Illustrated Editions of Tobias Smollett's Novels

A Checklist and Commentary

Mary Guilland Sutherland

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1974

EX BIBL UNIV EDIN

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

As the title of this thesis indicates, the checklist of editions of Smollett's novels, although appearing after the commentary, is in fact a prelude to it. Assembled from copies of Smollett's novels that I have examined in the major libraries in Britain and America, it encompasses as many editions as have been possible to locate. Its chronological scope runs from the publication of Roderick Random in 1748 to the last comprehensive illustrated selection of the novels, by Cruikshank for Roscoe's Novelist's Library series in 1832. Title-page transcriptions are given for all editions, and for illustrated editions a detailed description of the plates is also noted, some two hundred of which are reproduced and inserted at relevant junctures in the commentary.

The commentary deals exclusively with illustrated editions, and in the introduction the general principles for the chapters that follow are discussed. Some account is given for the reasons why novels, and Smollett's novels in particular, were illustrated in the period, and it is emphasised that the chapters on each novel concentrate on qualitative assessment of those illustrations that I consider to be most significant. After some discussion of the relationship between novels and illustrations, and between Smollett and the visual arts generally, the elements in Smollett's fiction which make him a 'graphic' novelist are explored: his characterisation, with its stress on external physical description, and his predilection for the set-piece situation. The general approach is to set these two fictional techniques against the versions of scenes and characters as they are found in the illustrations.

Chapter 1 opens with a general survey of illustrations to Roderick Random, and in discussing the Hogarthian Novelist set of plates (1792) an attempt is made to decide how far Smollett could be called Hogarthian in his methods, and how far he is a caricaturist. In this novel the author is concerned with making his characters and situations 'striking, humorous, and moral', and it is concluded that this was an order of emphasis attractive to Cruikshank and Rowlandson, but not typical of Hogarth. It is argued that the episodic nature of the plot mirrors this emphasis on the locally striking.

In chapter 2, after a survey of the illustrated editions of Peregrine Pickle, Cruikshank's set of plates, the Points of Humour (1824), is used to show his appreciation of two elements he found both typical of Smollett and suitable for graphic illustration: the 'humour of situation' and an abundance of eccentric characters. It is argued that Peregrine's 'satirical disposition' leads him to create situations, and where Roderick Random was notable for portrait caricatures, Peregrine Pickle and the illustrations to it are most striking on the level of the violent scene, in spite of the overt Bildungsroman.

The survey of illustrated editions of Ferdinand Count Fathom is rather brief since this novel was not generally attractive to illustrators. The reasons for this are taken to be Smollett's concern with the 'psychology of fear' and the lack of comic characters and situations in the novel. The limited timespan of illustrations, between 1780 and 1810, and the popularity of the scene where Monimia appears as a ghost to Renaldo in the church, lead the discussion into how far Ferdinand Count Fathom is a precursor of the Gothic novel, as this was certainly how it was interpreted in illustrations to the novel.

The slight literary value of Sir Launcelot Greaves in contrast to its significance as the first full length original piece of serialised fiction (moreover the first illustrated serial), prompts discussion of the ways in which Smollett's novels were produced, reprinted, embellished and marketed during the period, taking Sir Launcelot Greaves as a typical example of the changes of fashion in the book trade in the period. This includes consideration of publishing in numbers, the copyright situation, the use of plates as a selling feature, and a more specific discussion of the Sir Launcelot Greaves plates particularly the theme of the 'armed hero'. The increase in the size of editions in the period, due to the growth of literacy, is explored in relation to two stereotype editions of the novel which appeared in the early nineteenth century.

In the last chapter the survey of illustrated editions of Humphry Clinker shows how it was comparatively unpopular with the illustrators in spite of its position as Smollett's most accomplished novel. This is accounted for by the more complex structure of an epistolary novel, The graphic elements in the early novels, the descriptions of characters and situations, is in Humphry Clinker confined to the letters of only one of the narrators, and Rowlandson's are the only outstanding illustrations to the novel. In keeping with the general structure of the novel, descriptions of characters and of situations are more highly stylised, and Smollett shows more self-consciousness of the ways in which passion 'perverts the organs of sense', thus undercutting his earlier simple graphic mode.

There are also two appendices, one a detailed description of Fuseli's frontispieces to Peregrine Pickle, and the other an account of the physician's dream in Peregrine Pickle which I take to refer to Akenside's Odes on Several Subjects (1745).

CONTENTS

List of Plates ii

Prefatory Note xv

Introduction xvii

Chapter I Roderick Random 1

Chapter II Peregrine Pickle 37

Chapter III Ferdinand Count Fathom 73

Chapter IV Sir Launcelot Greaves 99

Chapter V Humphry Clinker 128

Appendix I: Henry Fuseli's Plates to Peregrine Pickle 153

Appendix II: Francis Hayman: A Source for Pallet in Peregrine Pickle 163

Checklist:

Notes 168

Roderick Random 172

Peregrine Pickle 199

Ferdinand Count Fathom 227

Sir Launcelot Greaves 236

Humphry Clinker 249

Bibliography 268

LIST OF PLATES

Acknowledgements are made to the Trustees of the British Museum for the vast majority of the plates. Also to the University of Edinburgh Library for nos. 11,26,32,33,35,52,56,63,79 and 96; to the National Library of Scotland for nos. 7,30,31,43,45,60,64,65, 89,107,113,123,126,140,167,171,172,173,180,184,192,195,196, 198,200,205,206 and 208; to Yale University Library for nos. 50,54,72,78,87,98,144,178 and 179; to Princeton University Library for nos. 3,16,19,90,93,102 and 189; to Harvard University Library for nos. 6,25 and 34; and to the New York Public Library for no.15.

This list gives the plate numbers, the name of the artist who designed the plate, the title or a description, the date of the earliest version of the design that I have seen(due to availability this may not be the version reproduced), and a reference to my checklist where appropriate.

1. Anon. Blockprint, 17th century(see chapter 1, footnote 20)
2. W.Hogarth _The Bruiser_ 1763
3. T.Rowlandson _Rod:Random visits a Gaming Table_ 1793(RR28j)
4. W.Hogarth _Rake's Progress. Plate VI_ 1735(detail)
5. W.Hogarth _Midnight Modern Conversation_ 1733
6. G.Woodward _The Passengers from the Waggon arriving at the Inn_ 1792(RR25b) (reduced)
7. T.Rowlandson _- God's fury! there shall no passengers come here_ 1790(RR22a)
8. R.Corbould Random and Strap join the waggon 1793 (RR26a)
9. F.Hayman Battle between Roderick and Weazel 1748 (RR1a)
10. R.Corbould _Roderic Random encountering Captn.Weazel, in defence of his companion Strap_ 1793 (RR26b)

11. T.Rowlandson — Mutual defiance of Capt:Weazel and Miss Jenny Ramper 1793 (RR28b)

12. L.Clennell — The battle between Weazel and Jenny 1810 (RR32b)

13. G.Cruikshank — Combat between Roderick and Capt:Weazel 1830 (RR38a)

14. G.Cruikshank — The Combat between Roderick Random & Captain Weazel 1831 (RR39a)

15. G.Cruikshank — ibid. (pencil sketch)

16. G.Cruikshank — ibid. (pencil sketch)

17. After F.Hayman — Battle between Roderick and Weazel 1780 (RR17a)

18. Anon. — A duel 1780 (RR17b)

19. G.Cruikshank — Combat between Roderick and Captain Weazel c.1850 (oil painting)

20. Phiz — Random's first morning in London 1857

21. Phiz — Melossoyn in the Marshalsea 1857

22. Phiz — Random and the old maid 1857

23. H.Hamilton — Roderic Random's disappointment on his interview with the affected old Maid Miss Withers 1793 (RR26f)

24. R.Corbould — The maneouvre of the old maid, Miss Withers to obtain an interview with Roderick Random 1819 (RR35f)

25. S.Collings — Morgan offending the delicate organs of Captain Whiffle 1792 (RR25d) (reduced)

26. T.Rowlandson — The abrupt Entrance of Morgan thows Capt: Whiffle into a swoon 1793 (RR28f)

27. Phiz — Captain Whiffle and Morgan 1857

28. G.Cruikshank — Roderick Random & the Bumpkins 1831 (RR39e)

29. R.Corbould — The Peasants terrified at the ghastly appearance of Roderic Random in the Barn 1793 (RR26d)

30. C.Eisen — Random discovered in the barn by the bumpkins 1761 (RR7b)

31. W.Chodowiecki — Random discovered in the barn by the bumpkins 1790 (RR21b)

32. T.Rowlandson — Battle between Rod:Random and the Midshipman 1793 (RR28e)

33. T.Rowlandson — The reading of the Will of Lieut:Bowling's Brother 1793 (RR28a)

34. G.Woodward — Lieut.Bowling, pleading the cause of young Rory, to his Grandfather 1792 (RR25a) (reduced)

35. T.Rowlandson — The Return of Mrs.Lavement & Capt:O'Donnel from the Play 1793 (RR28c)

36. W.Hogarth — Marriage à la Mode. Plate III 1743 (detail)

37. G.Cruikshank — Roderick Random threatening to execute justice on Gawky 1831 (RR39d)

38. D.Dodd — Random threatens Gawky 1780 (RR18c)

39. Anon. — Random threatens Gawky 1823 (RR36a)

40. G.Cruikshank — Strap's misfortune in the Dining Cellar 1831 (RR39c)

41. L.Clennell — Narcissa reads Pipes's version of Peregrine's letter 1810 (PP22c)

42. Phiz — Pipe's Letter 1857

43. G.Cruikshank — The Consultation 1824 (PP30a)

44. Phiz — The Colonel and the Doctors 1857

45. G.Cruikshank — Tailpiece to The Consultation 1824 (PP30)

46. Phiz — Pallet floors a Host 1857

47. Phiz — The Battle of the Doctors 1857

48. L.Clennell — Peregrine's remorse after attempting to rape Emilia 1810 (PP22h)

4[illegible]. R.Corbould — Amanda terrified at the noise of the Ass upon which Pallet entered her chamber 1797 (PP17h)

50. Gonord — Espiéglerie de Pallet 1799 (PP18c)

51. D.Chodowiecki — Pallet and the ass 1785 (PP10b)

52. G.Woodward — The Alarm at the Inn at Chantilly 1805 (PP20d)

53. R.Corbould — Hornbeck shewing his Wife her Petticoat, which he had found in Peregrine's Chamber 1794 (PP16d)

54. Gonord — Séance litteraire 1799 (PP18f)

55. D.Chodowiecki — Battle at the College of Authors 1786 (PP10d)

56. T.Rowlandson — Fire at the Inn - Peregrine rescues Emilia &c 1796 (PP19b)

57. D.Chodowiecki — Peregrine saves Emilia from the fire at the inn. 1785 (PP10a)

58. D.Dodd — The Lawyers reception at the Garrison 1783 (PP9a)

59. H.Fuseli — Pallet in the Palais Royal 1769 (PP1b)

60. T.Rowlandson — Pallet in the Palais Royal 1790 (PP13a)

61. T.Stothard — Peregrine and the French cook 1781 (PP6e)

62. W.Hogarth — Calais Gate 1749 (detail)

63. T.Rowlandson — Feast after the manner of the Antients 1796 (PP19c)

64. G.Cruikshank — The Dinner 1824 (PP30b)

65. G.Cruikshank — The Duel 1824 (PP30c)

66. D.Dodd — The Duel on the Ramparts between the Physician and the Painter 1783 (PP9b)

67. T.Stothard — The duel on the ramparts 1784 (PP8b)

68. J.Allen — Pipes preventing the Duel between Peregrine & Hatchway 1794 (PP16c)

69. L.Clennell — The duel between Trunnion and Peregrine disguised as his father 1810 (PP22e)

70. T.Stothard — The duel between Trunnion and Peregrine disguised as his father 1781 (PP6d)

71. T.Stothard — Pallet in prison 1781 (PP6f)

72. Gonord — Pallet a la Bastille 1799 (PP18b)

73. G.Cruikshank — Pallets fright 1831 (PP32d)

74. Phiz — Pallet at the Masquerade 1857

75. R.Corbould — Peregrine Pickle while in prison caricaturing the French Prince who ordered his confinement 1797 (PP17f)

76. W.Hogarth — England 1756 (detail)

77. H.Fuseli — Trunnion, Pipes and Hatchway at the inn 1769 (PP1a)

78. Gonord — Combat du Capitaine Trunion et de son Lieutenant 1799 (PP18a)

79. G.Woodward — The Inn - Comm.Trunnion, Lieut.Hatchway, and T.Pipes 1805 (PP20a)

80. T.Stothard — Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn. 1781 (PP6a)

81. T.Stothard — Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn 1784 (PP8a)

82. W.Hogarth — Frontispiece to Tristram Shandy 1759

83. L.Clennell — Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn 1810 (PP22a)

84. T.Stothard — Pipes and the gardener's dog 1781 (PP6b)

85. R.Corbould — Mrs.Grizzle intreating the Commodore, to gratify the longing of Mrs.Pickle 1794 (PP16a)

86. G.Cruikshank — The three black hairs 1831 (PP32a)

87. R. Corbould — The disastrous situation of Commodore Trunnion & Hatchway on the Wedding Day 1794 (PP16b)

88. G.Cruikshank — The Commodore's Wedding 1831 (PP32b)

89. G.Cruikshank — Black Bess (from Frank Fairlegh, 185?)

90. T.Rowlandson — Commodore Trunnion & Lt.Hatchway engaged in a Fox-chace 1796 (PP19a)

91. Phiz — The Commodore on his way to get spliced 1857

92. H.Fuseli — Cadwallader as magician 1769 (PP1c)

93. T.Rowlandson — Cadwallader assumes the Character of a Fortune-teller 1796 (PP19f)

94. G.Cruikshank — The Magician 1831 (PP32f)

95. L.Clennell — Cadwallader as magician 1810 (PP22i)

96. G.Woodward — Pipes introduces the gipsey girl to Hatchway 1805 (PP20f)

97. T.Stothard — The gipsy girl offends the lady card-players 1781 (PP6j)

98. R.Corbould — Peregrine Pickle, attracted by the Charms of the Beggar Woman's Daughter 1794 (PP16h)

99. T.Sargant — Peregrine purchases the gipsy girl 1810 (PP22j)

100. H.Fuseli — Peregrine purchases the gipsy girl 1769 (PP1d)

101. H.Fuseli — ibid. (variant plate)

102. T.Rowlandson — Peregrine purchases a Gypsey Girl from her Mother 1796 (PP19g)

103. G.Cruikshank — Davy Jones 1831 (PP32c)

104. G.Cruikshank — The Tailors baffling the Bailiff 1831 (PP32e)

105. D.Dodd — The Swiss challenges Count Fathom at his Lodgings 1780 (FCF1b)

106. D.Dodd — Wilhelmina hiding Count Fathom in her Closet 1780 (FCF1a)

107. T.Rowlandson — The Misery of Intriguing 1809 (FCF9a)

108. L.Clennell — Fathom as a violin virtuoso 1810 (FCF10d)

109. L.Clennell — Fathom accused of being the Young Pretender 1810 (FCF10c)

110. L.Clennell — The two murderers 1810 (FCF10b)

111. R.Corbould — Count Fathom, releasing the old Woman of the Forest 1795 (FCF7b)

112. A.Legrand — Ils commencèrent à fumer avec une fureur inexprimable 1798 (FCF8c)

113. T.Rowlandson — Renaldo sees Monimia in the church 1790 (FCF4a)

114. D.Dodd — Renaldo Surprised by Monimia in the Church 1780 (FCF1c)

115. T.Stothard — Monimia appears to Renaldo in the church 1782 (FCF2d)

116. R.Corbould — Renaldo, surprised at the supposed Apparition of Monimia 1795 (FCF7c)

117. A.Legrand — Oui, je te suivrai, ombre céleste 1798 (FCF8d)

118. Anon — Frontispiece to The Spectre by C.Andrews, 1789

119. Anon — Frontispiece to Adeline St.Julian by Mrs Ker, 1800

120. G.Cruikshank — Straps, fright at the Raven 1831 (RR39b)

121. R.Corbould — The terror of Random and Strap, at the entrance of the old man 1793 (RR35e)

122. T.Uwins — Trunnion alarmed at the apparition of Davy Jones 1815 (PP25b)

123. G.Woodward — In the name of God, where are you bound, ho? 1809 (LG11a)(reduced)

124. R.Corbould — Captn. Crowe, terrified at Clarke and the Misanthrope who appear as Ghosts 1793 (LG9b)

125. A.Legrand — Elle l'appaisoit à l'aide d'un tuyau long et fléxible qui, du baril, communiquoit à ses levres 1798 (FCF8a)

126. R.Corbould — The German trooper addressing Fathom's mother 1800 (FCF9)

127. L.Clennell — Fathom's mother on the battlefield 1810 (FCF10a)

128. T.Kirk — Mrs.Fathom, attempting to murder the Hussar Officer 1795 (FCF7a)

129. T.Stothard — Fathom's mother attacks the Turkish leader 1782 (FCF2a)

130. T.Stothard — Don Diego gives his wife and daughter poison 1782 (FCF2b)

131. A.Legrand — Elles tombèrent sur un sofa, l'une à coté de l'autre 1798 (FCF8b)

132. R.Corbould — The noble Castilian, relating his adventures to Count Fathom 1795 (FCF7c)

133. T.Stothard — Renaldo communicates with his mother at Trebasi's castle 1782 (FCF2c)

134. L.Clennell — Renaldo attacks Count Trebasi 1810 (FCF10c) (detail)

135. R.Corbould — The Capuchin reproving Peregrine, for his attempt to violate the chastity of Amanda 1794 (PP16e)

136. R.Corbould — Monimia resisting Fathoms attempt to violate her Chastity 1795 (FCF7d)

137. T.Stothard — Peregrine attempts to seduce Emilia 1781 (PP6g)

138. T.Stothard — Peregrine attempts to seduce Emilia 1784 (PP8c)

139. R.Corbould — Eleanor discovering to Melville the deplorable situation of Fathom 1795 (FCF7f)

140. T.Rowlandson — Crabshaw dispersing a band of soldiers 1790 (LG7a)

141. T.Stothard — Entrance of Greaves and Crabshaw 1782 (LG5a)

142. L.Clennell — Entrance of Greaves and Crabshaw 1810 (LG14a)

143. W.Craig — Entrance of Greaves and Crabshaw 1813 (LG15b)

144. Eldridge — The astonishment of the Travellers at the Black Lion, on the arrival of Sir Launcelot, with his half-drowned Squire 1816 (LG17a)

145. G.Cruikshank — The Alarm of Crowe & Fillet at the appearance of Sir Launcelot 1832 (LG18a)

146. A.Walker — Sir Launcelot Greaves, & his Squire, Timothy Crabshaw - 1760 (LG1a)

147. W.Hogarth — Hudibras Sallying forth 1726

148. A.Walker — Sr.L.Greaver and his Squire T.Crabshaw at a Country Election - 1760 (LG1b)

149. T.Stothard — Greaves discovers the abduction of Aurelia 1782 (LG5c)

150. T.Stothard — The election 1782 (LG5b)

151. Sears — Humphry Clinker preaching to the footmen 1827 (HC18a)

152. Sears — Lismahago as sachem 1827 (HC18b)

153. T.Kirk — Crabshaw and Crowe terrified at the cook-maid supposing her to be a Ghost 1796 (LG10c)

154. G.Cruikshank — Dawdle's Victory over Captn.Crowe 1832 (LG18b)

155. W.Craig — The runaway coach 1816 (LG16b)

156. W.Craig — Sir Launcelot and Aurelia reconciled 1813 (LG15c)

157. T.Stothard — Crabshaw visits the conjuror 1782 (LG5d)

158. L.Clennell — Crabshaw visits the conjuror 1810 (LG14f)

159. D.Dodd — Sr.Launcelot Greaves's, Inverview with Mrs. Darnell 1780 (LG4a)

160. D.Dodd — Sir Launcelot discovers Aurelia at the inn 1780 (LG4b)

161. W.Brooke — The attention of the Knight aroused by Crabshaw's disaster 1809 (LG13a)

162. W.Brooke — Crabshaw roaring under the influence of a night mare 1809 (LG13b)

163. H. Fuseli — The Nightmare 1827 engraving by W.Raddon of the 1781 original

164. L.Clennell — Sir Launcelot emerging from the church fully armed 1810 (LG14b)

165. W.Craig — Crabshaw left half-shaved on election day 1813 (LG15a)

166. J.Callot — From his series The Beggars 1626

167. T.Rowlandson — Altercation between Mrs.Tabitha and Lady Griskin 1793 (HC6f) (reduced)

168. Phiz — Lady Griskin and Aunt Tabitha 1857

169. R.Corbould — Winifred Jenkins rewarding the old Witch for telling her fortune 1799 (HC12b)

170. L.Clennell — Winifred Jenkins and the witch 1810 (HC13d)

171. J.Mansfeld — Lydia recognises her lover selling spectacles 1775 (HC1a)

172. J.Mansfeld — Humphry mistaken for the blacksmith 1775 (HC1b)

173. J.Mansfeld — Humphry recognised as Matt's natural son 1775 (HC1c)

174. J.Allen — Lydia Melford, Fainting at the sight of her Lover, disguised as a Jew 1794 (HC7b)

175. R.Corbould — Clinker surprised at the caresses of the Blacksmith's Wife 1799 (HC8b)

176. J.Allen — Humphrey Clinker after his release from Prison paying his respects to his Master 1794 (HC7f)

177. E.Burney — The mutual recognition of the Melvilles and the Grieves 1785 (HC4c)

178. H.Corbould — He fell down on his knees, and kissing my hand which he bathed with his tears 1825 (HC17a)

179. H.Corbould — He took his leave of us - and pranced away in great state 1825 (HC17b)

180. T.Rowlandson — Humphry Clinker in prison preaching to the Felons 1793 (HC6g) (reduced)

181. Anon — Matthew Bramble saved from drowning by Humphry Clinker 1785 (HC3b)

182. G.Cruikshank — Humphrey's zeal for his master 1831 (HC20c)

183. T.Uwins — Lieutenant Lismahago tete a tete with his amiable squaw Squinkinacoosta 1808 (HC11b)

184. T.Rowlandson — Humphry Clinker introduced to the Bramble family 1793 (HC6c) (reduced)

185. E.Burney — Humphry hired as a servant 1785 (HC4b)

186. Anon — Humphry Clinker's examination before Matthew Bramble at Salt Hill 1785 (HC3a)

187. G.Cruikshank — Humphrey's Introduction to the Bramble family 1831 (HC20a)

188. R.Corbould — The Old Irishman and his Dancing Master, Interrupted by Melford 1794 (HC7c)

189. G.Cruikshank Lismahago's Retaliation (pencil sketch)

190. G.Cruikshank Lismahago's Retaliation 1831 (HC20d)

191. L.Clennell The arrival of Lismahago at the inn 1810 (HC13c)

192. T.Rowlandson First appearance of the gallant Lismahago 1793 (HC6h) (reduced)

193. Phiz Lismahago's graceful descent from his horse 1857

194. E.Burney Arrival of Lismahago 1785 (HC4d)

195. T.Rowlandson Lieut.Lismahago carries a Challenge to Lord Oxmington 1793 (HC6i) (reduced)

196. T.Rowlandson Lismahago escapes the 'fire' at the inn 1790 (HC5a)

197. E.Burney Matt and the poor widow 1785 (HC4a)

198. T.Rowlandson Mrs.Tabitha suspects her Brother of incontinency 1793 (HC6a) (reduced)

199. Phiz Mr.Bramble and the widow 1857

200. T.Rowlandson Direful consequences of Clinker's awkwardness 1793 (HC6d) (reduced)

201. J.Allen Tabitha Bramble enraged at the awkwardness of Humphrey Clinker 1794 (HC7d)

202. L.Clennell Humphry serves at table 1810 (HC13b)

203. G.Cruikshank Humphrey's Disaster 1831 (HC20b)

204. Phiz Humphry, Aunt Tabby, and the injured Chowder 1857

205. T.Rowlandson Turkish Ambassador introduced to the Duke of N -- 1793 (HC6c) (reduced)

206. T.Rowlandson Mathew Bramble recognises some ancient Friends 1793 (HC6b) (reduced)

207. L.Clennell — The reconciliation of Lydia and Dennison 1810 (HC13e)

208. T.Rowlandson — The Marriage of Lieut:Lismahago and Mrs. Tabitha: &c. 1793 (HC6j) (reduced)

209. H.Fuseli — Frontispiece to Remarks on ... Rousseau, 1767

210. F.Hayman — Titlepage to Odes on Several Subjects 1745, by M.Akenside

211. D.Chodowiecki — Set of plates illustrating Peregrine Pickle 1786 (PP11)

PREFATORY NOTE

The work for this thesis was undertaken at the following libraries, whose cooperation is here gratefully acknowledged: Edinburgh University Library, the National Library of Scotland, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the University of Cambridge Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the New York Public Library, the Sterling and Beinecke Rare Books Libraries at Yale University, the Widener and Houghton Libraries at Harvard University, Princeton University Library, and the Rare Books Library at McMaster University. I have also had access over the years to the collection of my supervisor, Dr John V.Price.

Wherever possible I have used the text of the Oxford English Novels series since these are the most easily available and accurate editions to date, and the last Collected Works, published in 11 volumes by the Shakespeare Head Press in 1925-6 is not especially common. The Oxford editions of Smollett's novels are Peregrine Pickle, edited by J.L. Clifford(1964), Humphry Clinker, edited by L.M.Knapp(1966), Ferdinand Count Fathom, edited by D.Grant(1971), and Sir Launcelot Greaves, edited by D.Evans(1973).

This scheme has two major disadvantages. Roderick Random is at present not included in the series, and so for this novel I have used the 2nd edition(1748), since this incorporated certain revisions by Smollett,[1] and is also incidentally the first Smollett novel ever illustrated. Secondly, the Oxford Peregrine Pickle reproduces the 1st edition which, however bibliographically desirable,

1 See O.M.Brack and J.B.Davies, 'Smollett's revisions to Roderick Random', PBSA, 64, pp.295-311.

is not the edition commonly illustrated. Nevertheless since illustrations generally concentrate on the episode rather than the word I have chosen to ignore this inconsistency.

Quotations and references in the text of the thesis are by page number to the Oxford editions, and in the case of Roderick Random by volume and page number to the 2nd edition. In the checklist, a chapter reference to the episode illustrated is given in the 'Description' section, since some illustrations, such as PP20d,[2] range over a whole chapter, although most refer specifically to a paragraph or less of the text. One chapter gives rise to problems, chapter 88 of Peregrine Pickle which is 'The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality' and extends to some one hundred pages. The few illustrations of episodes in this chapter, such as PP6i, are therefore described both by chapter and page reference to the Oxford edition.

The bibliography is restricted to works mentioned in the text, the footnotes, or the checklist notes. In footnotes works are mostly described only by the author's name and a short title: fuller references are given in the bibliography. Dates of works are given in the footnotes only if this is germane to the point being made. One final textual reference, so familiar to those working on Smollett that it barely needs explaining, is 'Knapp'. Plain 'Knapp' refers to the biography Tobias Smollett. Doctor of Men and Manners by Lewis M.Knapp(Princeton, 1949); 'Letters' refers to The Letters of Tobias Smollett, edited by Lewis M.Knapp (Oxford, 1970); and in the checklist the location 'Knapp collection' refers to the checklist of Lewis Knapp's personal collection printed in The Works of Tobias Smollett and Related Material(Colorado Springs, 1963).

2 For explanation of my checklist numbering, see the prefatory note to that section of the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

I

This thesis attempts a discussion of the illustrations to Smollett's novels. A prerequisite was the locating and describing of editions containing illustrations, and, since libraries rarely distinguish their illustrated from their unillustrated editions, this developed into a full-scale checklist of all easily available editions. As it happens this fills a useful if unglamorous gap in Smollett scholarship on its own merits.[1] The whole thesis however divides rather inelegantly into two sections, the commentary and the checklist, whose connection may not at all times be apparent. Nevertheless I would wish it to be approached generally as a thesis for which the checklist functions as the necessary premiss to a full commentary, rather than as a gaily brief thesis with an inordinately long bibliography.

The checklist gives some idea of how frequently Smollett's novels were illustrated between their first publication and those illustrated by Cruikshank in the early 1830's,[2] and is one way of recording his popularity as a novelist. Deduction from this evidence is fairly predictable, with Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle and Humphry Clinker the most popular by far, perhaps the only unusual feature to the modern reader being the equal place

1 The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature list is compiled by Lewis Knapp and is, by and large, accurate.

2 In the Novelist's Library series edited by Thomas Roscoe. Ferdinand Count Fathom is omitted from the series.

Peregrine Pickle had with the other two. The popularity of Ferdinand Count Fathom in the late eighteenth century has been frequently noted in Smollett criticism,[3] a point borne out by the dating and style of its graphic embellishment. Perhaps less predictable, and less explicable, is the early nineteenth century popularity of Sir Launcelot Greaves, which seems to have been a result of both its early printing history and its quaint Don Quixotery.

The commentary is largely a qualitative assessment of the illustrations, since some plates and some illustrators seem obviously more significant than others. I have suggested that it was peculiar to qualities of Smollett's fiction which influenced many of the illustrators, so that discussion in the following chapters frequently refers to themes or scenes rather than assembling a chronological survey. For this reason I have prefaced each chapter with a brief resumé of the major trends in the illustration of the novel under discussion.[4] One chronological point which may not emerge clearly from discussion of the novels separately is that the clichéd view of crude mid-eighteenth century tastes being refined into the Age of Sensibility and the Victorian era does not appear to be true. Polite sentimentality seems to have been tied closely to social status rather than Zeitgeist in an unexpected way; it was the

3 Spontaneous appreciations of this novel are found in J. and A.L.Aikin's Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose(1773), p.126, and N.Drake's Literary Hours(1798), p.250. In a more modern critical work, J.M.S.Tompkins's The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800(1932), Ferdinand Count Fathom is the only Smollett novel which rates special mention.

4 The exception is chapter 4 on Sir Launcelot Greaves where I deal with these matters at greater length, including more general topics such as types and cost of editions, the readess at whom they were aimed, and so on.

cheaper editions which succumbed earliest to the suppression of crudity, while the more obviously expensive editions, illustrated by better known artists, throughout the whole period emphasise the comic violence of Smollett, those aspects of his fiction later paradoxically considered 'vulgar'. Illustrators, in their general approach and in their particular choice of episode, are therefore useful not just as typical readers in a chronological sense but in a social sense as well.

II

Smollett's reputation as a novelist follows clearcut lines,[5] with the initial bestseller Roderick Random and the corresponding succès de scandale of Peregrine Pickle, while Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Launcelot Greaves inspired less enthusiasm. The publication of Humphry Clinker seems to have generated a revival of interest in Smollett's earlier novels as well, a revival which continued steadily into the nineteenth century, so that Frederick Boege can describe the period 1800 to 1830 as the 'height of fame' for Smollett's reputation, after which there was a drop in popularity in favour of Fielding and the contemporary Victorian novel. This trend is paralleled in graphic representation for various reasons.

Simplest are the obvious sociological/technical factors. With Roderick Random, an immediate popular success provoked graphic embellishment with the four frontispieces by Hayman, and less dramatically this was also true of Peregrine Pickle and Fuseli's frontispieces. In both these cases the sure sale of a proven popular novel both stimulated and justified the expense of

5 This subject has been fully explored in F.W.Boege's Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist.

plates. In the 1780's and 90's the alteration in the copyright laws and the growth of literacy led to a plethora of cheap reprints of Smollett's novels, together with those of the other 'classic' mid-eighteenth century novelists. In this period too the chauvinism arising from the French wars stimulated interest in the English classics, particularly one suspects Smollett's naval characters and the sarcastic Francophobia evident in Peregrine Pickle. This same popular chauvinism had encouraged the development of the humorous political caricature of the printshops,[6] and many of the artists who illustrated the novels also designed caricatures, notably Rowlandson, George Woodward and Cruikshank. During the period too, though not so dramatically as later in the nineteenth century, technical improvements in the production and the 'life' of plates made illustrations a more frequent feature of new editions of the novels.

Turning from the material evidence of editions and their illustrations to more general attitudes towards the relationship between literature and graphic art, conclusions become more difficult to draw. Much aesthetic cricitism of the ut pictura poesis type,[7] while providing insight into the artfulness of eighteenth century poetry, becomes sheer pretentiousness when applied to the equally artful but more mundane concerns of the novel.[8] Nevertheless the affinity between literature and art

6 See M.D.George, Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire, pp.57 and 103-4.

7 For example J.H.Hagstrum's The Sister Arts, M.Praz's Mnemosyne, and W.Sypher's Four Stages of Renaissance Style and Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature.

8 An interesting discussion of various literary/art parallels is found in G.Giovannini's 'Method in the study of Literature in its relation to the other Fine Arts'. Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, vol.8, no.3(March 1950), pp.185-95.

extends to the novel in its relationship to the print, and especially in critical parallels between Hogarth and the eighteenth century novelists. All the major eighteenth century novelists use the example of Hogarth, especially in their characterisation,[9] and in criticism of the novel Hogarth's name frequently appears. In later criticism both Lamb and Hazlitt show how naturally they interpret one art in the light of the other by casual allusion rather than laboured parallel,[10] and the same approach is shown in the fifth of Thackeray's Lectures on the English Humourists effortlessly linking 'Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding'. And it appears to have been such a commonplace of novel criticism that the question of whether it was just critical fashion or precise interdisciplinary theory seems not to have needed explanation.

The relationship between novelist and illustrator changed almost overnight with the advent of the monthly part serial where plates became not merely desirable but virtually necessary.[11] Although cheap reprints of mid-eighteenth century novels, such as Harrison's Novelist's Magazine or Cooke's Select Novels towards the end of the century were in some ways precursors of the monthly serials, there was no such close relationship as

9 For detailed references see R.B.Moore, Hogarth's Literary Relationships.

10 For example Hazlitt's Lectures on the English Comic Writers (in Works, ed. P.P.Howe, vol.6), includes playwrights, essayists, novelists and Hogarth. In more specific vein Charles Lamb contrasts the humour in the funeral scene plate in the Harlot's Progress with Ferdinand Count Fathom's first sight of England, and ends this essay on Hogarth with the remark that his prints show us how to 'detect those gradations of sense and virtue ... in the countenance of the world about us ... In this, as in many other things, they are analogous to the best novels of Smollett or Fielding'(The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb, ed. E.V.Lucas, vol.1, p.86).

11 See J.Harvey, Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p.8.

sprang up between Dickens or Thackeray and their illustrators. A pair of quotations from a contemporary of Richardson's and a contemporary of Dickens's illustrate the contrast well. In the introduction to the second edition of Pamela Richardson explains his rejection of Hogarth's designs illustrating the novel because they fell 'very short of the Spirit of the Passages they were intended to represent', and he was encouraged to do so

> from the following Observation of a most ingenious Gentleman, in a Letter to the Editor: 'I am so jealous, says he, in Behalf of our inward Idea of PAMELA'S Person that I dread any figur'd Pretence to Resemblance.' [12]

By the time of Dickens, criticism of illustrations has turned full circle. In an article on 'Mr Dickens as a Reader'(or what the author calls 'elocutionary illustration') John Hollingshead indicates the extreme importance of the nineteenth century illustrator:

> The very shape, aspect, and garments of the ideal creatures who move through its pages, even when drawn by the pen of the first master of fiction in the land, will be faint and confused to the blunted perception of the general reader, unless aided by the attendant pencil of the illustrative artist. For the sharp, clear images of Mr Pickwick ... more persons are indebted to the caricaturist, than to the faultless descriptive passages of the great creative mind that called the amusing puppets into existence. [13]

Cruikshank, as an illustrator who had close if stormy relationships with contemporary novelists,[14] and also an illustrator of many eighteenth century novels,[15] is an artist whose career covered both approaches to illustration, and this makes his series

12 S.Richardson, Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded(2nd edition of Part I, 1741), Vol. I, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

13 J.Hollingshead, Miscellanies, vol.3, p.276.

14 See his pamphlet The Artist and the Author. A Statement of Facts passim, and footnote 13 to chapter 2 of this thesis.

15 See footnote 18 to chapter 3 of this thesis.

of etchings for Smollett's novels(in the Novelist's Library series) a convenient terminal date,[16] since they were the last comprehensive graphic exposition of the novels.[17]

Unlike Dickens, Thackeray, or even his contemporary Fielding, Smollett appears to have had no extraordinary interest in the visual arts. His general attitude is typified by his appreciation, or rather lack of it, of the art collections of Italy, in the non-fictional context of his Travels:

> Very likely I may incur the ridicule of the virtuosi for the remarks I have made; but I am used to speak my mind freely on all subjects that fall under the cognizance of my senses; though I must as freely own, there is something more than common sense required to discover and distinguish the more delicate beauties of painting. [18]

Similarly the survey of the 'present state of the arts' in the last volume of his History[19] is more cursory in its treatment of the visual arts than of 'genius in writing' for example; and although painters and painting occur in the panorama of contemporary life in his novels, they play no significant part in a thematic sense.[20]

16 The same date, 1831, also saw the beginning of Bentley's Standard Novels series, which initiated a new trend in novel reprints and 'made people realise that contemporary novels ... could aspire to the epithet "standard"', M.Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction, vol.2, p.108.

17 The only other extensive treatment after this was Routledge's editions of Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Humphry Clinker in 1857, with illustrations by Phiz.

18 Travels through France and Italy, vol.2, pp.72-3.

19 The History of England(new edition, 1822), vol.5, pp.407-12.

20 Abraham Raimbach notes that the character Slyboot in Roderick Random is meant for the painter Alan Ramsay(Memoirs and Recollections of the late Abraham Raimbach, ed. M.T.S. Raimbach, pp.6-7), although this is hardly essential information in the context. In the same way Pallet's identity and vocation are subordinate to his personality in Peregrine Pickle.

A similar pattern is evident in his personal relationships with artists, of whom he knew several: a letter to Francis Hayman, his first illustrator, concentrates on theatrical rather than artistic matters,[21] and his close collaboration with Hogarth in the early 60's was almost entirely political.[22] This contrasts neatly with Fielding's friendship with Hogarth which considerably influenced his fictional theory. Smollett's art appreciation, with its emphasis on 'expression',[23] ran parallel to but was not apparently influential on his fictional practice. More important for the concerns of my thesis is what artists saw in Smollett rather than vice versa, and I consider that this falls into two main categories: characters and characterisation, and action and situation.

Smollett's characters were frequently praised in contemporary and later criticism of his novels, and, although this was a standard critical approach to many if not all novels in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the emphasis seems to be especially notable in Smollett criticism. The very first reference to Roderick Random mentions that it was 'not without

21 The Letters of Tobias Smollett, ed. L.M.Knapp, pp.13-14.

22 The best account of this is in R.Paulson's Hogarth; His Life, Art, and Times, vol. 2, pp.363-5.

23 The following are examples from his Travels through France and Italy. Of the gallery in the Pitti Palace: 'Here by viewing the statues and busts ranged on each side, I should become acquainted with the faces of all the remarkable personages, male and female, of antiquity, and even be able to trace their different characters from the expression of their features'(vol.2, p.59); 'the Arrotino, commonly called the Whetter ... I never saw such an expression of anxious attention, as appears in his countenance'(vol.2, p.66); 'the Venus by Titian, which has a sweetness of expression ...' (vol.2, p.67); 'the Madonna de la Seggiola, by Raphael ... the expression of a peasant rather than of the mother of God'(vol.2, pp.71-2).

some characters in it',[24] and the same is true of subsequent public and private comment on all his novels. Often his characters are further defined as grotesques or caricatures, which introduces a direct graphic analogy not found to such an extent in appreciation of Richardson's or Fielding's characterisation. Another approach along the same lines is the contrast between Smollett's painting of the outside and Fielding's of the 'inner springs' of human life.[25] Certainly Smollett's character-portraits have the irrelevant specificity associated with 'l'effet du réel',[26] to the point of an exaggeration normally associated with caricature. While this exaggeration is presented in many ways, in speech, action, opinions, and so on, the most striking way it functions is by exaggeration of external appearance, essentially a visual rather than a moral or psychological defining technique. In one way this makes Smollett a less profound novelist than Fielding (morally) or Richardson(psychologically). To Henry James 'the superficial view is, after all, the natural one for the picture-maker' [27] and by Jamesian standards Smollett, not unnaturally, stands condemned. But for the 'picture-makers' like Rowlandson, Cruikshank, Chodowiecki, Hayman, Fuseli and others, Smollett is

24 In a letter from Miss Catherine Talbot to Mrs Elizabeth Carter, 15 February 1748, quoted in Knapp's biography of Smollett, p.95.

25 This point is made in the preface to Cruikshank's Points of Humour, Part 2, see below page 43. Hazlitt too remarks upon Fielding's 'superior insight into the springs of human character ... [Smollett] exhibits the ridiculous accidents and reverses to which human life is liable, not the "stuff" of which it is composed'(Works, ed.P.P. Howe, vol.6, p.116).

26 In the essay of this title by Roland Barthes, Communications, vol.11, pp.84-9. By 'irrelevant' I mean detail used apparently for its local effect rather than for formal patterning or symbolic significance.

27 Picture and Text, p.38.

a natural choice.

A concomitant cliché of Smollett criticism is to remark upon his continual use of physical punishment. Not only are his characters described as looking violently grotesque but they display violent tendencies or are subject to excessive physical force from inanimate objects or their fellow-men. These violent situations, like his characterisation, hinge on action being seen as humorous rather than as morally enlightening. Broadly speaking Fielding and Hogarth tend to the idea that 'the only ways by which we can come to any Knowledge of what passes in the Minds of others, are their Words and Actions',[28] an inadequate or irrelevant factor in most of Smollett's battles, feasts, or accidents. The nearest one gets to a non-physical justification is to explain these as satirical scourgings or externalised relationships,[29] although again the superficial 'picture-maker's' view is, one suspects, the most natural response. Eighteenth century criticism allowed for both types of action, in the contrast between wit and humour. Where Corbyn Morris stresses that 'HUMOUR is any whimsical Oddity or Foible, appearing in the Temper or Conduct of a Person in real Life' he is implying that, in literature, it partakes of a certain natural disorder, in contrast to the intellectual dimension pertaining to wit which 'appears in Comparisons, either between Persons in real life, or between other Subjects',[30]

28 The Champion, 11 December 1739.

29 Ronald Paulson, in Satire and the Novel in XVIIIth Century England, argues this position with much persuasion.

30 An Essay towards fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humour, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule(1744), pp.12 and 13. See also Hazlitt's lecture On Wit and Humour: 'Humour is the describing the ludicrous as it is in itself; wit is the exposing it, by comparing or contrasting it with something

a distinction also drawn by Fanny Burney in the preface to Evelina where she finds herself 'exhilarated by the wit of Fielding, and humour of Smollett'.[31]

The criticism is often implied or expressed that somehow the grotesque characters and the violent situations are grafted on to the 'real novel' beneath. This approach is perhaps most subtly put by Coleridge:

> in Smollett's Strap, his Lieutenant Bowling, his Morgan the honest Welshman, and his Matthew Bramble, we have exquisite humour, - while in his Peregrine Pickle we find an abundance of drollery, which too often degenerates into mere oddity; in short, we find that a number of things are put together to counterfeit humour, but that there is no growth from within.[32]

This lack of organic growth could perhaps more kindly be described as Smollett's 'graphic mode', a painting of the outside rather than inner exploration. In some ways Coleridge's criticism is no more than fancy intellectualisation of Clara Reeve 's 'his characters are over-charged, and he has exhibited some scenes that are not proper for all readers'.[33] Certainly one result of Smollett's delight in grotesque characters and violent situations is the apparent lack of an overall controlling structure. Like the graphic artist he tends to work on the local level of the scene rather than to exploit the novel's potential for continuous external narrative and internal psychological exploration. The

---

else. Humour is, as it were, the growth of nature and accident; wit is the product of art and fancy'(Works, ed. P.P.Howe, vol.6, p.15).

31 Evelina(Oxford English Novels edition), ed. E.A.Bloom, p.9.

32 S.T.Coleridge, in 'Lecture IX. On the Distinctions of the Witty, the Droll, the Odd, and the Humourous; the Nature and Constituents of Humour; - Rabelais - Swift - Sterne', The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. H.N. Coleridge, vol.1, p.134.

33 The Progress of Romance(1785), vol.2, p.10.

impression in reading his novels is that the part is more important than the whole, and the surface life its own justification. In this, the graphic Smollett is the reverse of the literary Hogarth, who took pains to give the separate plates of his Progresses a narrative continuity, and to suggest significances beyond the 'picture-maker's'.

However it must be confessed that consideration of the illustrations to Smollett's novels increases a critical tendency to concentrate on the local effect, but this is a not unsuitable approach. In treating Roderick Random as a series of caricatures and scenes revolving loosely round the hero, it is hard to know how far the illustrations contribute to and how far they elucidate this practice. One set of plates to the novel, the Hogarthian Novelist designs of 1792, are referred to at greater length in discussing how far Smollett's aims in this novel could be called 'Hogarthian', a description generally not apt except in a peripheral sense. Hogarth's narrative moralising and scene-painting are not notable features of the novel, a first-person tale of Roderick's experiences of life rather than of his judging or ordering of it. The lack pf pruning in the graphic descriptions of character and situation, the absence of structural or moral reasons why certain characters should be described in such extreme detail, are accounted for by a delight in the virtuosity of making them 'striking and humorous'.[34]

With Peregrine Pickle Smollett seems to become more critical of his earlier formal disproportion. One small episode indicates criticism of irrelevant detail used merely for its striking local

34 See Smollett's Apologue, first prefaced to the 1755 4th edition of Roderick Random, and page 12 below.

effect, in Pallet's naive appreciation of the study of the beggar where the Flemish painter was 'actually employed in representing a huge louse that crawled upon his shoulder'.[35] In addition Peregrine's positive role as creator of 'situations', in contrast to Roderick's passivity, tightens the structure of the novel and subordinates characters and situations to the overall pattern of Peregrine's education. In this way characters and more especially situations tend to advance the satirical rather than the merely humorous features of the novel. For example Pallet and the physician are more extensively and satirically dealt with than equivalent figures in Roderick Random such as Weazel, Crab or Lavement, whose characterisation is primarily limited to their physical appearance. For illustrators, if Rowlandson was more at home with the eccentrics of Roderick Random, Cruikshank seems to have found Peregrine Pickle's 'humour of situation'[36] more to his taste.

