations were not essential for editions, even though
they enhanced the literary textuality and marketability of the work; for the
numbers of the pocket atlas, illustrations were essential, however, in that they
portrayed iconotextual narratives that were supported by decontextualized
fragments in caption form.

Baker’s repeated choice of Milton’s poems bears witness to his recognition of
the fashionable currency of ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’, only several years
before Fuseli publicized his plans for a Milton Gallery. With the exception of The
Faerie Queene, which was adopted as the subject for the 1795 number of Baker’s
annual, Milton’s poems would remain distinct in the bookseller’s series of
vignettes as early modern productions. Unlike his designs of moments from
‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’, Stothard for his series illustrating Spenser’s
romance negotiated both recent elite, painterly renderings of scenes such as the
Knight of the Red Cross slaying Error and the lion licking Una’s feet and designs
for illustrated editions of the text produced by Louis du Guernier, William Kent and John Hamilton Mortimer. The vignettes of Spenser’s work demonstrate Stothard’s perfecting his ability to produce miniaturized paintings, as is evident in his vignette depicting Una and the lion (Figure 5). In the image the odalisque-like Una occupies the left part of the image, whereas the expressively rendered lion occupies the right, next to Una’s feet. Serene and not apprehensive at the lion’s presence, Una is embedded within a light area, which denotes her purity. Her bare feet signify her vulnerability but also her faith in the lion’s innate goodness and inability to hurt her. A darker background symbolizes his earlier state of aggression, but the lion is rendered as distinct from this background and is emerging from his previous non-religious state of existence. The vignette depicts the moment of transformation expressed by the caption: ‘And with the sight amaz’d forgot his furious force’ (Book I, Canto 3, Stanza 5, l. 3). Both Una’s hand and feet are emphasized because it is these body parts that will be revered by the lion and serve as symbols of his taming. Stothard highlights the animal’s allegorical character. Emerging from the darkness of Stothard’s background, the lion approaches the ‘royall virgin’ and is no longer ‘Hunting full greedy after savage blood’ but is transformed into her protector, a role he will perform in Una’s encounter with Sans Loy in Book I, Canto 3.

By integrating both texts into the canon he establishes for the Pocket Atlas, Baker modernized both Milton’s poems and Spenser’s Faerie Queene, relating them to existing cultural interests in both authors’ works in both literary and mediated, painterly form. They featured as part of a list of recent (eighteenth-century) authors the majority of whom were alive at the time of their works being illustrated.

In the late 1790s, Stothard illustrated George Crabbe’s The Village, Anna Seward’s Louisa and William Cowper’s The Task, whereas from 1800 he provided series of vignettes for works such as Robert Bloomfield’s The Farmer’s Boy, Lord Byron’s Childe Harold, ‘The Prisoner of Chillon’ and ‘Darkness’, as well as the novels and long poems of Sir Walter Scott. It took Baker two years to feature Stothard’s series of vignettes illustrating The Farmer’s Boy and the time it took to engrave and publish new series with which the bookseller sought to exploit the symbolic capital of the text illustrated was reduced even further, to one year, once, after 1803, Stothard undertook the illustration of, among other titles by Scott, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, Marmion, The Lady of the Lake, The Bridal of Triermain, Guy Mannering, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, The Pirate and Peveril of the Peak.

Baker’s series of vignettes are part of what was probably conceived as a popular-aesthetic canon, a model of the canon that is commonly contrasted with the economic canons that John Bell generated with his series of reprints of texts no longer governed by copyright. Baker’s selection of individual authors’ productions to be illustrated was motivated by his recognition of the marketable currency of these works. He realized that these texts were widely read and positively reviewed, and that new editions were steadily being produced, but he translated his own reading of their currency into a medium that would remind the users of his pocket atlas of their reading of these texts or if they were unfamiliar with these texts, through the captions used from the texts, induce them to read these works. Recall of the texts illustrated, on the part of those purchasing the diary, was also related to a sense of being initiated into a community of polite consumers who would recognize the value — symbolic and ornamental — of the engraved vignettes. Baker’s pocket diaries served as textual media promoting knowledge or an actual reading experience of a text illustrated.