Ferdinand Count Fathom picks up a non-graphic theme from the earlier novels, the problem of hypocrisy. Here the whole novel is constructed on the similarity of appearance but contrast

35 Peregrine Pickle, ed. J.L.Clifford, p.335. This was a standard eighteenth century criticism of Dutch and Flemish painting, as in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourse Three: 'The painters ... who express with precision the various shades of passion, as they are exhibited by vulgar minds(such as we see in the works of Hogarth), deserve great praise; but as their genius has been employed on low and confined subjects, the praise which we give must be as limited as its object'(Discourses on Art, p.51). George Eliot uses the analogy of Dutch painting in a rather different manner in chapter 17 of Adam Bede: 'It is for this rare, precious quality of truthfulness that I delight in many Dutch paintings ... do not impose on us any aesthetic rules which shall banish from the region of Art those old women scraping carrots with their work-worn hands'(pp.176-7).

36 From the preface to Points of Humour, Part 1(author's own emphasis).

in moral worthiness of Ferdinand and Renaldo, whilst before passing references, such as the character of Captain Whiffle in Roderick Random or the Pygmalion episode of the beggar-woman's daughter in Peregrine Pickle, sufficed. The author's concern with psychological motives, and especially the 'impulses of fear' discussed in the novel's dedication, do provide it with its Gothic dimension and as such it had a specialised appeal to late eighteenth century illustrators, but its almost complete lack of comedy led it to be virtually ignored by the best-known illustrators of the earlier novels, Rowlandson, Cruikshank and Phiz.

Almost ignored by these artists too was Smollett's next novel, Sir Launcelot Greaves, although it does contain comic elements of characterisation and situation. However, after a superb opening, the long caricature descriptions of Ferret and Crabshaw, and comic situations such as Crowe's visit to the conjuror, have an air of tired automatism about them. The 'armoured hero' theme came to be regarded as more and more improbable and this, combined with its shortness, seems to have typecast it as suitable for children or for those of less sophisticated literary tastes. Its original serialised appearance made it a popular choice for part-issue in juvenile or cheap editions, and as this market developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it achieved a printing success out of proportion to its literary merits.

Humphry Clinker as always is the most interesting in its use of graphic effects, thought surprisingly less so in the history of its actual illustration. Smollett's use of the epistolary form, in contrast to Richardson's, allows him to be discontinuous without being formless. Like Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, Humphry Clinker contains caricature portraits and violent scenes

but these are held together(and in check) by grouping them in Jery's letters, just as the romantic descriptions are in Lydia's, the humourist's response in Matt's, and the self-caricature in Win's. This gives Smollett his caricatures and situational comedy, but it also gives him the freedom to show that it is merely one way of responding to people and events. This exploitation of point of view by epistolary means makes Humphry Clinker the most successful of his novels in terms of moral education, an element which he had tried to communicate in Peregrine Pickle by satire, and in Ferdinand Count Fathom by means of a stark confrontation between good and evil.

Moral instruction in his last novel comes, not so much from ridiculing the bad and stupid as in Peregrine Pickle or from exposing evil as in Ferdinand Count Fathom or by donning a symbolic suit of armour as in Sir Launcelot Greaves, as from a growth in self-knowledge. In Humphry Clinker this lesson is evident in the characters' self-revelatory development. When Smollett stresses how the 'falsifying medium of prejudice and passion'[37] makes us judge the outside world unjustly, his aim is not psychological or moral analysis, as in Richardson or Fielding, but an emphasis on the unsocial way in which passion affects the way we 'see' the world. And as with his art criticism, 'seeing' in the intellectual sense is very close to 'seeing' in a visual sense.

It is perhaps fitting that his most extensive explorations of this theme should come in his last novel, for it is precisely this 'prejudice and passion' which gives rise to the graphic elements in his earlier novels, to the sporadic lurid extravagance

37 The phrase is Jery's, see Humphry Clinker, ed. L.M.Knapp, p.332, and also footnote 25 to chapter 5 of this thesis.

which animates the novels and attracted so many fine illustrators. It would be possible to pick out a great deal of criticism which makes the point about Smollett's graphic qualities, criticism where the characters are described as 'portraits painted from the life' and so on. Rather I have taken this one particular facet of Smollett's fictional technique and set it against various graphic versions of the scenes and characters in order to begin to clarify this area. Illustrators are close readers with particular specialised interests in their texts, and the fact that some as well-known as Rowlandson, Chodowiecki and Cruikshank should have made a positive choice of Smollett's novels, rather than anyone else's, seems a matter of significance. Many artists of course were involved in run-of-the-mill series where there was little freedom to pick and choose one's author, but here the selections they made within the novel are of interest.

This is essentially a justification of Smollett's use of violence and caricature, that far from being a superficial Fielding, it was a conscious part of his art as a novelist. This art is frequently misinterpreted by readers and critics wishing to find overt moral instruction, but was appreciated by readers with particular graphic interests. It is probably best summed up by his own remarks on the natural gifts of British poets who 'have generally more genius than taste, more spirit than art, more strength than beauty'.[38]

38 In The Present State of All Nations, vol.2 , p. 226.

CHAPTER I RODERICK RANDOM

I

Smollett's first novel appeared towards the end of January 1748[1] and was so successful that a second edition was called for almost immediately, with plates by the well-known illustrator Francis Hayman(RR1).[2] The Hayman plates, dated 'Mar:28.1748', were engraved by Charles Grignion, an equally distinguished workman,[3] and appeared in their original or in re-engraved forms in thirteen London editions between 1748 and 1800 at the rate of two or three a decade, few editions during this period appearing without them. Re-engraved versions of the plates also appeared in the Dublin editions of 1749(RR2) and 1773(RR11), and in an Edinburgh edition of 1791(RR23). The standard eighteenth century iconography of the novel conformed to the pattern set by Hayman.

One interesting and unusual edition was the French translation of 1761(RR7), which used the Hayman designs for volumes one and three but had a new design for volume two by Charles Eisen.[4] Most famous for his plates to a rather different type of literature, Dorat's Baisers(1770), Eisen's style was typical of the eighteenth century French rococo tradition and as such

1 See Knapp, p.94, and O.M. Brack and J.B. Davies, 'Smollett's Revisions to Roderick Random', PBSA.64, p.295.

2 For a discussion of Francis Hayman, see Appendix II. See Pl.9.

3 See note 23 to Appendix I.

4 Charles Eisen(1720-1778). See J.H. Adhémar, Graphic Art in the Eighteenth Century, pp.53-5.

his plate forms a distinct contrast to the two sturdier English ones. National characteristics were again marked in the German illustrator Chodowiecki's plates to a German translation of 1790(RR21),[5] although here the influence of Hogarth meant that they were closer in style to English illustration than the French designs, and also closer to the text of the novel.

An English edition of 1780 in the Novelist's Magazine series initiated a new trend in illustration to the novel, the part-issue with plates(RR18),[6] Compared to the editions with frontispieces only, the plates are more numerous but generally less interesting technically and in their choice of episode. The Novelist's Magazine edition of Roderick Random has six plates by Daniel Dodd, who also designed frontispieces for the moderately priced Entertaining Museum series published by Wenman at about this time.[7] Like Cooke's Select Novels series in which Roderick Random appeared in various illustrated forms between 1793 and 1819(RR26), and like Mudford's British Novelists series of 1810 (RR32), the Novelist's Magazine was produced in sixpenny parts for the benefit of poorer readers. Of this type too, though not issued in parts, are the small pocket or cabinet editions of the novel popular in the early nineteenth century, such as Walker's

5 Daniel Chodowiecki and his son Wilhelm were influenced by Hogarth by means of the work of Lichtenberg(see Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings, ed. I. and G. Herdan). See also A. Dobson, 'The Berlin Hogarth' in Eighteenth Century Vignettes, Second Series, pp. 204-25. Daniel Chodowiecki also illustrated Peregrine Pickle, see pp 10 and 11.

6 For further discussion of this method of publication of Smollett's novels see the Sir Launcelot Greaves chapter passim.

7 I have not located a copy of Roderick Random published by Wenman, but see the notes to IIC3.

editions of 1808(RR29) and 1815(RR34), Tegg's Miniature Novelist version of 1810(RR31), and Whittingham's of 1823(RR36). These pocket editions mostly feature slight embellishment in the form of a frontispiece or a titlepage vignette.

At the same time as these less expensive illustrated editions of the novel were becoming common, Rowlandson began illustrating Roderick Random. His first illustrations to the English novel appear to have been for a Miscellaneous Works of Smollett, published in Edinburgh in 1790(RR22),[8] but the designs for this collection were rather spoiled by the inexpertness of the engraver Kirkwood.[9] In 1792 Rowlandson was again involved in illustration to Roderick Random as one of the engravers to a series of six splendid plates issued at approximately fortnightly intervals by C. Lowndes, to the designs of Woodward, Collings and Singleton. These plates, entitled The Hogarthian Novelist, are large coloured prints rather than illustrations proper(RR25). Rowlandson's most extensive work on the novel, a series of twelve plates, seems to have been done in 1793, although I have not located an edition before 1805 which contains all of them(RR28). Nevertheless the plates in even this edition mark a high point in illustration to the novel, and Rowlandson's various designs took over qualitatively, as the cheaper editions did quantitatively, from the monopoly of Hayman's designs.

The next major change in illustration to Roderick Random

8 For a description of these plates see E.C.J. Wolf, Rowlandson and his illustrations of eighteenth century English literature, pp. 141-6.

9 See 'Edinburgh Engravers' by J.C. Guy, in The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. 9.1916, pp.98-9, for a short notice of Kirkwood.

came with Cruikshank's plates in 1831 for the Novelist's Library series edited by Thomas Roscoe(RR39). These five etchings were not only popular, re-appearing in several English and American editions in the 1830s, but also through Cruikshank's technical skill seem to have played some part in altering general attitudes to Smollett's fiction, which now in contrast to Fielding's came to be seen as exaggerated caricature. One of these plates is particularly interesting, Combat between Roderick Random & Captain Weazel(Pl.14), because it exists in several versions including two oil paintings and in two preparatory pencil sketches. Cruikshank's visualisation of the novel took over completely from Hayman's and from Rowlandson's, and the popularity of his designs was such that they were still being used in the twentieth century.[10]

One edition which comes outside the scope of the checklist, but which relates to that illustrated by Cruikshank, was published by Routledge in 1857 and was illustrated by Phiz. His eight plates are not especially good, but they represent typical work of his, when he was at the height of his career as an illustrator more often associated with contemporary fiction.[11]

A pattern is set up in the illustration to Roderick Random, which will be seen repeated more or less with the other novels: first an edition with frontispieces which became standard for the

10 An undated edition published in London by Hutchinson and Co. in about 1905 contains reproductions of the etchings for example.

11 The Adventures of Roderick Random. By T. Smollett, M.D. [Motto] With Illustrations and a Memoir of the Author. London: G. Routledge and Co. Farringdon Street; New York: 18 Beekman Street. 1857. This edition has eight plates by Phiz, engraved by the Dalziel Brothers. From the list of Phiz's engravings in D.C. Thomson's The Life and Labours of HKB "Phiz" it appears that he designed approximately 350 plates between 1855 and 1858, a staggering total.

eighteenth century. For Roderick Random these are Hayman's, and for Peregrine Pickle Fuseli's. Later illustrated editions generally come in series of 'classic novels' so that Rowlandson, Cruikshank and Phiz, not to mention Dodd, Stothard and Corbould, all illustrated more than one novel of Smollett's. The exceptions to this trend for various reasons are Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Launcelot Greaves, but Roderick Random is paradigmatic of most illustration to the novels.

II

One of the most enterprising attempts at illustrating Roderick Random was the set of six folio plates published in 1792 under the title The Hogarthian Novelist(RR25). These sumptuous prints form the most elaborate illustration to any of Smollett's novels, and seem to have been issued both as separate plates and as illustrations to be included with a printed text.[12] This independence from the text implies that there was something singularly graphic in certain situations and characters in Smollett's first novel, and that this graphic quality has self-evident and exclusive affinities with Hogarth. The title to the plates reverses the customary role between artist and author, since the relationship was normally expressed by an emphasis on the literary nature of Hogarth's art rather than the artistic nature of Smollett's. This quality of Hogarth's was appreciated by at least one of his first critics, George Vertue, who preferred

12 Of the two sets I have seen, the one in the Houghton Library at Harvard is of the plates alone, although they show signs of having been folded at one time. The plates in the copy at Princeton have been folded and bound into an edition of the novel(see RR25).

to consider him 'rather as a writer of comedy with a pencil, than as a painter,' [13] and later received its most famous expression in Lamb's other pictures we look at, - his prints we read'.[14] This may partly be ascribed to the way in which the borderlines between art, poetry, history, drama and the novel were trespassed in this period, and the practice and terminology of one discipline frequently used to illuminate another. In a more extended passage for example Vertue described Hogarth's place as being

> between the Italians, whom we may consider as epic poets and tragedians, and the Flemish painters, who are as writers of farce and editors of burlesque nature. * When they attempt humour, it is by making a drunkard vomit; they take evacuations for jokes, and when they make us sick, think they make us laugh ... Hogarth resembles Butler, but his subjects are more universal, and amidst all his pleasantry, he observes the true end of comedy, reformation; there is always a moral to his pictures. [15]

This passage reminds one inevitably of Fielding's similar parallel in the Preface to Joseph Andrews, where he distinguished the comic from the burlesque by describing the latter as 'ever the Exhibition of what is monstrous and unnatural, and where our Delight, if we examine it, arises from the surprizing Absurdity', [16] while the former is confined 'strictly to Nature'. He then turns to 'illustrate all this by another Science' with the contrast between comic history-painting and caricature, allowing

13 G. Vertue, Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. IV, ch.4, p.68.

14 In the essay 'On the Genius and Character of Hogarth' reprinted from The Reflector, no. 3, 1811, in The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb, ed. R.V. Lucas, vol. 1, p.71.

15 G. Vertue, op.cit., p.69.

16 H. Fielding, Joseph Andrews, ed. M.C. Battestin, p.4. Fielding's praise of Hogarth's figures, that they 'appear to think' (op.cit. p.6) in some ways prefigures Lamb's aphorism.

the true Excellence of the former, to consist in the exactest copying of Nature ... Whereas in the Caricatura we allow all Licence. Its Aim is to exhibit Monsters not Men; and all Distortions and Exaggerations whatever are within its proper Province.

Now what Caricatura is in Painting, Burlesque is in Writing; and in the same manner the Comic Writer and Painter correlate to each other. And here I shall observe, that as in the former, the Painter seems to have the Advantage; so it is in the latter infinitely on the side of the Writer: for the Monstrous is much easier to paint than describe, and the Ridiculous to describe than paint. [17]

On the whole Smollett would seem to incline to the absurd and monstrous rather than to the ridiculous, and this is a trait which Fielding considers 'much easier to paint than describe'. There appears to be a basic element of pictorialism in Smollett's literary characterisation, just as Fielding implies a basic literary element in Hogarth's pictures. The conflation of Smollett and Hogarth in The Hogarthian Novelist does not seem therefore to be particularly apt, since Smollett would be, in Fielding's definition, a 'burlesque' writer of caricatures while 'he who should call the Ingenious Hogarth a Burlesque Painter, would, in my Opinion, do him very little Honour'.[18] A consideration of the illustrations to Roderick Random may help to determine whether the combination means anything, or is merely a catch-penny parallel capitalising on the popular appeal of both artist and author.

III

Smollett's preface to Roderick Random resembles Fielding's to Joseph Andrews in several important ways. Like Fielding he

17 H. Fielding, op.cit., p.6.

18 H. Fielding, op.cit., p.6.

emphasises his detachment from the old-fashioned 'romance', and apologises for the necessity of introducing 'mean scenes', and denies that he indulges in personal satire(whilst not deviating from 'nature') in his characterisation. Where Fielding turns to painting and Hogarth for a parallel however, Smollett refers to the picaresque novel. Although their models are different, while making the conventional apologetic gesture each novelist is seeking a rationale for what may loosely be termed realism. According to his Preface to the novel, Cervantes was, for Smollett, able to represent 'chivalry in the right point of view, and ... point out the follies of ordinary life'(I.vii), while for Fielding the excellence of the comic history-painter consists of 'the exactest copying of nature'.

However in his Apologue to the novel Smollett makes as specific a reference to the visual arts as Fielding, when he tells the story of the young painter who

> sketched a kind of conversation-piece, representing a bear, an owl, a monkey, and an ass; and to render it more striking, humorous, and moral, distinguished every figure by some emblem of human life. [19]

On a superficial level the Apologue is again, as in his Preface, a disingenuous complaint at finding 'the Characters strangely misapplied to Particular Men whom I never had the least Intention to ridicule'(Letters, p.7). On a wider level however it shows a close analogy with a particular area of the visual arts, portrait caricature using animal symbols(Pl.1).[20] There are broad dif-

19 The Apologue first appeared in the 4th edition of 1755(see O.M. Brack, 'The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of Tobias Smollett', Books at Iowa, no.7, 1967, pp.41-2). This also appears to be when ownership of the copyright of the novel passed from John Osborn to Andrew Millar. See notes to RR4.

20 The plate is reproduced without attribution in J. Ashton's Humour, Wit, & Satire of the Seventeenth Century, p.19.



Pl.1. 17th century blockprint satirising drunkenness

ferences between Fielding and Smollett even when they are using similar analogies: while Fielding's preface is theoretical and makes a general point, Smollett uses a concrete image which is ultimately more striking than the general principle he is attempting to illustrate. Sterne's use of pictorial analogy is different again, and tends to reinforce the concerns of his particular (ie. an interest in fictional technique rather than content) kind of fiction, as in his mock Dedication in Tristram Shandy:

> My Lord, if you examine it over again, it is far from being a gross piece of daubing, as some dedications are. The design, your Lordship sees, is good, the colouring transparent, - the drawing not amiss; - ...(vol.I,ch.9)

Smollett's final warning to the reader in the Apologue raises a central point about his approach to character typology: 'Consider that one feature makes not a face, and that though thou art, perhaps, distinguished by a bottle-nose, twenty of thy neighbours may be in the same predicament.' It implies one of the central factors in caricature, the exaggeration of certain physical features, the visual bottle-nose rather than the abstract weakness for drink, and a corresponding suppression of extraneous features.[21] It also implies that particularisation of feature may create a character that is apparently strikingly original and yet is not without general significance.

Hogarth, too, in his recurrent fascination with character and caricature,[22] pondered this problem, which became acute in the

21 See also M. Orowitz, 'Smollett and the Art of Caricature', Spectrum, vol.2, 1958, p.155: 'What is customarily meant by "exaggeration" in caricature is the magnification of a limited number of features; yet it is equally true to say that the exaggeration is an effect of the artist's having subordinated or suppressed other features.'

22 Hogarth's Characters and Caricatures first appeared in 1743, but even at his death in 1764 he was tinkering with a similar plate, The Bench, first engraved in 1758(see R.Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times, vol.1, pp.470-5 and vol.2, pp.421-2).

visual arts with what Gombrich calls 'the meeting of the symbolic print with the new art of caricaturing'. And in some ways the novel can be seen as the literary symptom of this mid-eighteenth century problem. It is Gombrich's contention that the inspiration for portrait caricaturists came 'from the so-called science of physiognomics that had long insisted on the comparison between human types and certain animals', and this is particularly relevant to Roderick Random and to its Apologue.[23] Although there is a literary convention of animal symbolism, from Aesop's Fables to Volpone and Gay's Fables, the description in the Apologue and Smollett's practice in the novel seem to have far closer analogies with the graphic than with the literary tradition, as I hope to indicate.[24]

Animal caricature in the novel is especially noticeable in the naming of characters. In The Rise of the Novel Ian Watt notes that part of realistic characterisation lies in naming characters as individuals are named in ordinary life.[25] Smollett's

23 E.H. Gombrich, in 'The Cartoonist's Armoury', Meditations on a Hobby Horse, pp. 134-5.

24 Hogarth's plate of Charles Churchill, The Bruiser(1763) (Pl.2), is interesting in this respect as a portrait caricature using animal symbolism, and the more so as it was felt to be exceptional. G. Vertue, op.cit., p.70, wrote 'Except in the print of the Times, and the two portraits of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Churchill that followed, no man amidst such a profusion of characteristic faces, ever pretended to discover or charge him with the caricatura of a *real person ... *His prints touched the folly, but spared the person'. At the time of the plates mentioned by Vertue Hogarth was in close collaboration with Smollett in support of the Bute ministry, and it is tempting to see Smollett's hand in the untypical animal caricature. See R. Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times, vol.2, pp.363-99, for a full account and reproductions of contemporary satirical prints linking Hogarth and Smollett.

25 I. Watt, The Rise of the Novel, pp. 19-20.



Pl.2. W.Hogarth <u>The Bruiser</u> (1763)

first novel is an exception, including characters called Crab, Weazel, Wagtail, Melinda Goosetrap, and Bruin, because his aims here are satirical rather than naturalistic. In this respect therefore many of his characters, like those in the young painter's conversation-piece, stop at a simple equation of characteristics and recall Gombrich's symbolic print rather than portrait caricature or 'comic history-painting'. There are characters in Roderick Random whose whole characterisation is circumscribed by their name, such as the brief appearance of Mr Vulture the bailiff, who could be compared with Mr Bondum the bailiff in Amelia: where Fielding's is a description of function, Smollett's nomenclature is moral or psychological shorthand with strong visual overtones.

One of the characters in the novel describes the general principle underlying animal symbolism. After having called Captain Oakum 'a bear and a beast', Morgan continues[26]

> I spoke by metaphor, and parable, and comparison, and types; as we signify meekness by a lamb, lechery by a goat, and craftiness by a fox; so we liken ignorance to an ass, and brutality to a bear, and fury to a tyger; - therefore I made these similies to express my sentiments(look you). (I.270)

As with caricature it is Smollett's practice to exaggerate this kind of 'metaphor, and parable', in for example his ironic and literal extension of the device when Narcissa's aunt 'actually believed herself a hare beset with the hunters; and begged a few greens to munch for her breakfast'(II.24).[27] By naming a

26 This idea is repeated in the description of the French soldiers at the battle of Dettingen: 'One compared himself to a lion ... I ...[compared] them to hares flying before grey-hounds, or mice pursued by cats'(II.67-68).

27 By the time of Humphry Clinker the animal reference becomes almost totally submerged, as in the slight feline associations of Tabby Bramble, or the casual equation of Lismahago and his horse 'exactly in the stile of its rider'.

character Vulture it is obvious that Smollett is seeking a specific moral response. But by describing someone as looking like a 'grasshopper erect' he is rather seeking what might be called a graphic response, and this as the Apologue suggests is more often his practice. When Captain Weazel is described as a 'grasshopper erect' we do not draw a moral conclusion, as we would from the Aesop fable, because the whole context encourages consideration of the appearance rather than the quality of the character.

Smollett's interest in characterisation was therefore by no means exclusively moral. In the Apologue we find that the painter distinguished his animals with 'some emblems of human life' to make them 'more striking, humorous, and moral',[28] and the order is important as this places the emphasis on the caricature for its own sake rather than on its improving effect. A Smollett character can be striking in various ways, by his actions as with Captain Oakum's brutality, by his language as with Morgan's Welshisms, or by his physical appearance.[29] Most contemporary impressions of the novel agree with John Cleland's praise of the 'strokes of humour, and portraiture, peculiar to the author of

28 Similarly Roderick praises Melopoyn's(i.e. Smollett's) characters as 'beautifully contrasted, strongly marked, and well supported'(II.232). And in his Travels through France and Italy(vol.2, p.61) Smollett makes a rather subtle comparison between 'the statue of a youth supposed to be Ganymede' and the 'celebrated Venus', the first being 'rather agreeable than striking, and will please a connoisseur much more than a common spectator'.

29 G. Kahrl, in 'Smollett as a Caricaturist' printed in Tobias Smollett:Bicentennial Essays Presented to Lewis M. Knapp, ed. G.S. Rousseau and P.-G. Boucé, while recognising that 'caricature was primarily pictorial', also includes language, actions and habits as signs of caricature. See note 18 to Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Roderick Random',[30] and the double significance of 'strokes' and 'portraiture' suggests that his methods were seen as graphic as much as literary. In Roderick Random there is a large group of characters whose function is to be primarily strikingly humorous, and morally educative only secondarily. This corresponds with the author's own analysis of the novel, as explained in its Preface, where the first sentence emphasises that it is a satire which is 'entertaining and universally improving'. This order of importance is again stressed when Smollett describes Don Quixote as 'useful and entertaining' but nonetheless modelled his tale on Gil Blas which he found full of 'infinite humour and sagacity'. Involved closely with both as translator, he had presumably given this some thought.[31]

Two minor characters who apparently illustrate on one hand a striking and on the other a moral approach to characterisation may be found in 'an old man' in chapter 11 and a 'gambler' in chapter 52 of the novel. In both cases the characters are unnamed but are described in minute detail, in a manner which marks and fixes them in rather the same way that an animal name-tag does other characters.

30 In a review of The Regicide in the Monthly Review, vol. I, 1749, p.72. In rather more florid strain Pierce Egan, in Life in London(1821),pp.5-6, wrote 'if a RORY RANDOM, or a Lieutenant BOWLING should ever cross my path, instruct me to portray their noble traits with all that richness of colouring, and peculiar happiness of style, that once embellished that truly characteristic pen'. By contrast it is to Sterne's 'SENSIBILITY' that Egan 'first humbly bends his knee' and to Fielding as 'thou true delineator of HUMAN NATURE', emphasising again the commonplace of Smollett as a painter of the outside and Fielding of the inside of characters(Characters and Caricatures all over again).

31 His translation of Gil Blas was published in 1748, and he was contracted, by June 1748, to translate Don Quixote (see Knapp,pp.103-5).

The striking description is that of the gambler, whose toes Roderick treads upon, 'a tall raw-boned fellow, with a hooked nose, fierce eyes, black thick eyebrows, a pig-tail wig of the same colour, and a formidable hat'(II.188). He swears at Roderick's clumsiness then disappears for ever from the novel. Why are we then given such a specific description of his appearance? From the evidence here and elsewhere it seems that Smollett, unlike Fielding for whom burlesque was a matter of style not content,[32] finds something intrinsically interesting in odd-looking people; that he can, in Fielding's definition of caricatura, 'look on Ugliness, Infirmity, or Poverty, as ridiculous in themselves' and that he does find it easier 'to paint a Man with a Nose, or any other Feature of a preposterous Size, or to expose him in some absurd or monstrous Attitude, than to express the Affections of Men on Canvas'.[33] If one is prepared to dig deep enough one could possibly come up with the moral lesson that a close dependence on the gaming table might entail mixing with physically unattractive, and therefore morally suspect characters. But in the novel, if the moral lesson is hard to find, the moderately striking physical detail is not, and this ties in with the first-person narration since an 'I' is more likely to register an appearance than to pass a judgment.[34] An illustrator to a novel,

32 H. Fielding, op.cit., p.4: 'In the Diction I think, Burlesque itself may be sometimes admitted ... But tho' we have sometimes admitted this in our Diction, we have carefully excluded it from our Sentiments and Characters.'

33 H. Fielding, op.cit., pp.9 and 6-7.

34 Smollett's use of the first person is not consistent and this occasionally gets him into difficulties, as with infelicities such as 'then he acquainted us with the dialogue that passed between them, as I have already related it'(I.248).

however, cannot express the full implications of the first person and in assuming a third-person spectator standpoint he is free, within the considerable limits of the medium, to 'moralise', in Trusler's phrase.[35] The illustration by Rowlandson, Rod: Random visits a Gaming Table(Pl.3), attempts this by fairly obvious reference to Hogarth's Rake's Progress Plate VI(Pl.4), both in design and in the profusion of figures in various expressive attitudes of anger and despair.[36] One would expect an overtly moralising treatment from Hogarth but in the novel the moral is barely implied,[37] and in the illustration, only by proxy.

Smollett's moral portrait, the old man who emerges at the inn from the waggon which Roderick and Strap join on their way to London, is described in the same striking detail as the gambler though at greater length:

> His eyes were hollow, bleared and gummy; his face was shrivelled into a thousand wrinkles, his gums were destitute of teeth, his nose sharp and drooping, his chin peaked and prominent, so that when he mumped or spoke, they approached one another like a pair of nut-crackers; he supported himself on an ivory-headed cane, and his whole figure was a just emblem of winter, famine, and avarice(I.77).

35 See the Reverend John Trusler's Hogarth Moralized. Being a complete edition of Hogarth's Works ... and a comment on their moral tendency(1768).

36 Hogarth's print was directly based on his own Midnight Modern Conversation(Pl.5) which has this caption:

> Think not to find one meant Resemblance there
> We lash the Vices but the Persons spare
> So Rabilaes Laught & so Cervantes Thought
> So Nature dictated what Art has Taught.

And to continue the literature/art parallel, next to the title is the couplet 'Prints should be priz'd as Authors should be read/Who sharply smile prevailing Folly dead'. See R. Paulson, Hogarth's Graphic Works, vol.1, pp.150-2. Paulson mentions that Hogarth's Midnight Modern Conversation may have been based on the earlier animal caricature blockprint satirising drunkenness(see Pl.1) which I have mentioned in connection with Smollett's Apologue to the novel.

37 The moral about gambling in Roderick Random is overtly expressed elsewhere in the ironic comment that 'cheating at cards, so far



Rowlandson del et sculp.

Red. Random visits a Gaming Table

London. Published as the Act directs by J. Sibbald July 6. 1793.

Pl.3. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.4. Hogarth <u>Rake's Progress Plate VI</u> (1735)

Here the moral is made clear, simply, in the last phrase, which could be said to account for the preceding external physical description: the old man's appearance is emblematic of various moral defects, including it would seem that of old age. Apart from the obvious use of visual detail, the term 'emblem' specifies a relationship between the visual and the moral, but refers to a pre-Hogarthian style of art, the symbolic print, rather than to the technique of Hogarth, who 'if he had an emblematic thought, he expressed it with wit, rather than by a symbol'.[38] A point worth noting here is that the old man is a central character in only one plate, even though the scene at the inn was a popular one for illustration, with the Captain Weazel plates by Hayman, Corbould, Rowlandson, Clennell and Cruikshank. The exception is Woodward in The Passengers from the Waggon arriving at the Inn (Pl.6). The fact that the plate concentrates on a fairly neutral situation, rather than on the comic violence of the Weazel fracas, the central placing of the old man, and the title The Hogarthian Novelist, all suggest that, although Vertue may have felt that emblems were not Hogarthian, the old man was somehow seen as more 'moral' than the apparently unemblematic visual detail associated with Weazel, and to Woodward this was in some way more Hogarthian.

Whether the emblematic point of descriptions like this was appreciated by readers in the same way that seventeenth century emblem books were, or whether their reactions were rather an appreciation of the style of the description plus an intellectual

---

from being reckoned a blemish among people of fashion, was looked upon as an honourable indication of superior genius and address'(II.125). In passing it might be noted that gambling slang abounds with animal metaphor.

38 G. Vertue, op.cit., p.73.



Pl.5. Hogarth A Midnight Modern Conversation (1733)

Pl.6. Woodward (1792)



agreement with the concluding phrase, is difficult to say.[39] Such schematic description-plus-moral is rare in Smollett's fiction: more common is the amoral specificity of the gambler figure, or of Weazel. The detail of the description however remains the constant feature but normally without an indication of how, or if, we are to judge it. Even in an apparently non-fictional work like the Travels Through France and Italy the description of one of the characters reads like an excerpt from the novels, and indicates that it was Smollett's habitual approach to characters real or imaginary.

> He was very tall, meagre, and yellow, with a long hooked nose, and small twinkling eyes. His head was cased in a woollen night-cap, over which he wore a flapped hat ... [he] hdd a pair of monstrous boots, quilted on the inside with cotton, was almost covered with dirt, and rode a mule so low that his long legs hung dangling within six inches of the ground. This grotesque figure was so much more ludicrous than terrible, that I could not help laughing.[40]

One of the first extended caricatures in the novel is the portrait of Captain Weazel, and since the episode involving him forms the most popular subject for illustration, it is a good example both of Smollett's methods and of illustrators' approaches to them. Roderick first becomes acquainted with Weazel in the darkness of the waggon, where his martial discourse 'gave me such

39 A graphic analogue might be the distance between contemporary reactions to Holbein's and Rowlandson's Dance of Death(see R.R. Wark, Rowlandson's Drawings for the English Dance of Death, where he notes that Rowlandson's anecdotalising takes over from Holbein's moralising).

40 T.G. Smollett, Travels through France and Italy, vol.2, p.213, Letter 38. See also vol. 1, p.20 'He had indeed all the outward signs of a sot; a sleepy eye, a rubicund face, and a carbuncled nose', and vol.1, p.68, 'Mons. L--y ... tall, thin, and weatherbeaten, not unlike the picture of Don Quixote after he had lost his teeth'. Hayman illustrated this result of Don Quixote's attack on the flock of sheep, in plate 5 to Smollett's translation of the novel (1755).

a high notion of the captain and his lady, that I durst not venture in the conversation'. After this the appearance of the 'formidable captain' is something of a shock to Roderick:

> a little thin creature, about the age of forty, with a long withered visage, very much resembling that of a baboon, through the upper part of which, two little grey eyes peeped: ... I could not help admiring the extraordinary make of this man of war: he was about five foot and three inches high, sixteen inches of which went to his face and long scraggy neck; his thighs were about six inches in length, his legs resembling spindles or drum-sticks, two feet and an half, and his body, which put me in mind of extension without substance, engrossed the remainder; - so that on the whole, he appeared like a spider or grass-hopper erect. (I.77-8)

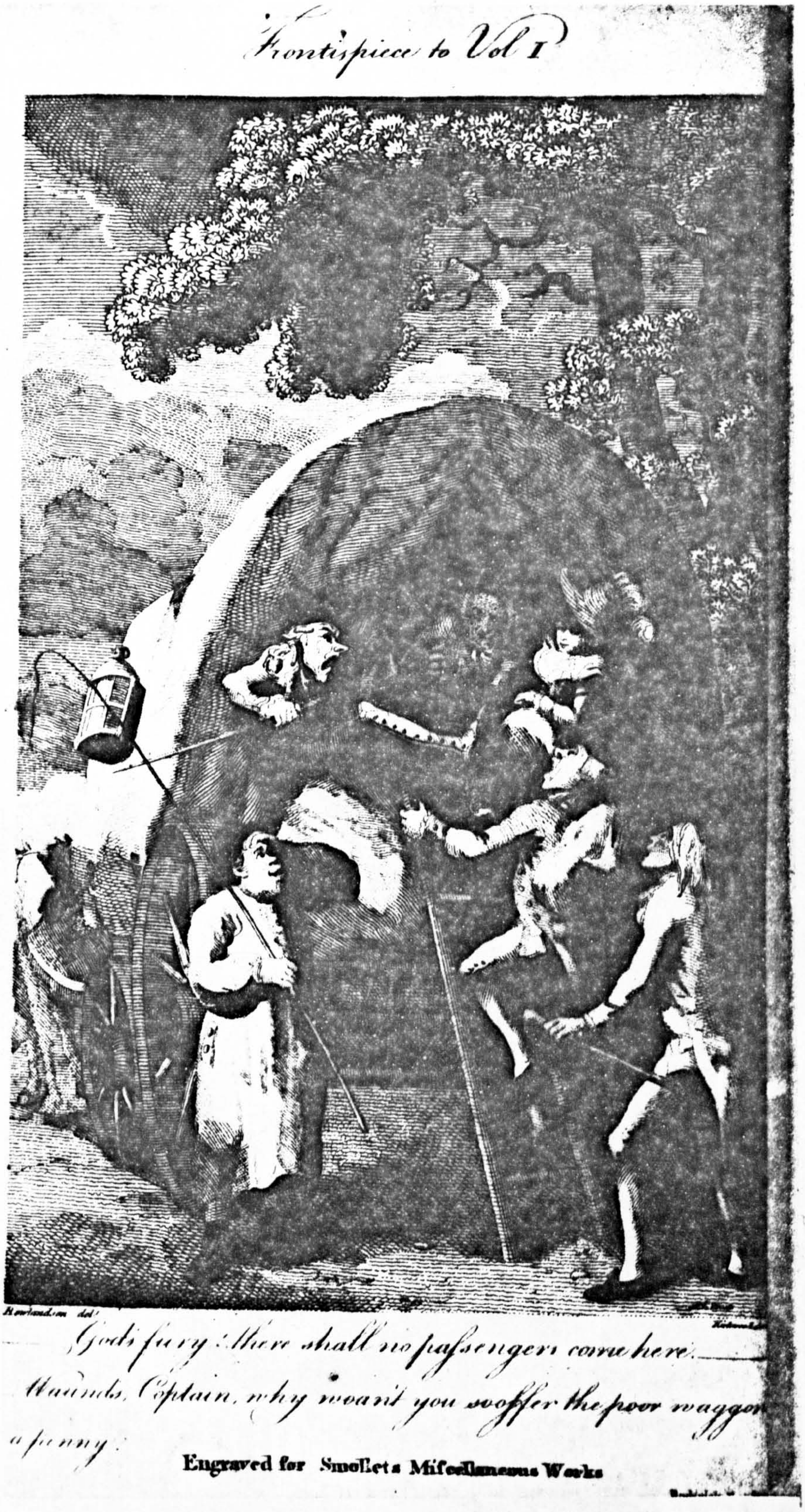
The multiplicity of animal reference is obvious, and the numerical detail reads like a parody of the kind of advice to artists that men like Thomas Page gave:

> We ordinarily divide the Figure into Ten Faces; but this chiefly depends on the Age and Quality of the Persons ... The Knee contains half a Face ... The longest Toe is a Nose long ...[41]

Although technically Roderick does not see the captain until they arrive at the inn, Rowlandson, with such a description a few pages further on, could not resist including the figure of Weazel in his 1790 frontispiece(Pl.7), which illustrates the moment when Roderick and Strap join the waggon. It is opportunism like this which differentiates his from the more accurate but less pointed vignette by Corbould of the same scene, done for Cooke's Select Novels at approximately the same date(Pl.8). Weazel had appeared in illustrations long before this however in the 1748 frontispiece to the second edition(Pl.9), and was

41 T. Page, The Art of Painting(1720), pp.15-7. Although the effect is surely not intended, Weazel in fact conforms quite well in some ways to Vitruvius's homo bene figuratus(see E. Panovsky, 'History of the Theory of Human Proportions', Meaning in the Visual Arts, p.95).

Frontispiece to Vol I



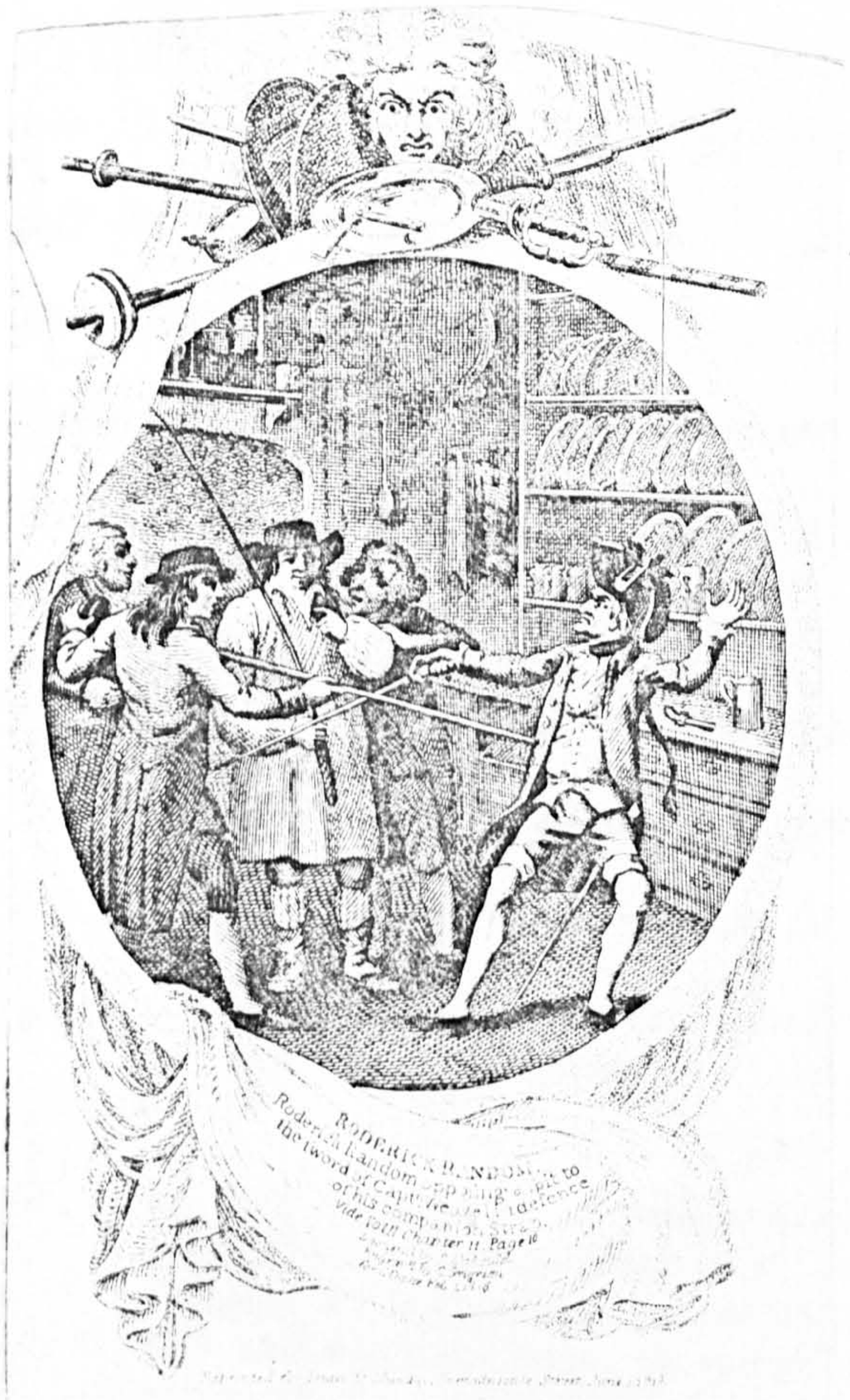
Gods fury! there shall no passengers come here.——
Hounds, Captain, why wou'nt you scoffer the poor waggon
a penny!

Engraved for Smollet's Miscellaneous Works

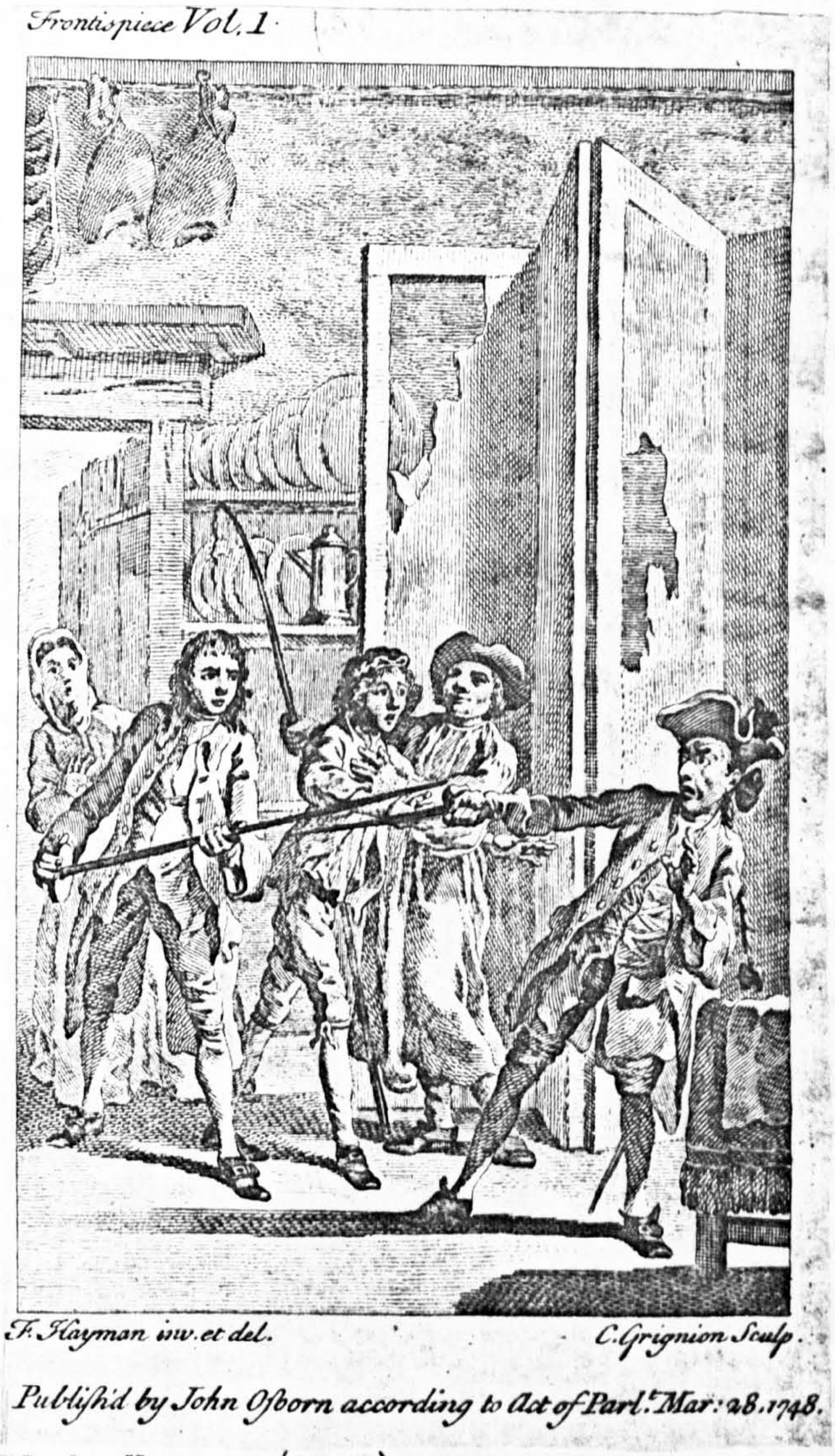
Pl.7. Rowlandson (1790)



Pl.8. Corbould (1793)



Pl.10. Corbould (1793)



Pl.9. Hayman (1748)

to appear again in another plate by Corbould(Pl.10), in one by Rowlandson(Pl.), by Woodward(Pl.6), Clennell(Pl.12), and finally, and definitively, in two etchings by Cruikshank(Pls. 13 and 14). All of these artists except Woodward chose the later part of the inn episode when the travellers have arrived and Weazel's eccentricities have led him into quarrels first with Jenny Ramper and then with Roderick. The pretext for the quarrels is negligible, but what is graphically important is the odd assortment of combatants and weapons.

Hayman, Corbould and Clennell keep to straight textual elucidation in dealing with the situation and in depiction of the protagonists, with Weazel no more than slightly caricatured. But Rowlandson and Cruikshank subtly expand on the simple situations and the stock characters with splendid results. Two pencil sketches of Cruikshank's illustration to this episode still survive, and provide valuable insight on his approach to the novel. One is bound into the Princeton copy of Illustrations of Popular Works(Pl.16), and the other, which seems to have been his first thoughts on the scene, is in his own copy of the novel, preserved in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library(Pl.15). This copy, which has some revealing annotations,[42] is from the

42 On the fly-leaf of volume one is a date 'July 13th 15' and reference 'Combat P-- 63' and the titlepage has Cruikshank's florid signature. Various pages have been turned down, and the Weazel episode on page 63 from 'At length Weazel recovering himself ... immediately granted' is enclosed in pencil lines. The most amusing marginal comment is in volume 1 page 84 where 'pissed upon' is crossed out and corrected to 'drenched with dirty water'. Volume two has a careful head and shoulder study of what looks like William Hone, on the flyleaf, and two naval scenes. There are no further pages turned down after page 116 of volume two, and as it happens Cruikshank did no illustrations to the novel after that of the bumpkins at the beginning of the second volume. See also next note 43.



Pl.11. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.12. Clennell (1810)

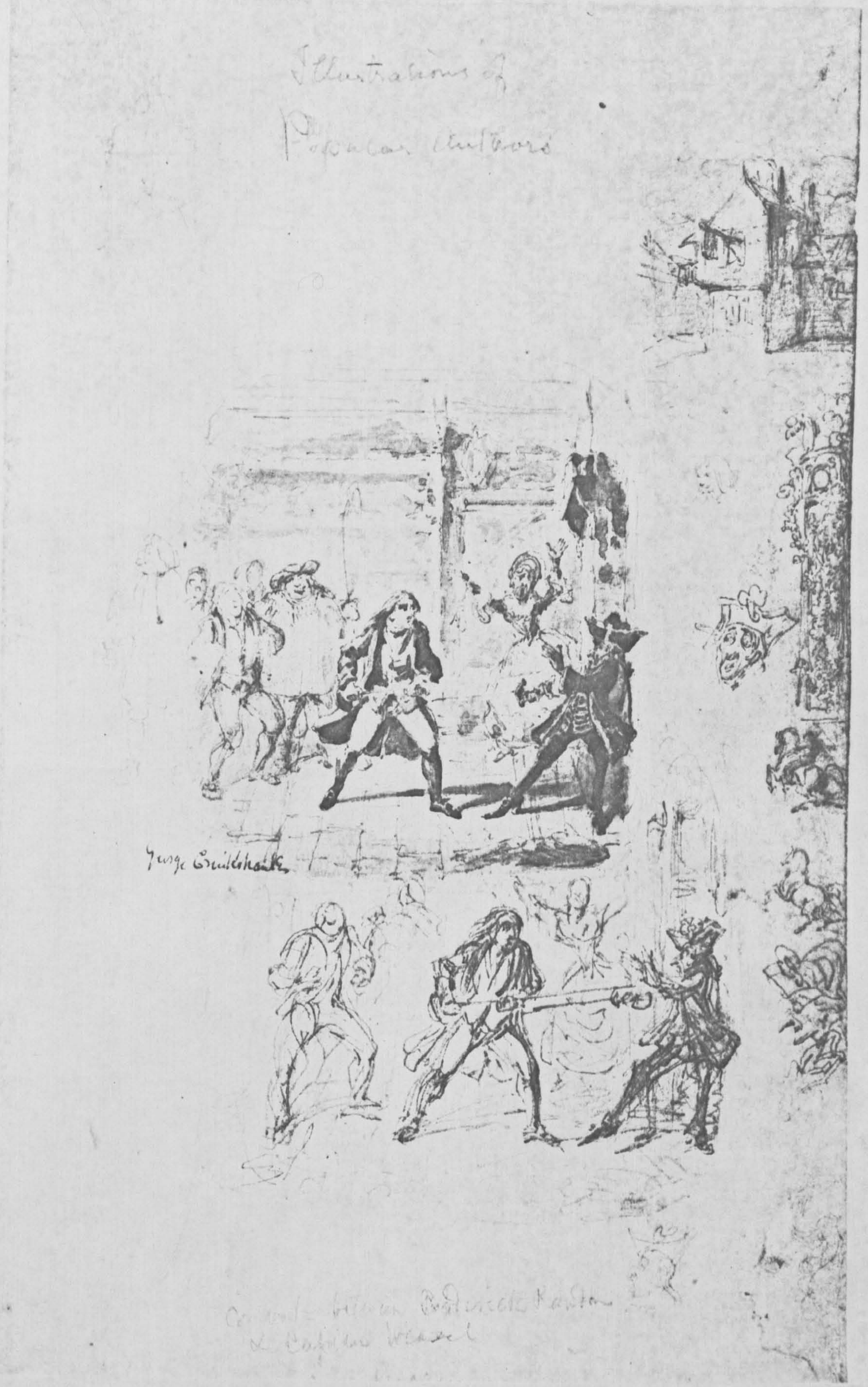


Combat between Roderick & Capt.n Weazel.

Pl.13. Cruikshank (1830)



Pl.14. Cruikshank (1831)



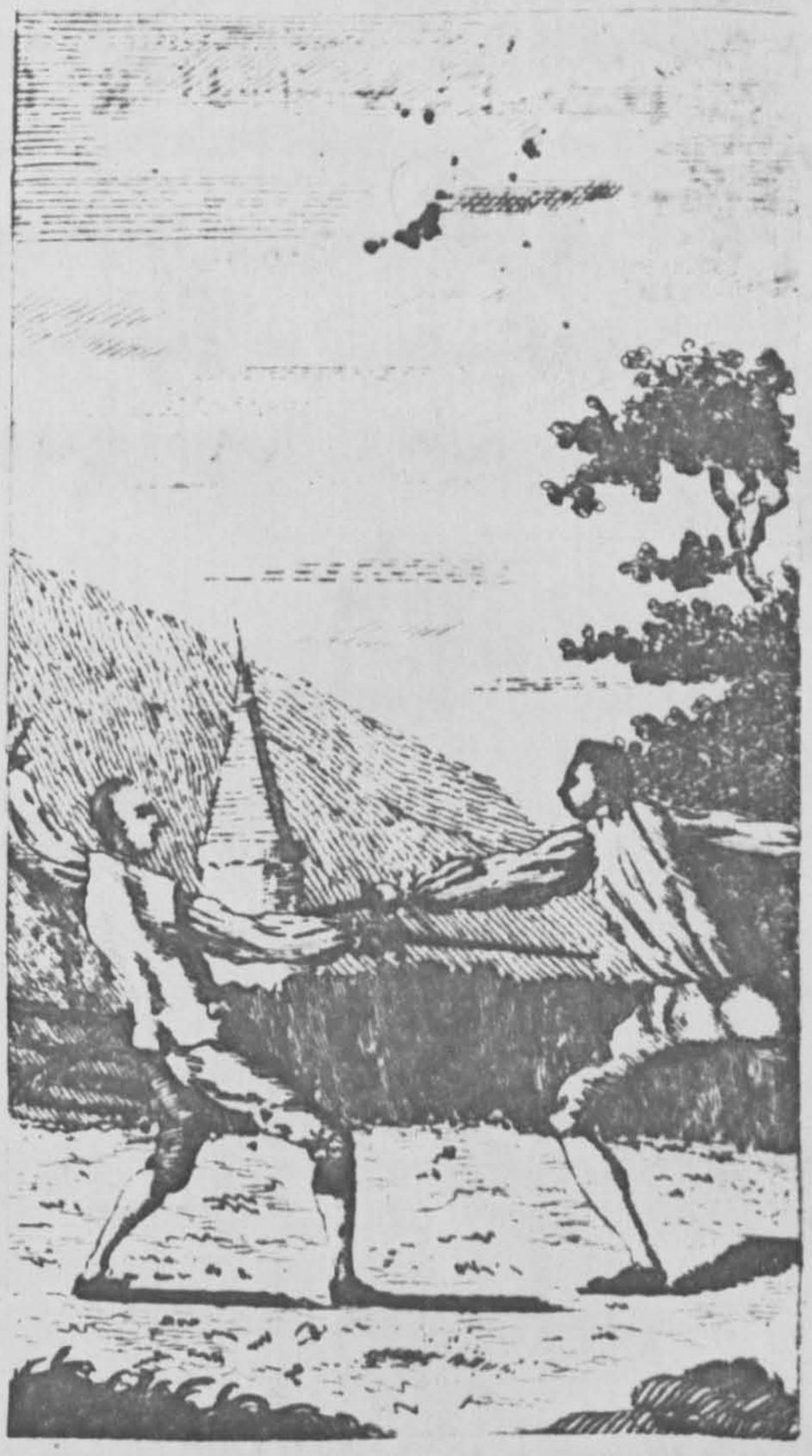
Pl.16. Cruikshank



Pl.15. Cruikshank



Pl.17. After Hayman (1780)



Pl.18. Anon. (1780)

edition published by W. Cavell in 1780, and has two frontispieces (Pls. 17 and 18). That to volume one is a wretched re-engraving of Hayman's design of the battle between Weazel and Roderick, and it is on the reverse of this plate that the pencil sketch is found.[43]

While it is based on the 1780 version of the Hayman design in its general structure, and so for such an apparently original artist gives an unusual indication of graphic borrowing, Cruikshank makes various significant alterations. As in Rowlandson's two plates(Pls. 7 and 11), he further caricatures the figure of Weazel, and in addition develops the situational humour in the illustration by introducing Mrs Weazel as well. This lady is a shadowy bystander in Hayman's original plate(Pl.9), and is actually omitted in the 1780 re-engraving(Pl.17). Even in his earliest sketch(Pl.15) Cruikshank brings her forward to a central position between the two combatants, at the moment when, 'seeing her husband in these dangerous circumstances, she uttered a dreadful scream'. Cruikshank makes Mrs Weazel as much a caricature as her husband, though Smollett merely emphasises that she is his fit counterpart, describing her as

> a woman of his[Weazel's] own age, and still retained some remains of an agreeable person; but so ridiculously affected, that had I then known as much of the world as I do now, I might have easily perceived in her, the deplorable vanity and second-hand airs of a lady's woman. (I.78)

43 The frontispiece of volume two of the 1780 Cavell edition was not based on the other Hayman design(RR1b), which showed Roderick finding his uncle Bowling in an alehouse, but based on one of the frequent duels in the novel(Pl.18). The hackneyed subject and the bad engraving technique combine to make the plate largely pointless. Cruikshank's pencil sketches of fencing positions on the reverse of this plate show him toying with the idea of a duel scene but rejecting it after a few desultory attempts.

Cruikshank simply translates her personality into physical and therefore visual terms. It is interesting that the French translation, which usually follows the English text quite faithfully, also invents a caricature description of Mrs Weazel:

> Elle avoit le visage creux & decharné, deux yeux gris fort petits & ronds comme ceux d'une chouette, ne contribuoient pas peu à enlaidir sa physionomie platte, blafarde & chifonnée; ses temples & son toupet étoient totalement dépourvus de cheveux. [44]

In his depiction of Mrs Weazel, as with the figure of Weazel himself, Cruikshank might well have been following the example of Rowlandson who also caricatured her when he made his own design of the episode in 1793(Pl.11). Rowlandson had already engraved a version of the lady in Woodward's design The Passengers from the Waggon arriving at the Inn(Pl.6). Here Mrs Weazel has, as Smollett describes her, 'an agreeable person', and the title The Hogarthian Novelist suggests that this may well be because Woodward, as with the treatment of the emblematical 'old man', is concentrating in Hogarthian fashion more on the depiction of character than on the creation of caricature. Rowlandson's plate shows the same dramatis personae as Woodward's but with each character animated by the situation of Jenny Ramper crossing verbal swords with Weazel. Mrs Weazel is thus caricatured to form a visual contrast to the gloriously embattled Jenny, and it becomes then a graphic version of their contrastive characters, the affected lady's maid and the honest whore.[45] It

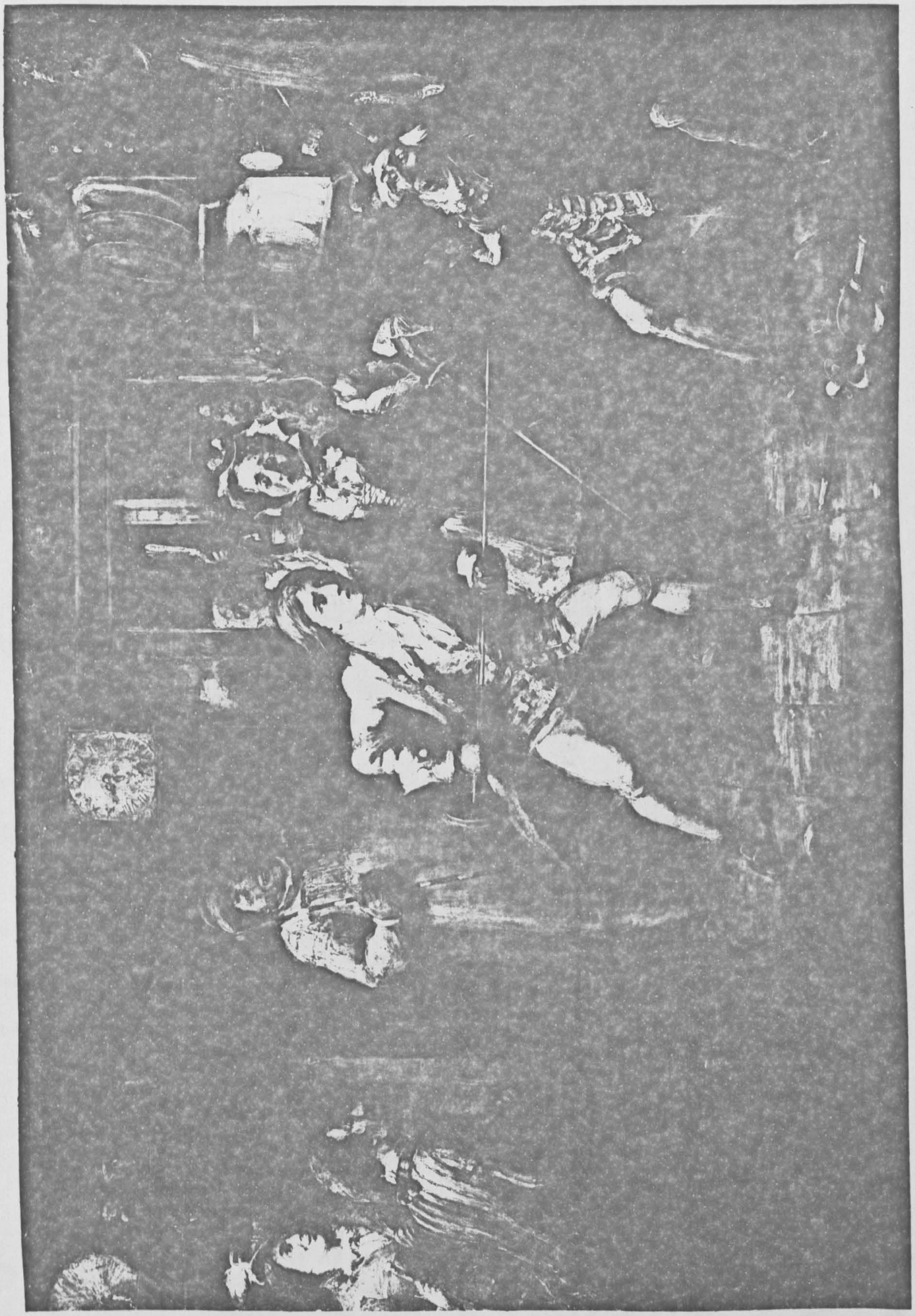
44 Aventures de Roderik Random(Amsterdam, 1762), vol.1,ch.11, pp.98-9.

45 As with the designs by Rowlandson and Corbould of Strap and Roderick joining the waggon(Pls. 7 and 8), there is also a contrast between Rowlandson and Clennell in the battle between Weazel and Jenny(Pls. 11 and 12), which seems to hinge largely on each artist's approach to characterisation at least as much as on their differing technical skills.

is typical of both artists that Rowlandson's design should have Jenny as the central character and Cruikshank's should have Mrs Weazel.[46] There exist two etched versions of the Weazel scene by Cruikshank, one from the 1830 Illustrations of Popular Works(Pl.13), and one a year later in the Novelist's Library series(Pl.14). They differ in detail, with the later one giving yet more importance to Mrs Weazel, exaggerating her attitude and expression as well as that of her husband, and increasing the importance of the three main characters by fading out details of the background. In later oil paintings of the scene(Pl.19), which seems to have been a favourite one with Cruikshank, the change of medium marks a less caricaturing approach and Roderick rather than the Weazels becomes the central figure.

With the exception of the oil painting, depiction of the Weazels can be seen as progressively increasing caricature. Hayman's design(Pl.9) visualises the captain as a small but nevertheless recognisably realistic figure. Rowlandson begins the caricaturing process with his first illustration, the frontis-piece to the 1790 Miscellaneous Works(Pl.7), and again in 1793 where Mrs Weazel is caricatured as well as her husband(Pl.11). By the time of Cruikshank's version(Pl.13) the two Weazels are barely human, the formidable captain having shrunk to minute proportions resembling more and more the 'spider and grasshopper erect' of Smollett's description. The chronological exception is Clennell, in Mudford's British Novelists series of 1810(Pl.12), who reverts to a fairly straight depiction. This was partly

46 R.MacLean, in George Cruikshank. His Life and Work as a Book Illustrator, p.12, points out 'his inability to draw an attractive woman, while Rowlandson endows even a drunk prostitute with grace and charm'.



Pl.19. Cruikshank (c.1850)

personal taste, as the majority of his illustrations to the novel concentrate, as even more so do those by Dodd in the Novelist's Magazine edition of 1780, on the more sentimental aspects of the work.[47]

The description of Weazel is not an isolated instance of graphic characterisation but one of many in the novel, such as those of Crab, Lavement, Strap, Concordance, Morgan, Miss Snapper and others. Some of these are short passing descriptions, as with the gambler, while others are fairly lengthy. Mr Crab the surgeon for example is described fully:

> aged fifty, about five foot high, and ten round the belly; his face was capacious as a full moon, and much of the complexion of a mulberry: his nose resembling a powder-horn, was swelled to an enormous size, and studded all over with carbuncles; and his little grey eyes reflected the rays in such an oblique manner, that while he looked a person full in the face, one would have imagined he was admiring the buckle of his shoe. (I.40)

The length of these descriptions varies, but this seems to have little bearing on how important the character is, either in relation to the plot of the novel or to any moral system underlying the whole.[48] This lack of balance in characterisation is mirrored by the episodic nature of the plot, which strikes the reader as a formless succession of violent events, many of them

47 This is an aspect which I have largely ignored, but is nevertheless considerable, as the popularity of episodes such as Roderick's meeting with his uncle Bowling or Narcissa's discovery of Roderick's miniature indicates. The mixture of comic and sentimental episodes illustrated by Rowlandson is a fair indication of its importance in the novel. The sentimental side is considerably depleted in Peregrine Pickle and this I think accounts for the proportionally smaller number of illustrations by Rowlandson and larger number by Cruikshank to the later novel.

48 In The Early Masters of English Fiction, A.D. McKillop describes them as 'a series of intensely visualised grotesques. Though these figures may be technically helpers or hinderers of the hero, they do not invite analysis from that point of view, as do the auxiliary characters of Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson'(p.152).

bearing a strong resemblance to similar events in other parts of the novel, just as many of the characters physically resemble each other. The long description of Crab just quoted has all the ingredients for the shorter one of Morgan: 'a short, thick man, with a face garnished with pimples, a snub nose turned up at the end, an excessive wide mouth, and little fiery eyes ...'(I.230). Yet Morgan is a far more important character in the novel.[49]

This artlessness of organisation in plot-structure and of significance in character description is the more striking when compared with Humphry Clinker where the sporadic physical caricature of Roderick Random is organised in a deliberate and significant way. In Smollett's last novel these elements are fused by the epistolary structure of the novel, while in Roderick Random they appear to be connected merely by the presence of the hero and by the way in which events and people impinge, more or less, on his consciousness. As he himself said, 'logic I made no account of', and neither it would appear did his creator; or rather, logic in characterisation appears to be extremely local. One example of this is the description of the heroine Narcissa, in her belated appearance in the novel:

> Her age seemed to be seventeen, her stature tall, her shape unexceptionable, her hair, that fell down upon her ivory neck in ringlets, black as jet; her arched eyebrows of the same colour; her eyes piercing, yet tender; her lips of the consistence and hue of cherries; her complexion clear, delicate, and healthy ... (II.21)

While a similar description of Sophia Western(Tom Jones, Book 4, ch.2) is intended as illustration of Fielding's general principle, 'her mind was every way equal to her person', the specificity of

49 Like Weazel we are introduced to him offstage as it were, hearing his voice before seeing his person(see beginning of chapter 25).

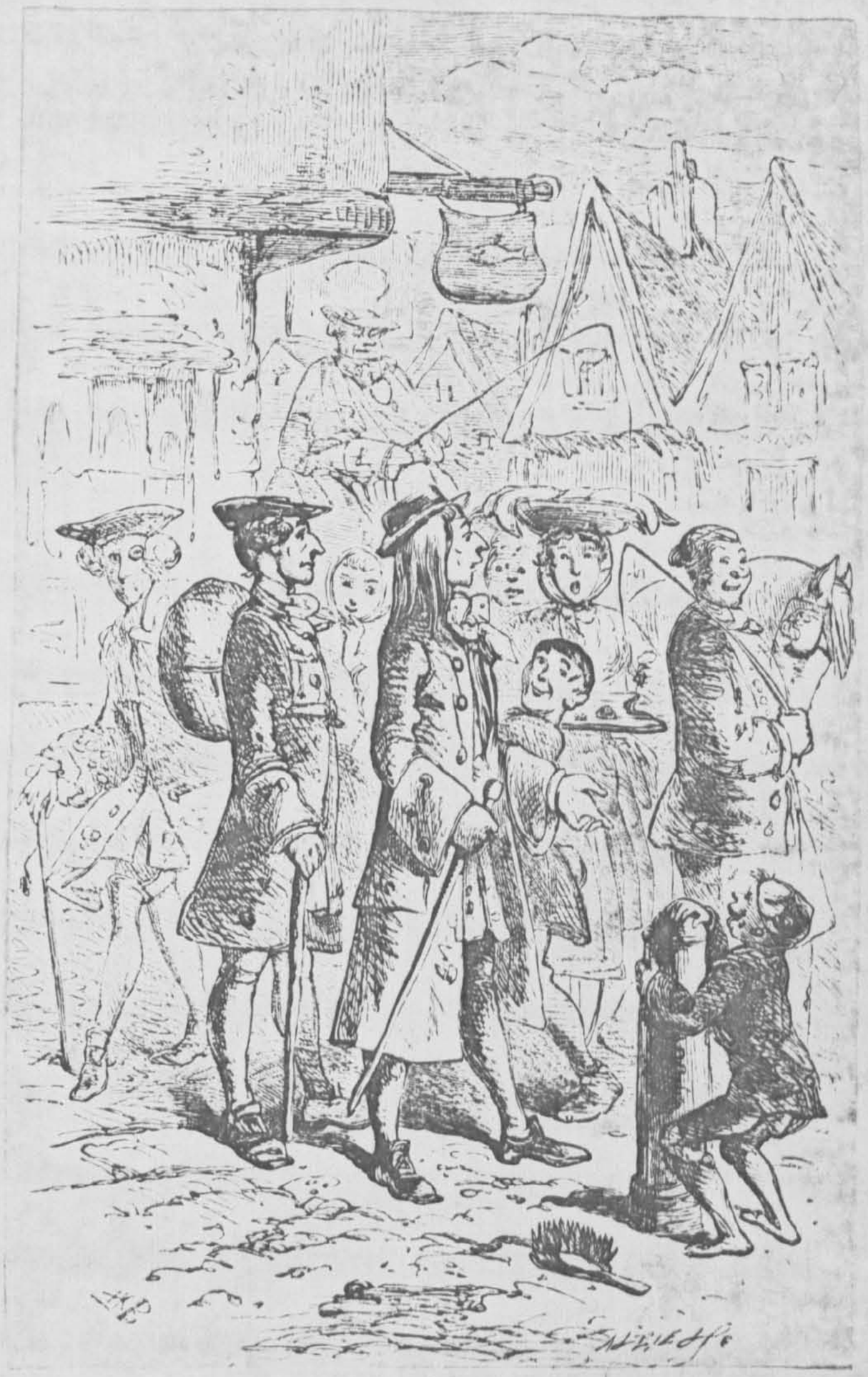
the description of Narcissa is intended primarily as an ironic contrast to the description, on the preceding page, of her aunt:

> Her fore-head was high and wrinkled, her eyes were large, grey and prominent; her nose long, sharp, and aquiline; her mouth of vast capacity; her visage meagre and freckled, her chin peeked like a shoemaker's paring-knife ...[50]

The description of the aunt, and by extension of Narcissa herself, is therefore to be taken as another example of the locally striking and humorous rather than the moral.

Similarly Strap, with no moral opprobrium attached to him, has 'what is called a queer phiz, occasioned by a long chin, an hook nose, and high cheek bones, ... a very fit subject of mirth and pleasantry'(I.97), and yet still is, according to the author, 'a favourite among the Ladies everywhere'(Letters, p.8). Phiz's illustration of Random's first morning in London(Pl.20) takes its point from precisely this 'whimsical appearance' of the two Scotsmen, the reader's reaction invited by the laughing onlookers in the illustration itself, invited indeed to laugh even at the hero. The hunchback Miss Snapper, who 'had got more twists from nature, than I had before observed, being bent sideways into the figure of an S, so that her progression very much resembled that of a crab'(II.209), is the most positively deformed of Smollett's characters in Roderick Random, but she is seen to have psychological eccentricities and not moral vices: in Dickens's typology she is a Jenny Wren rather than a Quilp figure. The attitude toward physical deformity is different in Smollett's next novel where one of Peregrine's schoolmasters is described as follows:

50 Narcissa's aunt was striking enough per se to form the subject of a frontispiece by Thurston(RR31c).



Pl.20. Phiz (1857)

> Over and above a large stock of avarice, ignorance and vanity, this superior had certain ridiculous peculiarities in his person, such as a hunch upon his back, and distorted limbs, that seemed to attract the satirical notice of Peregrine. [51]

This hardening of attitude seems to have been influenced by the more violent and satirical propensities of the hero of his second novel, where peculiarities have become contemptible rather than humorous.

In spite of its noticeable emphasis on the physical appearance of characters, one of the main themes of Roderick Random is the deceiving nature of outward appearances. These range from the lowest on the social scale, the 'common trull' who tries to pass herself off as a respectable chandler's widow to trap Strap into matrimony, to the highest aristocracy with characters like Strutwell and Straddle. The process also works in reverse, as when the 'grotesque figure' of Melopyn gives a 'very elegant and ingenious discourse', but on the whole the elegant and ingenious more often turn out to be morally grotesque, as with Captain Whiffle, than the reverse. Generally speaking the exposure of affectation is a stratagem more often associated with Fielding than with Smollett,[52] who cheerfully admits to finding 'entertainment in viewing those parts of life, where the humours and passions are undisguised by affectation, ceremony, or education; and the whimsical peculiarities of disposition appear as nature has implanted them'(I.ix).

Whimsical peculiarities of disposition are often expressed in Smollett's novels as innate peculiarities of appearance, in

51 Peregrine Pickle, p.57.

52 As in his preface to Joseph Andrews, 'from the Discovery of this Affectation arises the Ridiculous'(p.8).

fact the two are frequently synonymous, but where the emphasis in the description is on a character's words, as in the initial stages of the characterisation of Weazel, or his clothes as with Beau Jackson or Whiffle, rather than on his unalterable size, shape or physiognomy, the character almost always turns out to be other than what he appears.[53] This is essentially a literary rather than a graphic device: as Hogarth theorised in the Analysis of Beauty, 'the character of an hypocrite in entirely out of the power of the pencil, without some adjoining circumstance to discover him'.[54] As a result almost all the illustrations dealing with this theme concern the gap between appearance and reality specifically in relation to grotesques, since they have a certain built-in graphic interest lacking in a Beau Jackson.

The two characters Melopoyn and Whiffle, in some ways mirror images of each other, were the most popular with illustrators. Melopoyn's discourse to the prisoners was illustrated by Singleton, in the Hogarthian Novelist plate(RR25e), rather unsuccessfully as Melopoyn here looks more like a Christ-figure than Smollett's apparition who is described as

> wrapped in a dirty rug, tied about his loins with two pieces of list, of different colours, knotted together; having a black bushy beard, and his head covered with a huge mass of brown periwig, which seemed to have been ravished from the crown of some scarecrow. (II.277)

Phiz is more successful in conveying the grotesque quality of the character(Pl.21), but on the whole neither exploit character or situation in the way that Rowlandson does in Humphry Clinker

53 An exception is Morgan, see note 49 above.

54 The Analysis of Beauty(1753), p.126. Fielding's preface to Joseph Andrews also explores the relationship between hypocrisy and affectation(see op.cit., pp.8-9 especially).

preaching to the Felons in Clerkenwell(Pl.19), where the response or lack of it in the 'congregation' adds to the humour of the whole. A plate where Phiz does successfully indicate the humour of the text is Random and the old maid(Pl.22), by using the Hogarthian device of contrasting the antique inamorata Miss Withers with a picture of a youthful shepherdess on the wall behind. This compares with Hamilton's plate of the scene for Cooke's Select Novels edition(Pl.23),[55] which relies entirely on the figure of Miss Withers and the attitude of Roderick to express the same idea, although neither illustration comes up to the grotesque level of the text and the old hag's garlicky belches (II.153-6).

The hypocrite who prompted the best illustrations is Captain Whiffle, in the Hogarthian Novelist plate by Collings(Pl.25), by Rowlandson in 1793(Pl.26), and later by Phiz(Pl.27). Smollett describes his white hat, pink silk coat, waistcoat embroidered with gold, crimson velvet breeches which

> scarce descended so low as to meet his silk stockings, which rose without spot or wrinkle on his meagre legs ... But the most remarkable parts of his furniture were, a mask on his face, and white gloves on his hands. (I.305-6)

The effete fop is amusing enough by himself in Smollett's description, but in illustrations becomes especially so in contrast to the appearance of Morgan. And the best of the three illustrations is Rowlandson's, precisely because he most emphasises this contrast of characters.

At the beginning of his career in London Roderick has to be told that the characters he has met in a coffee-house are acting

55 For some reason another design was made of this same scene for a Cooke's edition in 1815, by Corbould(Pl.24).



Pl.21. Phiz (1857)



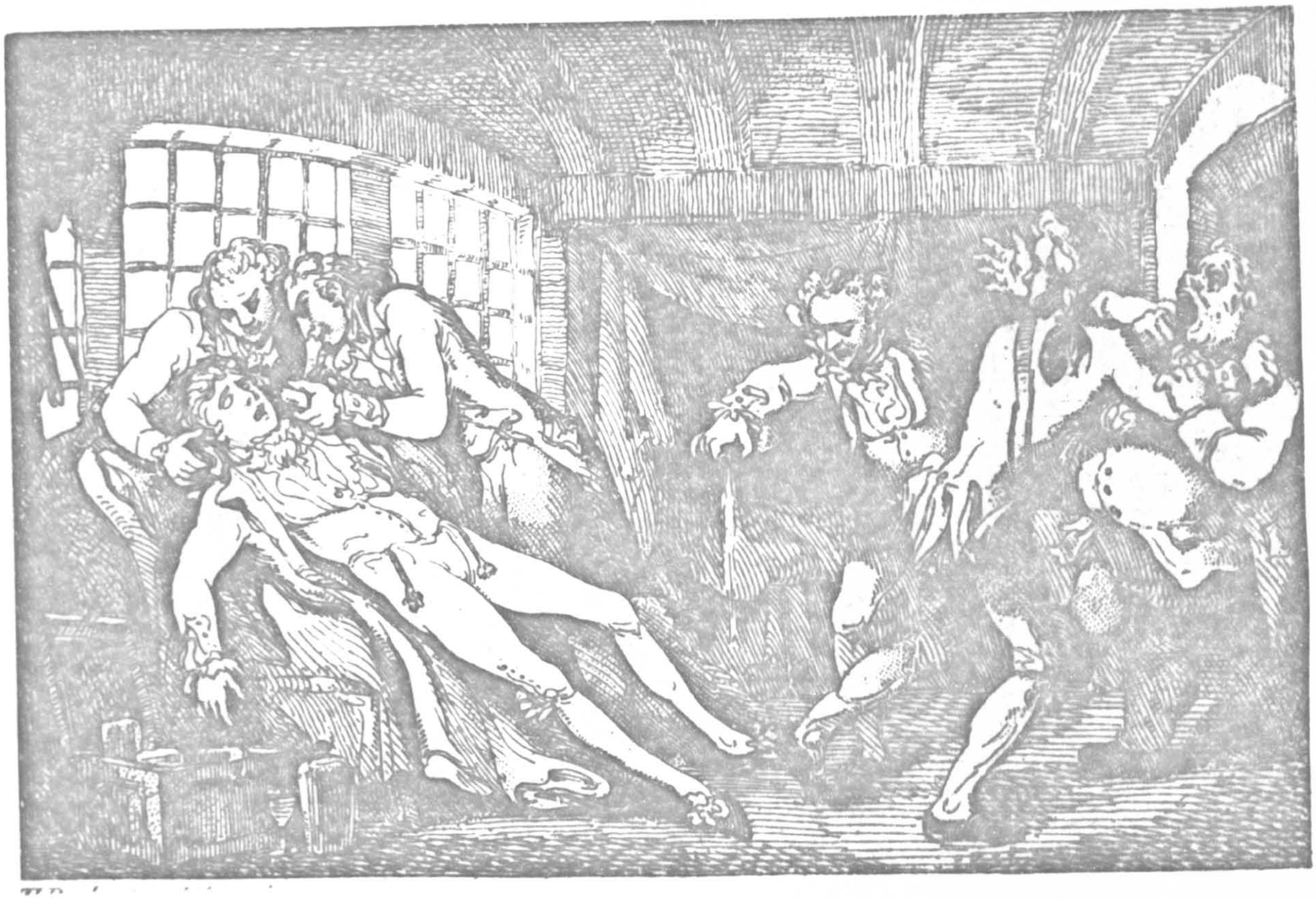
Pl.22. Phiz (1857)



Pl.23. Hamilton (1793)



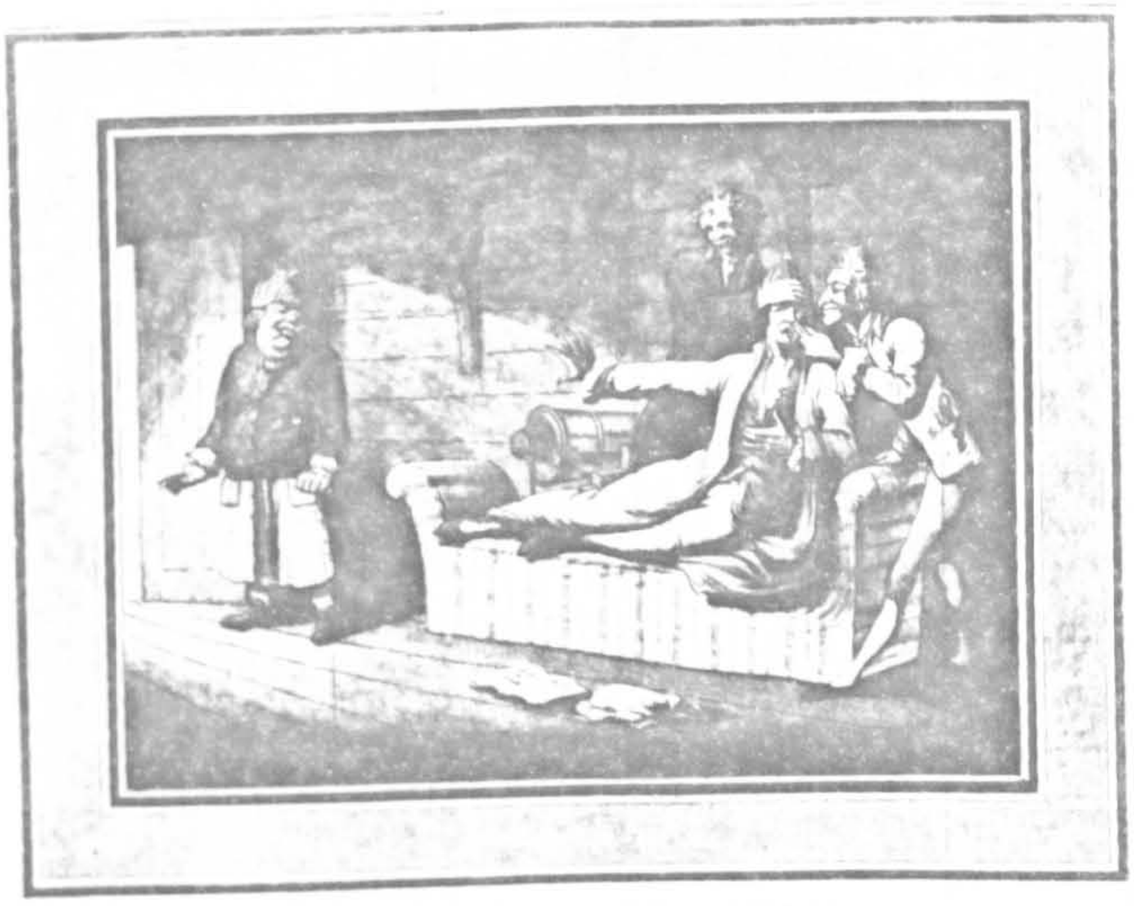
Pl.24. Corbould (1815)



Pl.26. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.27. Phiz (1857)



Pl.25. Collings (1792)

parts, that the 'supposed young prince was a dancer at one of the theatres; and the ambassador no other than a fidler ...' (II.91). Later he becomes 'better acquainted with the selfishness and roguery of mankind, consequently less liable to disappointment and imposition'. This is, comparatively, a development of the central character, a theme continued and expanded in Peregrine Pickle, and contrasts with static characters like Bowling and Strap who, in this sense, never grow up. Roderick is moved to note that Strap, as the more affluent M. d'Estrapes, is 'undebauched by prosperity', but Strap must remain an innocent to the last, as a foil to the hero's progress in worldly wisdom. It is no coincidence that Strap is Roderick's companion in the two sections of the novel, the first period in London and later during Roderick's fortune-hunting career in London and Bath, where he learns most about the impositions of appearance. Indeed at one point he is tempted to pawn everything and to join the ranks of the deceivers, who, as he explains to Strap, 'in a worse condition than we, supported, notwithstanding, the character and appearance of gentlemen'(II.184). The combination of 'character and appearance' is not without point. Although Roderick Random is in some senses a 'novel of learning', and the hero does become a wiser man, the structure is not continuously progressive, and the emphasis throughout is on the locally striking and humorous rather than on the progressively moral.

The locally striking can be expressed not just in detailed description of appearance but frequently as a feature of a character's response to a situation. One example of this, which was illustrated by several artists with interesting differences, is the episode where the hero is found in a barn by two country bumpkins after being shipwrecked. Smollett's description is of

ludicrous fear personified:

> the clown ... discovering a body all besmeared with blood, stood trembling, with the pitch-fork extended before him, his hair erect, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, and his mouth wide open. - At another time, I should have been much diverted with this figure, which preserved the same attitude very near ten minutes ... The father, whose eye-sight was none of the best, pulled out his spectacles, and having applied them to his nose, reconnoitred me over his son's shoulder: But no sooner did he behold me, than he was seized with a fit of shaking, even more violent than Dick's. (II.9)

Cruikshank made the most, visually of the bumpkins's terror by an exaggeration of their facial expression and awkwardness of pose(Pl.28). This is apparent when his design is compared with Corbould's(Pl.29), which is almost identical in arrangement but very different in its effect. Like Corbould, Eisen's version (Pl.30) is attractively constructed and engraved but here again, in contrast to Cruikshank, the emphasis is on elegance rather than diversion. The German plate by Chowowiecki(Pl.31), with its agricultural air of yokeldom as in Cruikshank's etching, is rather wooden in comparison with the elegance of the French illustration. Cruikshank's etching expresses best of all the diverting nature of the scene, in its combination of the animation of the Eisen plate and the caricatured figures of the bumpkins.[56]

The use of the word 'figure' in the description of the two bumpkins carries with it graphic overtones, in the dictionary sense of 'represented form', as does the idea of preserving 'the same attitude very near ten minutes', but in some places in the novel Smollett goes further than mere overtone in expressing the graphic qualities implicit in many of his descriptions of

56 This is a combination of eccentric characterisation and ludicrous situation remarked upon by Cruikshank with reference to his illustrations to Peregrine Pickle(see next chapter).



Pl.28. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.29. Corbould (1793)

reactions. There is for example Strap whose countenance was 'particularly adapted by nature for such impressions' of graphic emotional reaction, whom Smollett describes as requiring[57]

> the pencil of Hogarth to express[his] astonishment and concern ... he remained some time immoveable in that ludicrous attitude, with his mouth open and his eyes thrust forward considerably beyond their station. (II.122)

It has been argued by William Holtz that the rubric 'it would require the pencil of Hogarth ...' indicates a search for artistic techniques 'that Fielding and Smollett ... could not fully emulate in their own medium', and that the author is tacitly admitting that words, as 'signs of signs', are too gross a medium for the delineation of the passions.[58] The fact that Smollett goes on to attempt to describe Strap seems to imply otherwise, to suggest that he is using the Hogarth reference to condition his reader's response to the character, in order to emphasise that the description is going to be comic, expressive and above all pictorial. Hogarth's interest in the depiction of expression, as in his Laughing Audience(1733) or Scholars at a Lecture(1737), seems to have become more pronounced as he became popular in almost a literary rather than an artistic sense, and it had significant repercussions on his engraving technique, When writing of his Four Stages of Cruelty he claims

> but it could not be don in to[o] strong a manner as the most stony heart[s] were ment to be effected by them ... The circumstances of this set as the two former[Beer Street and Gin Lane] were made so obvious for the reason before mentioned that any farther explanation would be neadless. We may only[say] this more that neither great correctness

57 Other references in the novels to Hogarth, such as Peregrine Pickle, chapter 14, and Humphry Clinker, letter of June 12, p.44, are noted by R.E. Moore, Hogarth's Literary Relationships in his chapter on Smollett.

58 W.V. Holtz, Image and Immortality, pp.45 and 53.

> of drawing or fine Engraving were at all necessary but on the contrary would set the price of them out of the reach of those for whome they were cheifly intended however whatever was more material ... the Characters and Expresions are in these prints taken the utmost care of. [59]

Though the results may suggest a parallel with the 'strong bold strokes' of Smollett's characterisation, the final end of the artistic and the literary product were radically different. Where Hogarth exaggerated his effects to drive home the moral, Smollett did so to be 'striking and humorous'.

An appreciation of this aspect of Hogarth's work may be found in William Gilpin's definition of 'Expression' published not long after Hogarth's death:

> Expression is the life and soul of painting. It implies a just representation of passion, and of character: of passion, by exhibiting every emotion of the mind, as outwardly discovered by any peculiarity of gesture; or the extention, and contraction of the features: of character, by representing the different manners of men, as arising from their particular tempers, or professions ... with regard to the second, commonly called manners-painting, it would be invidious not to mention our countryman HOGARTH; whose works contain a variety of characters, represented with more force, than most men can conceive them. [60]

This seems to have particular relevance to the Hogarthian Novelist

59 W. Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty with ... Autobiographical Notes, ed. J. Burke, p.226. Similarly Nichols's anecdote about a tavern brawl at which the young artist was present is very much in Smollett's style: 'The blood running down the man's face, with the agony of the wound, which had distorted his features into a most hideous grin, presented Hogarth ..., with too laughable a subject to escape the powerful efforts of his genius.' Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, p.8.

60 [W.Gilpin] An Essay upon Prints(1768), pp.23-4. In his later section dealing with Hogarth exclusively he again notes Hogarth's 'expression, in which the force of his genius lay ... The passions he thoroughly understood; and all the effects which they produce in every part of the human frame ... He was excellent too in expressing any humorous oddity.' Smollett rates his 'expression' slightly lower, in The Present State of All Nations(1768), vol. 2, p.230: 'Hogarth is an inimitable original with respect to invention, humour, and expression.'