Even though Stothard’s engraved vignettes were imitated and, at times, lifted from the pages of the pocket atlas to be reprinted in editions of poetry.

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42 For a discussion of an economically generated canon made up of works previously controlled by copyright monopolies, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially chapters 7 and 9.

43 Three of the vignettes that Stothard contributed to the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* were integrated in the pedestal of a portrait engraving of James Thomson that was published in Robert Morison’s *Perth 1793 edition of The Seasons.*
SANDRO JUNG

Sandro Jung's work for Thomas Baker was unique in that he popularized the extensive illustration (and visual interpretation) of literature via an ephemeral medium widely known in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but which, until very recently, has not been studied by scholars of the material culture of literature. Besides Baker, no other publisher of pocket diaries would include the range, variety and interpretative subtlety that Stothard's work had represented. Baker's Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas was a gold standard which, in the 1790s, was exported to America and stimulated short-lived experiments, the publishers of which sought to capitalize on the symbolic capital of Stothard's illustrative vignettes. Its specific, elite focus on the visual interpretation of British literature made it a consumer object for the middle and upper classes, but its appeal faded once diaries featuring topographical prints became fashionable and widely available.

Stothard's vignettes represent a complex body of literary-discursive interpretations that can offer meaningful insights into the ways in which these texts were read by an important visual interpreter. The changes the vignette format and the other visual features (including the annually changing Atlas figure) underwent testify to Baker's realization that novelty in the form of his illustrated diary was a branding feature that helped him to market the volumes. The Houghton Library material contributes to a better understanding of the pocket atlas not only through vignettes collected as part of the extra-illustrated copies of Bray's Life of Thomas Stothard, which in turn reflect collecting practices of ephemeral material such as the vignettes. Rather, comparing the washdrawings with the engraved vignettes enables scholars to trace the translation process involving the literary text from one medium into another. The Houghton Library vignettes provide unique opportunities for contextualizing the

44 What appears to be the first pocket diary produced to the standard of Baker's annual was W. Y. Birch's American Ladies Pocket Book, for the Year 1797. Like the early numbers of the pocket atlas, it was 'Embellished with a beautiful emblematical Frontispiece' (Philadelphia Gazette, 8 December 1796). This frontispiece was subtitled 'Memory and the Genius of the Pocket-Book recording the amusements of Time', a direct revision of Stothard's design for Peacock's Polite Repository, for which he produced mythologizing frontispiece designs in the late 1780s and early 1790s. Stothard's design for the 1796 number of the Polite Repository had depicted 'Time presenting the POLITE REPOSITORY to FAME' ('Explanation of the Frontispiece,' The Polite Repository or Pocket Companion [London: printed for W. Peacock, 1789], p. i).

David Longworth's American Ladies and Gentlemen's Pocket Almanack, and Belles Lettres Repository for 1803 reprinted twelve vignettes illustrating William Hayley's Triumph of Temper, which Stothard had furnished for the 1796 number of the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas. The publication's wrapper included two designs, depicting 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' respectively. Just as Longworth had appropriated the illustrative work of Stothard for his Repository, so he recycled a design of a female representing 'L'Allegro' that Richard Westall, another prominent painter and book illustrator, had contributed to the third volume of the three-volume edition of The Poetical Works of John Milton (With a life of the author, by William Hayley, 3 vols [London: printed by W. Bulmer, for John and Josiah Boydell, 1797], iii, between pp. 106 and 107).
professional relationship that Stothard entertained with both his publisher, Baker, and his engraver, Angus. Above all, they complement existing corpora of vignettes, especially those held by the British Museum Print Room, and will in due course facilitate a complete examination of the canon of literature and subjects that Stothard illustrated over the course of forty years. Among the most important examples of the engraved uses of the form of the illustrative vignette at the end of the eighteenth century, Stothard’s work for an ephemeral annual has survived because of its excellence of conception and execution. We should not feel that the ephemeral nature of the vignettes and the disposability of the medium they were published in reduce their significance for the cultural history of literature.