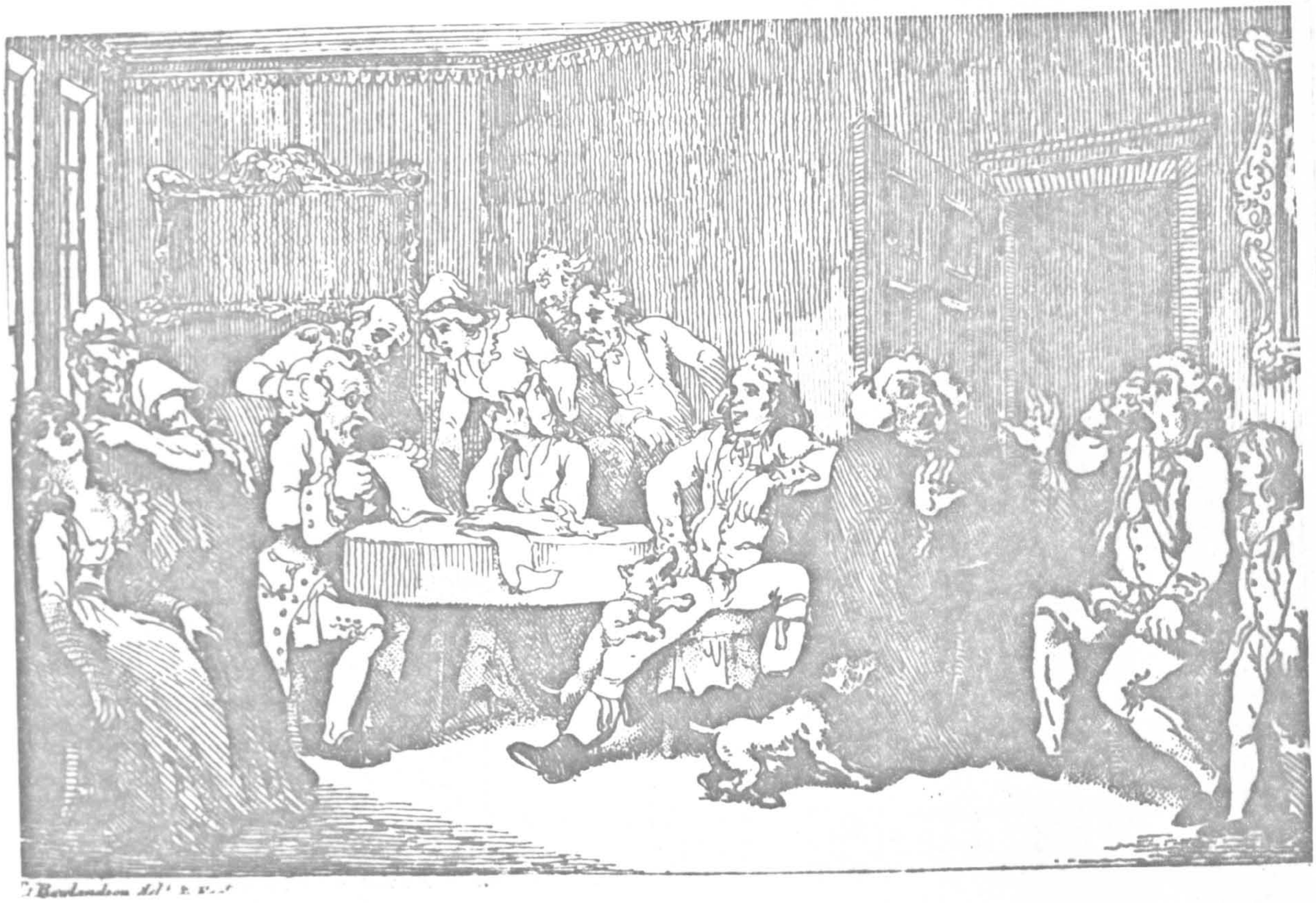
plates, and even more to Rowlandson's designs to the novel, since a striking general point about these plates is that they tend to illustrate 'a variety of characters, represented with ... force'. The use of the rectangular rather than the oblong frame, allows the design to be built around the group rather than the single figure, as is the case with Hayman's and Cruikshank's designs which tend to concentrate on a few figures in an oblong frame. One reason for this would seem to be a Hogarthian interest in expressive characterisation.

Several of Rowlandson's plates concentrate as much on the spectators as on the combatants. The Weazel/Jenny battle and the gambling scene have already been discussed(Pls. 11 and 3), but this same general point holds for the Battle between Rod: Random and the Midshipman(Pl.32), where the gestures and expressions of the onlookers as much as those of the protagonists are characteristic of their 'particular tempers, or professions'. Perhaps the most successful of all is The reading of the Will of Lieut: Bowling's Brother(Pl.33). As with the contrast between the static Hogarthian Novelist plate of The Passengers from the Waggon arriving at the Inn(Pl.6) and the lively Mutual defiance of Capt: Weazel and Miss Jenny Ramper(Pl.11), Rowlandson picks the more animated moment of the reading of the will for his illustration, rather than the corresponding Lieut. Bowling, pleading the cause of young Rory, to his Grandfather which was the choice of the Hogarthian Novelist illustrator(Pl.34).[61] The graphic appeal of the assembled friends and relatives is implied in

61 The contrast between the fairly neutral Hogarthian Novelist plate of Roderick's Examination at Surgeon's Hall(RR25c) and Rowlqndson's Battle between Rod: Random and the Midshipman(Pl.32) is another example.



Fl.32. Rowlandson (1793)



Fl.33. Rowlandson (1793)



Fl.34. Woodward (1792)

Smollett's description where he writes that their 'looks and gestures formed a groupe that would have been very entertaining to an unconcerned spectator'(I.21). As with the bumpkins the note of 'diversion' is sounded, and the word 'groupe', as was normal in the eighteenth century, is used in an explicitly artistic sense.[62] It is the variety of characters in Rowlandson's plate that helps to express the several manifestations of 'astonishment and mortification' of the hopeful beneficiaries described by the novelist.

While Rowlandson favours more animated scenes than the designers of the Hogarthian Novelist plates, he does not approach Cruikshank's extreme of violence. This may be nicely traced in their respective plates depicting Lavement, a character described in standard Smollett manner:

> a little old withered man, with a forehead about an inch high, a nose turned up at the end, large cheek bones that helped to form a pit for his little grey eyes, a great bag of loose skin hanging down on each side in wrinkles like the alforjas of a baboon; and a mouth so accustomed to that contraction which produces grinning, that he could not pronounce a syllable without discovering the remains of his teeth, which consisted of four yellow fangs, not improperly by anatomists, called canine. (I.153)

In Rowlandson's plate, The Return of Mrs. Lavement & Capt: O'Donnel from the Play(Pl.35), the interest is in the piquancy of the situation, the 'furniture' of the scene of the apothecary's shop,[63] and the reactions of Roderick and O'Donnell, in addition

62 The OED notes that 'in England the artistic senses came earliest, and the wider use was at first chiefly transferred'. The first example of the wider use given is from Chesterfield's Letters(1748).

63 However R. Paulson, in his introduction to Hogarth's Graphic Works, vol.1, p.51, notes of Rowlandson's and Gillray's plates that 'the face is the central image in their satires ... Hogarth's emphasis on the scene, with all its components, is lost ... Rowlandson's rooms are enormous, bare, and vague.' G. Vertue too notes this as a Hogarthian quality:



Pl.35. Rowlandson (1793)



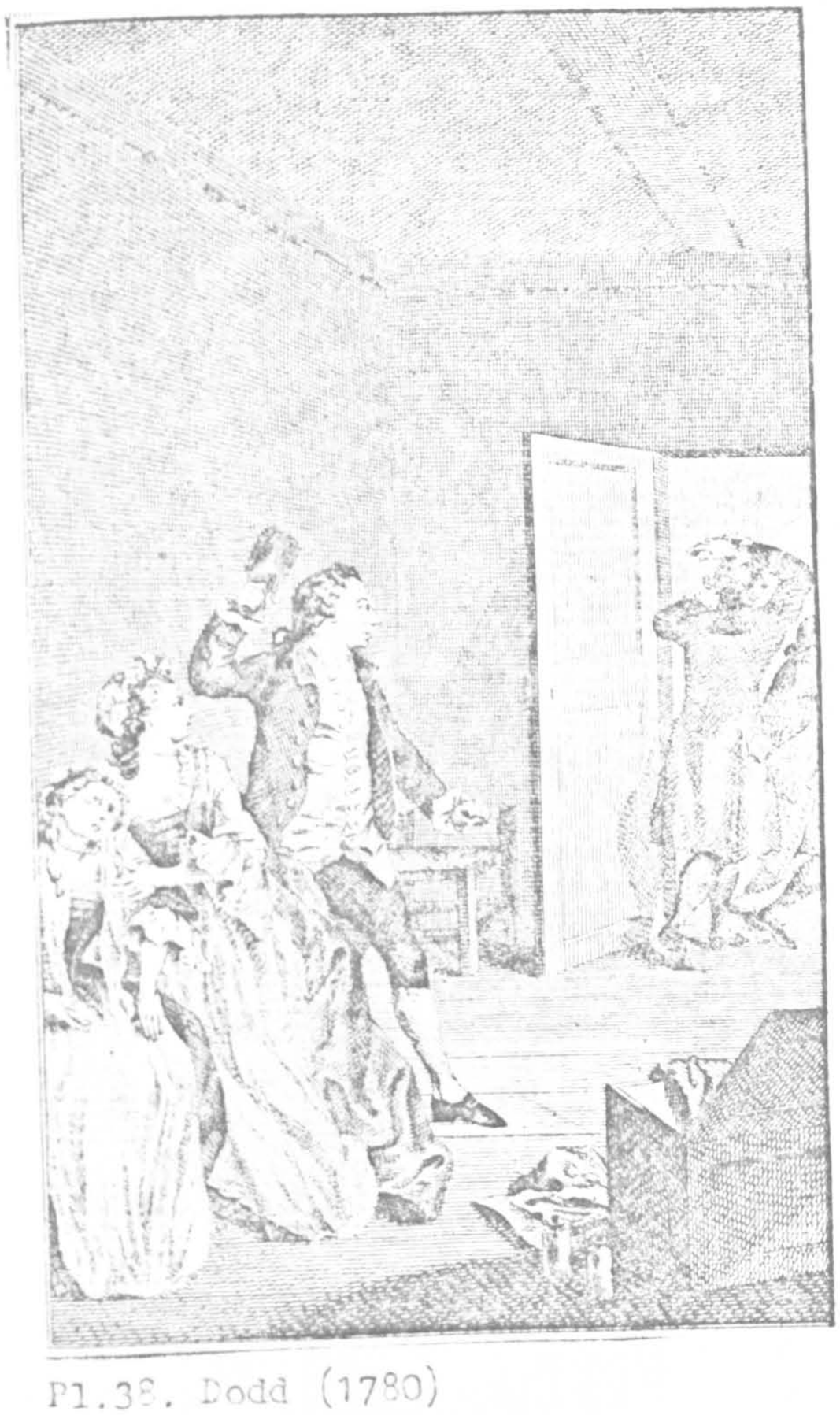
Pl.36. Hogarth Marriage-a-la-Mode Plate III (1743)

to the figure of Lavement himself. By contrast Cruikshank's plate Roderick Random threatening to execute justice on Gawky (Pl.37) shows Lavement caught in a violent situation, retiring precipitately down the stairs with his son-in-law before the avenging Roderick. Lavement is shown full-face and very much the caricature of Smollett's description, in contrast to the back-view in two other plates of the Gawky episode, by Dodd for the Novelist's Magazine edition and by the vignettist of the 1823 Whittingham edition(Pls.38 and 39). A broad contrast between Rowlandson and Cruikshank can be seen in the use each makes of the figure of Lavement, so that while Rowlandson could be called more 'Hogarthian' in his preference for comic characterisation rather than burlesque caricature, Cruikshank is perhaps more Smollettian in combining in his illustration two of Smollett's comic techniques, the fixed portrait caricature and the violent situation.

Violent situations, frequently involving physical pain, are certainly an element in Smollett's fiction, and an element which seems to have appealed to Cruikshank especially. One of his most successful illustrations to Roderick Random is Strap's Misfortune in the Dining Cellar(Pl.40), details of which involve Strap's tumbling headlong down a flight of steps, a soldier being scalded with a porringer of hot soup, volleys of execrations, a poultice of salt on the raw wound, crushing of beermugs, not

---

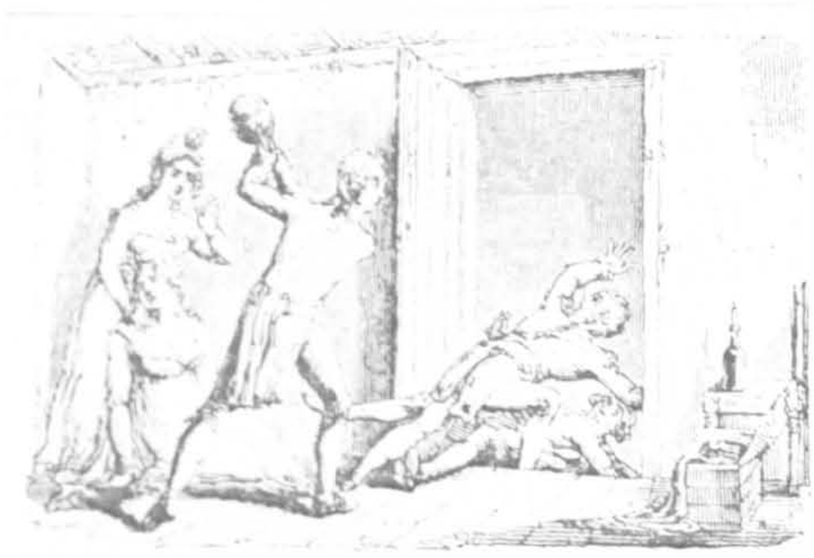
'the very furniture of his rooms describe the characters of the persons to whom they belong; a lesson that might be of use to comic authors.' (op.cit., p.159.) The conscious Hogarthianism of the Rowlandson plate particularly is reflected in his indebtedness to the figure of the apothecary in Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode Plate III(Pl.36) of whom John Ireland wrote, in Hogarth Illustrated, vol.2, p.11, 'to heighten the ridicule, you see he is a Frenchman'. Hogarth's apothecary is generally assumed to be Dr. Misaubin.



Pl.38. Dodd (1780)



Pl.37. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.39. Anon. (1823)



Pl.40. Cruikshank (1831)

to mention sundry grindings of teeth and hideous yells. The whole thing is a chain of accidents reminiscent of Humphry Clinker's first attempts at serving at table(Pl.203), or of the ill-fated feast after the manner of the ancients in Peregrine Pickle(Pl.64), both of which afforded him scope for delightfully disastrous illustrations.

Although an element in all Smollett's novels, the violence is at its most explicit in Peregrine Pickle, partly for the sheer accidental joy of it, partly because of the 'satiric disposition' of the hero, and partly because relationships between characters are frequently externalised into physical terms. If Rowlandson is most successful in expressing what the Preface to Roderick Random calls 'not ... a bare catalogue of characters, but agreeably diverted with all the variety of invention', Cruikshank comes into his own with Peregrine Pickle's 'pleasant Projects of Revenge'.[64]

64 The quotation comes from the heading to chapter 75 of Peregrine Pickle.

CHAPTER II PEREGRINE PICKLE

I

The early pattern of illustration to Peregrine Pickle is very like that to Roderick Random, but an illustrated edition, indeed a second edition at all,[1] did not follow so swiftly on the heels of the first appearance of the work. Where Hayman's plates appeared a few months after the first publication of Roderick Random, Fuseli's four frontispieces to Peregrine Pickle had to wait until 1769, some eighteen years. When they did appear(like those to Roderick Random engraved by Grignion) they remained the standard plates to the novel for some time, appearing in their original or in re-engraved forms in at least eight editions in the eighteenth century.[2]

Another similarity to Roderick Random is seen in the plethora of part-issues and cheap reprints. Like the earlier novel Peregrine Pickle soon appeared in the Novelist's Magazine series (PP6), Wenman's Entertaining Museum(PP9), in Mudford's British Novelists(PP22), in Walker's edition(PP25), and also in Dove's English Classics edition(PP31). These editions mostly employed the same artists who had illustrated Roderick Random,such as Clennell for the British Novelists series and Thomas Uwins for

1 The second edition 'revised, corrected, and altered by the author' appeared seven years after the first in 1758. See H.S. Buck, A Study of Smollett, Chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle' for full details.

2 For full details of the various appearances of these plates see Appendix I.

Walker's edition, but the Novelist's Magazine edition was illustrated by Thomas Stothard, while Dodd(who had designed the plates for the Novelist's Magazine Roderick Random) is found illustrating Wenman's edition of Peregrine Pickle. Stothard was a prestigious illustrator but more at home with the Ladies Magazine fashion plates than with the violent knockabout of Peregrine Pickle. It is therefore rather surprising to find him doing a second set of four frontispieces to the novel for the '7th edition' of 1784(PP8), in addition to the twelve plates he had done for the Novelist's Magazine three years earlier.

The part-issue version of the novel which is most interesting is Cooke's Select Novels edition(PP16). Not only did its plates, mostly designed by Richard Corbould, re-appear in various editions of the novel such as Dean and Munday's 1819 reprint(PP27), but they travelled as far as America and were translated into wood engravings by 'the father of American engraving' Alexander Anderson,[3] appearing in New York editions in 1813 and 1816 (PP23 and PP26).

Another foreigner who made a point of illustrating Peregrine Pickle was Daniel Chodowiecki,[4] in a series of twelve miniature engravings to a Berlin Almanack for 1786(PP11) and also with four frontispieces to a German translation of the whole novel (PP10).[5] His plates to the novel contrast with those to a French

3 See Sinclair Hamilton's Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, p.48, which also describes the 1816 New York edition of Peregrine Pickle(p.55).

4 Father of the Wilhelm Chodowiecki who illustrated Roderick Random(RR21), see footnote 5 to Roderick Random chapter.

5 According to Engelmann's catalogue, Daniel Chodowiecki's Sämmtliche Kupferstiche, the other English novels illustrated

edition some years later in 1799(PP18) which are very crude in technique and presumably aimed more at children. One of the French plates is interesting in view of its date, Pallet a la Bastille, but Gonord by no means rivals Eisen, the French illustrator of Roderick Random(RR7).

Rowlandson, whose designs to Roderick Random formed such a large part of that novel's illustrative history, is less notable as an illustrator to Peregrine Pickle. He provided two fairly functional frontispieces to the 1790 Miscellaneous Works volumes (PP13), and eight plates dated 1796(PP19). Like Roderick Random I have not located an edition before 1805 with these plates and again like Roderick Random it appears to be very rare, the only copy I have seen being in the library at Princeton.[6] However Rowlandson on the whole did less illustration to Peregrine Pickle than to Roderick Random,[7] and some editions blithely advertised as having 'Plates by Rowlandson', such as an 1805 edition(PP20), were in fact padded out with some low quality 'cuts' by George Woodward.[8]

If Rowlandson appears to have felt less at home with

---

by the artist were The Vicar of Wakefield, Clarissa, A Sentimental Journey and The Man of Feeling, which puts Peregrine Pickle in rather unusual company.

6 See B.C.J. Wolf, Rowlandson and his Illustrations of eighteenth century English literature, pp.124-132, for a full description of these plates.

7 To be crudely numerical about it, Rowlandson did 8 designs to the 4 1805 Peregrine Pickle volumes, and 12 to the 2 1805 Roderick Random ones.

8 The 1809 Miscellaneous Works titlepage is slightly more honest in its 'Twenty-Six Engravings, by Rowlandson and Others', and the publisher seems to have acquired only a few of the Rowlandson plates. For the most obvious example of Rowlandson's greater popularity, see LG12, with its claim of a 'Frontispiece by Rowlandson' which was in fact by George Woodward.

Peregrine Pickle, Cruikshank appears to have felt the opposite. His relationship with the novel seems to have started with some adolescent cuts for Twelfth Night Characters(PP24), which included two charactess from Peregrine Pickle, Trunnion and Pipes. However it was in a series that is generally agreed to have secured his fame if not his fortune that he first dealt fully with the novel, in three of the Points of Humour, Part 2(PP30), This volume is especially interesting in view of the theoretical defence of Smollett against Fielding which is found in the preface.[9] In his 'standard' plates to the novel, for Roscoe's edition of the Novelist's Library in 1832(PP32), he again fully treats the work in eight etchings, as does Phiz in an 1857 edition which parallels the Roderick Random he also illustrated.[10]

After a slower start Peregrine Pickle follows the pattern of illustration of Roderick Random except that the relative positions of Rowlandson and Cruikshank as illustrators of the novel are reversed. One general point that emerges is that certainly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the popularity of this novel equalled if not passed that of Roderick

9 Many contemporary reviews, such as the one in Blackwood's Magazine, XIV, 1823, pp.18-26, 'On the Genius of Cruikshank', remarked on the high quality of his Points of Humour. Another contemporary review, pasted without attribution into a fascinating collection of letters and sketches dealing mostly with Cruikshank and William Hone, and held in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, reads 'We are in expectation of more "Points of Humour", having recurred to them from a miserable imitation, entitled "Points of Misery"'. This latter production was written by Charles Westmacott and illustrated by George's brother Robert Cruikshank.

10 The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, in which are included Memoirs of a Lady of Quality. By T.Smollett, M.D. Author of 'Humphry Clinker' 'Roderick Random', etc. With illustrations by Phiz. London: G. Routledge & Co. Farringdon Street; New York: 18, Beekman Street. 1857.

Random, and this is possibly because the mood of the novel fitted well into the age which appreciated the adventures of Tom and Jerry, or the 'English Spy'.[11]

II

In the previous chapter, the series of plates illustrating Roderick Random entitled The Hogarthian Novelist formed the centre of discussion on Smollett's methods of characterisation and his use of caricature portraiture as a literary device. A similar focus for Peregrine Pickle may be found in Cruikshank's Points of Humour. Like The Hogarthian Novelist it is a series of plates rather than an illustrated edition of the novel, but also incorporates some of the text, in the form of selected blocks of narrative and a lengthy explanatory preface. This reflects a general difference between the Hogarthian and Cruikshankian modes of illustration. Hogarth saw his graphic work as narrative in a non-literary medium, a visual substitute for the written word.[12] Cruikshank, while he perhaps overvalued the relative importance of illustration against text,[13] did not

11 For example Pierce Egan's Life in London; or, the Day and night scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq., and ... Corinthian Tom ... with thirty-six scenes from real life, designed and etched by I.R. and G. Cruikshank(1820-1, published in parts).

12 A typical example of this attitude, and one which Hogarth would undoubtedly have endorsed, is Vertue's praise of 'that great and original genius, Hogarth; considering him rather as a writer of comedy with a pencil, than as a painter'. Anecdotes of Painting, vol.IV, ch.4, p.68.

13 Cruikshank's 'Statement of Facts' on this complex matter may be seen in his pamphlet The Artist and the Author (London, 1872), where he attempts to prove that he was the author of Oliver Twist, The Miser's Daughter and other novels. He does also have this to say: 'I now feel it necessary to inform the public, that the usual, or ordinary

conceive so exclusively of illustration independent of the written word. The titles of the two series also imply their different ends, Hogarthian Novelist suggesting moral analysis via characteristic visual detail, while the emphasis implied in the title Points of Humour speaks for itself. But should there be any doubt about the ultimate aims of the Cruikshank plates, the preface to Part I explains it fully:

> Those ludicrous subjects only which are rich in the humour of situation are calculated for graphic illustration.[14]

The preface to Part II repeats this emphasis. Part I contains no illustrations by Cruikshank to novels, concentrating mainly on fictionalised comic moments from history but Part II does: the three plates illustrating Smollett's Peregrine Pickle. The reasons for this choice are stated at length, and since the whole series was designed to afford 'scope for the peculiar talents of the artist who adorns them with his designs', it may be inferred that Cruikshank had a hand, at least, in the theoretical preface to the second part. For this reason, quite apart from its intrinsic interest, I shall quote from it at some length.

> It will be seen that the compiler has taken a hint, or rather followed a hint of one of the critics upon this little book. He has resorted for part of his materials, to the author, who is richest of all in the humour of situation.

---

way of producing illustrated novels or romances is, for an Author either to write out, from his own ideas, the whole of the tale, or in parts; the manuscript, or letterpress, of which is then handed to an Artist, to read and select subjects from for his illustrations, or sometimes for the Author to suggest to the Artist such subjects, scenes, or parts, as he might wish to be illustrated. And I, being known generally only as an Artist, or illustrator, it would, therefore, very naturally be supposed that, in all cases, I have merely worked out other men's ideas. But, if I have the opportunity, I shall be able to show that other men have sometimes worked out my ideas'(p.14). The emphases are Cruikshank's.

14 Preface to Points of Humour, Part I(1823). Cruikshank's own emphasis.

> Fielding has been suggested; but though some things, excellent in their kind, might be found in him, yet it will be observed, on a more accurate consideration, that this admirable author is infinitely less adapted to the pencil of Cruikshank, than his successor in the walk of humour. Fielding is master in the power of laying open all the springs which regulate the motion of that curious piece of mechanism, the human heart ... His dramatis personae are not, generally, very extraordinary people. - He dealt in that which is common to all. While, on the contrary, Smollett is rich in that which is uncommon and eccentric. His field is among oddities, hobby-horses, foibles, and singularities of all kinds, which he groups in the most extraordinary manner, and colours for the most striking effect. We read Fielding with a satisfied smile, but it is over the page of Smollett that the loud laugh is heard to break forth. - How much at home our artist is in the conception of Smollett may be seen in the following plates.[15]

III

The preface explains why Smollett was chosen, in preference to any other novelist, although the use of the word 'hobby-horses' suggests a subliminal reference to Sterne, rejected perhaps because his eccentricities were psychological rather than visual. But it does not explain why this of all Smollett's novels was used to provide those 'ludicrous situations' especially suited to graphic illustration, as Roderick Random was a more popular novel,[16] and to some extent contained those elements that Cruikshank,

15 Preface to Points of Humour, Part II, p.iv. I have not been able to find the critic referred to in the first sentence, and of course it may well have been verbally transmitted. See also note 30 to Chapter 1 of this thesis.

16 F.W. Boege, in Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist, pp.72-3, illustrates a new note in Smollett criticism with an 1816 review of Scott's The Antiquary: 'Smollett was always a caricaturist, and Fielding sometimes a libeller of human nature; but this author paints her as she is ... if he have not the humour of Smollett, he is also without his grossness', and the criticism in the Quarterly Review of 1812: 'Tom Jones and Peregrine Pickle have contributed to inflame, and we will venture to add, to debauch many a youthful imagination.' The evidence of numbers of illustrated editions does not particularly reflect this, though Roderick Random has 36 to Peregrine Pickle's 29, up to the date of Points of Humour.

according to the preface, was seeking.

The two elements which were picked out as especially suited to the genius of Cruikshank were 'the humour of situation' and 'that which is uncommon and eccentric' in characterisation. In Roderick Random as we have seen there are plenty of eccentric characters but often enough they have little significance in the plot: the singularity of appearance of Crab, Lavement, Narcissa's aunt or Miss Snapper is largely an end in itself. This, as many critics note,[17] has the effect of making them discrete from the fabric of the whole novel. In Humphry Clinker, as I shall argue, this discreteness is resolved by separating out the portrait caricatures into two virtuoso set-piece descriptions.[18] The two are then continually emphasised as 'originals' as opposed to type characters, and are not subject to satire as their eccentricity is so singular. With Peregrine Pickle Smollett is hamstrung by his desire to make his novel 'improving' by means of satire. Satire of characters is more overt in Peregrine Pickle than it had been in Roderick Random, where the characters are mostly 'striking, humorous, and[only lastly if at all] moral'. In Humphry Clinker the striking caricatures, though

17 For example, R.Paulson in Satire and the Novel in XVIIIth Century England, p.177: 'Such microcosms and set-pieces [i.e. Lavement] ... illustrate rather than advance the novel's theme.'

18 G.Kahrl, in his essay 'Smollett as a Caricaturist', Tobias Smollett. Bicentennial Essays presented to Lewis M.Knapp, ed. G.S.Rousseau and P.G.Boucé, p.197, defined Matt Bramble as 'the most sustained and culminating caricature in all Smollett's prose fiction', but his definition is wider than that which I employ, not merely those characters described in terms of their visual impact, but those whose characters are exaggerated in other ways. Thus Matt is a caricature because he is the 'apotheosis of the deformities of age, illness, misanthropy, sentimental attachments and hypochondriacal apprehensions'(p.198).

equally amoral, differ from those in Roderick Random, by virtue of their involvement in the plot, and from those in Peregrine Pickle by their immunity from satirical treatment. One result of this is that Peregrine Pickle is relatively thin on straight portrait caricatures, and in many cases, as with Commodore Trunnion, eccentricity is a matter of behaviour rather than appearance, in his case the wholesale transference of nautical habits to shore life. The satire in the novel is generally a weapon used to attack groups, such as physicians or authors, or to ridicule actions rather than to note strange appearance.

The author's attempt to combine the novel form with sustained social satire was a development of the Roderick Random pattern, but no more successful as satire. Smollett's recognition that he was attempting the impossible is made clear in chapter 1 of Ferdinand Count Fathom when he, typically, confers blame for the comparative failure of his second satirical novel on, not himself, but the contemporary taste for 'the inoffensive pen [that] for ever drops the mild manna of soul-sweetning praise'.[19] He had attempted to structure his second novel more carefully than his first by conflating the biographical education of his hero and situations requiring satirical attention in Peregrine's dual role as both hero and practical satirist.[20] Unfortunately this, in spite of all efforts to the contrary,[21] has the effect

19 Ferdinand Count Fathom, p.8. This is part of Smollett's attack on criticism of the 'lowness' of his first two novels.

20 See R. Putney, 'The Plan of Peregrine Pickle', PMLA, vol.60, Dec. 1945, pp.1051-65, for a closely argued case for Smollett's careful structuring of Peregrine Pickle.

21 For example, the interweaving of the love-plot, and the example set by the arch-satirist Cadwallader Crabtree.

of alienating the reader's sympathies from the hero. Smollett resolves this in Humphry Clinker with the same kind of simple device as his use of caricature portraits, by separating out the objective satirist and the subjective observer into the two characters, Jery and Matt.

In Peregrine Pickle the hero's propensities to satire are explained as a mixture of heredity, and 'oddity of disposition for which he had been remarkable even from his cradle'(pp.51-2),[22] and also a maturer learned response to the evils of society. The characters of Hatchway, with his 'satirical talents' and practical jokes, and later Cadwallader Crabtree help the hero to create ludicrous situations, although the latter is also used to show the dangers of becoming 'not so much incensed against the follies and vices of mankind, as delighted with the distress of his fellow-creatures'(p.623).[23] But before Peregrine comes to see this as the logical conclusion of his actions, his practical satire has created endless violent and ludicrous situations.

This element of creation serves to differentiate him from Roderick Random, who is typically acted upon and then prompted to revenge. A broad contrast may be seen in their youthful careers: where Roderick was 'found guilty of robbing orchards I

22 His mother's delight in finding impossible tasks for her sister-in-law, for example the three black hairs from Trunnion's beard, indicates that this was partly to be explained as an heredity trait. See also Peregrine Pickle, p.540, where the hero decides not to pursue the Lady of Quality but to turn to 'that practical satire, which was so agreeable and peculiar to his disposition'.

23 There is much the same relationship between Matt and Jery in Humphry Clinker, but they share not only a 'satirical disposition' but also a tendency to benevolence, as in Jery's reaction to Matt's treatment of the poor widow, Humphry Clinker, p.23.

never entered ... and of abusing old women I never saw', Peregrine does both these things, pillaging farms and drilling holes in his aunt's chamberpot, among a thousand other 'childish pranks'.[24] For the purposes of the Points of Humour as described in the preface, Cruikshank or his collaborator has shown himself a sensitive reader of Smollett's fiction, in choosing as the novel which best suited his graphic interests, the only one in which the hero is the creator of humorous situations.

Peregrine's role as the practical satirist cannot be underestimated in its effect on the illustration of the novel generally. Of some forty episodes illustrated, almost half are of situations created or exploited by the hero. In general, illustrators divide into those choosing episodes in which the hero is the central character in the design and this normally implies a heavy concentration on the sentimental side of the novel, or centring on situations created by the hero, and these are usually humorous.[25] The three Points of Humour are all of the latter type. The Consultation illustrates the episode where Peregrine and Godfrey 'practise a pleasant Project of Revenge upon the Physicians of Bath', The Dinner refers to the feast after the manner of the ancients proposed by the physician and eagerly embraced by Peregrine 'with a view of rendering the physician's

24 It might be noted that even in the eventful naval scenes, in Roderick Random ch.29, the hero spends most of his time as an onlooker, 'fettered to the poop'. R.Paulson, in Satire and the Novel in XVIIIth Century England, p.181, defines the differences between Roderick and Peregrine as satirists.

25 A contrast would be between Stothard's Novelist's Magazine illustrations(PP6), with 5 sentimental and 6 comic plates, and Rowlandson's illustrations(PP19), with 7 comic to only 1 sentimental episode. Sentimental illustrations generally have Peregrine as a main figure in the design, while the humorous ones show him as an onlooker.

taste more conspicuous, and extracting from it the more diversion', and The Duel illustrates what ensues when 'Peregrine artfully foments a Quarrel between Pallet and the Physician'. The emphasis is continually on 'pleasant projects' or 'diversions' which Peregrine creates by first seeking out characters with eccentric singularities and then causing them to act or react characteristically or eccentrically. Each of these episodes has some slight satirical purpose, punishing the physicians for being 'the secret agents of scandal ... a class of animals', or exposing the ridiculous and obsessive admiration for the classical age of the republican physician, and revealing the cowardice of the two participants in the duel, but in each case the punishment far outweighs the crime, as in Roderick Random the caricature descriptions outweigh the structural significance of the characters thus defined.

However unsatisfactory on a total moral or aesthetic level, the local elaboration of the humorous character or situation is where Smollett excels, and what Cruikshank appreciated in the novelist. This excellence is implicit in Rufus Putney's explanation of why the novel, in spite of its careful plan, is ultimately a failure as a whole: because 'Smollett's characters never surprise us by doing the unexpected, and events - except for comic scenes - always fall out as we have known they will'.[26] However the surprises wrought by Peregrine the comic-satirist never really overflow into the area of Peregrine the hero, except perhaps in the episode where Pipes puts Peregrine's letter to Emilia in his shoe to keep it safe. Three illustrations of this episode show the different ways in which it can be approached.

26 R. Putney, op.cit., p.1064. My emphasis.

Luke Clennell, in a typically charming and sentimental vein shows 'our y@ung heroine, impatient to read her lover's billet, which made her heart throb with rapturous expectation'(p.105). Smollett's prose is an ironic buildup to Pipes's version of the letter which follows, although Clennell seems to have taken it at face value(Pl.41). By contrast Phiz's illustration(Pl.42) concentrated on the comic side, evident in the smirk on Pipes's face, but there is a sameness about the characters which detracts from the total effect. The two women not only resemble each other, but also Little Dorrit in the novel which Phiz was also illustrating at this time.[27] Although Putney shows at length the controlling importance of the Peregrine/Emilia relationship in the structure of the novel, the effect on the reader is almost always of a crashing gear-change from the satiric/humorous into the sentimental mode, the former usually much more successful. It is therefore no surprise that the most prestigious illustrators of Peregrine Pickle, Fuseli, Chodowiecki, Rowlandson, Cruikshank and Phiz, all concentrated fairly exclusively on the humorous element, and it is less accomplished illustrators like Stothard, Clennell and Corbould who divide their labours between the two modes.

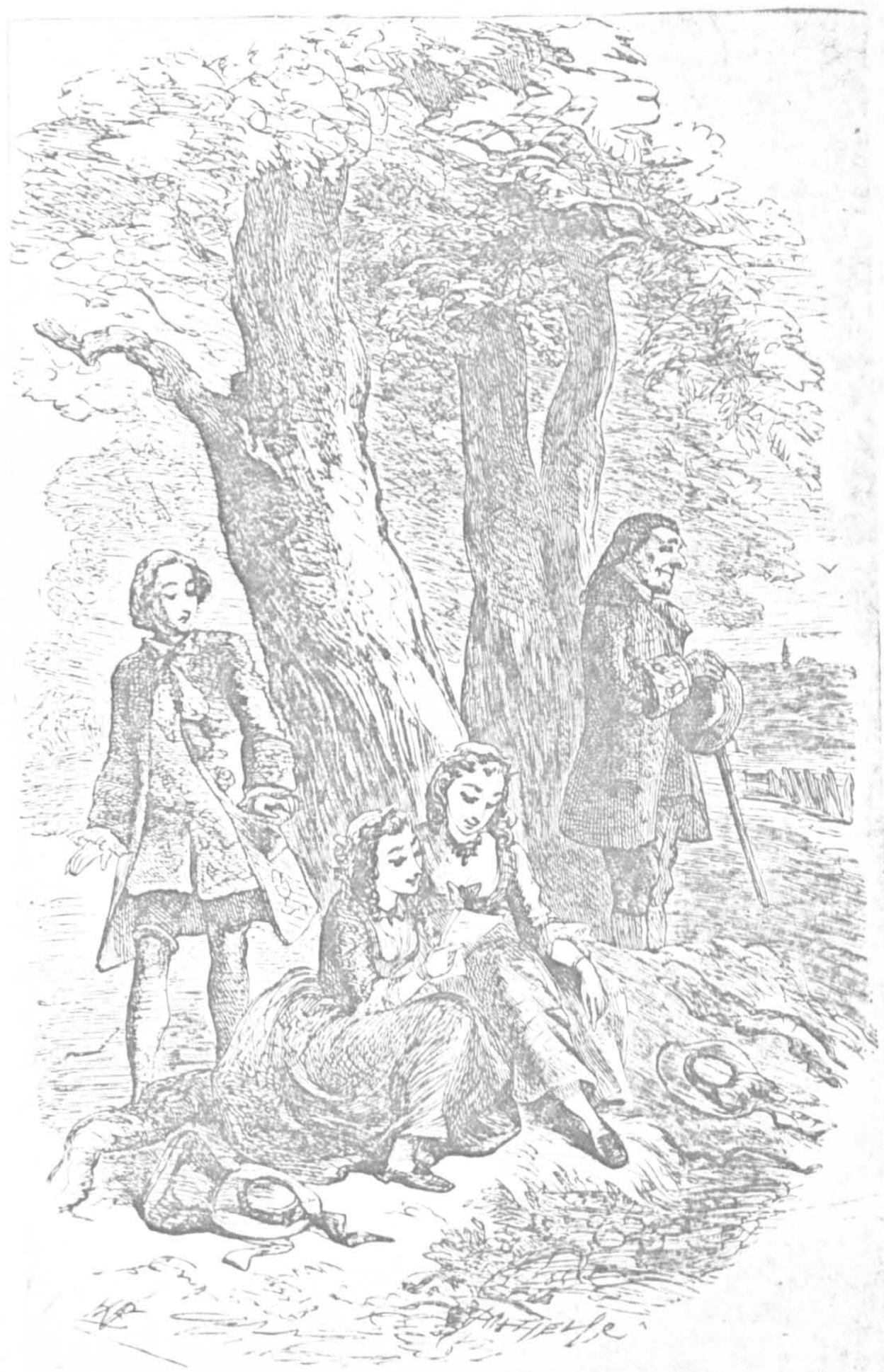
IV

Cruikshank's The Consultation(Pl.43) is pure situational comedy with all its usual Smollettian concomitants of broken noses, disarrayed wigs and chamberpot humour. It is one of three self-

27 The third illustration is by Henry Corbould for the Dove's Classics edition(PP31b), and shows the same moment as Phiz, but the tone is completely serious, as the title to the plate, He started with great emotion, shows.



Fl.41. Clennell (1810)



PIPE'S LETTER.—P. 96.

Fl.42. Phiz (1857)

contained adventures showing the 'stratagems practised upon the objects of ridicule, hatred and contempt' by Peregrine and Godfrey Gauntlet while they visit Bath. In the revised second edition one of the episodes, the capturing of the dogs that turned the spits, is omitted because it is of little satirical value and, more importantly, the 'humour of situation' is minimal. The effect, when comparing Cruikshank's illustration of The Consultation with the version by the later 19th century illustrator Phiz (Pl.44), is at first to think how similar they are, and then to become aware that the later design is a watered-down version of the earlier, with less emphasis on the chamberpot element, less caricatured differentiation in the faces of the physicians and less of the fiendish glee more explicitly expressed in the gouty tailpiece(Pl.45).[28] Phiz's version does illustrate an

28 Thackeray's appreciation of the Points of Humour plates, and the gouty tailpiece in particular is worth quoting at length from the long leading article in the Westminster Review, vol.34, No.1, 1840, pp.1-60. 'The famous classical dinners and duel in "Peregrine Pickle" are also excellent in their way; and the connoisseur of prints and etchings may see in the latter plate, and in another in this volume, how great the artist's mechanical skill is as an etcher. The distant view of the city in the duel, and of a market-place in "The Quack Doctor", are delightful specimens of the artist's skill in depicting buildings and back-grounds. They are touched with a grace, truth, and dexterity of workmanship that leave nothing to desire. We have before mentioned the man with the mouth which appears in this number, and should be glad to give a little vignette emblematical of gout and indigestion, in which the artist has shown all the fancy of Callot. Little demons, with long saws for noses, are making dreadful incisions into the toes of the unhappy sufferer; some are bringing pans of hot coals to keep the wounded member warm; a huge solemn nightmare sits on the invalid's chest, staring solemnly into his eyes; a monster, with a pair of drumsticks, is banging a devil's tattoo on his forehead; and a pair of imps are nailing great tenpenny nails into his hands to make his happiness complete.' (p.16)



Pl.43. Cruikshank (1824)



Pl.45. Cruikshank (1824)



Pl.44. Phiz (1857)

element in the novel, scenes of group chaos, which he is inclined to stress even more than Cruikshank, whose interest was in the single figure.

There will be more discussion of this favourite comic standby of Smollett's, in the section dealing with Humphry Clinker, and its appeal to Phiz is evident in two other Peregrine Pickle plates by him which utilise the same device, Pallet floors a Host (Pl.46) and the Battle of the Doctors(Pl.47). Smollett himself was inclined to indulge in scenes of gratuitous and comprehensive violence: a satirical scourging in the first two novels especially was almost always a literal as well as a metaphorical event, which makes them particularly suitable for visual depiction. This literally applied punishment was taken by Toussaint to be peculiarly English, as the preface to the 1753 French edition shows:

> j'y ai trouvé des portraits d'originaux singuliers, assez bien soutenus; et des tableaux d'après nature, dont plusieurs, suivant l'usage Anglican, ont pour sujets des avantures de Cabaret, de Places publiques, et de Grands-chemins; force batteries à coups de poings, de pieds et de bâtons, que nos François trouvent ignobles, parce que ces coups-là ne tuent pas si bien que des coups d'épée. J'ai eu peur d'abord que cela ne fût pas goûté ici: mais j'ai fait réflexion après coup que ces peintures-là ne sont pas sans mérite; qu'elles servent au-moins à nous instruire des moeurs Angloises.

A scene of mental torment, like Clennell's illustration of Peregrine's remorse after his attempted rape of Emilia(Pl.48), though melodramatic in the manner of the text, is comparatively uninformative beyond the level of visual reference, whereas Pallet's escapades on the jackass which, like the stings of Peregrine's conscience, effectually prevent the consummation of a love-affair, permit a fair amount of narrative interest to be included in the illustration itself. The style in which each

EX BIBL. UNIV. LOVANIENSIS

Pl.46. Phiz (1857)





Pl.48. Clennell (1810)

Pl.47. Phiz (1857

episode is written shows how much more at home Smollett was in the complexities of comic situations than in mental or emotional self-criticisms. William Mudford notes Smollett's habit of externalising and vulgarising normal human emotional reactions, pointing out in his prefatory remarks to Roderick Random:

> Smollett fails in all attempts to describe the violence of pathetic emotion. Foaming at the mouth, kicking chairs about, light forsaking the eyes, and swearing 'horrible oaths' are the usual concomitants of passion in his heroes.[29]

Peregrine's remorse is of exactly this type, but where this 'mere exaggeration' is used in comic action it results in increasing hilarity rather than the impression of authorial embarrassment.

There are five different illustrations to the episode of Pallet and the ass,[30] three of them fairly functional depictions of Pallet's involuntary interruption of the 'happy accomplishment of [Peregrine's] desire': by Rowlandson, who does not exploit the episode as one might have expected, by Corbould for Cooke's edition(Pl.49), and by Gonord in a late 18th century French edition of the novel(Pl.50). The other two, by Chodowiecki for a German edition(Pl.51), and the Phiz version(Pl.46) each show a slightly different moment. Chodowiecki's illustrates the 'libidinous Israelite' being 'pulled by the heels from his lurking-place; so that Pallet had the good fortune, at last, to transfer the laugh

29 From the 'Critical Observations' prefatory to Roderick Random, in volume 1 of Mudford's British Novelists series (1810). For a modern criticism in much the same terms, see A.B. Strauss, 'On Smollett's Language: A Paragraph in Ferdinand Count Fathom', English Institute Essays, 1953: 'It is not only that the physical reactions Smollett manipulates are so crude as to be incapable of doing justice to finer shades of feeling, there is also the inherent difficulty of drawing the line between the external manifestations of one kind of emotion and those of another.' (p.31)

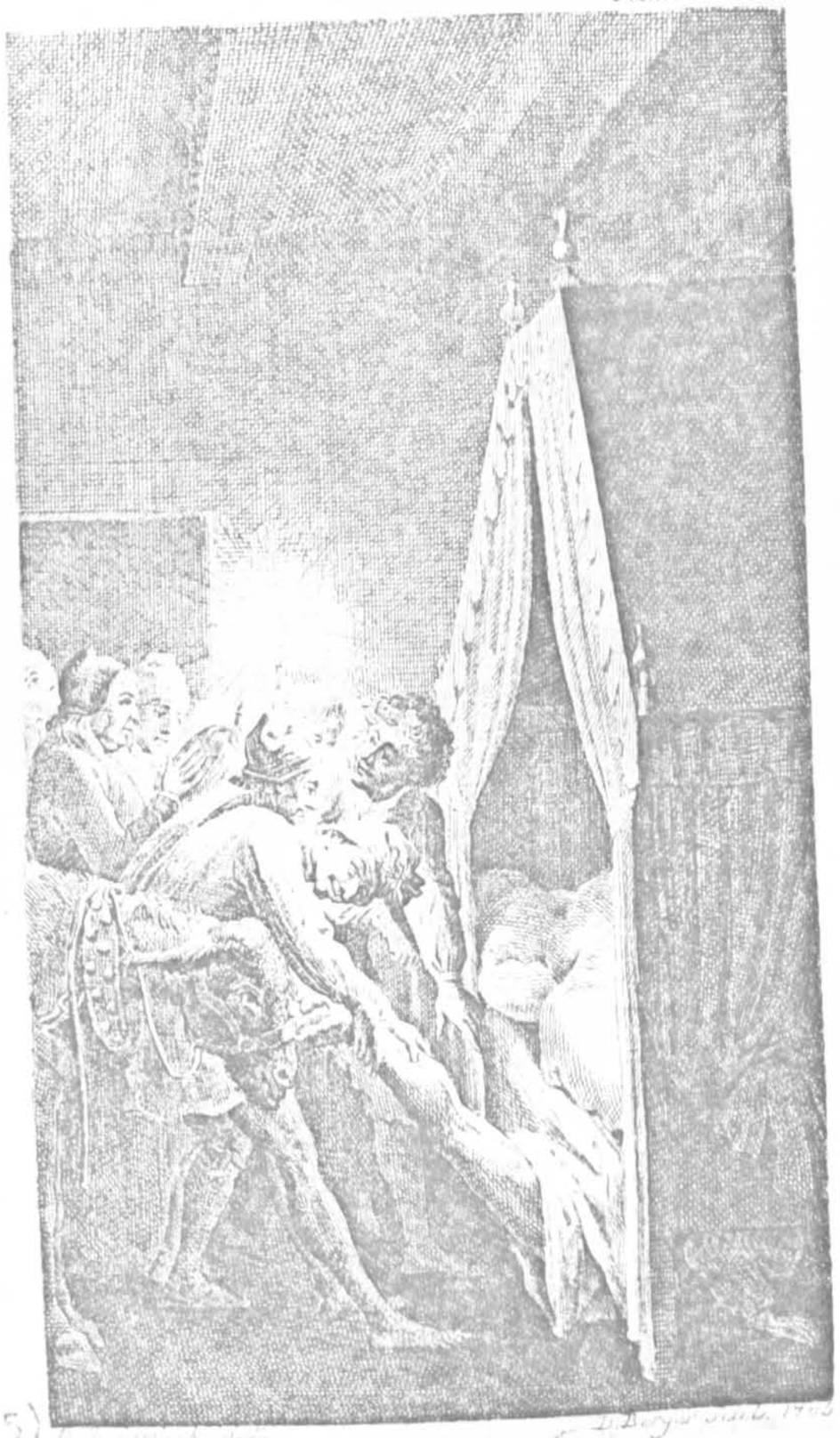
30 Peregrine Pickle, ch.60.

Pl.49. Corbould (1797)





Pl.50. Gonord (1799)



Pl.51. Chodowiecki (1785)

from himself to his rival, and the French inamorata'(p.298), a successful and satisfactory Smollettian conclusion. Phiz's illustration is as I have noted a typical example of his group chaos scenes.[31] The ass appears as a shadow on the wall, the cause of the chaos of falling bodies 'so that the whole passage was strewed with a long file of people, that lay in a line, like the sequel and dependance of a pack of cards'(p.298).

By a curious coincidence almost exactly the same illustrators also choose the other Phiz episode to illustrate, the Battle of the Doctors(in fact at the College of Authors and it is typical of Phiz to have made this mistake),[32] and the same remarks made about Pallet Floors a Host(Pl.46) may also be applied to the versions of this second battle by Rowlandson, Gonord(Pl.54), and Chodowiecki(Pl.55).[33] The implication is that these artists

31 Although I criticise Phiz's over-easy use of groups of people in this and two other of his illustrations, his approach is better than the compromise which Woodward makes in a similar scene, Alarm at the inn at Chantilly(Pl.52). Bad on a purely technical level with an inartistic array of figures like heavily etched cardboard cut-outs against a washy stage backdrop, it is also inaccurate in illustrating the text, conflating several parts of a complicated scene occurring at different times and places. In this sort of scene Corbould's approach of taking only one part of the action is wiser(Pl.53). For Rowlandson's additions to the text, see discussion of Pl.56, Fire at the Inn - Peregrine rescues Emilia, &c.

32 Phiz was notorious for not reading the text he was to illustrate. When he took over the illustration of Lever's novels in 1846 the Irish novelist constantly complained of his artist's laxness in reading the proofs submitted to him. (MS letters in the Pierpont Morgan Library.)

33 Peregrine Pickle, ch.101. Two points about this episode make it an interesting one. Hogarth's Order of Periwigs (1761) echoes Smollett's description of the authors: 'a strange collection of periwigs, with regard to the colour, fashion, and dimensions, which were such as he had never seen before. Those who sat on each side, nearest the president, were generally distinguished by venerable tyes ...



Fl.52. Woodward (1805)



Fl.53. Corbould (1794)



Pl.54. Gonord (1799)



Pl.55. Chodowiecki (1786)

had a penchant for scenes of 'confusion and tumultuous uproar' which the novelist so liberally supplied. Essentially these episodes are of a type with scenes such as the feast after the manner of the ancients, the night at the inn at Chantilly, or the fire at the inn on the way to Emilia's home, scenes where a group of people react in different ways to a single impulse, be it food, fire, a jackass, or deliberate provocation by a single character such as Peregrine. There are differences in the group chaos scenes, between those involving a group of physicians, authors, or travellers, and the character differentiation, admittedly schematic, among those present at events such as the feast after the manner of the ancients. This scene includes a French marquis described as a typical 'petit-maitre', an Italian count 'a thin limber creature' with, in the first edition at any rate, homosexual tendencies, and a German baron 'neither so wieldy nor supple in his joints as his companions'.[34] This

---

Next to these, the majors took place, many of which were mere succedanea, made by the application of an occasional rose to the tail of a lank bob; and in the lower form appeared masses of hair, which would admit of no description'(p.640). Following this depersonalised description comes another: 'he saw Tragedy conspicuous in a grave solemnity of regard, Satire louring in a frown of envy and discontent, Elegy whining in a funereal aspect ...' etc. This indicates in skeletal form his use of what Gombrich terms the 'physiognomic fallacy', Meditations on a Hobby-Horse, p.108.

34 Peregrine Pickle, ch.48. Rowlandson seems to have shared the novelist's chauvinism. J.T. Smith, in Rowlandson's obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1827, p.564, remarks that, on his trip to Paris at the age of 16, he 'occasionally indulged that satirical talent, in portraying the characters of that fantastic people, whose outré habits, perhaps, scarcely demanded the exaggeration of caricature'. It is therefore strange that he did so few illustrations to the second volume of the novel. Similarly Cruikshank, whose Frenchmen in his Life in Paris(1822) are, in Thackeray's words 'a villainous race of shoulder-shrugging mortals' (Westminster Review, vol.34, no.1, p.12). Cf. also Smollett's description of the Frenchman who 'shrugged up his shoulders to his ears, expanded his hands, elevated the skin on his forehead and eyebrows and depressed the corners of his mouth

differentiation allows for varied reaction within the illustration rather than the treatment of characters as a mere 'pack of cards' as in the jackass scene.

A good contrastive example to the Phiz type of group chaos design is Rowlandson's Fire at the Inn - Peregrine rescues Emilia &c. (Pl.56). Chodowiecki's design for this scene(Pl.57) shows a straight and predictable view of Peregrine rescuing Emilia, described in the text and shown in the illustration as being 'in her shift'. Rowlandson's inventive touches, in the spirit of the author, begin with undoing Emilia's shift to reveal her buxom breasts. The central couple is parodically echoed by Pipes and Sophy, the '&c.' of the title, a pair in the same situation but drawn in rather a different spirit. Pipes's leer and his firm grasp on her ample buttocks, and Sophy's attitude, express alarm at the manner of her rescue rather than fear of the fire. Here Rowlandson has actually created a kind of visual story out of a hackneyed Smollett situation. Frequently in the early novels one gets the impression that Smollett felt that more meant funnier, and falls into a simplified bludgeoning satire, as in the battle at the college of authors. Phiz too is guilty of the same laziness, choosing episodes which give a superficial effect of lively animation without the tedium of having to consider individual twists of plot or characterisation. This tends to become an easy way out - on a low level it is humorous, but hardly pointed.

To return to Cruikshank's other two Points of Humour, The Dinner and The Duel, is to find combined the two elements mentioned in the preface to the collection of plates, eccentric

---

in such a manner, that I could scarce refrain from laughing aloud at his grotesque appearance'(Roderick Random, ch.44).



Pl.56. Rowlandson (1796)



Pl.57. Chodowiecki (1785)

character and ludicrous situation. The Colonel, in The Consultation, had the singular eccentric characteristic of a hatred of physicians, what Mudford[35] called Smollett's dangerous facility of describing 'the human character as modified by single and peculiar causes', and this an unoriginal device within the context of Peregrine Pickle since it closely resembles Trunnion's attitude towards attorneys. The reason why The Consultation episode should have been illustrated three times and Trunnion and the attorney only once, by Dodd in a very wooden plate for Wenman's edition(Pl.58), must lie in the group chaos element which is present in The Consultation scene and seems to have been immediately attractive to illustrators.

In addition to the 'ludicrous situation' the other two Points of Humour have also 'eccentric character' in Pallet the painter and his companion the physician, who were noted by Cleland, in an early review of the novel as two 'original characters':

> The one a painter, under the name of Pallet, whose absurdities furnish Pickle with matter of entertainment.
>
> The other a physician whose character is rather overtouched, especially in the description of a feast given by him in the manner of the antients ... This extravagance ... is here too sarcastically exposed, for good nature not to complain, however poetical justice may smile at the execution. [36]

Here the reviewer has noted the exaggeration at the expense of justice and naturalism, as elsewhere he complained of the exaggerated

35 In his 'Critical Observations' prefatory to Humphry Clinker, in volume 1 of the British Novelist's series, where he contrasts the simple characters of Smollett's early novels with the more complex ones in his last. I discuss Smollett's repetitive use of certain situations in the Humphry Clinker chapter of this study, but there are many examples in Peregrine Pickle also, such as the various duel scenes, see note 46 to this chapter.

36 Monthly Review, vol.4, March 1751, pp.361-2.

PEREGRINE PICKLE.



Dodd del. Walker sculp

VOL. 1.

The Lawyers reception at the Garrison.

Published Dec.r 21, 1783 by J. Wenman, Fleet Street.

Pl.58. Dodd (1783)

scatology at the expense of decorum, because Smollett had not

> respected the delicacy of those readers, who call everything low that is not taken from high-life, which is, however rarely susceptible of that humour and drollery which occur in the more familiar walks of common life. [37]

He does also note that this comes as much from the tradition of picaresque and Rabelaisian literature as from any sociological study of the 'familiar walks of common life'. Where Smollett differs from these literary predecessors however is, as Cruikshank perceived, in the combination of situational complexity and the personal oddities of the characters participating.[38]

Exaggeration was a conscious device on Smollett's part, since in the preface to the revised second edition of the novel he writes that 'some humorous scenes he has endeavoured to heighten'. In this respect Smollettian characters are pure caricature as defined by Gombrich, in that exaggeration makes them both more individually 'alive' and yet patently more 'unnatural', 'a

37 Ibid, p.356.

38 There are several areas where a parallel with Scarron's Comical Romance, a work mentioned in Cleland's review, seems likely, for example in the exaggerated violence of the 'battles', such as Destiny's in chapter 3 where he 'beat two Swords out of the hands of the Enemy, broke two or three Sculls, batter'd and slash'd as many Faces ...' etc. There is another parallel with Peregrine Pickle where Rancour tips a full chamberpot over his bedfellow(ch.6), which recalls The Consultation and, more obviously, the episode where the physician is made to believe that he has wet the bed(ch.53). The difference between Scarron's and Smollett's versions is in the situation, Scarron's quite self-contained while Smollett's shows yet another twist in the complex relationship between Pallet and the physician. There is also a basic difference in the characters. Scarron's are simple types, with names to match, Rancour and 'the Merchant' on whom the trick is played. Although we do not know Smollett's physician's name we appreciate his agony at such a thing 'so inconsistent with the dignity of his character' just because we have a fairly extensive knowledge of his character. This episode was omitted from the 2nd edition of Peregrine Pickle.

success in the illusion of life which can do without any illusion of reality'.[39] It is interesting that Cleland, like the compiler of the text of Points of Humour, emphasises the originality of the characters as being dependent on the absurd situations in which they are embroiled, in this case the celebrated feast, rather than, as I have suggested is the case in Roderick Random, because of their appearance only.

Of the six illustrated episodes which include Pallet and his physician friend,[40] only one is non-situational in the Cruikshank sense, and that is where Peregrine first meets the two originals in the Palais Royal, all the others dealing with feasts, duels or masquerades. The Palais Royal scene, illustrated by Fuseli(Pl.59) and by Rowlandson(Pl.60), takes its point from a literary rather than a visual joke in Pallet's hilariously inept art appreciation.[41] This is more successfully suggested by Rowlandson than Fuseli by a slight exaggeration of stance and facial expression Unlike Trunnion who displayed 'a figure every way answerable to the oddity of his character'(p. 7), neither Pallet nor his friend are caricatured by the novelist as far as their appearance goes, except the slight flamboyance of Pallet's

39 E.H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion, p.284.

40 These are the meeting in the Palais Royal, the feast after the manner of the ancients, Pallet at the masquerade ball, Pallet in the Bastille, Pallet and the ass, and the battle on the ramparts.

41 Smollett's attitude to that famous 18th century type, the ignorant connoisseur, of which Pallet is a comic variation, is seen by implication in his commonsensical observations on art in his Travels Through France and Italy, and is evident in his own reactions to the Palais Royal collection in the same work: 'I do not talk of the busts, statues, and ... great collection of capital pieces in the Palais-royal, belonging to the Duke of Orleans. I have neither the capacity, nor inclination, to give a critique on these chef d'oeuvres ... I should have been better pleased, if there had not been half the number.' (Vol.I, pp.89-90.)



Fl.59. Fuseli (1769)



Fl.60. Rowlandson (1790)

'gay summer suit of the Parisian cut', suitable for a young man on the Grand Tour but not for one of Pallet's more advanced years. The appeal to these two most art-conscious illustrators of Peregrine Pickle lay perhaps as much in the setting of the gallery and the character of a painter as in any other factor, but it is strange that neither one exploited the idea of the pictures-within-a-picture motif, as Cruikshank did in The Dinner(Pl.64) following the example of Hogarth.[42]

There is a lack of what Cruikshank would call 'comedy of situation' in the two Palais Royal plates, not even compensated for by portrait caricature. In fact the only illustration to the novel which depends exclusively on a portrait caricature is, curiously enough, one by Stothard(Pl.61) showing Peregrine's meeting with a very Randomish French cook,[43] where again, as in Roderick Random, the specificity of the description is no reflection on the importance of the character:

> a tall, long-legged, meagre, swarthy fellow, that stooped very much; his cheekbones were remarkably raised, his nose bent into the shape and size of a powder-horn, and the sockets of his eyes as raw round the edges as if the skin had been pared off; on his head he wore an handkerchief, which had once been white ... his middle was girded by an apron tucked up, that it might not conceal his white silk stockings rolled; and at his entrance he brandished a bloody weapon full three feet in length. (pp.194-5.)

It is interesting that Stothard's French cook is a less caricatured version of Hogarth's cook in his Calais Gate(1749)(Pl.62), a plate which has other affinities with the novel, in the episode

42 Throughout his Progresses for example. Corbould also uses a Hogarthian deer's antlers on the wall behind Hornbeck's head to underline his impending cuckoldry in the plate Hornbeck shewing his Wife her Petticoat(Pl.53).

43 Compare this with description of Mr Crab in Roderick Random, ch.7. Stothard typically does not emphasise the caricature.



Pl.61. Stothard (1781)

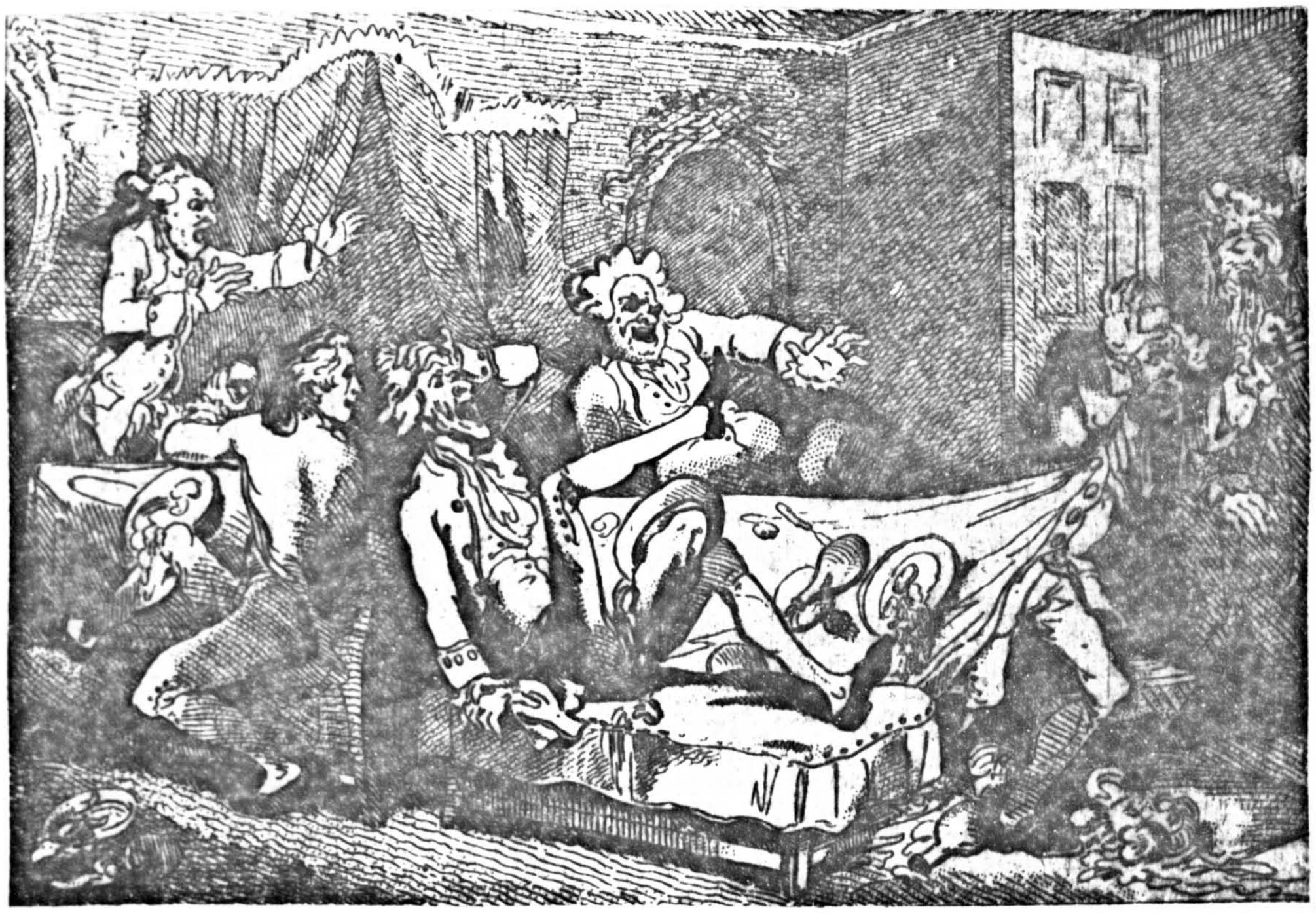


Pl.62. Hogarth
Calais Gate (1749)

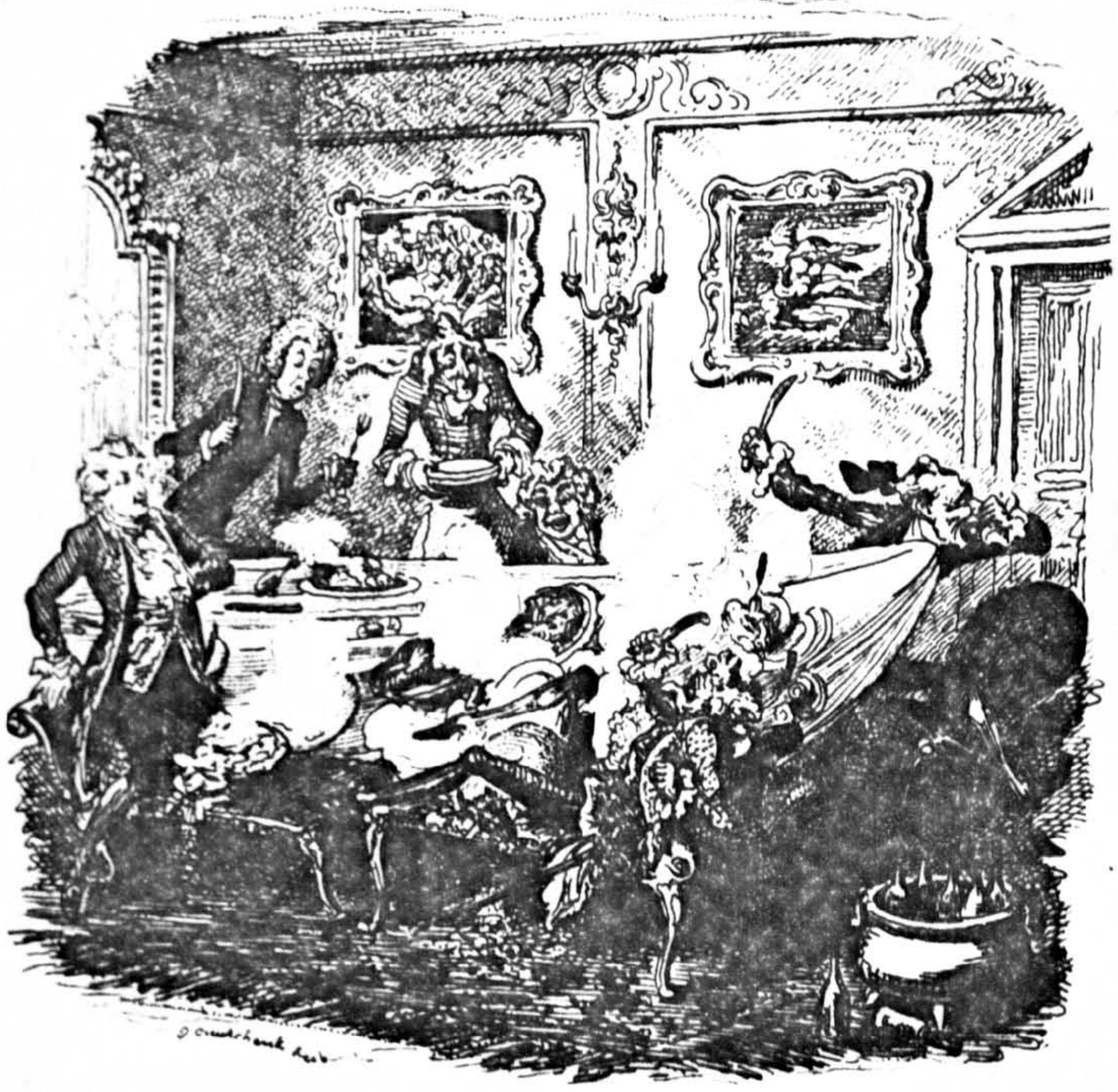
of Pallet in the Bastille.[44]

Generally however Smollett seems to have been more concerned with actions than with appearances, as I have suggested is the case with the first novel, but as there any moral conclusions we may be tempted to draw become hazy as actions, like appearances, are pushed to extremes. The episode of the feast after the manner of the ancients, shows how specific satire is entirely engulfed by humorous momentum as ridiculous circumstances pile one upon another, and the total situation becomes more important than any individual figure participating or any single satirical point being made. Thus in both Rowlandson's(Pl.63) and Cruikshank's (Pl.64) illustration of the feast, while the general design is very similar, the individual figures differ in detail. Exaggeration in Cruikshank takes the form of a customary thinness of figure, and in Rowlandson of an excess of vomit. In spite of these differences one suspects that Cruikshank must have been aware of the earlier illustration, as he repeats Rowlandson's visual addition to the Smollett text, where the Italian count, 'overwhelmed by the sow's stomach which bursting in the fall, discharged its contents upon his leg and thigh', grins 'with a most ghastly and horrible aspect'(p.239), because it lands rather higher up his leg than his thigh. However Cruikshank adds his own original twist in the two pictures hanging on the wall behind this scene of chaos. Although they may be felt as an aesthetic mistake which splits the attention of the 'reader' of the plate the pictures, showing Prometheus being devoured by the vulture and the Last Supper, a profane and a sacred pictorial

44 See R. Paulson, 'The Identity of Pallet', Studies in English Literature, 1964, pp.351-9.



Pl.63. Rowlandson (1796)



Pl.64. Cruikshank (1824)

reference to the processes of digestion, are a witty reflection on the scene below.

The three vignettes which come at the end of each section in the Points of Humour also form witty reflections on the episodes,[45] showing a typical Cruikshankian reduction of character to caricature, involving processes of de-humanisation popular with graphic satirists. They are all non-realistic, the point of each episode being put into symbolic terms. Two of the three use animal images, the vignette to The Duel showing a couple of asses kicking out at each other with their back legs, and that to The Dinner depicts pigs crowding round a trough of food. The vignette to The Consultation is the most elaborate showing the pangs of the gout-sufferer(Pl. 45), and this is developed from a hint in the novel where the colonel is described as waking from

> the tortures of hellfire, to which, in his dream, he fancied himself exposed: but this dreadful vision had been the result of that impression which was made upon his brain, by the intolerable anguish of his joints; so that, when he waked, the pain, instead of being allayed, was rather aggravated ... (p.375)

Cruikshank's vignette is a masterpiece of pricking pins and viciously pronged forks, and shows how carefully the artist must have read the novel.

The last Point of Humour illustrating the novel also shows those two 'original characters' involved in The Dinner. Entitled The Duel(Pl.65) it, like the other two Points of Humour, was illustrated by other artists as well, by Dodd and by Stothard both in 1784(Pls. 66 and 67). The broad difference between the

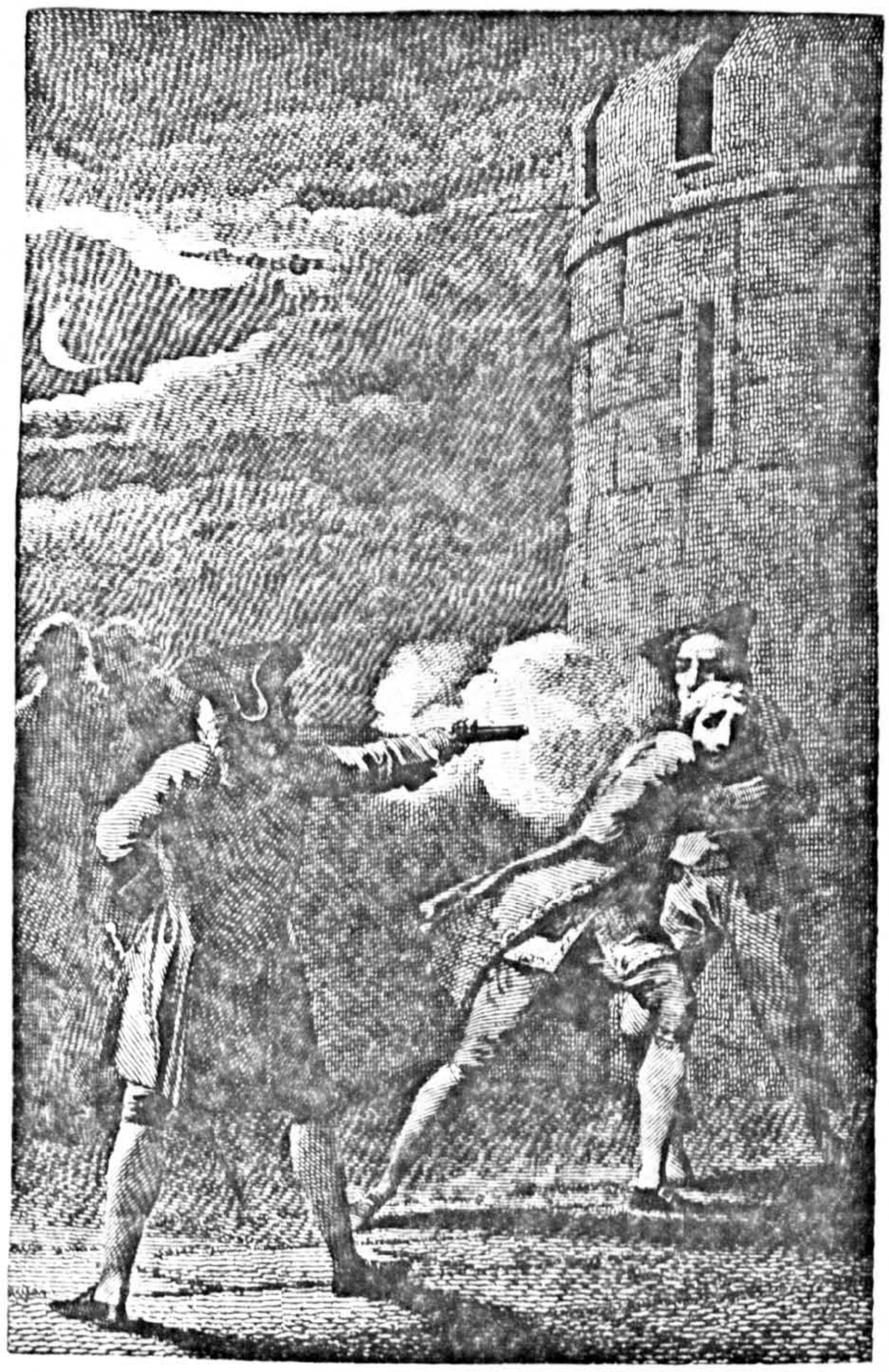
45 They might be compared to the very different vignettes to the German edition of Humphry Clinker, 1775, which transfers three episodes into baroque cherub imagery, see notes to HCl. See note 27 above.



Pl.65. Cruikshank (1824)



Pl.66. Dodd (1783)



Pl.67. Stothard (1784)

two earlier and the later illustration is that, in the eighteenth century, plates in novels were essentially for decoration, whereas after the age of the sheet caricature, they developed more into visual jokes, to which the humorous and episodic nature of Smollett's fiction lent itself. Therefore although Stothard and Dodd's illustrations(Pls. 66 and 67) refer to a humorous element in the novel, they are not themselves intrinsically funny.[46] This is achieved by Cruikshank not just in the situation, as is the case with The Dinner, but in the depiction of the two main figures. Smollett builds up the picture of Pallet by cumulative detail, progressing from surprise and concern through all the stages of 'disordered accent', 'beginning to shake', 'stammering with fear', 'teeth chattered', to the final 'universal trepidation of body'. This implies a time sequence and Cruikshank's equivalent for the exaggerated sequence of feelings is caricature: he emphasises the nerveless arms barely able to hold the assortment of weapons, the involuntary retreat from the attacker implicit in Pipes's attitude, and above all the details of the two opponents' facial expression, stance and physique. Pallet's fears were of the obvious physiological type often described by Smollett,[47] the doctor's were more difficult to

46 Comparison with other duelling illustrations to the novel exemplify this point. Allen's, of Pipes preventing the duel between Peregrine and Hatchway(Pl.68), is obviously serious, but Clennell's and Stothard's versions of the mock duel between Peregrine impersonating his father and the Commodore, is in neither plate the comic prank it is in the text(see Pls. 69 and 70).

47 Smollett's almost medical interest in physical reactions to emotional stimuli has been touched upon in the Roderick Random chapter. This occurs in a more developed form in Matt Bramble's physical response to emotional situations, but there are many examples in Peregrine Pickle. For example, there is Trunnion's reaction of fear at the apparition



Pl.68. Allen (1794)



Pl.70. Stothard (1781)



Pl.69. Clennell (1810)

render in visual terms as 'he was more intent on disguising them'. In Stothard's plate(Pl.67) they are not apparent at all. Cruikshank again, as with his Pallet, attempts a visual equivalent by making him physically a scrawny caricature, his stance ungainly and his command of weapons obviously uncertain, and the two illustrations by Stothard and by Cruikshank suggest totally different attitudes towards the novel, decorative reference against pictorial equivalent. The same broad distinction may be seen in the remaining illustrations involving Pallet, with his adventures at the masquerade. Here again Stothard in the Novelist's Magazine plate(Pl.71), and Gonord(Pl.72) because of his technical crudity, do no more than refer to the text, whereas Cruikshank (Pl.73) and Phiz(Pl.74), both make obvious the point that Pallet is a man in woman's clothes, Phiz doing this rather wittily by including the classical female nude in the background.

If Pallet and the doctor are the 'originals' of the second volume, and the character of a painter especially interesting to illustrators,[48] the 'originals' of the first are undoubtedly

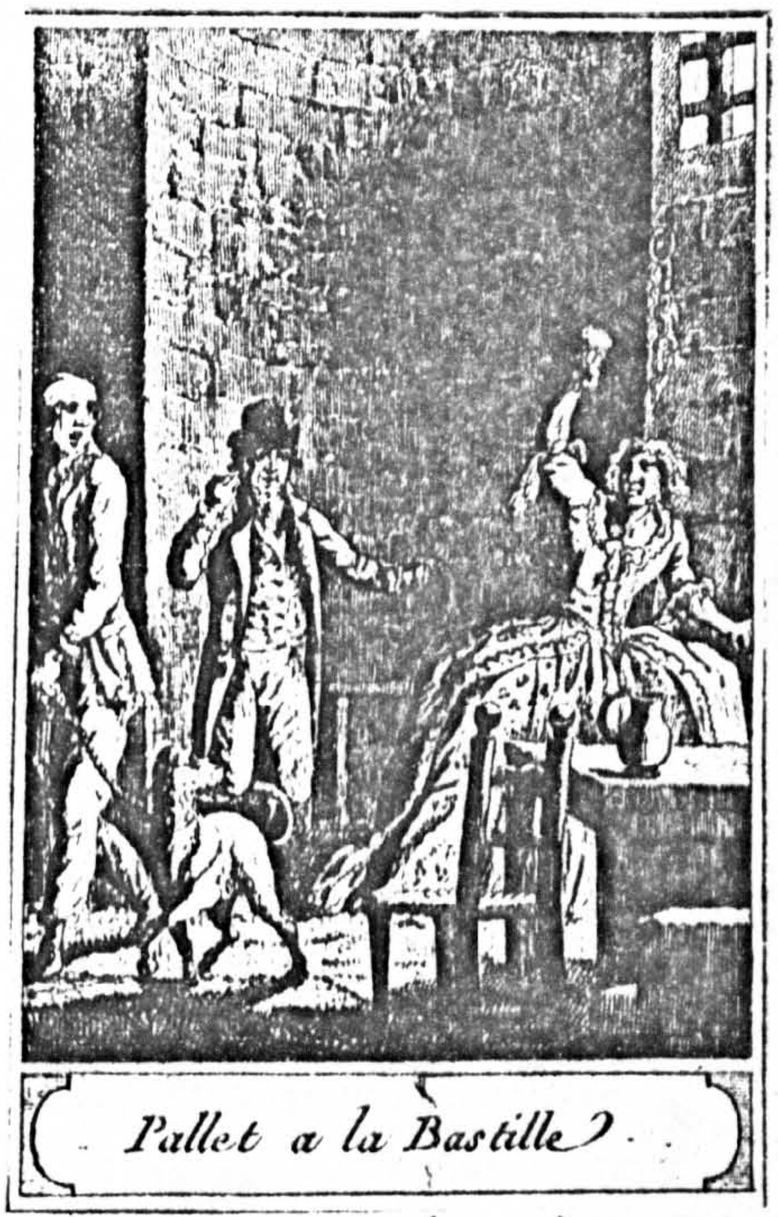
---

of Davy Jones(p.33), or Tunley's jealous rage(p.158). At the beginning of the novel this effect is used interestingly in the contrast between the 'choleric' characters of Trunnion and Hatchway and the 'phlegmatic' characters of Gamaliel Pickle and Pipes. But like Hogarth's abandoned attempt to follow his Marriage a la Mode with a complementary series called The Happy Marriage, Smollett seems to have found the phlegmatic characters unrewarding compared with characterisation of the eccentric and violent ones.

48 See Appendix II on Hayman and Pallet. There is also a most interesting illustration to the novel by Corbould, Peregrine Pickle, while in prison caricaturing the French Prince who ordered his confinement(Pl.75). Smollett himself does not use the word 'caricature' but the combination of Peregrine's vengeful motives and his graphic delineation of 'a ludicrous figure' make tacit parallels between the author's own working methods and his hero's artistic efforts. Corbould has emphasised the Francophobia by reference to Hogarth's plate England(1756), see Pl.76, which plays on national prejudice in the same way.



Pl.71. Stothard (1781)



Pl.72. Gonord (1799)



Pl.73. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.74. Phiz' (1857)



Pl.75. Corbould (1797)



Pl.76. Hogarth England (1756)

Trunnion and his cronies, among whom may be numbered his wife Mrs Grizzle. The first seven episodes in the novel which were illustrated all centre round the Commodore, the most popular being when, after the opening low-key chapters introducing the 'languor and vis inertiae' of Gamaliel Pickle senior, Trunnion bursts into the novel with his appearance 'every way answerable to the oddity of his character'(p.7). The scene at the inn attracted six illustrations which differ quite remarkably, of which the most interesting is that to the first illustrated edition of the novel, a design by Fuseli(Pl.77). He picks the moment when Hatchway parries a blow from Trunnion's crutch with his wooden leg as does Gonord(Pl.78), while the other four show slightly different moments. Woodward for example treats the situation in a quite neutral manner(Pl.79), by simply showing the entrance of Trunnion, Pipes and Hatchway and the reaction of Gamaliel Pickle, thus concentrating entirely on character rather than situation, which is also the case in the first design made by Stothard for the Novelist's Magazine series(Pl.80). In his later 1784 version(Pl.81) he increases the situational interest slightly by choosing the more dramatic moment when Hatchway reads out the offending newspaper article, while Clennell too illustrates the low-key drama of Trunnion's boasting about his naval exploits(Pl.83).

However apart from Woodward's, which concentrates like his Hogarthian Novelist plates for Roderick Random on character-isation, none of them has what Cruikshank would call either 'humour of situation' or 'eccentric characters'; or at least this is not apparent within the plates. Fuseli's design comes the closest to incorporating both these elements. His Trunnion is visually



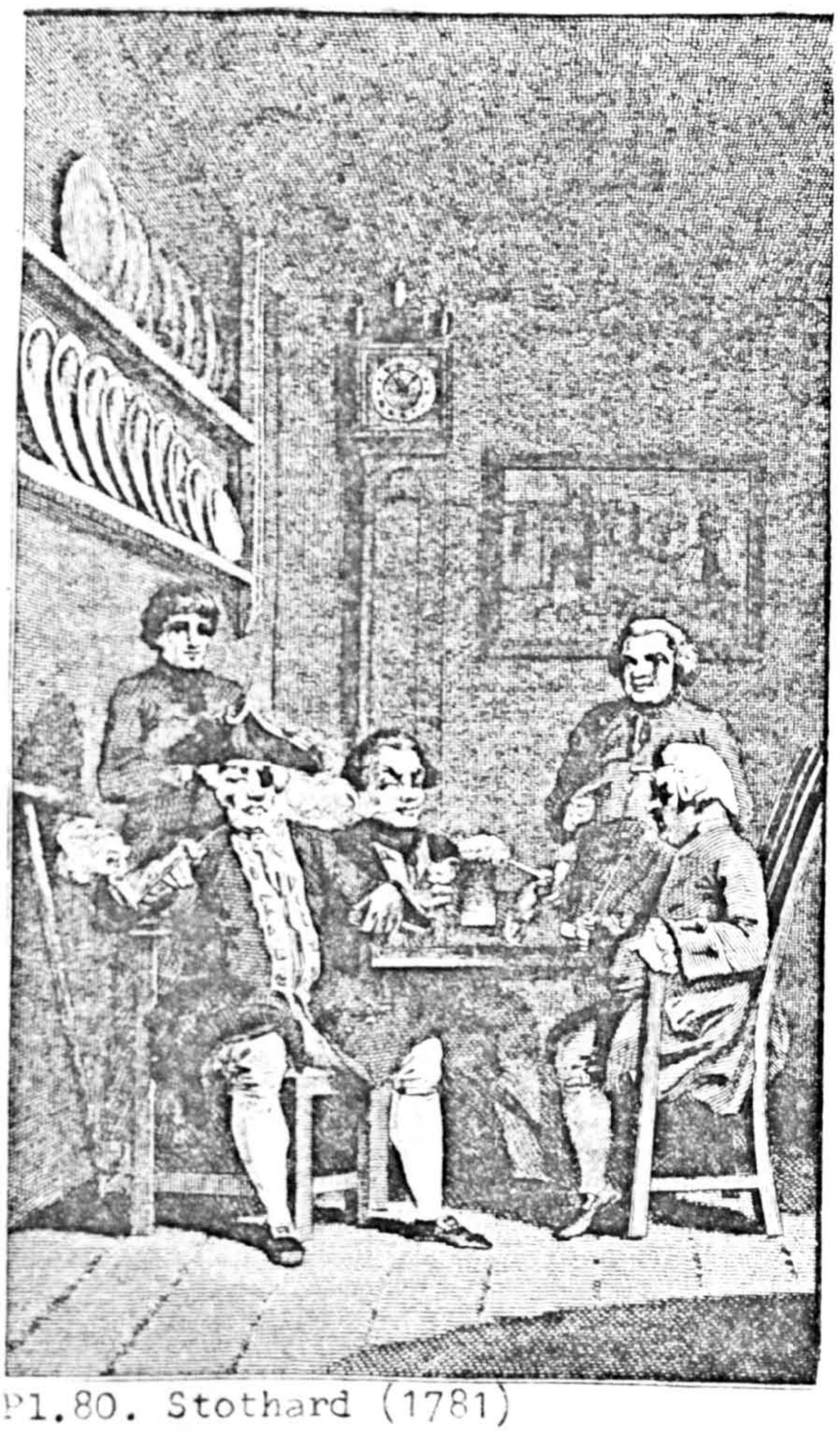
Pl.77. Fuseli (1769)



Pl.78. Gonord (1799)



Pl.79. Woodward (1805)



Pl.80. Stothard (1781)



Pl.81. Stothard (1784)



Pl.82. Hogarth frontispiece to Tristram Shandy (1759)



Pl.83. Clennell (1810)

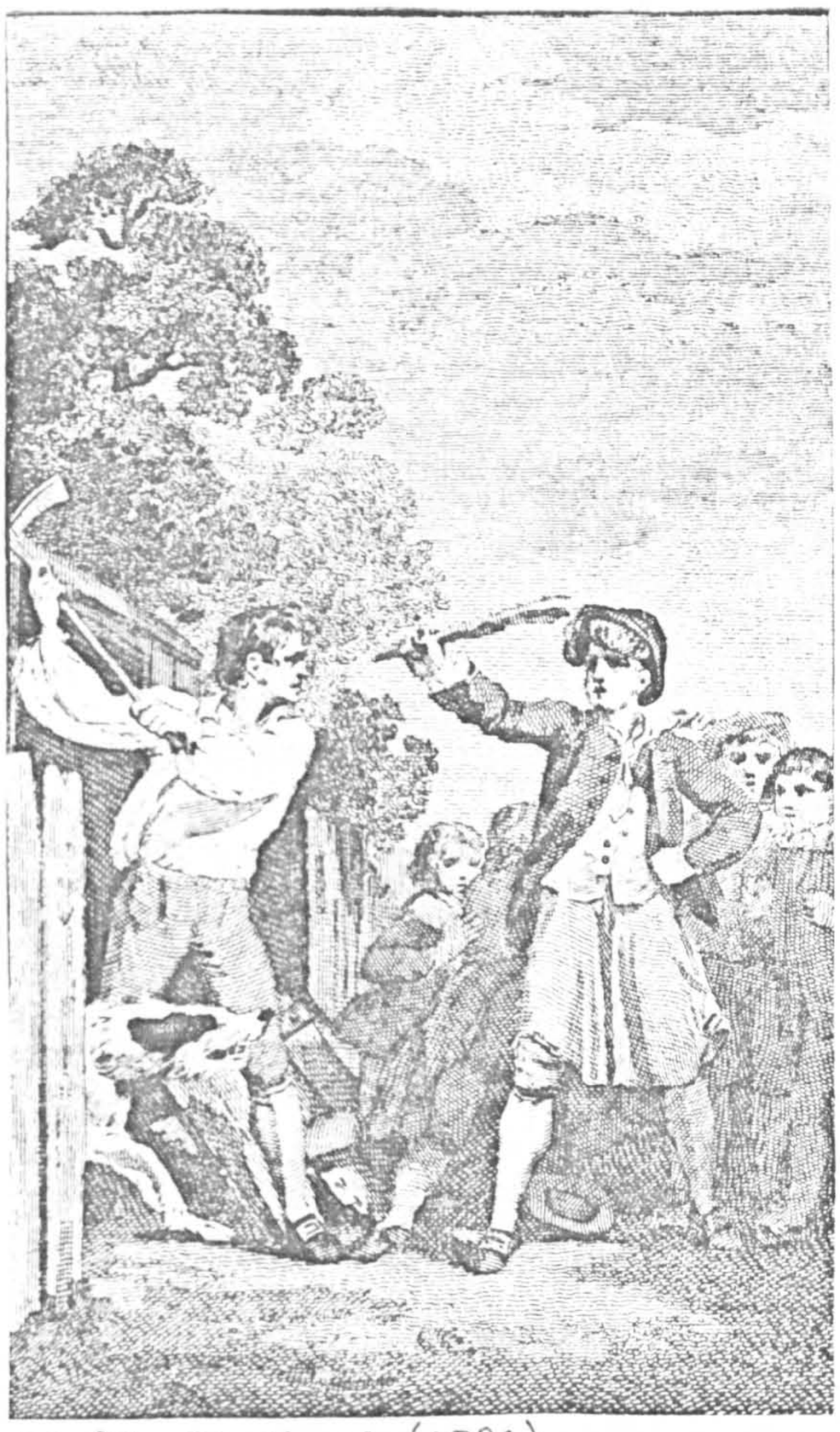
eccentric, with a single popping eye compared with Stothard's discreet patch, and much more in the spirit of the Smollett character whose 'aspect[was]rendered-hideous by a large scar across his nose,and a patch that covered the place of one eye' (p.7). Stothard's reaction to Smollett seems to be always to water down the violence of the original, as in his illustration of Pipes and the gardener's dog(Pl.84), where the plate is not in the least illustrative of the grisly details of the novel, with Pipes's head struck 'sheer even to the bone' and the dog strangled horribly so that 'his tongue lolled out of his jaws, the blood started from his eyes, and he swung a lifeless trunk'(p.86).

Fuseli's excellence in the tavern picture is reflected in the technical design of his plate. Where Woodward and Stothard tend to spread the figures along a horizontal line, leaving an empty space at the top of the plate even in Woodward's rectangular frame, Fuseli groups his figures in a rough circle, and by exaggerating the effects of perspective and drawing the whole group from a raised viewpoint manages to give the impression of energy only just confined within the frame. Stothard's two versions of the scene bear quite strong resemblances to Hogarth's illustration to Tristram Shandy(1759)(Pl.82), where Corporal Trim reads out the sermon to Tristram's father, Uncle Toby and Dr. Slop, and express a rather unSmollettian spirit of comfortable whimsy. The contrast between the Fuseli and Stothard type of design, characters per se as opposed to characters caught in action, is again evident in two illustrations of Mrs Grizzle beseeching Trunnion for three black hairs to satisfy Mrs Pickle's pregnant desires. While Corbould illustrates the beseeching(Pl.85),

Cruikshank chooses the actual moment of extraction with all the figures caricatured, even having the cast in Mrs Grizzle's eye literally magnified by her spectacles(Pl.86).

It is however the marriage or rather Trunnion's failure to make it to the church, that attracts the attention of the best illustrators of the novel, Rowlandson, Corbould, Cruikshank and Phiz. Corbould's is the usual rather wooden design(Pl.87), with a slight attempt at humour in the combination of Trunnion's naval dress and equine situation. The other three all draw Trunnion without his hat and wig, which 'by exhibiting his bald pate, and the natural extension of his lanthorn jaws, added to the peculiarity and extravagance of the whole'(p.39). For peculiarity and extravagance however Cruikshank's illustration (Pl.88) takes the prize. Choosing the moment when Trunnion leaps the hollow, 'to the unspeakable astonishment and terror of a waggoner who chanced to be underneath, and saw this phenomenon fly over his carriage', he adds the nice touch of framing the now far distant church beneath the airborne bridegroom. Smollett's description of Trunnion dwells on external physical details; the 'best coat of blue cloth, cut by a taylor of Ramsgate, and trimmed with five dozen of brass buttons, large and small', are minutely described along with the breeches, waistcoat, boots, belt, pistols and headgear of the Commodore(p.38). This emphasis on externals is further reinforced by constant reference to Trunnion as a 'picture', a 'figure', a 'spectacle', 'phenomenon', 'at all times an object of admiration; much more so on this occasion, when every singularity was aggravated by the circumstances of his dress and disaster'.

Cruikshank's equivalent for Smollett's de-personalisation



Pl.84. Stothard (1781)



Pl.85. Corbould (1794)



Pl.86. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.87. Corbould (1794)

is again extreme caricature. This may be seen by comparing the Trunnion plate with a very similar design, done some twenty years later, in illustration of Smedley's novel Frank Fairleigh(Pl.89).[49] The situation of the runaway horse is the same in both, but in the later novel the potential outcome is tragic rather than comic. The difference between the two illustrations lies partly in the two situations; there is something intrinsically funnier in a horse leaping over a waggoner than 'a dark and unfathomable chalkpit'. But even more it is in the contrast of the 'uncommon and eccentric' figure of the rider in one and the straight hero of the other. As in many other of the illustrations, interpretation of the episode by each artist is almost predictable. Corbould's wedding picture(Pl.87), is little more than an unexciting reference to the text, while Rowlandson's bucolic capers are attractively designed, in the framing device of the tree and the gate, and full of incidental humour in the expressions of both horse and rider(Pl.90). By comparison with Rowlandson, Cruikshank's plate is full of almost vindictive caricature, while Phiz, as in his other designs after Cruikshank, imitates the earlier artist but lacks his caricaturing approach(Pl.91).

As we have seen the majority of illustrations to the first volume of Peregrine Pickle concentrated on the Trunnion circle, and to the second volume on Pallet and his physician friend. Like the text itself with its long interpolation of Lady Vane's memoirs, illustration to the third volume is generally pretty undistinguished because the tone of the novel changes from good-

49 First published in Sharpe's London Magazine,1846-8, and in monthly parts illustrated by Cruikshank, 1849-50. Cruikshank's Trunnion is also very like his Gilpin, published a few years earlier(The Diverting History of John Gilpin, 1828).



Pl.88. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.89. Cruikshank plate from
Frank Fairlegh (1859)



'Commodore Trunnion & Lt. Hatchway engaged in a Fox-chace'.

Pl.90. Rowlandson (1796)



Pl 91. Phiz (1857)

natured diversion centring on eccentric characters to a more savagely punitive satire initiated by that 'odd character' Cadwallader and aimed at groups rather than individuals. Other elements of the third volume, such as the attempted rape of Emilia and the memoirs of the Lady of Quality, find their illustrators in Stothard, Clennell and Corbould, as one might expect. The one episode which attracts Rowlandson, Cruikshank and Fuseli is where Cadwallader assumes the disguise of a magician. Fuseli's version(Pl.92) is disappointing in its bad drawing, though this may have been partly the fault of the engraver. A letter to Lavater just after his arrival in Rome complains of 'bungling engravers' and his having lost 'the desire and perhaps also the ability to squeeze great thoughts and noble lines into the compass of three inches'.[50] The three best illustrations to this episode are by Rowlandson, Clennell and Cruikshank, and all resemble one another in design, probably because Smollett takes care to set the scene in detail:[51]

> this tenement being furnished with the apparatus of a magician, such as globes, telescopes, a magic lanthorn, a skeleton, a dried monkey ... [and] the conjuror sitting at a table, provided with pen, ink and paper, divers books and mathematical instruments, and a long white wand lying across the whole. He was habited in a black gown and fur-cap, and his countenance ... was improved by a thick beard white as snow, that reached to his middle, and upon each shoulder sat a prodigious large black cat which had been tutored for the purpose(p.553).

All the illustrations use some of the stage props, but Rowlandson (Pl.93) achieves the best effect by sheer crowding of the plate

50 Translated by H.A. Hammelmann in his article on Fuseli, The Book Collector, vol.6, 1957, p.352.

51 The description is repeated almost verbatim in chapter 22 of Sir Launcelot Greaves where Timothy Crabshaw visits a conjuror.



Pl.92. Fuseli (1769)



Pl.93. Rowlandson (1796)

even if it meant, a nice touch, putting the skeleton in the cupboard. Cruikshank, with a typical reductio ad animalem, manages to produce the most impressive cats and alligator, and like Fuseli picks the moment of most expressive action, the guilty flight of the pseudo-lady(Pl.94). With Clennell's version (Pl.95) the emphasis is on elegance rather than the exposure of hypocrisy or corruption. His female figure is, as we know from the text, in a state of guilty fear but she very closely resembles his figure of the astonished and angry Emilia when she first reads Pipes's letter(Pl.41). There is nothing actually within either Clennell illustration to indicate the very different tones of each episode, no visual difference between depicting the heroine's 'heart throb with rapturous expectation', and the reactions to the 'wizzard's art, which had almost frighted both mistress and maid into hysteric fits'(p.553).

The single most popular episode to volume four of Peregrine Pickle is the purchase of the gipsy girl, illustrated by six artists. Two of them pick a less central part of the story to illustrate: Woodward(Pl.96) shows a rare restraint in choosing the moment where Pipes 'arrived at the garison, where he delivered the letter and the lady to the lieutenant'(p.598), rather than the subsequent bathing of the beauty. Like all his other illustrations to this novel the design is a boring line of heavily etched figures. Stothard(Pl.97) chooses the 'after' rather than the 'before' scene where the metamorphosed gipsy, finding a 'real lady' cheating at cards, upbraids her 'with the appellations of b--- and w--- ... snapt her fingers, in testimony of disdain, and, as she quitted the room, applied her hand to that part which was the last of her that disappeared, inviting the company



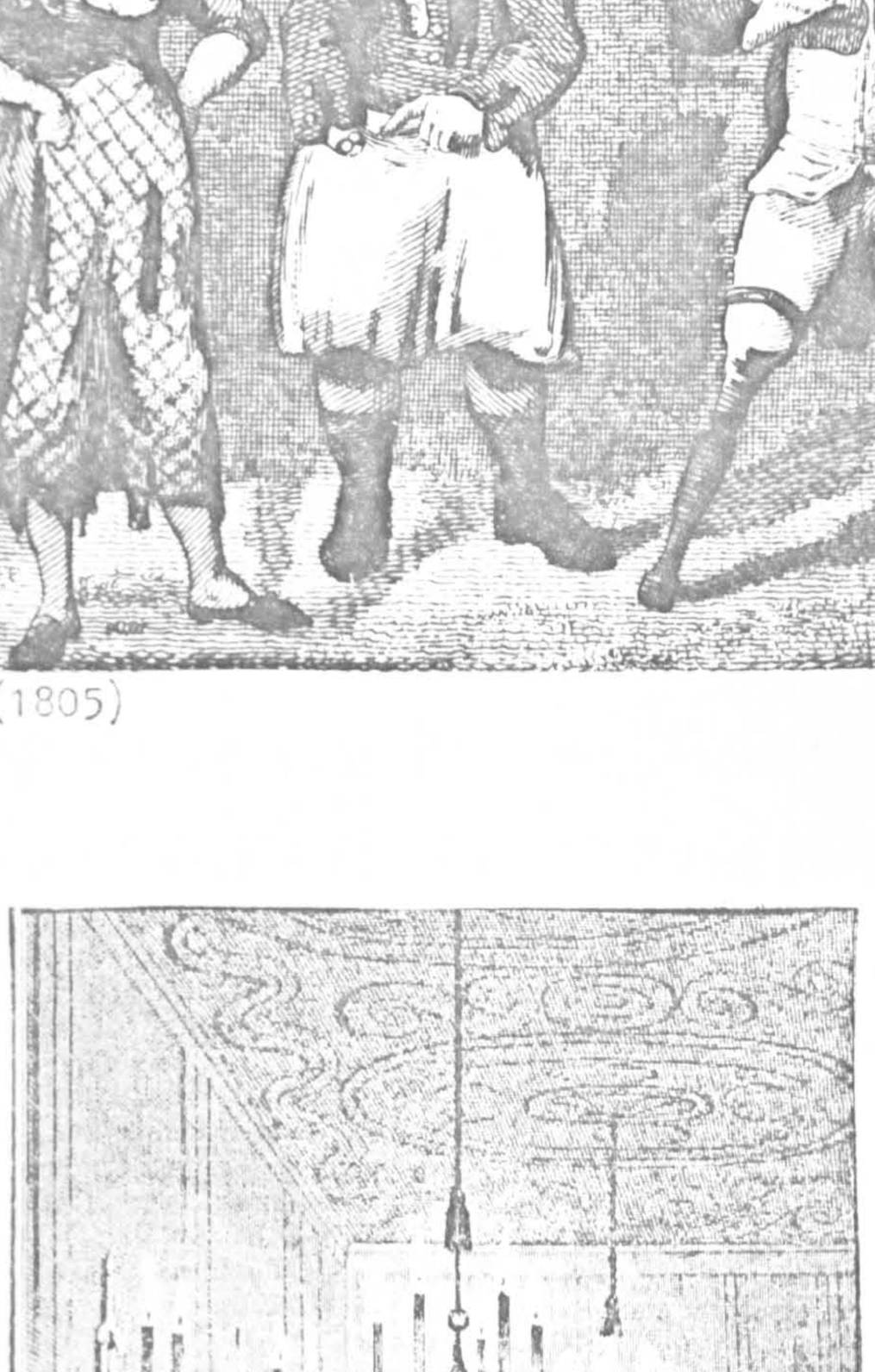
Pl.94. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.95. Clennell (1810)



Pl.96. Woodward (1805)



Pl.97. Stothard (1781)

to kiss it, by one of its coarsest denominations'(p.601). Stothard needless to say chooses the snapping of the fingers to illustrate rather than the later gesture, and it is a rather charming plate, as one might expect from this artist.

The other four, Fuseli, Corbould, Rowlandsón and Sargant, all show the cash transaction, a complex episode in its implicit criticism of Peregrine's selfish reaction to Emilia's resentment,

that 'he would seek consolation for the disdain of Emilia, in the possession of the first willing wench he should meet upon the road'(p.595), while at the same time it utilises Peregrine's other role of practical satirist, with his 'progress in the study of character, from the highest rank to the most humble station of life', and his discovery that 'the only essential difference in point of demeanor, is the form of an education, which the meanest capacity can acquire'(p.599).

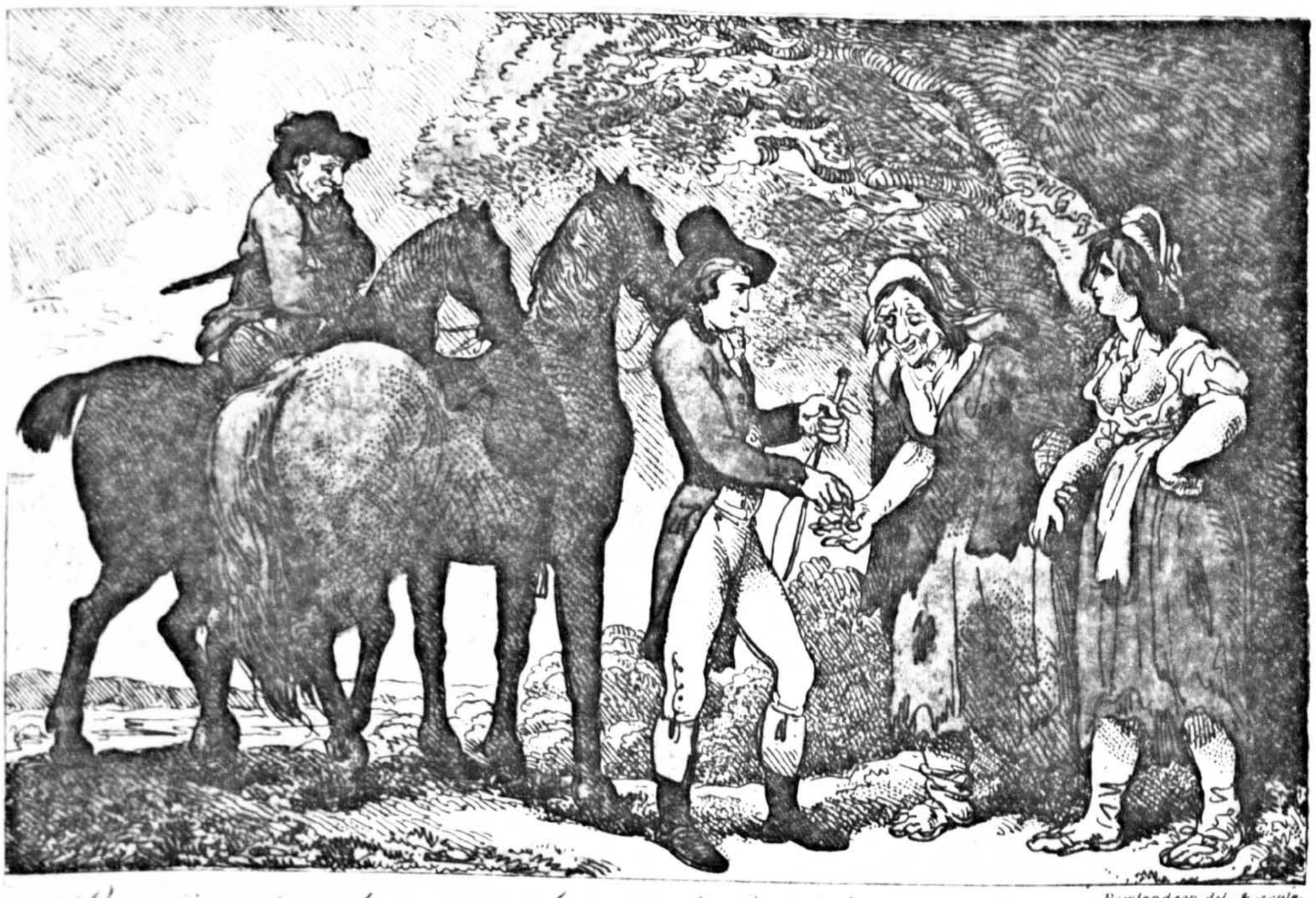
The thematic subtleties of the Pygmalion section are not susceptible to visual elucidation, apart from the simple point that the episode, amusing rather than sentimental, nevertheless has Peregrine as its chief actor rather than as the sardonic observer of situations of his own creation. The four designs are very similar, the main difference being in the amount of bosom displayed, Corbould(Pl.98) and Sargant(Pl.99) being discreet, Fuseli(Pl.100) a little daring, and Rowlandson(Pl.102) leaving little to the imagination. With facial expressions also the two politer illustrators show bland impassivity, while Rowlandson's pipes leers horribly, and Fuseli's beggar-woman expresses a gloating greed. But it is Fuseli's pictorial organisation which makes his design more attractive even than Rowlandson's. As in his frontispiece to volume one he overcomes the innate



Pl.98. Corbould (1794)



Pl.99. Sargant (1810)



Peregrine purchases a Gypsey Girl from her Mother.

Pl.102. Rowlandson (1796)

Pl. 100. Fuseli (1769)



C. Grignion Sculp.

THE

ADVENTURES

OF

Peregrine Pickle.

In which are included,

MEMOIRS

OF A

LADY OF QUALITY.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatorem, & veras hinc ducere voces.
HOR.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for R. BALDWIN, N°. 47. and ROBINSON, and ROBERTS, N°. 25. in Pater-noster-Row, and T. BECKET and T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCC LXIX.

Fl.101. Fuseli (1769) (variant edition)



THE

ADVENTURES

OF

Peregrine Pickle.

In which are included,

MEMOIRS

OF A

LADY OF QUALITY.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubeba
Doctum imitatorem, & veras hinc ducere voces. HOR.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for R. BALDWIN, No. 47. and ROBINSON and ROBERTS, No. 25. in Pater-noster-row; and T. BECKET and T. CADELL, in the Strand.
M DCC LXIX.

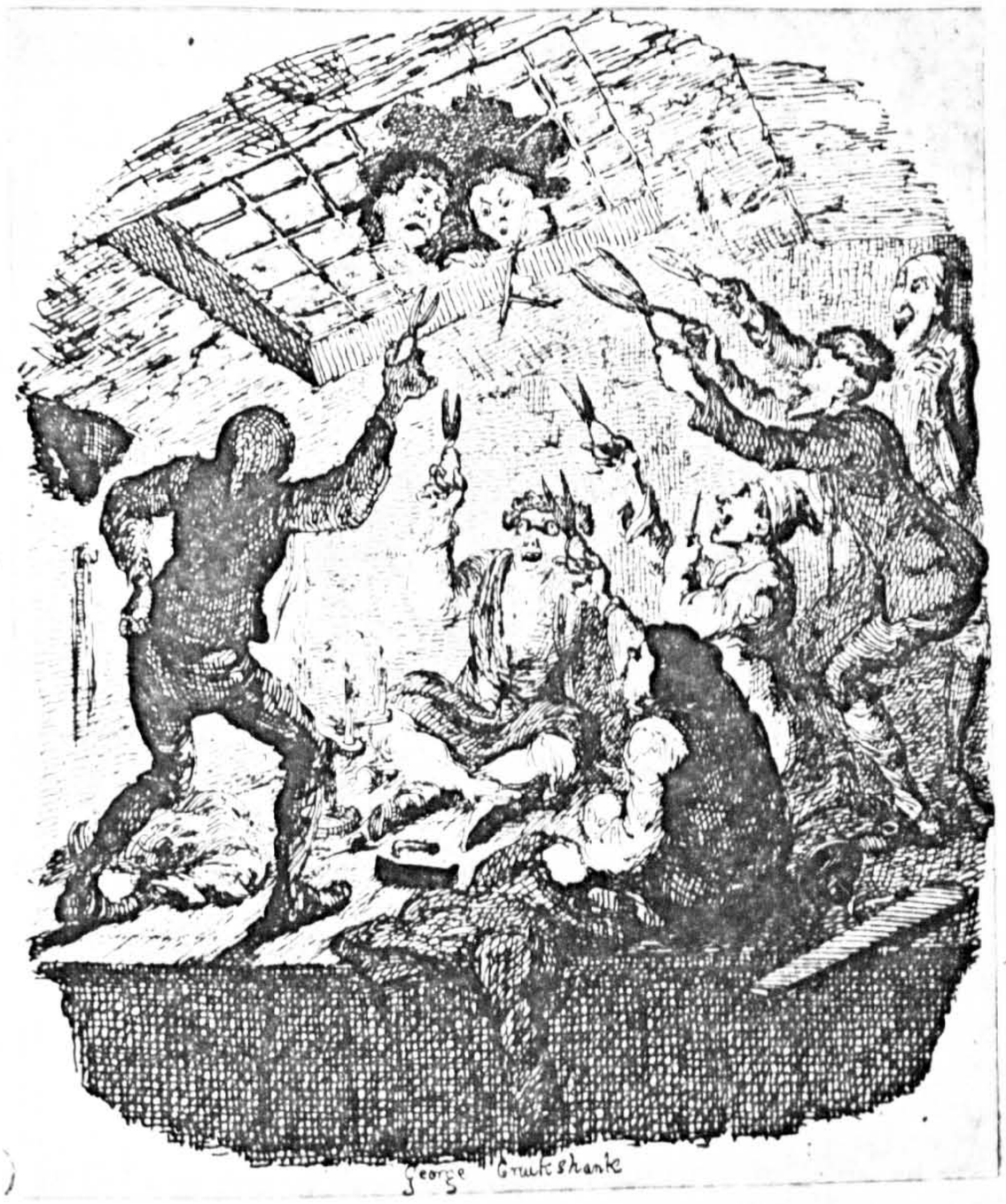
difficulties of the oblong, as opposed to the rectangular plate, by the vertical interest of the gipsy girl already mounted on the horse, and by the curving horse's head silhouetted against the sky and framed by the tree.

Discussion of the illustrations to Peregrine Pickle merely reinforces, pace Putney, one's impression of the episodic nature of the novel. The sections which Cruikshank chose for his Points of Humour do not suffer much from being extrapolated from the main body of the text, since characters and situations are striking on a local level. This may be seen again in Cruikshank's second set of illustrations, this time incorporated into a full text of the novel rather than just a series of plates, where his choice of episode shows a certain disproportion, including some of the pictorially most popular parts of the plot, such as Cadwallader as magician(Pl.94), or Trunnion's wedding ride(Pl.88), but also some very peripheral episodes such as Davy Jones(Pl.103) and The Tailors baffling the Bailiff(Pl.104). One is tempted to use the word 'disproportionate' merely because some episodes are illustrated more than others, although there is little in the text to indicate that one should be given more moral or thematic weight than any other.

A central facet of Cruikshank's skill as an illustrator was his power of visualising and crystalising a split second of significant action. He has no care, and neither I feel did Smollett, for any attempt to 'lay open all the springs which regulate ... the human heart'. His claim to have 'written' Ainsworth's Miser's Daughter, not to mention Oliver Twist, indicates that he considered that the basis and the largest part of literary creation was the visualisation of the single moment and that the



Pl.103. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.104. Cruikshank (1831)

rest was virtually automatic padding:

> I, the Artist, suggested to the Authors of these works the original idea, or subject, for them to write out - furnishing, at the same time, the principal characters and the scenes. And then, as the tale had to be produced in monthly parts, the Writer, or Author, and the Artist, had every month to arrange and settle what scenes, or subjects, and characters were to be introduced; and the Author had to weave in such scenes as I wished to represent, and sometimes I had to work out his suggestions. [52]

The last ungracious clause illustrates the Artist's dismissive attitude to Authors, even ones as accomplished as Dickens, who merely 'write out' or 'weave in' ideas, and it does show quite clearly Cruikshank's conception of the novel as a series of visualised scenes connected by plot only and revolving around 'principal characters'. This rather static conception is perhaps best paraphrased in Smollett's definition of the novel in the Dedication to Ferdinand Count Fathom as 'a large diffused picture, comprehending that characters of life, disposed in different groupes, and exhibited in various attitudes ... [with] a principal personage to attract the attention, unite the incidents, unwind the clue of the labyrinth, and at last close the scene ...' Cruikshank's theory and Smollett's practice show no great indication of a consciousness of overall thematic or aesthetic considerations. Thus Cruikshank became a brilliant illustrator of Smollett's work, appreciating its episodic virtues and unconcerned with what makes the novels a failure, the lack of a controlling structure.

52 In The Artist and the Author, pp.14-15.

CHAPTER III FERDINAND COUNT FATHOM

I

Illustrated editions of Ferdinand Count Fathom are something of a rarity. Every single illustrated edition produced, with the exception of one rare Italian version[1](FCF5) and one French edition for children(FCF8), which was produced in rather special circumstances[2], was in some way part of a series. Thus unlike Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom had no plates that characterized it iconographically in its early editions.

The first illustrations were Dodd's, for Wenman's Entertaining Museum series in 1780(FCF1), and then Stothard followed with plates for the Novelist's Magazine edition of 1782(FCF2). Similarly the dependable Corbould produced six designs for Cooke's Select Novels(FCF7), as did Clennell for the 1810 British Novelists series(FCF10).

This covers all the Ferdinand Count Fathom illustrations, except for Rowlandson's. He designed an unusually bad frontis-piece for the 1790 Miscellaneous Works(FCF4), picking the episode most popular with illustrators when the apparition of Monimia is seen in the church by Renaldo, and as a contrast in tone, one plate for the 1809 Miscellaneous Works(FCF9) of the comparatively

1 The only copy of the Italian translation which I have seen was the gift of Philip Hofer to Harvard Library. Its frontispieces are very obscure, at least to the reader limited to knowledge of the English original.

2 See note 16 below.

comic scene where Ferdinand and Wilhelmina are nearly caught in flagrante delicto. While Rowlandson did few designs for the novel Cruikshank did none at all. Like the Dublin Select Works of 1775, Roscoe's Novelist's Library collection entirely omitted the novel from its series, and it was ignored by the German and American illustrators whose work enlivened editions of the two earlier novels.

Generally, therefore, illustrated editions of Ferdinand Count Fathom were limited both in timespan, between 1780 and 1810, in subjects, the most frequently illustrated episode being Monimia in the church, and in scope, with all editions being as it were padding for relatively cheap series of 'classic novels'.

II

Although Ferdinand Count Fathom appeared very soon after Peregrine Pickle, it differs strikingly from the first two novels by Smollett, and not least in its illustrative history. Where Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle used eccentric characters and ludicrous situations for 'striking and humorous' effects, Ferdinand Count Fathom concentrates on psychological analysis and moral judgment. In the two early novels characters and situations are frequently justified solely for their comic effect, while in Ferdinand Count Fathom they are mostly subordinated to the moral pattern of the whole. Smollett seems to have been conscious that Ferdinand Count Fathom might not be so acceptable to the public, as the unusually tentative tone of the preface and early chapters shows:

> If I have not succeeded in my endeavours to unfold the mysteries of fraud, to instruct the ignorant, and entertain the vacant; if I have failed in my attempts to subject folly to ridicule, and vice to indignation; to rouse the

> spirit of mirth, wake the soul of compassion, and touch the secret springs that move the heart; I have at least, adorned virtue with honour and applause; branded iniquity with reproach and shame, and carefully avoided every hint or expression which could give umbrage to the most delicate reader. [3]

All the elements found in the prefaces to Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle are here, instruction, entertainment, ridicule and propriety, but the order in which they appear is different. In Roderick Random Smollett plans to be 'entertaining and universally improving'[4] while in Ferdinand Count Fathom he reverses this emphasis to 'instruct the ignorant, and entertain the vacant', a reversal which had a marked effect on illustration and also it would appear on the popularity of the novel, since there was no new edition after the first until 1771,[5] and no standard popular frontispieces like Hayman's to Roderick Random or Fuseli's to Peregrine Pickle.

I have suggested that the visual qualities in Roderick Random lay in the local physical caricatures of odd characters, such as Weazel, Crab, Lavement, Strap and others, towards whom the author had an ambiguous moral attitude, where in fact the notion of a moral attitude is largely irrelevant. This attitude is expressed in the Apologue where a painter sketches a 'conversation-piece' of a bear, an owl, a monkey and an ass, each distinguished 'by some emblem of human life'. What its creator intended as merely a 'whimsical group' is however misinterpreted as personal

3 From the Dedication to the novel, pp.3-4.

4 Preface to Roderick Random, see p. 13 above.

5 In a bibliographical note to his edition of the novel, D. Grant explains that 'a second edition was advertised in the London Chronicle in 1760, but there is no evidence that this ever appeared; and the edition of 1771 is generally accepted as the second edition'.

satire, its generalised humour mistaken for specific satiric or moral comment. An apparently similar analogue may be found in chapter ten of Ferdinand Count Fathom where Ferdinand observes that

> the sons of men preyed upon one another, and such was the end and condition of their being. Among the principal figures of life, he observed few or no characters that did not bear a strong analogy to the savage tyrants of the wood. One resembled a tyger in fury and rapaciousness; a second prowled about like an hungry wolf, seeking whom he might devour; a third acted the part of a jackall, in beating the bush for game to his voracious employer; and a fourth initated the wily fox, in practising a thousand crafty ambuscades for the destruction of the ignorant and unwary. (pp.40-1.)

These animals are most definitely not whimsical in any visual sense nor are they personal satires. Smollett is making a general point about the morality of the hero and of society. Indeed far from suggesting a physical equivalent, one of the features of Ferdinand, the 'wily fox', is that his 'person was agreeable ... and his manners ... engaging'. These contrasting forms of animal imagery reflect a contrast between Roderick Random and Ferdinand Count Fathom in characterisation generally.

The later novel is remarkably free of those grotesques so common in Roderick Random, except for the duenna of the brothel in Paris whose description recalls the earlier style:

> age had bent her into the form of a Turkish bow: her head was agitated by the palsy, like the leaf of the poplar-tree, her hair fell down in scanty parcels, as white as the driven snow: her face was not simply wrinkled, but ploughed into innumerable furrows: her jaws could not boast of one remaining tooth; one eye distilled a large quantity of rheum, by virtue of the fiery edge that surrounded it, the other was altogether extinguished, and she had lost her nose in the course of her ministration. The Delphic sibyl was but a type of this hoary matron, who by her figure might have been mistaken for the consort of chaos, or mother of time. (p.93)

As the author proceeds to tell us, this desdription is to form

'an agreeable contrast with the beauty and youth of the fair damsels

that wantoned in her train', that is, a visual contrast since there is no suggestion that there is any moral difference between them, and the detail of the description is, as is common with Smollett, pointless on any other than a visual level. There are other graphically described characters in the prison scene in chapter thirty-nine, but the most interesting in the novel perhaps is that of Sir Stentor Stile:

> a person habited in the exact uniform of an English jockey. His leathern cap, cut bob, fustian frock, flannel waistcoat, buff breeches, hunting-bbots and whip, were sufficient of themselves to furnish out a phaenomenon for the admixation of all Paris: but these peculafirities were rendered still more conspicous by the behaviour of the man who owned them ... exclaiming in a tone something less melodious than the cry of mackarel or live cod. 'By your leave, Gentlevolks, I hope there's no offence, in an honest plain Englishman's coming with money in his pocket, to taste a bit of your Vrench frigasee and ragooze.' (pp.100-1)

Here we have apparently an example of the eccentric Englishman, another Commodore Trunnion, but in fact far from being the down-to-earth English squire that he appears, Ferdinand later sees him 'dressed in the most fashionable manner, and behaving with all the overstrained politesse of a native Frenchman'(p.107).

Sir Stentor Stile is therefore an example of the deceiving nature of appearances, perhaps one of the few really surprising examples in all Smollett's fiction, since the experience of Trunnion, or Weazel, or Lismahago, tempts the reader to suspend moral judgment in the face of the eccentric original. The popularity with the reader of this kind of comic characterisation is evident in the only contemporary rewiew of Ferdinand Count Fathom, by Ralph Griffiths in the Monthly Review,[6] who quotes the Sir Stentor Stile episode at great length. But in Ferdinand

6 Monthly Review, vol. VIII, 1753, pp.203-14.

Count Fathom Smollett discourages any temporary suspension of judgment by constant authorial intervention, as when he remarks on 'Ferdinand's specious accomplishments'(p.40) and his determination 'to fascinate the judgment, rather than the eyes of his fellow-creatures, by a continual exercise of that gift of deceiving, with which he knew himself endued to an unrivalled degree'(p.41). To the same end, and perhaps more subtly, he sets up moral traps, such as the characterisation of Sir Stentor, for both the hero and for the reader.

By these direct and indirect means he attempts to condition our moral response to characters, and by incorporating a great deal of physiognomical deduction, mostly ironic, draws attention to the whole question of judging by appearances. The most obvious example of this is the heavy-handed speech of Don Diego to Fathom:

> Indeed, I was at first sight, prepossessed in your favour: for notwithstanding the mistakes which men daily commit in judging from appearances, there is something in the physiognomy of a stranger, from which one cannot help forming an opinion of his character and disposition. For once, my penetration hath not failed me; your behaviour justifies my decision, you have treated me with that sympathy and respect which none but the generous will pay to the unfortunate. I have trusted you accordingly. (pp.125-6)

Coming as it does after a tale illustrating the terrible results of mistaken appearances, with the extra twist that the two women only appear to have died, the reader is fully prepared for the sequel where Fathom runs off with Don Diego's jewels. This physiognomical trust is reversed in another episode where a moneylender addresses Renaldo:

> I pretend to have acquired by experience some skill in physiognomy; and tho' there are some faces so deeply disguised as to baffle all the penetration of our art, there are others, in which the heart appears with such nakedness of integrity, as at once to recommend it to our godd will. - I own your countenance prepossesses me in your favour. (p.226)

He then proposes a clause which effectually proves he does not trust Renaldo in the least. Time and again the deceiving nature of appearance is stressed, so that there is nothing in Ferdinand Count Fathom to match the simple amoral violence of Weazel's battle with Random, or Morgan's confrontation with Whiffle, or Trunnion 'on his way to get spliced'. Events in this novel always relate in some way to the underlying moral scheme.

Ferdinand Count Fathom is therefore not notable for having many of the caricature portraits typical of Roderick Random, nor does it contain the 'ludicrous situations' which form the visual stimulus for so many illustrations to Peregrine Pickle. Perhaps the nearest to the comic duel between Pallet and the physician in Peregrine Pickle illustrated by Cruikshank(Pl.65) is the pipesmoking battle between Minikin and Macleaver, illustrated in the French edition of the novel(Pl.112), or the episode illustrated by Dodd, The Swiss Challenges Count Fathom at his Lodgings(Pl.105). The comedy of the Peregrine Pickle duel lies in the fact that the reader is aware that each combatant is mortally afraid of the other, while each thinks that the other is full of courage. The situation in Ferdinand Count Fathom is rather different and more complex since we know that Ferdinand is a coward, as is the Swiss, but Ferdinand's knowledge of human psychology is such that 'this accurate observer discerned the trepidation of fear'(p.154) of his rival and was thus able to take advantage of him. The humour of the battle between two incompetents in Peregrine Pickle is its sole justification, while the point of the Ferdinand Count Fathom duel is to show Ferdinand's cunning in gaining a reputation for courage and skill, qualities he manifestly does not have. The first is by nature



Dodd del. Wells sc

The Swifs *challenges* Count Fathom
at his Lodgings.

Published as the Act directs 1st Sept.r 1780

Pl.105. Dodd (1780)



Dodd del. Cook Sc.

Wilhelmina *hiding* Count Fathom *in her Closet*

Published as the Act directs Sept.r 16. 1780.

Pl.106. Dodd (1780)



Pl.107. Rowlandson (1809)

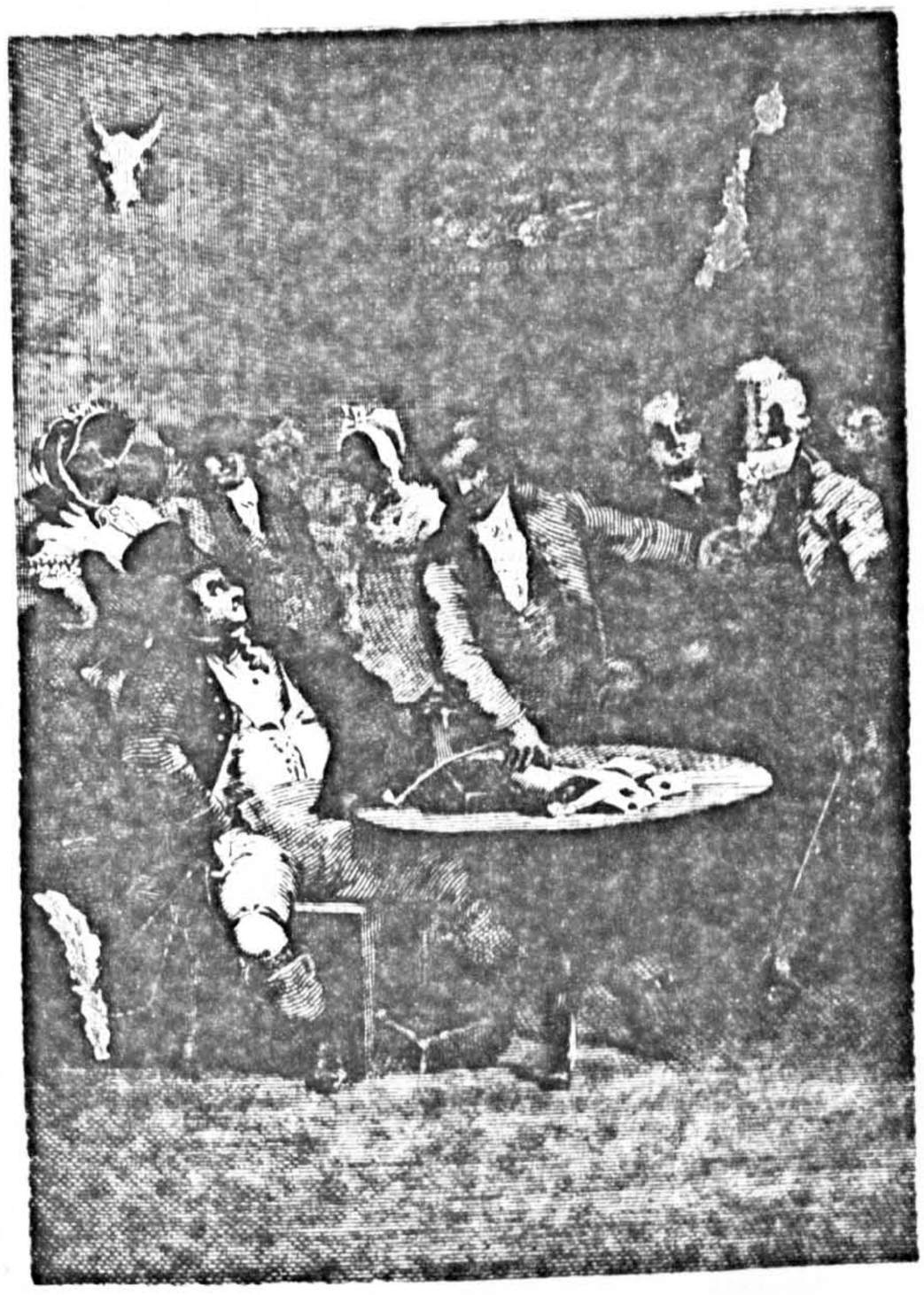
graphic, the second not so. Thus Dodd's illustration can do no more than direct the attention to the episode, just as his illustration Wilhelmina hiding Count Fathom in her Closet(Pl.106)[7] does no more than hint at the complexities of Ferdinand's relationships with that lady, not to mention her stepmother, which is all that Rowlandson, for all his superior technical skill, can do either in The Misery or Intriguing(Pl.107). Had Dodd chosen to depict the actual duel between Ferdinand and the Swiss he could have shown the latter in much the same way as Cruikshank drew Pallet or the physician, but he would then have had to depict Ferdinand as the cool hero.

One illustration to the novel where Ferdinand is drawn at his own face value is that by Clennell(Pl.108) to chapter fifty, where Ferdinand hopes to amaze the polite society of Tunbridge at finding 'a physician such a master in music', to widen his medical practice. Thus his ability to play 'masterly airs, in a tone so uncommonly expressive' is no more than the ruse of trying to insinuate himself into the good books of the public. This hypocrisy, somewhat strained even on Smollett's part, is impossible to delineate, and so the illustration remains at the level of reference. Neither the visual image, nor the sound of Ferdinand's playing, can possibly have any of the moral stigma which Smollett attaches to Ferdinand's motives. Another of Clennell's illustrations refers to a scene of hypocrisy, which is again impossible to transfer to the graphic medium, when Ferdinand gets mistaken

7 It is noteworthy that two out of three of Dodd's illustrations to the novel are comparatively comic, which is an unusual emphasis. This was possibly because Dodd had illustrated Roderick Random for the Novelist's Magazine edition only three months earlier(cf. RR18 and FCF1).



Pl.108. Clennell (1810)



Pl.109. Clennell (1810)

for the Young Pretender(Pl.109). This scene makes a topical dating reference, like the first chapters where the career of Ferdinand is set carefully in the context of European military history, and also allows the satiric exposure of the magistrate, part of Smollett's running battle in the novel with the injustice of the English judiciary system.[8] More important still is the ironic point that while Ferdinand is not actually the 'Young Pretender'[9] he most certainly is a 'pretender'. However none of these points is capable of visual elucidation, since the comedy is intellectual and verbal rather than physical or visual.

While all three novels describe severely warped characters, those in Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle are physically and behaviourally strange and only incidentally is a moral judgment made on them. Thus Captain Whiffle in Roderick Random exists primarily in contrast to Morgan, a contrast of appearance and behaviour rather than moral worth.[10] In Ferdinand Count Fathom the moral lines are strongly marked, as in the subsidiary characters of Sir Stentor Stile and the benevolent Jew Joshua. The contrast in Ferdinand Count Fathom is therefore between good characters and bad, rather than funny and serious. Similarly there are fewer scenes of violence in Ferdinand Count Fathom,

8 See letter to Alexander Hume Campbell re the Peter Gordon case: 'Did any part of this character come home to your own conscience? or did you resent it as a sarcasm levelled at the whole Bench without distinction? I take it for granted this must have been the origin of your enmity to me.' (Letters, p.25.)

9 In fact Ferdinand was some ten years older than the Young Pretender(b.1720).

10 Roderick Random, ch.34.

and these differ qualitatively from those in the earlier novels, as the contrasting duel scenes, in Peregrine Pickle between Pallet and the physician and in Ferdinand Count Fathom between Ferdinand and the Swiss soldier, show.

The famous scene in chapters 20 and 21 of Ferdinand Count Fathom where the hero finds a corpse in his lonely lodging, is a scene described very largely in terms of Ferdinand's psychological reactions. Although this episode is violent, it is in what Angus Ross calls the 'mediated narration of violence' [11] as the lengthy description of the tempestuous night and the lonely wood reflects the wildness of the hero's thoughts rather than violent external action. When he finds the corpse 'his heart began to palpitate, his hair to bristle up, and his knees to totter; his thoughts teemed with presages of death and destruction; his conscience rose up in judgment against him, and he underwent a severe paroxysm of dismay and distraction'(p.86). The physical manifestations of fear are found in both earlier novels, but the additional information about his thoughts and conscience is less common. Later in the novel Smollett attempts to combine the physical and the moral in Ferdinand's 'death-bed repentance'; but at this point he is more interested in the physical and the psychological, in 'the impulses of fear which is the most violent and interesting of all the passions', because they 'remain longer than any other upon the memory'.[12] Though equally as violent as scenes in Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle the internalising principle at work in this scene contrasts with the externalised psychological states of the earlier novels, which tends to make the later novel less graphic. The only

11 A.Ross, 'The "Show of Violence" in Smollett's Novels', The Yearbook of English Studies, vol.2, 1972, p.123.

12 Dedication to Ferdinand Count Fathom, p.3.

illustration to this scene by Luke Clennell(Pl.110)[13] is therefore atmospheric but not especially illuminating. In fact events which arouse the impulses of fear are, as every Gothic novelist knew, all the more striking for not being made explicit, which probably accounts for the lack of illustration to this scene, even though it was frequently praised, as by John Aikin when he calls it 'the best conceived, and most strongly worked-up scene of mere natural horror that I recollect'.[14]

By contrast there is only one section of the novel which begins to recall the comic grotesquerie of Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, the prison scene. Here again, like Roderick, Peregrine or Jery Melford, Ferdinand becomes the interested observer of an 'assemblage of rarities',[15] described in terms of physical caricature. There is Captain Minikin,

> a person equally remarkable for his extraordinary figure and address ... his stature amounted to five feet, his visage was long, meagre and weather-beaten, and his aspect, though not quite rueful, exhibited a certain formality ... There was also an evident singularity in his dress, which tho' intended as an improvement, appeared to be an extravagant exaggeration of the mode, and at once evinced him an original to the discerning eyes of our adventurer. (pp.182-3)

13 Corbould(Pl.111) illustrates a later point in the scene, when Ferdinand bids farewell to the 'hoary hag' ... 'after he had earnestly exhorted her to quit such an atrocious course of life'(p.89), but the plate could just as well refer to a son fondly leaving his old mother.

14 In the essay, 'On the pleasure derived from Objects of Terror', from Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose by J. and A.L. Aikin, p.126. Nathan Drake also praises this scene in his Literary Hours(1798), p.250: . "Smollett too, notwithstanding his peculiar propensity for burlesque and broad humour, has, in his Ferdinand Count Fathom, painted a scene of natural terror with astonishing effect; with such vigour of imagination indeed, and minuteness of detail, that the blood runs cold, and the hair stands erect from the impression.'

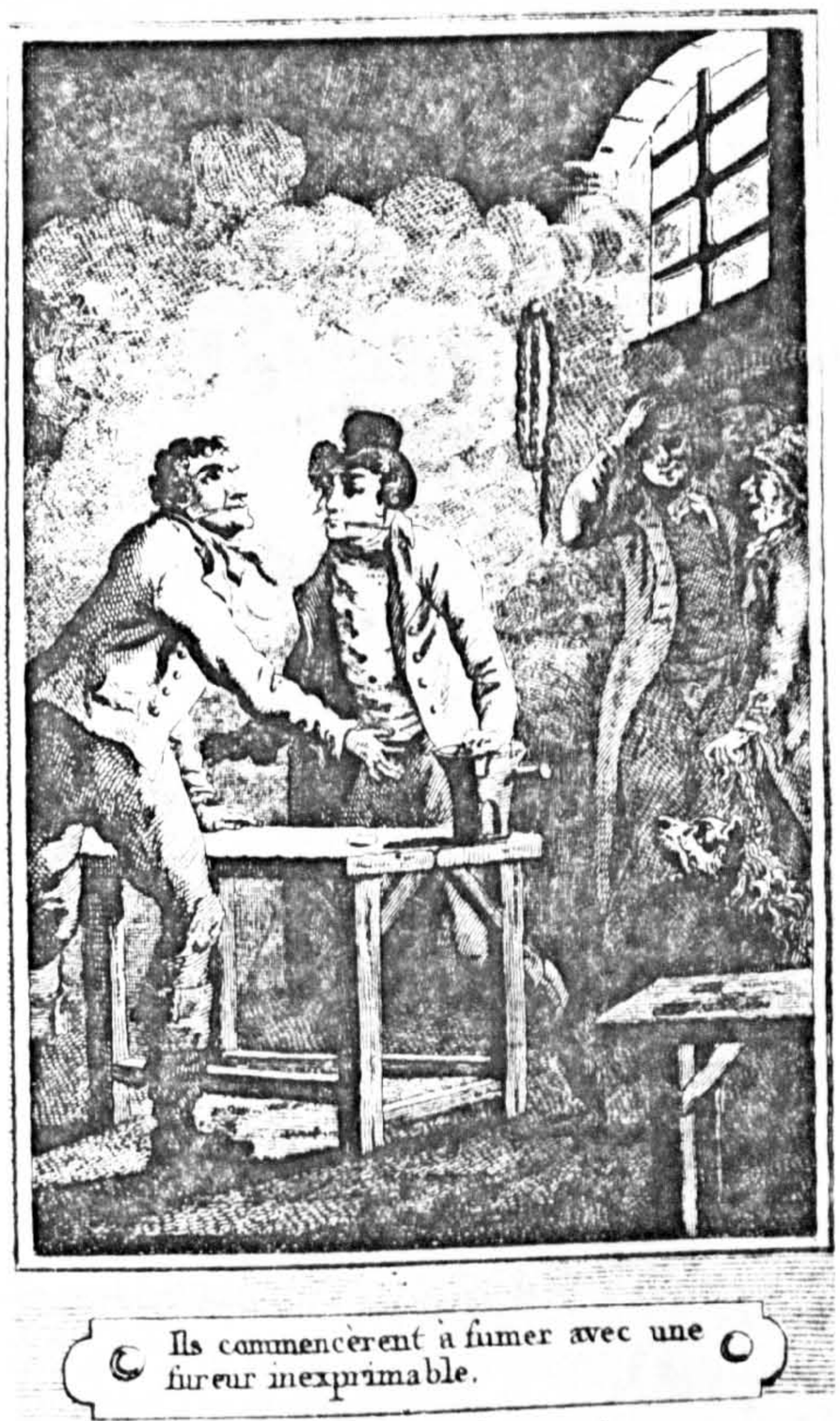
15 Ferdinand Count Fathom, p.190 . The phrase recalls groups in Humphry Clinker, such as the 'assemblage of originals' at Dr S ----'s house in Chelsea.



Pl.110. Clennell (1810)



Pl.111. Corbould (1795)



Pl.112. Legrand (1798)

There is also a 'French chevalier, an odd sort of a man, a kind of Lazarillo de Tormes, a Caricatura', and Sir Mungo Barebones, a 'remarkable object ... of a meagre habit, he was by indigence and hard study wore almost to the bone, and so bended towards the earth, that in walking, his body described at least 150 degrees of a circle'. This section of the novel also contains what Cruikshank would call a 'ludicrous situation' in the pipe-smoking duel between the tiny Minikin and the Herculean Macleaver. This comic battle is illustrated in a frontispiece to the French version of the novel(Pl.112),[16] but the physical caricature and the visual comedy of the disparity in size of the combatants is omitted.

The prison section is on the whole an isolated example somewhat at odds with the rest of the novel. Where Roderick Random was structured loosely on the travels of the hero, geographically and chronologically rather formless, and Peregrine Pickle on a similar plan but organised round the education of the hero, Ferdinand Count Fathom shows signs of an attempt to structure the novel in a more obvious way by the contrastive moral patterning of Ferdinand and Renaldo, in the careful historical context of the opening chapters, and in the counterpointing

16 E. Joliat, in Smollett et la France, pp.196-200, describes this version as less a translation and more a re-working of the novel in imitation of the popular children's book Sandford and Merton by Thomas Day. Like Ferdinand Count Fathom this had two characters brought up together, one of them good and one bad, although unlike Ferdinand Count Fathom it also had strong egalitarian overtones presumably appreciated at the time in France. The theme seems to have been a popular one in the nineties, with John Moore's Zeluco(1789) another self-conscious imitation of Ferdinand Count Fathom. The French translation changes the title to Fathom et Melvil, and the illustration, as befits a child's book, emphasises the comic side.

rather than the mere repetition of events. Ferdinand's five seductions for example are a progress in villainy, as Ronald Paulson has pointed out,[17] and Trebasi's 'death-bed repentance' attempts to prepare the reader in a schematic way for Renaldo's and Ferdinand's near-deaths and for Ferdinand's somewhat unrealistic repentance. The emphasis on structural patterning, while not always successful, means that there is less scope for the brilliant episodic vignette, and this combined with the substitution of moral and psychological analysis for the elaboration of comic action means that there are few scenes of the type that Cruikshank or Rowlandson frequently chose to illustrate. In fact neither of these artists illustrated the novel at all, except for a perfunctory Rowlandson frontispiece(Pl.113) to the 1790 Miscellaneous Works and a plate in 1809(Pl.107), and the omission is the more notable since Cruikshank did illustrate Sir Launcelot Greaves, a novel almost as unpopular.[18]

It is perhaps unfair to attack the novel for omitting things which were manifestly not its particular concern. There were other qualities which were appreciated by illustrators, but both the qualities and the illustrators are rather different from those discussed in previous chapters. Three elements in particular distinguish Ferdinand Count Fathom from its predecessors, the interest in psychology especially the psychology of fear already discussed; a foreign element which occasionally rises to

17 In Satire and the Novel in XVIIIth Century England, p.228.

18 Of the major 18th century novels, Rowlandson and Cruikshank chose not to illustrate any by Richardson or Jonathan Wild; and Cruikshank alone did a few perfunctory plates for Sir Launcelot Greaves and Amelia, as did Rowlandson for Ferdinand Count Fathom. Both illustrated one Sterne novel each, The Vicar of Wakefield, and all the other novels of Smollett and Fielding.

the exotic as in Don Diego's Persian disguise; and a supernatural element. These three, and especially the last, were the qualities which illustrators concentrated on. They were also the qualities which distinguished the Gothic novel, and it is therefore not surprising that illustrations to Ferdinand Count Fathom appear only between 1780 and 1810, the period of course when the popularity of the Gothic novel was at its height. The illustrations also all come in editions which are part of a series, and the inevitable inference is that Ferdinand Count Fathom was at no time considered a good enough novel to be re-issued with illustrations on its own merits. The bibliographical context in which we find Ferdinand Count Fathom is as a kind of passenger with other novels, in The Entertaining Museum(1780), the Novelist's Magazine(1782), Cooke's Select Novels(1795), and Mudford's British Novelists(1810).

If there is no one set of plates which has the relationship to the novel that the Hogarthian Novelist does to Roderick Random or Points of Humour does to Peregrine Pickle, there is however one scene which occurs in all sets of illustrations to the novel but one, the scene where the figure of Monimia appears to Renaldo in the church. The impetus to the novelist for this scene was the revival, in the seasons between 1750 and 1753, of The Mourning Bride by Congreve, with Garrick much acclaimed as the hero Osmyn.[19] The particular episode is where Osmyn's bride is mourning her husband's supposed death at her father-in-law's tomb when he suddenly appears, and it is somewhat complicated by the fact that Osmyn also supposes that Almeira is dead. Osmyn's speech

19 For a discussion of this, see C.L. Almirall, 'Smollett's Gothic: An Illustration' MLN.68, 1953, pp.408-10.

has close affinities with Renaldo's in tone:[20]

> Amazement and Illusion! Rivet me
> To Earth, and nail me, where I stand, ye Powers;
> Coming forward.
> That motionless, I may be still deceiv'd.
> Let me not stir, nor breath, lest I disolve
> That tender, lovely Form of painted Air
> So like Almeria. Ha! it sinks, it falls. (II.ii. 46-52)

In place of the single stage direction, the novelist fills in a whole series of actions and reactions for his hero:

> What passed within his mind on this occasion, is not easy to be described: all his faculties were swallowed up by those of seeing and of hearing: he had mechanically raised himself upon one knee, with his body advancing forwards; and in this attitude he gazed with a look, through which his soul seemed eager to escape ...
>
> At sight of these well-known features, seemingly improved with new celestial graces, the youth became a statue, expressing amazement, love, and awful adoration ... he heard the voice of his Monimia call Renaldo! Thrice he essayed to answer; as oft his tongue denied its office: his hair stood upright, and a cold vapour seemed to thrill through every nerve. This was not fear, but the infirmity of human nature, oppressed by the presence of a superior being. (p.324)

While the play makes reference to painting for clarification, the novel alludes fairly obviously to the theatre, in order to emphasise the visual side of the episode. The scene has been set in the novel in a shamelessly extravagant way using both psychological suggestion, 'his imagination began to be heated into an extasy of enthusiasm', and physical stage tricks, the 'solemn notes' of the organ which was 'the prelude to something strange and supernatural; and while he waited for the sequel, the place was suddenly illuminated'.

The earliest illustration is Dodd's(Pl.114) where the physical sense of a stage set is preserved, but gradually the 'strange and supernatural' element makes itself more apparent

20 The Mourning Bride, in The Complete Plays of William Congreve, ed. H. Davis, p.341.

Frontispiece to Vol. IV.



Ferdinando Count Fathom. Page 388.

Engraved for Smollett's Miscellaneous Works

Pl.113. Rowlandson (1790)



Dodd del. — Cook sc.

Renaldo *Surprised by* Monimia *in the* Church.

Published as the Act directs Oct^r 6. 1780.

Pl.114. Dodd (1780)



Pl.115. Stothard (1782)

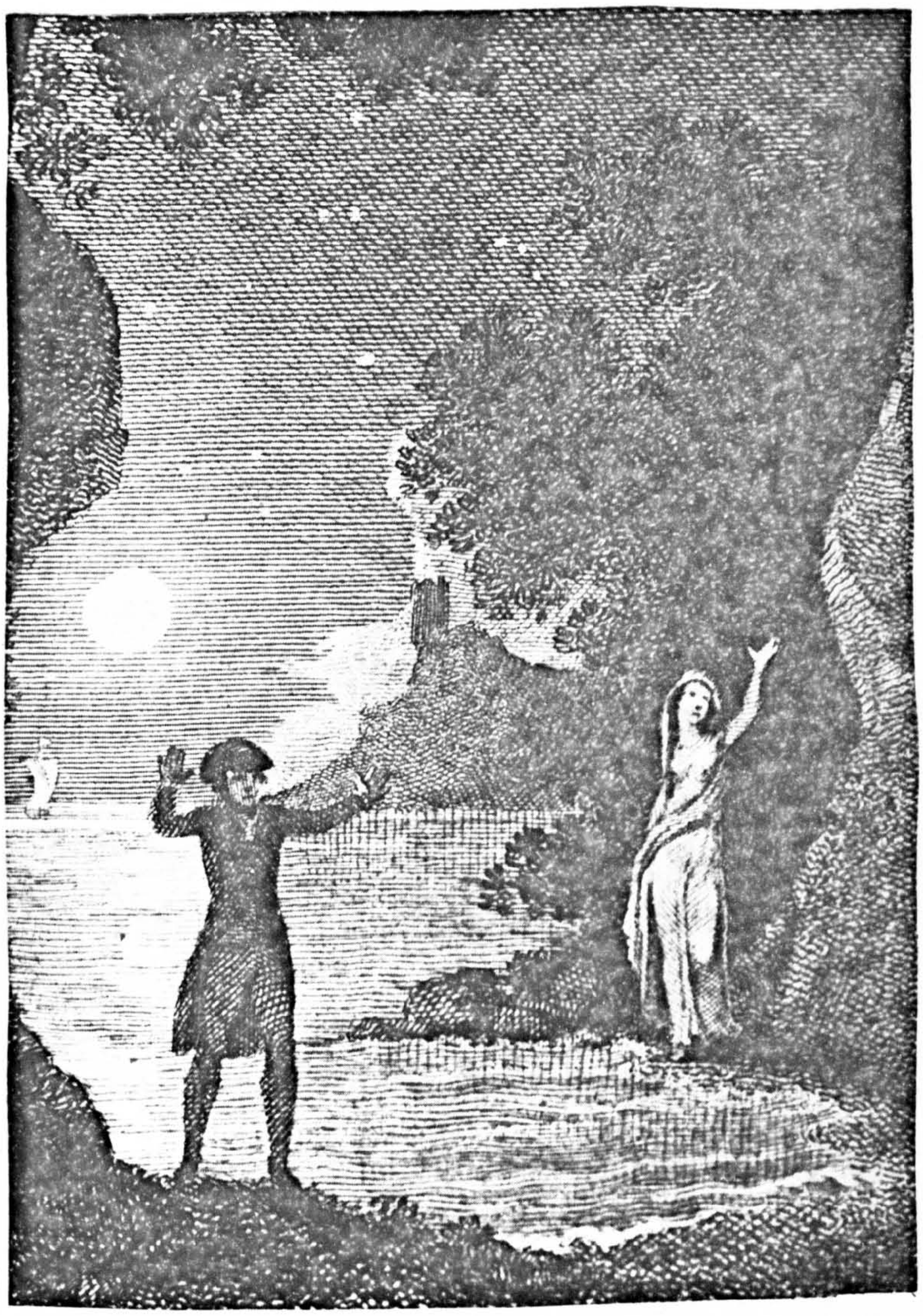


Pl.116. Corbould (1795)



Pl.117. Legrand (1798)

in the illustrations, evident most clearly in the architectural background and in the clothes of the heroine. The text merely notes 'a woman arrayed in white, with a veil that covered her face, and flowed down upon her back and shoulders,' and here Smollett is appealing to the visual sense since there is no reason except the visually symbolic why Monimia should so appear. In Dodd's illustration she is shown in normal day-dress with a veil, but with Stothard's(Pl.115), Rowlandson's(Pl.113), Corbould's (Pl.116) and the French edition(Pl.117), her clothes become ever more ethereal and flowing. The architecture too changes from the well-lit neo-classic setting of Dodd's illustration to ever more mysterious Gothic depths. The narrow dating range, 1780 to 1798, and the similarity in design between all the illustrations suggest two things. One is that Smollett had a very clear picture of the scene and that he took great care to communicate this to the reader, a point which the assumption that he had in mind a particular stage scene supports; and the other is that this type of scene was particularly attractive to illustrators in the eighties and nineties. This is supported by contemporary illustration to gothic works of literature, as in the frontispiece to Charles Andrew's poem The Spectre(1789)(Pl.118) where the hero sees the spectre of his supposedly dead mistress as he walks by moonlight near a dramatic coastline, or again later in Mrs Ker's Adeline St. Julian; or, The Midnight Hour(1800)(Pl.119) where the ghost is actually a phantom of the heroine's mother foully murdered but, as a contemporary review pointed out, 'it seems to be drawn from the life, and apparently is much better flesh and blood than the persons to whom it is supposed to appear'.[21] Both these resemble the Ferdinand Count Fathom



Pl.118. Frontispiece to
The Spectre (1789)



Pl.119. Frontispiece to
Adeline St.Julian (1800)

illustrations in the flowing robes and dramatic gesture of the heroine, and in the suggestive gloom of the context, and show that the argument over whether Ferdinand Count Fathom is a Gothic novel or not is a fairly academic one since this is certainly how it was interpreted by illustrators and presumably by readers as well.

This was not the first apparition in Smollett's fiction, since both Roderick Random and Commodore Trunnion are visited by them. Roderick and Strap see a 'monstrous overgrown raven' while spending a night at an inn on their way to London, but what little sense of the supernatural there might have been in the episode vanishes as the raven 'after giving us several severe dabbs with its beak through the blankets, hopped away',[22] and it is illustrated in a comic spirit by Cruikshank(Pl.120). The homely touch of the blankets rather interferes with the suspension of disbelief. Immediately following the raven comes another apparition also illustrated, this time by Corbould(Pl.121), of which the same is true: 'we perceived an old man enter the room, with a long white beard that reached to his middle; there was a certain wild peculiarity in his eyes and countenance, that did not savour of this world; and his dress consisted of a brown stuff coat, buttoned behind and at the wrists, with an odd-fashioned cap of the same stuff upon his head'(I. 95). What

---

21 Monthly Review, vol.33, 1800, p.103. The popularity of the apparition in late 18th century literature is implicit in Nathan Drake's appreciation of 'the apparitions of Shakespeare[that] are to this day highly pleasing, striking, and sublime'(Literary Hours, 1st edition, 1798, section 6 'On Gothic Superstition'). See also note 14 above. Gillray's print Tales of Wonder(1802, reproduced in D.M. George's Hogarth to Cruikshank) satirises the fashionable urge for scaring oneself half to death.

22 Roderick Random, vol.1, ch.13, p.95.



Pl.120. Cruikshank (1831)



Pl.121. Corbould (1793)

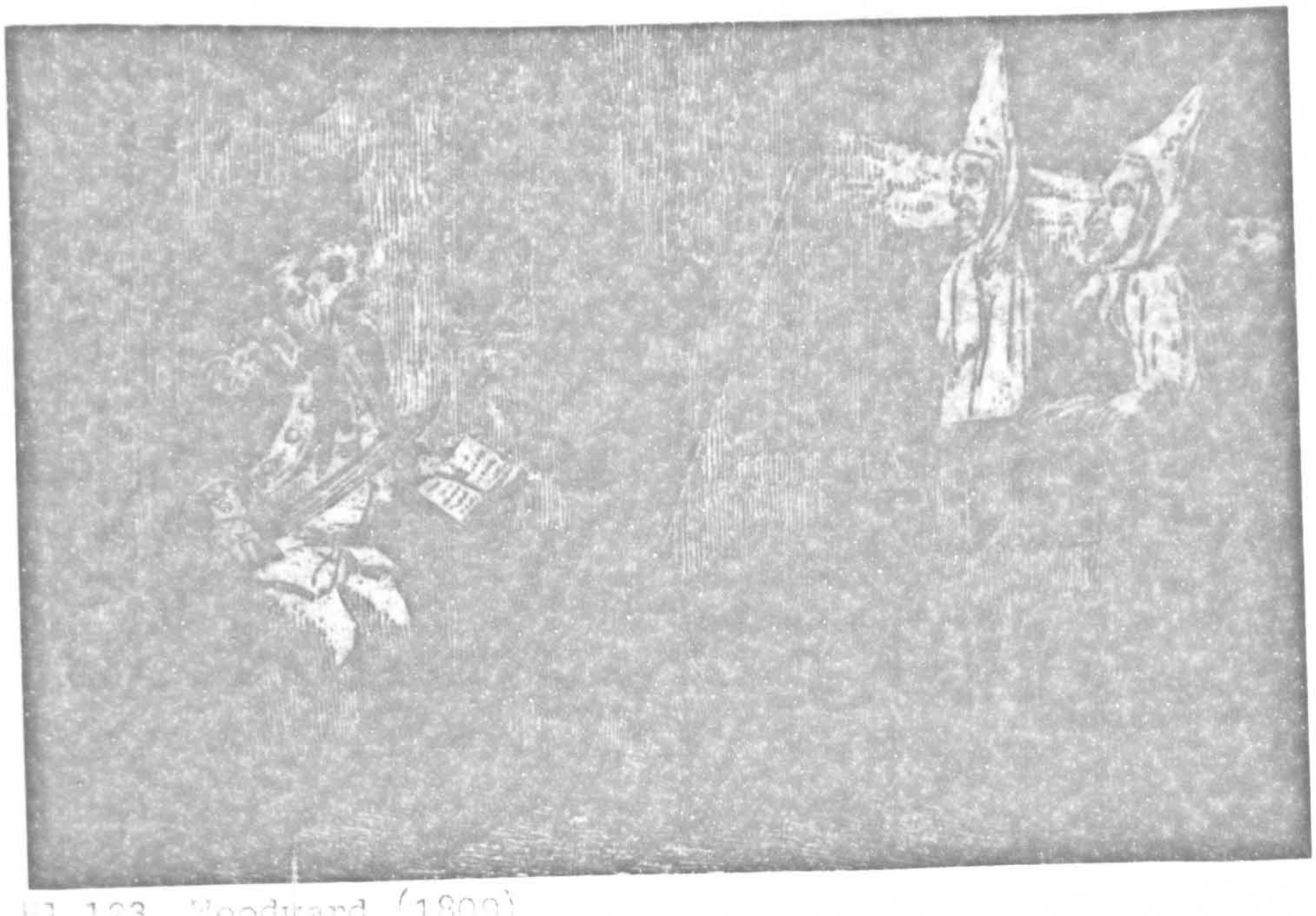


Pl.122. Uwins (1815)

little mystery there is in the wild peculiarity of the old man is swiftly dispelled by the details of clothes and the wisdom of describing Monimia as merely 'arrayed in white' becomes apparent. There is something of a contrast in tone between Renaldo's reactions to the phantom with Strap's comic reaction, 'he jumped into bed behind me, where he lay and trembled with great violence' and proceeds to have 'a fit, which, however, did not last long'. In Peregrine Pickle too there is an apparition of Davy Jones,[23] 'a hideous phantom vomiting blue flame, which aggravated the horrors of its aspect', but we have already been given instructions as to how it was erected and, since we know that it is just another of Peregrine's pranks, we hardly identify with the commodore's fears. This episode is illustrated by Cruikshank(Pl.103), who seems to have favoured the ludicrous potential of comic apparitions, and also by Thomas Uwins in an 1815 edition of Peregrine Pickle(Pl.122). A prank is again behind the episode with the superstitious Captain Crowe in Sir Launcelot Greaves, where he spends the night in church in 'pious meditation' as a preparation for a career in knight-errantry and is visited by 'a terrible apparition[which] no sooner saluted his view than his hair bristled up, his knees began to knock and his teeth to chatter'. In both illustrations of this episode, by Woodward(Pl.123), and by Corbould(Pl.124), there is innate humour in the fact that the phantoms are so obviously far from being the 'babes of hell' that they are in Captain Crowe's eyes.[24]

23 Peregrine Pickle, ch.15, p.71.

24 Sir Launcelot Greaves, chs. 6-7.



Fl.123. Woodyard (1809)



Fl.124. Corbould (1793)

The serious episode in Ferdinand Count Fathom contrasts with these comic ones in various ways, in the absence of homely detail, in the elevation of the style and in the attempted suspense in Ferdinand Count Fathom over whether the phantom is real or imaginary. In all the comic apparition scenes the rational explanation is given before or at the same time as the event, and only Strap, Trunnion or Crowe is ignorant of the real explanation, so that their exaggerated fears are comic. In Ferdinand Count Fathom the reader is a participant rather than an observer since, like Renaldo, he too is in doubt about the reality of the phantom, whereas in Sir Launcelot Greaves he already knows that Ferret and Clarke have 'borrowed a couple of sheets from the landlady'. Similarly while both Captain Crowe and Renaldo's hair stands on end, the Captain's knees also begin to knock and his teeth to chatter as well. Just in case we should find Renaldo's reactions amusing Smollett adds that this was not due to fear 'but the infirmity of human nature, oppressed by the presence of a superior being'. In all these ways but particularly by the spectator/participant device Smollett distinguishes the comic from the serious and in comic illustration this becomes transmuted into a caricature of both the phantom and of the character to whom it appears.

The remaining illustrations to Ferdinand Count Fathom fall into the 'foreign exotic' category, dealing with Ferdinand's mother, Don Diego, and Count Trebasi. Smollett describes Ferdinand's mother in mock-heroic terms, in her career as a camp whore for example ' to every son of Mars who cultivated her favour, she liberally dispensed her smiles, in order to sweeten the toils and dangers of the field'(p.7), and her military

scavenging is described as resembling a 'modern amazon; who, in point of courage, was not inferior to Semiramis, Tomyris, Zenobia, Thalestris, or any boasted heroine of antient times'(p.16). This mocking tone is impossible to translate into visual terms and so the illustrations have to choose to concentrate on either the heroic or the mock. The French edition frontispiece(Pl.125), as befits a tale for children, shows the comic suckling of the infant Ferdinand with the gin which his mother 'so cordially distributed'. Expressive in its way, it cannot convey properly the tone of the episode:

> As the occupations of his mother would not conveniently permit her to suckle this her first-born at her own breast, and those happy ages were now no more, in which the charge of nursing a child might be left to the next goat or she-wolf ... (p.9)

And Richard Corbould, in a delicate vignette of the same episode, entirely avoids any attempt at comic characterisation(Pl.126). The other three illustrations of Ferdinand's mother are all melodramatic, more or less, and all of them are battle scenes. Clennell's(Pl.127) is a plain figure study of the heroine as 'she began to traverse the field of battle with a poignard and a bag, in order to consult her own interest, annoy the foe, and exercise her humanity at the same time' by stalking about the field 'like another Atropos, finishing, wherever she came, the work of death'. Kirk's(Pl.128) is also a fairly simple study of 'Mrs Fathom, attempting to murder the Hussar Officer', dramatically using the low horizon, popular in fashionable portrait painting of the time, which silhouettes the figure against the sky and emphasises the quality of evil. It is the only design in Cooke's edition of the novel which is described as 'Painted by T.Kirk', all the rest being signed 'Drawn by



Elle l'appaisoit à l'aide d'un tuyau long et flexible qui, du baril, communiquoit à ses levres.

Pl.125. Legrand (1798)

COUNT FATHOM,

Vol. I. forming part of

Cooke's Pocket Edition of

SELECT NOVELS,

(or Novelists' Entertaining Library

containing a Complete Collection of

Universally Approved

Histories, Adventures, Tales, &c. by the most

Esteemed Authors.



Pl.126. Corbould (1800)



Pl.127. Clennell (1810)



Pl.128. Kirk (1795)



Pl.129. Stothard (1782)



Pl.130. Stothard (1782)

R. Corbould', and since Kirk exhibited a number of pictures illustrating the popular works of fiction at the Royal Academy in 1795, it would seem likely that this may have been one of them.[25] Stothard's(Pl.129) is a spirited illustration, with fluttering flags and rearing horses, and in addition has the exotic touch of the Turkish aga, an element of costume drama that the three illustrations of Don Diego all exploit more or less(Pls. 130-132). These late 18th century versions of Spanish/ Persian dress are complemented by the foreign architecture in the illustrations of the Austrian castle of Count Trebasi(Pls. 133 and 134), as if to emphasise the un-Englishness of those who attempt to poison or incarcerate their wives.[26]

Cooke's edition has two more plates of episodes not illustrated by any one else but dealing with an important dimension of the novel, the moral and spiritual. The first shows the nadir of Ferdinand's career of villainy when he attempts to 'violate the chastity' of Monimia. Peregrine Pickle too might be said to have violated the chastity of many young ladies, as in the scene illustrated by Corbould, The Capuchin reproving Peregrine, for his attempt to violate the chastity of Amanda(Pl.135), but here the monk and Amanda are equally as culpable as Peregrine, so, like Ferdinand's attempt on Wilhelmina's virtue(Pls. 106 and 107), the episode remains a satirical rather than a moral

25 Noted by M. Pointon in Milton and English Art, p.85. I can find no trace of the particular painting in the R.A. catalogues for the period, but the titles are extremely general.

26 See also T.O. Treadwell's 'The Two Worlds of Ferdinand Count Fathom', in Tobias Smollett. Bicentennial Essays Presented to Lewis M.Knapp, ed. G.S. Rousseau and P.-G.Boucé, pp.131-53.



Pl.131. Legrand (1798)



Pl.133. Stothard (1782)



Pl.132. Corbould (1795)



Pl.134. Clennell (1810)

exemplum. A closer analogy would be with Peregrine's attempt to rape Emilia, where the situation is similar to that in Ferdinand Count Fathom. The artful hero tries to inflame the blood of the heroine, takes her to a strange house, and after passionate lovemaking fails to work, 'began to obey the furious dictates of his unruly and ungenerous desire'. But Emilia is a different kind of heroine from Monimia: she is described as virtuous, delicate and tender but also as sensible and with 'too much penetration to be imposed upon by this plausible pretext', so she repulses him with a fiery speech and 'with a most majestic severity of aspect, she opened the door, and walked down stairs with surprising resolution, committed herself to the care of a watchman, who accomodated her with a hackney-chair, in which she was safely conveyed to her uncle's house'.[27] Ferdinand and Monimia inhabit a different moral world, as the comparative elevation of the language suggests. Ferdinand's attempt is 'impious', Monimia a 'sacred shrine' who is 'protected by the interposition of Heaven'. While both men are 'awe-struck' at the proud resentment of the heroines, Monimia's aspect in addition 'seemed to shine with something supernatural'. After Peregrine's attempt to rape Emilia Smollett concentrates on his immediate feeling of remorse, as depicted in the illustration by Clennell (Pl.48). Smollett merely describes Ferdinand as 'disordered[in] his whole faculties' but concentrates much more on Monimia's feelings since Ferdinand's eventual remorse must include also that for his ill-treatment of Renaldo.

The other important point about the Ferdinand Count Fathom

27 Peregrine Pickle, ch.82, p.408.



Pl.135. Corbould (1794)



Pl.137. Stothard (1781)



Pl.136.Corbould (1795)



Pl.138. Stothard (1784)

scene is that we know from the beginning that Ferdinand's attempt will fail: presumably this is to reinforce the moral schematism of the novel rather than its sexual naturalism. When Ferdinand first meets the 'fair orphan' the reader is told that 'for once, he erred in his calculation. Monimia's soul was perfect: her virtue impregnable.'(p.202). Although no illustration can hope to convey all that Smollett is trying to do in this scene Corbould's forms an interesting attempt to deal graphically with one of the basic themes of the novel(Pl.136), especially when taken in conjunction with the illustration of Ferdinand's sickness and remorse(Pl.139). The attempted rape illustration is not very different from the two versions by Stothard of the rape of Emilia (Pls. 137 and 138), except for the more dramatically symbolic note of the drawn sword in the Ferdinand Count Fathom plate.

The final illustration(Pl.139) of Ferdinand's deathbed repentance is thematically very important but unpopular for illustration for much the same reasons as the attempted rape. It has none of the 'natural horror' of the forest scene or the apparition of Monimia, nor has it the mock-heroic comedy of the chapters dealing with Ferdinand's mother. Ferdinand is described in pictorial, if not picturesque, terms:

> they beheld the wretched hero of these memoirs, stretched almost naked upon straw, insensible, convulsed, and seemingly in the grasp of death. He was wore to the bone either by famine or distemper; his face was overshadowed with hair and filth; his eyes were sunk, glazed and distorted; his nostrils dilated; his lips covered with a black slough, and his complexion faded into a pale clay-colour, tending to a yellow hue: in a word, the extremity of indigence, squalor and distress, could not be more feelingly represented. (p.353)

J.M.S. Tompkins goes as far as to say that this scene is an early example of the 'impingement of pictorial art on the novel' because 'the position of Don Diego's hand['his right hand upon



Pl.139. Corbould (1795)

his breast'] has absolutely no psychological or dramatic bearing; it has nothing to do with the story, and it does not express emotion; but it does put the scene before us with picturesque vigour'.[28] The weakness of the scene, not to mention the whole dénouement of the novel, lies in its unnaturalness. One is prepared for the coincidence of Roderick's meeting with his long-lost father because the whole tendency of the comedy in the novel is to undercut the naturalism of the plot and the characters. In Ferdinand Count Fathom the attempt at psychological analysis works against the idea of fortuitous events like Ferdinand's change of heart on a naturalistic level. On the level of moral fable Ferdinand's near-sacramental 'confession' and 'repentance' are almost successful until Smollett begins to import psychologically significant features into the episode. When Renaldo considers that there can be 'no dissimulation or design' in Ferdinand's 'profession of penitence' the reader is forced to recall others of Ferdinand's 'professions' innocently believed by the hero. Similarly one could accept either the influence of the miraculous or the medical in Ferdinand's recovery but the combination of both is mutually destructive: 'the young woman kneeled with her streaming eyes lifted up to heaven, in an extasy of grief and devotion: the physician ... applied a large blister to the back of the miserable patient'(p.355). Even the series of deathbed confessions all followed by a miraculous recovery which have preceded this one, Monimia's, Renaldo's and Trebasi's,[29] do not reconcile us to the recovery of Fathom. The ferrent prayer of the virtuous that 'their charity might not be disappointed by

28 The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800, p.356.

29 In chapters 49, 58 and 60.

the death of the object' and their later 'scheme for his future subsistence, that he might not be exposed by indigence to a relapse in point of morals' hardly sum up what Smollett has tried to convey of the innate good and evil of the central characters. One is tempted to dismiss both text and illustration as an 'interesting attempt' to tie up the disparate strands of the work.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the illustration to Ferdinand Count Fathom was that its brief popularity was entirely dependent on the temporary fashion for the Gothic novel, and that those more typical illustrators of Smollett's novels, like Cruikshank and Rowlandson, found its untypical seriousness uncongenial, and so virtually ignored it. It is a case where study of the illustrations in a sense makes visible the nebulous impressions one has about the novel, that it does indeed have the feel of a Gothic novel. A glance at the checklist reveals two '1st editions', which count practically as one, only one Dublin piracy, no 2nd edition until the death of the author some twenty years later, a cluster of illustrated editions in the eighties and nineties and no editions after 1816. There is no literary form as unfashionable as a recent one, and so no room for Ferdinand Count Fathom's Gothic qualities in the era of the Victorian novel. Similarly criticism confined to this novel, rather than general studies of Smollett's fiction as a whole, surfaces sporadically in the period of its popularity,[30] and then falls away, while the only modern study of the novel[31] is also connected,

30 See note 14 above.

31 C.L. Almirall, 'Smollett's Gothic: An Illustration', MLN, 68, 1953, pp.408-410, which relates the 'gothic' qualities to

backhandedly, with its Gothic quqlities.

Even its latest editor does not deny that 'signs of imaginative exhaustion' [32] show at the seams in Ferdinand Count Fathom and this is reflected in the history of its illustration. Much the same is true of Sir Launcelot Greaves, although here the lack of comic illustration stems less from its lack of comedy and more from its lack of value as a work of fiction.

---

contemporary theatre rather than any avant-garde tendencies in Smollett. Another article dealing with the novel, A.B. Strauss's 'On Smollett's Language: A Paragraph in Ferdinand Count Fathom', English Institute Essays, 1958, pp.25-54, deals with Smollett's technique for describing emotion particularly its physical manifestations, for which the paragraph in question(the first on page 333) is largely just a starting point. See note 29 to chapter 2.

32 Damian Grant, in his Introduction to the Oxford English Novels edition, p.xi.

CHAPTER IV SIR LAUNCELOT GREAVES

I

After Ferdinand Count Fathom had fallen rather flatly on the fictional scene, Smollett turned to alternative literary and journalistic ventures for a few years,[1] and his next novel, Sir Launcelot Greaves, is in many ways the product of the journalist rather than the novelist. Two points about it make it unusual: on one side is its inferior position in the Smollett canon, a position summed up by the contemporary notice in the Monthly Review, 'better than the common Novels, but unworthy the pen of Dr Smollet '.[2] On the credit side however is its significance as the first full length original piece of serialised fiction,[3] a form of publication with major repercussions on original nineteenth century fiction, as well as in the history of 'cheap literature' of the period. For these two reasons it is rather difficult to treat Sir Launcelot Greaves in the same way as the other novels. While it appears, as did the three earlier novels, in standard editions published by Wenman(LG4), Harrison(LG5),

1 Typical is this paragraph from a letter to John Moore, dated 1 March 1754;

> I have nothing ready for the Press but Doctor Smellie's second volume containing Cases in Midwifery, and my Translation of Don Quixote which will be published next year. I have likewise made some Progress in the History of the German Empire, which I believe will be printed this ensuing summer; and Drummond's Letters are now ready to appear. (Letters, p.32)

As has often been noted there are many topical references in Sir Launcelot Greaves, such as to elections, and to contemporary debate about the role of private mad-houses.

2 Monthly Review, Vol. XXVI, May 1762, p.391.

3 See R.D. Mayo, The English Novel in the Magazines. 1740-1815, pp. 274-86, for a full treatment of this aspect.

Cooke(LG9), and Mudford(LG14), the illustrated editions peculiar to it alone(such as LG15, 16 and 17) differ from those to the novels already discussed in a rather special way. Where I have stressed that it was elements of characterisation and situation within Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle which attracted artists such as Hayman, Fuseli, Rowlandson and Cruikshank, and the Gothic slant of Ferdinand Count Fathom which attracted the majority of its illustrators, Sir Launcelot Greaves seems to have had no particular interest for illustrators on these grounds, although it contained, if not Gothicness, at least the first two elements. It is tempting to conclude that it was the novel's very inoffensiveness, and the comparative importance of the love interest, that accounted for its early nineteenth century vogue.[4]

All the illustrated editions of this novel however are interesting on bibliographical grounds, from its first appearance as an illustrated serial in the British Magazine to two early nineteenth century stereotype editions(LG15 and LG16). For these reasons I shall reverse my normal procedure of a brief chronological survey of editions followed by discussion of various qualities in the novel of graphic interest, in order to deal more fully in this chapter with the types of edition and style of illustrations, including peripheral subjects such as their cost and their appeal to readers. In this way Sir Launcelot Greaves is taken as a typical example of the ways in which fiction was produced, embellished, reprinted, and sold in the period rather than as a work of intrinsic literary value. Many of the

4 This possibly accounts for James Beattie's unexpected preference for the novel at an earlier date, see his essay 'On Fable and Romance' in Dissertations Moral and Critical, p.571(1783).

observations therefore apply to editions of other Smollett novels as well, and use is made of novels other than Sir Launcelot Greaves to clarify certain points.[5]

II

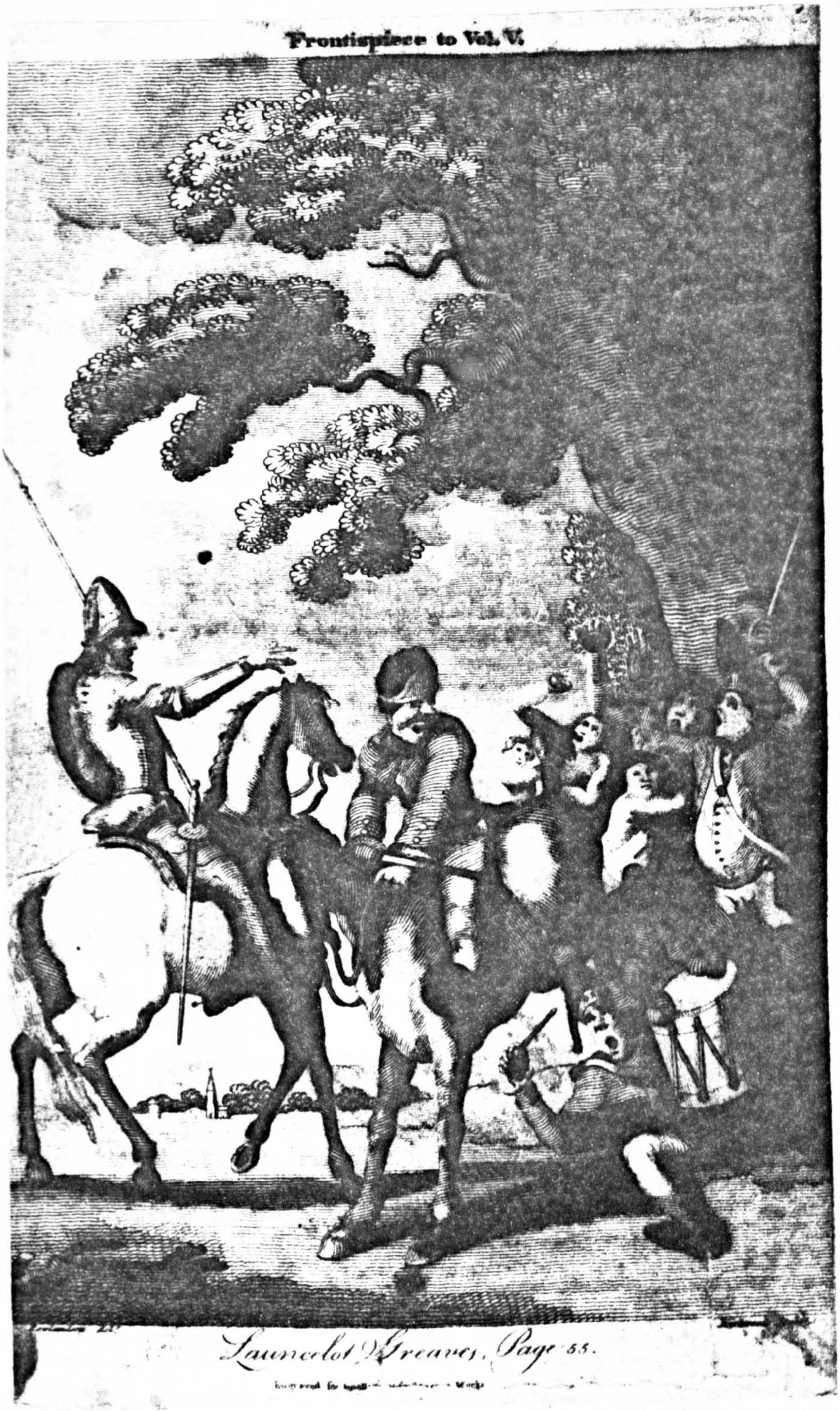
Before dealing with these technical considerations it is of interest to examine why Sir Launcelot Greaves should not have attracted the extensive notice of illustrators like Cruikshank and Rowlandson who figure so largely in the Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle chapters.[6] There have recently been various attempts to justify the novel on literary grounds, as for example the approach where it is seen as Smollett's experiment 'with replacing conventionalised "humours" types with more complex, more individualised personalities ... how individual minds operate rather than how external appearances betray character',[7] or Boucé's analysis of the considerable subtlety of the structure of the novel.[8] In spite of this and the fact that Sir Launcelot Greaves does contain the 'ludicrous situations' typical of Peregrine Pickle and the type of caricature portraits noted especially in the Roderick Random chapter, it nevertheless remains

5 These include Harrison's, Wenman's, Cooke's and Mudford's editions of all the novels, Whittingham's edition of Roderick Random(RR36), and Limbird's edition of Humphry Clinker(HC18).

6 Cruikshank did two mediocre plates for the Roscoe Novelist's Library edition(LG18), see Pls. 145 and 154; and Rowlandson one frontispiece for the 1790 Miscellaneous Works(LG7), see Pl.140.

7 From the unpublished dissertation by M.H.S. Wagoner, 'The changing patterns of humor in the novels of Tobias Smollett' (Austin, Texas, 1961), p.148.

8 P.-G. Boucé, Les Romans de Smollett, pp.229-30.



Pl.140. Rowlandson (1790)

an unsatisfactory novel.

One reason for this may lie in the characterisation of the hero. In the first chapter is a very Randomish description of Ferret, and later an even more striking one of Crabshaw:

> Mr. Fillet could not help contemplating, with surprize, the strange figure and accoutrements of his patient, who seemed in age to be turned of fifty. His stature was below the middle size: he was thick, squat, and brawny, with a small protuberance on one shoulder, and a prominent belly ... His forehead was remarkably convex, and so very low, that his black bushy hair descended within an inch of his nose ... His small glimmering eyes resembled those of the Hampshire porker ... His cheeks were shrivelled and puckered at the corners ... his nose bore a strong analogy in shape to a tennis-ball, and in colour to a mulberry ... His upper jaw was furnished with two long white sharp-pointed teeth or fangs, such as the reader may have observed in the chaps of a wolf ... His chin was so long, so peaked and incurvated, as to form in profile with his impending forehead the exact resemblance of a moon in the first quarter ... Such was the figure which the whole company now surveyed with admiration. (pp.9-10.)

This reads like an extended parody of Smollett's style in Roderick Random, but Sir Launcelot Greaves has a further refinement with a description of the hero also:

> .., a very engaging countenance. His age did not seem to exceed thirty: he was tall, and seemingly robust; his face long and oval, his nose aquiline, his mouth furnished with a set of elegant teeth white as the drifted snow; his complexion clear, and his aspect noble. His chestnut hair loosely flowed in short natural curls; and his grey eyes shone with such vivacity, as plainly shewed that his reason was a little discomposed. (pp.11-12.)

The description of Sir Launcelot follows the pattern of that of Crabshaw; his age, build, facial characteristics and a general observation concluding the whole vignette. The resulting impression is that Launcelot, as well as being the standard hero-type in a way that Roderick or Peregrine were not, is also as much a spectacle as the grotesques, in the sense of a character to be looked at rather than identified with. Although all the Smollettian elements are there, almost to excess, they are somehow kept at a

distance, as if we have Roderick Random or Peregrine Pickle, or even Ferdinand Count Fathom, without the titular hero through whose consciousness Smollett focuses the reader's way of seeing his fictional world. Roderick in a first-person, and Peregrine in a third-person novel, and the letter-writers of Humphry Clinker, are in a sense all Smollett himself. But Sir Launcelot is seen much more as a separate character and his madness is a more distancing effect than its superficiality as a device would suggest. This tends to produce a 'novel without a focus' and the optical image suggests a lack of opportunity for the kind of memorable illustration that depends on an individual's clearly visualised picture of characters and situations.

III

Smollett's style, and especially his relationship with the reader, is partly a result of the exigencies of monthly serialisation, which affected both inter-chapter structure and also the length of chapters. These in Sir Launcelot Greaves are normally longer, or at least of a more regular size, than in his first three novels, where chapter structure seems to have been fairly arbitrary. Smollett does not till now seem to have shared Fielding's ideas on 'Divisions in Authors ... those little Spaces between our Chapters[which] may be looked upon as an Inn or Resting-Place, where he may stop and take a Glass', but rather tends to the style of those authors whose work 'without any such Places of Rest resembles the Opening of Wilds or Seas, which tires the Eye and fatigues the Spirit'.[9] Sir Launcelot Greaves,

9. Joseph Andrews, ed. M.C. Battestin, pp.89-90.

because of the circumstances of serialisation, is less like these 'wilds or seas' than the earlier novels, as the somewhat artful end to chapter one indicates:

> But as a personage of great importance in this entertaining history was forced to remain some time at the door, before he could gain admittance, so must the reader wait with patience for the next chapter, in which he will see the cause of this disturbance explained much to his comfort and edification. (p.7.)

This is a build-up to the entrance(next month) of the hero armed 'cap-a-pie', a situation sufficiently striking to have made it the subject of illustration in at least five of the editions, for the Novelist's Magazine by Stothard(Pl.141), in three early nineteenth century versions(Pls. 142, 143 and 144), and by Cruikshank for Roscoe's edition(Pl.145). This is perhaps not altogether surprising as the novel opens in medias res with a scene of Dickensian richness in the company gathered at the Black Lion and the skilled characterisation of Fillet, Clarke, Crowe and Ferret. Its graphic qualities are analysed by Boucé who, in his discussion of the novel, describes it as a 'peinture à la manière flamande',[10] and the popularity of the scene in illustration reinforces his point. All the illustrations emphasise the contrast between the familiar domestic inn scene and the unexpected intrusion of the strange figure of the hero, although somewhat typically Cruikshank concentrates on the latter rather than the former qualities.[11]

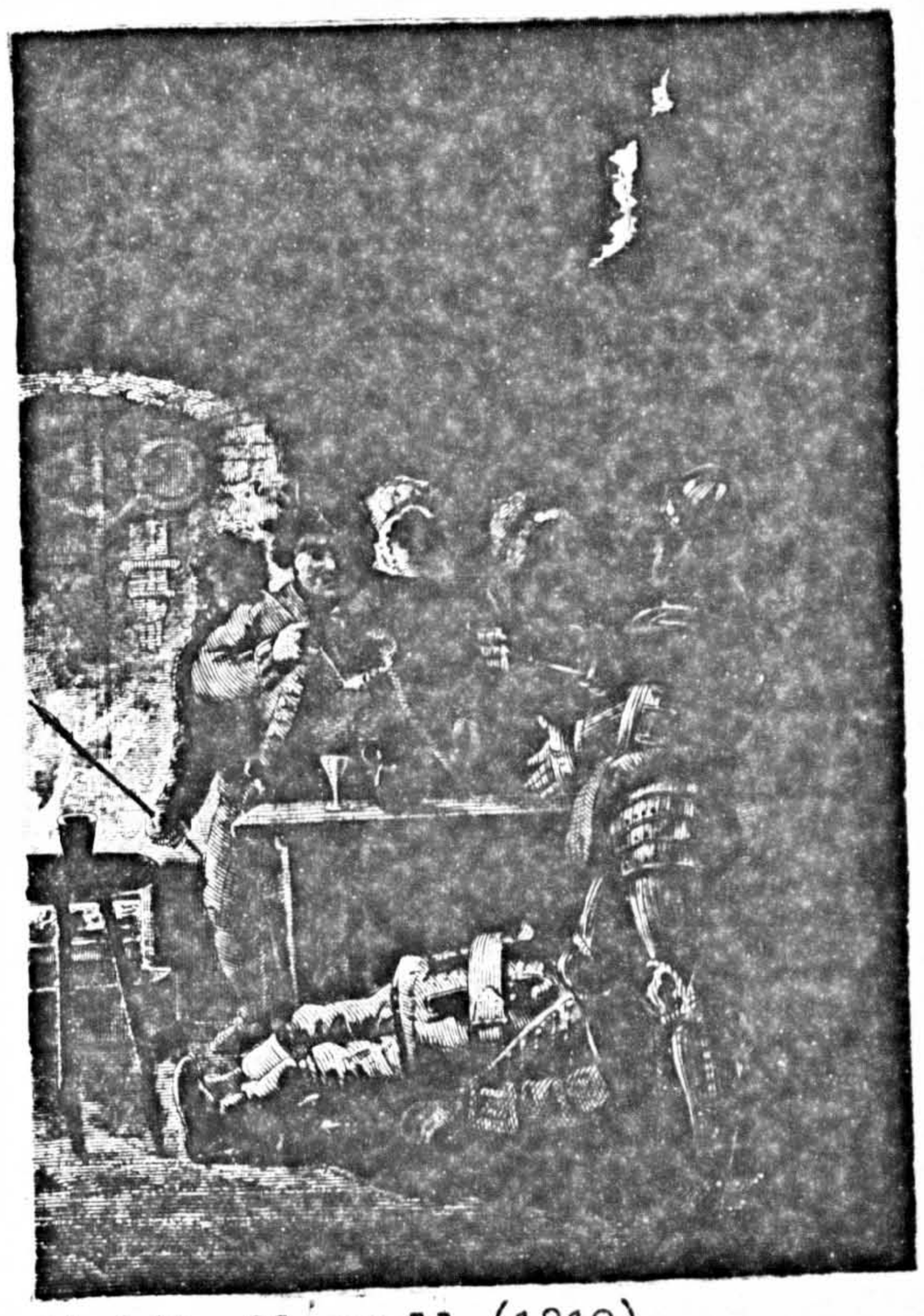
After chapter five Smollett evidently felt the artificiality of such an obvious 'to-be-continued' device and it appears

10 P.-G. Boucé, Les Romans de Smollett, p.227.

11 In his other plate too, Cruikshank emphasises the ludicrous character of Crowe the sailor in an unfamiliar role of huntsman and knight.



Pl.141. Stothard (1782)



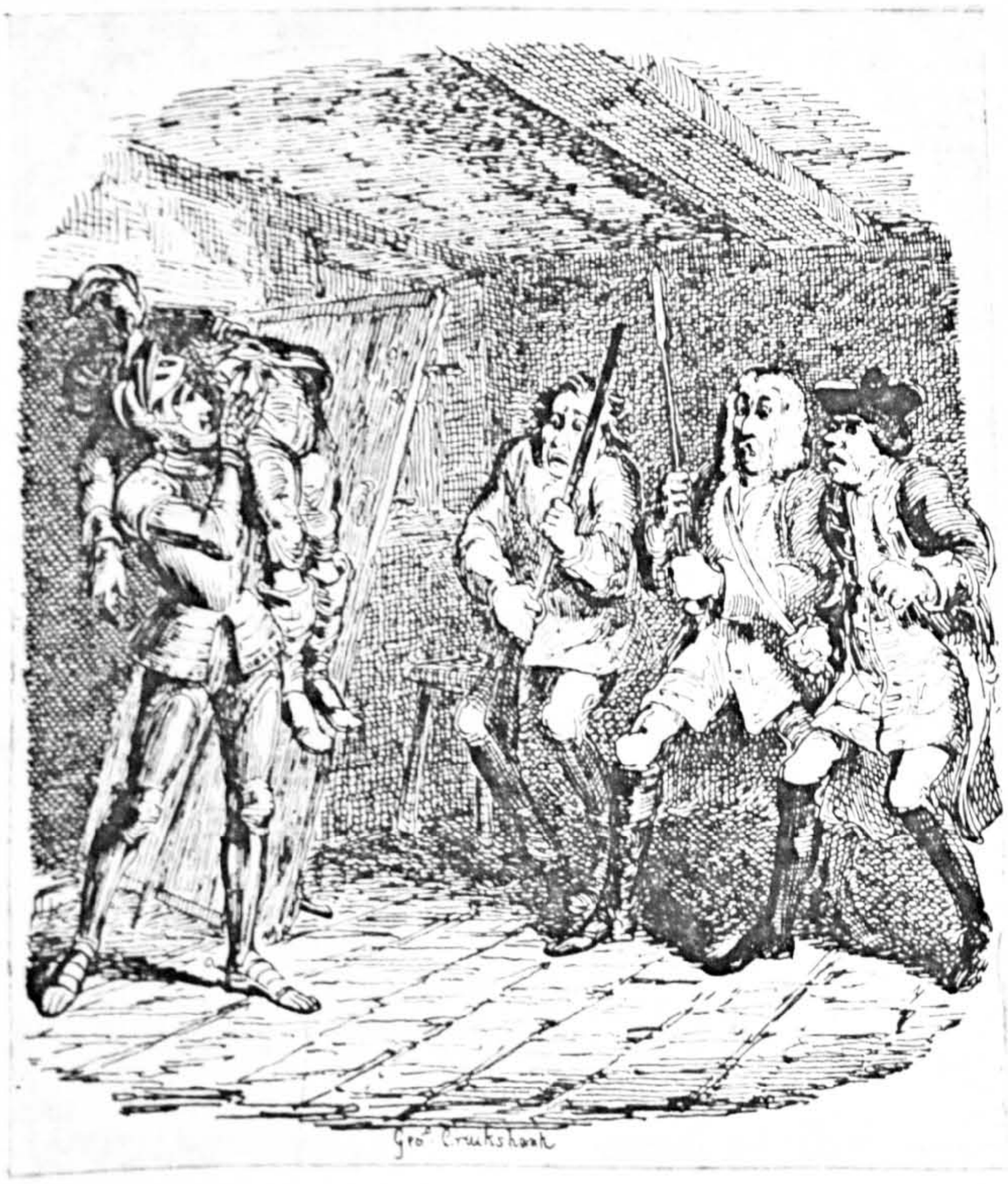
Pl.142. Clennell (1810)



Pl.143. Craig (1813)

Pl.144. Eldridge (1816)

The astonishment of the Travellers at the Black Lion, on the arrival of Sir Launcelot, with his half-drowned Squire



Pl.145. Cruikshank (1832)

subsequently only on rare occasions. There is still however a larger degree of autonomy in the individual chapters than was usual in a Smollett novel, and a good deal of anticipation of future episodes. This anticipation and the characteristic chapter titles, which give nothing of the story away, indicate that the divisions in the serial were structural and not merely typographical, as is the impression in the earlier novels, and was frequently the case with part issues.[12] The Fieldingesque addresses to the reader, and the attempt at a personal relationship with him, seen not just in occasional local references but more generally in an air of unreality which envelops the novel, such as the strained time reference at the end of chapter one already quoted. It is almost as if Smollett is over-aware of himself and the reader as belonging to a 'real world' and his characters as belonging to a fictional one. Lacking Fielding's objective assurance which allows him to move from one stance to the other with stylistic ease, Smollett is unable to combine the two in a satisfactory way.

Although Sir Launcelot Greaves is impressive in its sustained interest compared with all earlier serialised stories and novelettes and therefore deserves the title of the first major serialised work of fiction, it was, and is, deservedly less popular than any other of his novels. The two decorative plates to the serial version stand in much the same relationship to better known nineteenth century novel illustrations: not themselves of particularly fine quality but important as signs of things to come. The first is a straight depiction of Launcelot and his squire(Pl.146), a design strongly reminiscent of one of

12 See Hazlitt's remarks below, note 20.



Pl.146. Walker (1760)



Pl.147. Hogarth illustration to Hudibras (1726)



Pl.148. Walker (1760)

Hogarth's small illustrations to Hudibras(Pl.147),[13] and the second, illustrating the election scene, again has strong Hogarthian affinities(Pl.148).[14] In neither plate is there a specific reference to any particular part of the text, such as that which made Charles Knight recall the Stothard plates to the Novelist's Magazine edition of the novel:

> what fertility of humour; what truth of characterisation, do these cheap embellishments present to me! ... Sir Launcelot Greaves goes forth armed cap-a-pie, to redress the evils of society ... the cheap publishers of popular works eighty years ago ... had the right notions of Art for the multitude. [15]

Knight's remarks could apply to two of the four Novelist's Magazine plates(Pls. 149 and 150), the one showing Launcelot's accusing the innkeeper of conniving at Aurelia's abduction, a plate which has the nicely symbolic touch of the birdcage, and the other of the election scene. Although this latter plate is technically far more accomplished than the British Magazine design of the same scene, and although it has more of the 'humour' and 'characterisation' mentioned by Knight, it is in some ways too elegant for the crude satire of the text. Smollett's

13 These seventeen illustrations date from 1726, and Hogarth also did a larger set of twelve plates to the poem. In a passage quoted in the Roderick Random chapter(see note 15) George Vertue makes an analogy between Hogarth and Butler. There is a reference too in Sir Launcelot Greaves to the hero of Butler's poem when Smollett is describing Captain Crowe's 'very strange suit of armour'(p.136), which suggests it must have been a background source for the novel.

14 The parallel with Hogarth's Election series(1758) has been often noted, and the dates of Hogarth's and Smollett's work strongly suggest an influence.

15 C. Knight, Shadows of the Old Booksellers, pp.243-4. These essays were originally written in 1851-2 for Household Words, and first published in book form in 1865.



Pl.149. Stothard (1782)



Pl.150. Stothard (1782)

borrowing of a hint from Hogarth's Election plates, in many ways makes Hogarth's series the best illustrations to this episode in the novel.

The history of illustrated editions of Sir Launcelot Greaves, after the original magazine appearance and its immediate successors, is indeed that of 'Art for the multitude', with editions in the Novelist's Magazine series in 1782, in Wenman's Entertaining Museum(1783), Cooke's Select Novels edition(1793), Mudford's British Novelists series(1810), the Mirror of Amusement(1813), Kinnersley's stereotype edition(1816) and Kelly's Select Novels edition in the same year. Many of these were issued in parts[16] and all were inexpensive editions. This is perhaps because it was felt to be, more than any other of Smollett's novels, nearer the run of 'common Novels', and thus perhaps closer to the taste of the 'multitude'.

Although the first part issue of Sir Launcelot Greaves was for the Novelist's Magazine in 1782, Smollett himself was no stranger to the publishing practice of selling in numbers nor to the financial advantages of it. After his Complete History of England had appeared in four quarto volumes in 1758, it was almost immediately re-issued in sixpenny weekly parts to make up into eleven octavo volumes,[17] and he remarked with pride to John Moore, 'you will be not sorry to hear that the weekly Sale of the History has increased to above Ten thousand'(Letters, p.73). This was followed in May 1760 by the Continuation of the Complete

16 Certainly the Novelist's Magazine editions were(LG5 and 8), and Cooke's editions(LG9 and 10). Also Mudford's British Novelists edition(LG14) and the 1816 Kinnersley edition(LG16).

17 Knapp, pp.186-7.

History of England written expressly for weekly sixpenny parts and embellished with many engravings. The chief advantages of this method of publication were economic, since the poorer sort of reader could afford the regular small weekly sum, and the large sales meant large profits to the publisher. It was not a new form of publication, as a list of over three hundred works published in parts before 1750 compiled by R.M. Wiles indicates,[18] and even in Smollett's time was open to criticism, as Fielding's cynical remarks make plain:

> ... publishing by Numbers, an Art now brought to such Perfection, that even Dictionaries are divided and exhibited piece-meal to the Public; nay, one Bookseller hath(to encourage Learning and ease the Public) contrived to give them a Dictionary in this divided Manner for only fifteen Shillings more than it would have cost entire.[19]

He returns to the theme in Tom Jones, complaining of 'the heavy, unread, folio lump, which long had dozed on the dusty shelf, piecemealed into numbers, [which] runs nimbly through the nation' (Book XIII, ch.1). This emphasises the point that, unlike the original appearance of Sir Launcelot Greaves, division into numbers was often purely arbitrary, as it continued to be until the nineteenth century. William Hazlitt recalls Cooke's Select Novels whose 'sixpenny numbers ... regularly contrived to leave off just in the middle of a sentence, and in the nick of a story',[20] but Smollett's serial, like its more famous nineteenth century followers, exploited this with cunning post-ponement of incident. The serialised form of Sir Launcelot Greaves

18 R.M. Wiles, Serial Publication in England before 1750, p.8.

19 Joseph Andrews, ed. M.C. Battestin, p.91.

20 W. Hazlitt, in the essay 'On Reading Old Books' in The Plain Speaker, The Works of William Hazlitt, ed. P.P. Howe, vol. 12, p.223.

naturally made it particularly suitable for issuing later in numbers, and at least seven of the illustrated editions of the novel appeared in this way,[21] although of course this was a practice not confined to Sir Launcelot Greaves alone, as all Smollett's other novels were issued in this way at some time or another.

While of obvious financial advantage to the publishers, this method of issue also had advantages for the reader, especially (in spite of Fielding's remarks) when the total price of part issues are compared with that of new fiction in the period.[22] Newman's 'Cheap Books' were sold by the volume and ranged in price from 'only Six-Pence sewed, or Nine-Pence bound and lettered',[23] and Harrison's Novelist's Magazine at sixpence a

21 See note 16 above.

22 See the article by R. English, 'The Price of the Novel. 1750-1894' in The Author, vol.5, September 1894, pp.94-99, which lists the prices of new novels per volume during the period as follows: 1750-1792, 3/-; 1790s, 3/6 to 4/-; 1800, 3/6 to 6/-; 1806-1812, up to 7/-; 1812-1822, 6/- to 8/-; 1822, up to ½gn.; 1825-1860, ½ gn.

23 A foreign visitor to England was much impressed by the cheapness and availability of books here. C.P. Moritz, in his Travels through Several Parts of England in 1782 notes 'the quick sale of the classical authors, is here promoted also, by cheap and convenient editions. They have them all bound in pocket volumes ... Of one of these itinerant antiquarians I bought the two volumes of the Vicar of Wakefield for sixpence, that is for half an English shilling. In what estimation our German literature is held in England, I was enabled to judge, in some degree, by the printed proposals of a book, which I saw. The title was "The Entertaining Museum, or Complete Circulating Library"; which is to contain a list of all the English classical authors, as well as translations of the best French, Spanish, Italian, and even German novels.

The moderate price of this book deserves also to be noticed; as by such means books in England come within the reach of the people'(p.44;in the 1924 reprint Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782).

part made Sir Launcelot Greaves a mere two shillings complete, about half the price of new books which averaged four shillings a volume up to the end of the century. However even sixpence was no mean sum, so that readers of Harrison's and Cooke's editions were inclined to be middle-class, such as Hazlitt the clergyman's son, or the budding bibliomaniac T.F. Dibdin. By the 1820s the differential was even more marked with new novels costing up to half a guinea a volume while reprints, such as Whittingham's Novelist's Library which included a two volume edition of Roderick Random(RR36) still only cost from half-a-crown to five shillings and sixpence a volume.[24] Whittingham's series, begun in 1823 when the price of new fiction was reaching its peak, was in turn rivalled by 'the pioneer of Cheap Literature' [25] Henry Limbird, whose magazine, the Mirror of Literature and Amusement, commenced in 1825. At this period evidence of more widespread literacy, and of even cheaper editions, becomes more common, a typical view being Henry Brougham's optimistic Practical Observations upon the Education of the People:

> The method of publishing in Numbers is admirably suited to the circumstances of the classes whose income is derived from wages. Twopence is easily saved in a week by almost any labourer; and by a mechanic sixpence in a week may without difficulty be laid by. Those who have not attended to such matters, would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths.[26]

He proceeds to praise Limbird's Mirror and his reprints of standard works. Limbird was prepared to sell his publications in whatever

24 M. Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record, vol.2, p.175.

25 Limbird is so described in an article in The Bookseller, November 30, 1859, p.1328.

26 H. Brougham, Practical Observations upon the Education of the People(1825), p.3.

form was most convenient for different classes of readers. On an endpaper to his edition of Humphry Clinker Cook's Voyages are advertised as 'price only 7s.6d. in boards, or half-bound 9s. - It may likewise be had in 28 numbers at 3d., or fourteen parts at 6d. each'.

However issued to the public, and at whatever price, the original most significant factor in the rise of 'cheap literature had been the clarification of the copyright laws, which produced the situation where 'dead authors are amazingly cheap ... living authors are deadly dear'.[27] This was effected by the Donaldson v. Becket ruling of 1774,[28] which reinforced the 1709 Queen Anne Copyright Act and effectually killed the notion of 'perpetual copyright'. Before 1709 there had been virtual anarchy on this question, and in Ireland there was no respect of literary property until 1801, and Pitt's Act of Union, hence the frequent occurrence of pirated Dublin editions in the eighteenth century, of which the 1762 Dublin Sir Launcelot Greaves is an example. A copy of the 1753 Dublin Ferdinand Count Fathom in the library at Yale has an endnote claiming 'At said Main's may be had most of the new Books of Entertainment, shortly after they are Publish'd in London' and the same note shows how much cheaper Irish editions were, with Peregrine Pickle advertised at just over eight shillings compared with the twelve shillings asked for the first London

27 Augustine Birrell, writing of a similar situation in the eighteen-nineties, in Essays about Men, Women and Books, p.144.

28 Information on copyright comes from F.A. Mumby's Publishing And Bookselling, pp.190-4, A. Birrell's Seven Lectures on ... Copyright, A.S. Collins's 'Some Aspects of Copyright from 1700 to 1780', in The Library, 4th series, vol.VII, 1927, pp.67-81, R.Altick's The English Common Reader, p.53, and M. Plant, The English Book Trade, pp.98-121.

edition.[29] The 1774 ruling, which restricted the copyright on new books to fourteen years and, in the event of the author's surviving that time, a further period of fourteen years, gave great impetus in the seventies and after to reprint publishers such as Bell, Harrison, Wenman, Tegg and Cooke to mention only a few. The new copyright laws can be seen at work clearly in the dates of Smollett novels produced by Harrison, where the four early novels appear in volumes two, six, seven and nine of the Novelist's Magazine between 1780 and 1782, while Humphry Clinker does not appear until volume nineteen in 1785, fourteen years after its first publication and its author's death.[30]

Interestingly enough the copyright situation for prints, which was similar, had been clarified earlier due to the efforts of Hogarth in an attempt to prevent piracy of his popular narrative series. Hogarth's Act was passed in 1734 and gave the copyright of single prints to the designer or engraver. The details of the act were worked out by William Huggins, whose other claim to fame was as a friend of Smollett's, and some points quoted by John Nichols, in his Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, are worth repeating in this context:

> This statute was drawn by his friend Mr. Huggins, who took for his model the eighth of Queen Anne, in favour of literary property ... That Huggins penned the statute, I was told by Mr. Hogarth himself... Hogarth ... lamented to me that he had employed Huggins to draw the act, adding, that, when he first projected it, he hoped it would be such an encouragement to engraving and printselling, that printsellers would

29 Knapp, p.118. The Irish edition was however in 3 volumes.

30 The same is true of Wenman's editions. A sheet bound into a 1784 edition of Peregrine Pickle published by Wenman advertises his 'regular, uniform, and elegant Editions of universally esteemed Productions' which include Roderick Random, Ferdinand Count Fathom, Sir Launcelot Greaves, but not Humphry Clinker.

soon become as numerous as bakers' shops.[31]

This copyright rule only functioned for prints issued separately, as illustrations in printed books belonged to the publisher, as a letter dictated by Cruikshank indicates:

> Mr George Cruikshank wishes me to inform you that the Engraving you refer to was not done for any of his own Publications that he is aware of; and when done for any Publisher, after the Plate goes away from him, he has not the slightest idea what becomes of it afterwards, as is the case now.[32]

As well as publishing works out of copyright which were as a whole cheaper than new books, and by publishing them in parts or numbers so that apparently, and sometimes really, the financial outlay was less, competition between publishers resulted in other selling techniques.[33] Every one was, as C.H. Timperley notes, a master of the inflated titlepage:

> In announcing the embellishments of these publications, language failed; and the terms 'beautiful', 'elegant', 'superb', and even 'magnificent', became too poor to express their extreme merit.[34]

From this it may be seen that embellishments in the form of illustrations were an important factor in persuading the reader in 1810 for example to buy Mudford's edition of Humphry Clinker 'Embellished with Elegant Engravings' rather than Mrs. Barbauld's which had none. The long and laudatory Prospectus to the

31 [J.Nichols], Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, p.38, in the revised 1785 edition.

32 This letter, written by Cruikshank's wife and dated London June 27 1873, is held in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. See also notes to RR4.

33 Not everyone went as far as Harrison, the purchaser of the whole of whose Musical Magazine was entitled to a free piano. This fascinating fact is related by Rees and Britton, Reminiscences of Literary London, p.23.

34 C.H. Timperley, A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, p.838, in a footnote.

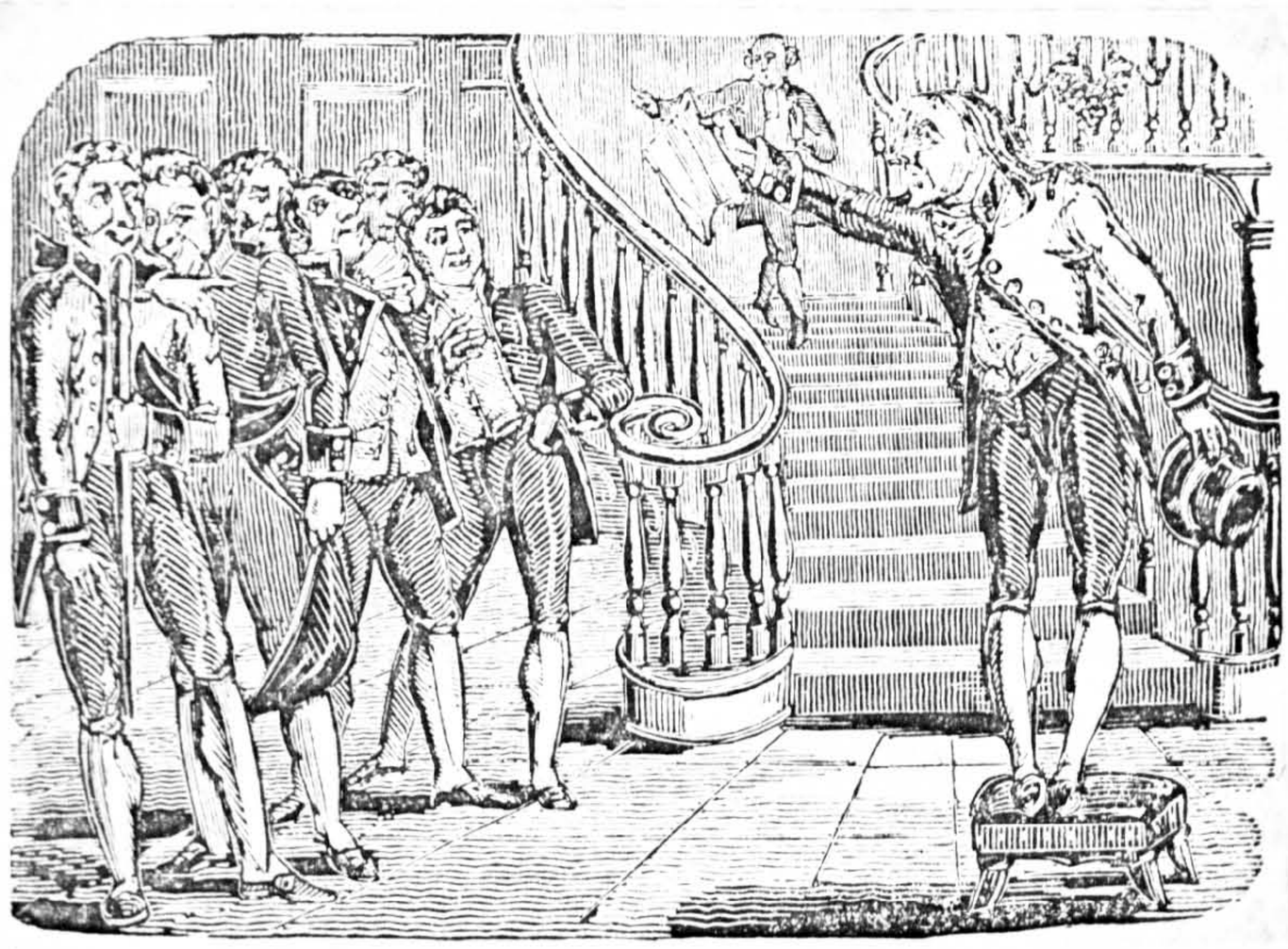
Novelist's Magazine(1780), after mentioning 'a new and most beautiful Type purposely contrived for this Publication, and cast by William Caslon', goes on to the illustrations, and makes the point:

> In the work now offered to the Public, it will be only necessary to observe, that the great Scarcity and High Price of such Novels as are worth reading, is alone a sufficient Apology for this Publication to which may be added, that they are in general published without any Copper-Plates, though there is not perhaps any Subject which furnishes the ingenious Designer with a better opportunity of displaying his Ability to produce an agreeable Picture.

Since however cheapness was the other great advantage of most editions of this type, the quality of the illustrations was inclined to suffer. There were various ways in which publishers balanced these two factors. One was to illustrate the work in the cheapest way possible, by using woodcuts, which were usually crude in technique but virtually indestructible.[35] This was the method favoured by Limbird, whose main aim was cheapness, as it allowed him to produce a crudely illustrated Humphry Clinker in 1827(Pls. 151 and 152) for the incredible price of one shilling and eight pence. Other publishers such as Harrison and Cooke compromised and produced moderately well priced and moderately well illustrated editions. Yet others, such as the publishers of Roscoe's Novelist's Library, laid the main emphasis on the embellishment, seen in the generally high quality of the illustrations and in the fact that Cruikshank's name appears before the author's on the spine label.[36]

35 This was often the case with children's books, as in the Robinson Crusoe part of The Adventurers(see notes to RR33), where the titlepage mentions its 'neat engravings' rather than 'elegant embellishment'.

36 William Feaver, in the introduction to the catalogue of the Cruikshank exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum



Pl.151. Sears (1827)



Pl.152. Sears (1827)

In addition there were various ways of offsetting the cost, which in the case of metal plate illustrations, was not cheap.[37] In the case of new books one could publish by subscription, though this was never done with reprints.[38] One method used by Charles Cooke was to have an exhibition of the drawings and paintings from which the engravings were made, at the back of his shop in Paternoster Row, where, even if an admission fee to see them was not charged, presumably it encouraged people to buy the finished article and thus paid its way.[39] One illustration already discussed in the Ferdinand Count Fathom chapter (Pl.128) would seem to have been of this type, the study of Ferdinand's mother 'painted by T.Kirk' and presumably Kirk's design for Sir Launcelot Greaves would have been exhibited also (Pl.153). The Royal Academy catalogues contain many subjects from literature; in 1795 for example Thomas Kirk exhibited

---

(28 February to 28 April 1974), notes a more flagrant example: 'when William Clarke's Three Courses and a Dessert(for which Cruikshank supplied the designs for the wood engravings from Clarke's own sketched ideas) was re-issued in Bohn's Library in the 1850s the author's name disappeared from the spine and title page. Cruikshank, alone, took the credit.' (p.16.)

37 M. Plant, The English Book Trade, p.309, estimates that the price of a metal plate illustration to be between £10 and £20 towards the end of the century.

38 The anonymous author of A Marvellous Pleasant Love Story(1801), vol.1, p.221, has the opinion that 'publishing by subscription is, at best, a mean and beggarly thing; and ... only to be tolerated in works that require numerous illustrative plates, and consequently are productive of great expence and risk.'

39 This is noted by Rees and Britton, Reminiscences of Literary London, p.27. There is also the fascinating description by Henry Vizetelly of the importance of pictures in cheap literature: 'With the Penny and Saturday magazines the pictures formed the great attraction, for engravings of a common class were comparatively rare until these illustrated periodicals made their appearance ... The shop windows of the London printsellers were the people's real picture galleries at this period, and always had their gaping crowds before them.' (Glances Back through Seventy Years, vol.1, pp.87-8.) In Wilson's Catalogue Raisonné(1828)



Pl.153. Kirk (1796)

several pictures from literary sources including Goldsmith's Hermit, The Tales of the Genii, Zadig and Semira and from the Arabian Tales. Especially popular were Shakespeare's and Milton's works, and foreign literature, while contemporary or realistic fiction not unexpectedly does not feature at all. Publishers' picture galleries seem to have become something of a craze towards the end of the eighteenth century, with Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery as the most famous example, and attracted the satiric notice of Peter Pindar:

> The rage for historical Pictures in this kingdom, so nobly rewarded by Messrs Boydell and Macklin, hath, with the great encouragement of two or three of the principal Muses, tempted me to offer subjects to the labourers in the graphic vineyard.[40]

From the point of view of a publisher like Cooke, illustrations were quite a large part of a book's total cost and so must have been worthwhile in terms of sales appeal. Abraham Raimbach remembers being paid six guineas for engraving a plate, at the same time giving an insight into the character of Cooke and the circumstances of the publication of his Select Novels:

> Soon after, by dint of repeatedly applying, I obtained a small commission from Cooke of Paternoster Row, a publisher of miniature editions of the works of the poets and novelists, A little picture of Kirk, from the Tales of the Genii formed my coup d'essai, for the favour of the rather pompous gentleman-publisher, who at this time dispensed his patronage among the hungry artists, with an air of conscious superiority ...[I]receivedsix guineas, his average price ... I thus continued to engrave, from time to time, a plate for his editions of the poets and novelists; I say from time to time, because his publications were not regular, languishing, as did everything connected with the arts, under the paralysing influence of a war.[41]

Cruikshank does a series of etchings, one of which is entitled Outside of a humble print shop, and another Connoisseurs in a print shop.

40 In the address to the reader in Subjects for Painters(1789).

41 Memoirs and Recollections of the late Abraham Raimbach, Esq., edited by his son M.T.S.Raimbach, pp.25-6. Stothard's accounts show that he made 148 designs for Harrison's Novelist's Magazine in the early eighties at 1 guinea each (A.E.Bray, Life of Thomas Stothard, R.A., pp.11-12.)

One can presume that it was in similar circumstances that Raimbach engraved Kirk's design for Sir Launcelot Greaves, and that all three illustrations to the novel could not have cost Cooke much less than about £50. Another example from a later date of the grand undertaking that even a small titlepage vignette was seen to be, in the days before such technical improvements as photographic means of reproduction, is related of Whittingham's series of reprints:

> Illustrations were so seldom used that the preparation of even a small woodcut was of much moment to all concerned. I have heard the late William Harvey relate that when Whittingham, the well-known printer, wanted a new cut for his 'Chiswick Press' series, he would write to Harvey and John Thomson, the engraver, appointing a meeting at Chiswick, when printer, designer, and engraver talked over the matter with as much deliberation as if they were about to produce a costly national monument, and after they had settled all points over a snug supper, the result of their labours was the production, months afterwards, of a small woodcut measuring perhaps two inches by three. [42]

Such woodcuts are the vignettes to the Chiswick Press Roderick Random(RR36) published in 1823, which though small are nevertheless very attractive(Pl. 39).

The fact that, in spite of all this trouble and expense, illustrations still appeared in cheap reprints and not just in expensive volumes for rich bibliophiles, proves that the appeal of many of these 'Cheap Books' and number publications lay as much in their embellishment as in their literary content, and that the embellishment did help to sell the series. This is testified to by several well-known men in their memoirs, particularly in their recollections of their youth. Some like William Hone just recall that the book was illustrated,[43]

42 M. Jackson, The Pictorial Press. Its Origin and Progress, p.359.

43 In William Hone's autobiographical sketch, printed in F.W. Hackwood's William Hone, His Life and Times, p.29.

while others remember the particular edition and the individual artist. Especially memorable apparently were Cooke's editions, as both Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt recall with nostalgia collecting the numbers. Both of them dwell on the excitement which they felt at the mere physical appearance. Leigh Hunt for example 'doted on their size; I doted on their type, on their ornaments, on their wrappers containing lists of the other poets, and on the engravings from Kirk'.[44] For Hazlitt, Cooke's Select Novels opened up a new world:

> I had hitherto read only in school-books ... but this had a different relish ... It smacked of the world lived in, and in which I was to live ... the world I had found out in Cooke's edition of the British Novelists was to me a dance through life, a perpetual gala-day.

And he too was charmed at their physical appearance:

> With what eagerness I used to look forward to the next number, and open the prints! Ah! never again shall I feel the enthusiastic delight with which I gazed at the figures, and anticipated the story and adventures.[45]

Fortunately Thomas Dibdin did not attempt to anticipate the story while he admired the illustrations by Stothard to Harrison's Novelist's Magazine, since the dating on the plates seems to imply that the illustrations did not necessarily come out in the same order as the text.[46] As with Hazlitt's remarks on

44 Autobiography of Leigh Hunt(1860), p.76.

45 W. Hazlitt, in the essay 'On Reading Old Books' from The Plain Speaker, in The Works of William Hazlitt, ed. P.P. Howe, vol.12, pp.222-3. Augustine Birrell, in Essays about Men, Women and Books(1894) also sententiously praises Cooke's editions: 'You never see on a stall one of Cooke's books but it is soiled by honest usage; ... Cooke made an immense fortune, and deserved to do so ... He gave the people cheap books, and they bought them gladly.' (p.143.)

46 This seems to have frequently been the case from the evidence of the dating of Mudford's British Novelists plates, also the Hogarthian Novelist edition of Roderick Random(RR25), and Cooke's editions as well.

Cooke's numbers stopping 'in the nick of a story', the divisions into parts seems to have been for economic and typographical reasons, and no attempt made even with a novel such as Sir Launcelot Greaves to exploit the formal potentialities of number-publishing until the nineteenth century.

Dibdin's appreciation of Harrison's series was confined almost entirely to its illustration:

> I cannot describe what I used to feel on looking over the engravings by Heath, from the pencil of Stothard, in the volumes of Harrison's Novelist's Magazine. Indeed they merit the closest attention and warmest admiration of naturer life ... Those who would lay the foundations, 'strong and deep', of a collection of the British School of Art, will do well fo furnish themselves with choice proofs, when obtainable, of the above specimens ... STOTHARD, our domestic Raffaelle ... loveliness, grace, and innocence, seems to be impressed on every female countenance and figure which he delineated. [47]

From the point of view of artistic interest the illustrations to Harrison's Sir Launcelot Greaves merit attention now because the Stothard design for the election plate was engraved by William Blake at an early stage of his career(Pl.150), and it is hard to reconcile Blake with 'our domestic Raffaelle', let alone Smollett.[48]

One noticeable feature of illustration to this novel is that, with the exception of Cruikshank, illustrators by and large did not regard it as comic. Even Cruikshank's comedy is rather strained, achieved in his Alarm of Crowe and Fillet at the appearance of Sir Launcelot(Pl.145) by fading out the domestic

47 T.F. Dibdin, Reminiscences of a Literary Life(1836), pp.65-6.

48 Blake engraved plates to Don Quixote, A Sentimental Journey, David Simple, and Sir Charles Grandison, as well as Sir Launcelot Greaves, see G.E. Bentley, Jr. and M.K. Nurmi, A Blake Bibliography, pp.140-5.



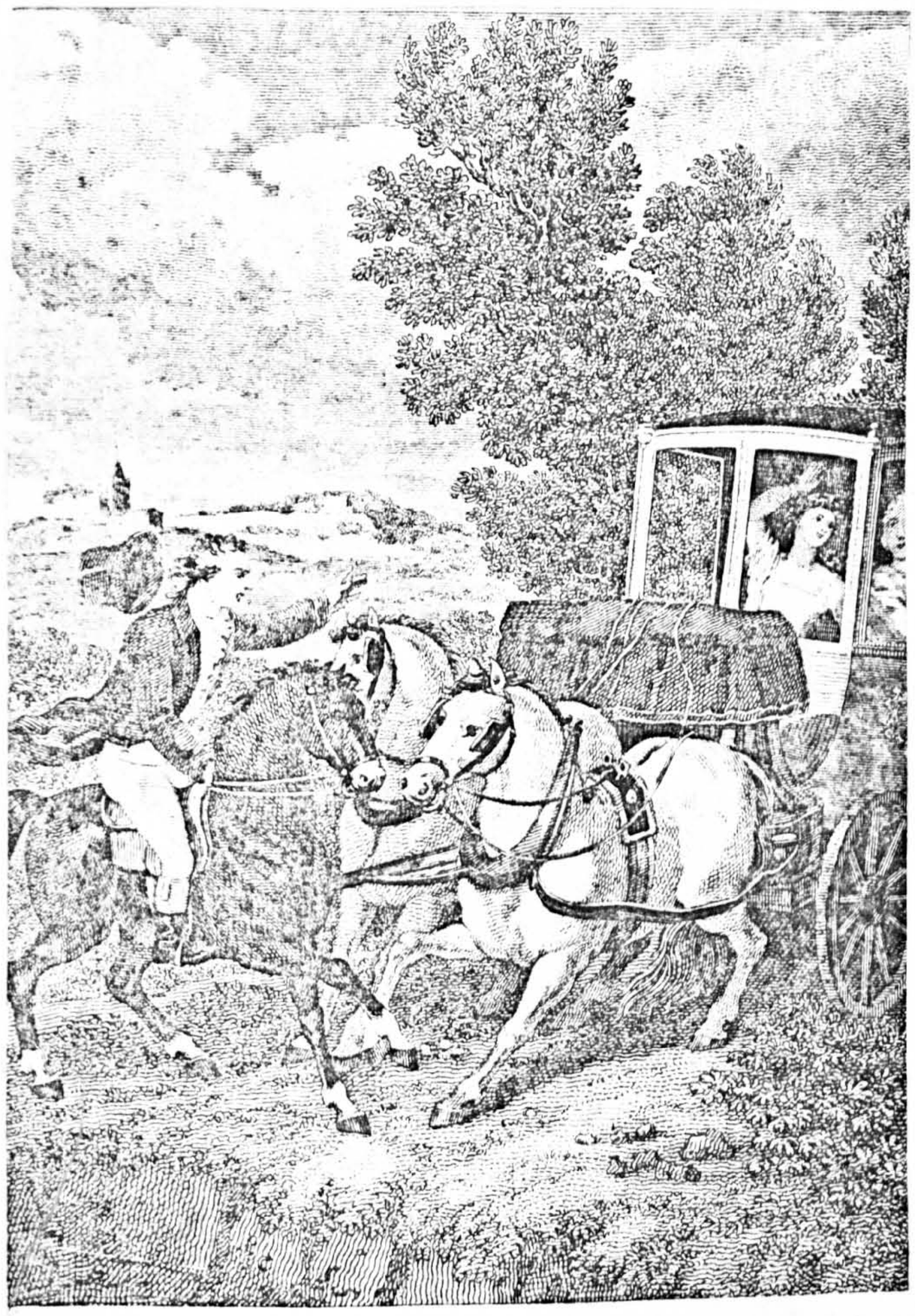
Pl.154. Cruikshank (1832)

details of the inn scene in favour of the 'alarming' element, and in his second design, Dawdle's Victory over Captn. Crowe (Pl.154), by choosing a ludicrous figure in a peripheral episode. The majority of illustrations concentrate on three main areas: the romantic loveplot, the 'supernatural', and the armoured hero. A typical example of the first is William Craig's plate showing Launcelot saving Aurelia and her mother from imminent death when their horses run away(Pl.155), or the design, again by Craig, of the reconciliation of the lovers in Mr Shackle's house(Pl.156). The 'supernatural' is treated in the two illustrations of Crab-shaw's visit to the conjuror(Pls. 157 and 158), an episode derivative of the similar Crabtree trick in Peregrine Pickle, and in two 'apparition' scenes dealt with already in the Ferdinand Count Fathom chapter.[49] In one of these scenes Crowe mistakes the maid for a ghost, and in the other Ferret, with the help of Dr Fillet and Tom Clarke plus some sheets and a bottle of liquid phosphorous, plays on the captain's weakness in his overnight vigil in the church. The theme of the armoured hero is more pervasive, occurring in most of the sets of illustrations to the novel,[50] and an interesting change in emphasis is perceptible over the period in the treatment of this theme.

Two modest editions of the novel, of little artistic importance, illustrate this change in attitude rather well. Wenman's Entertaining Museum edition of 1780 has two frontispieces,

49 See Pl.123, and accompanying text.

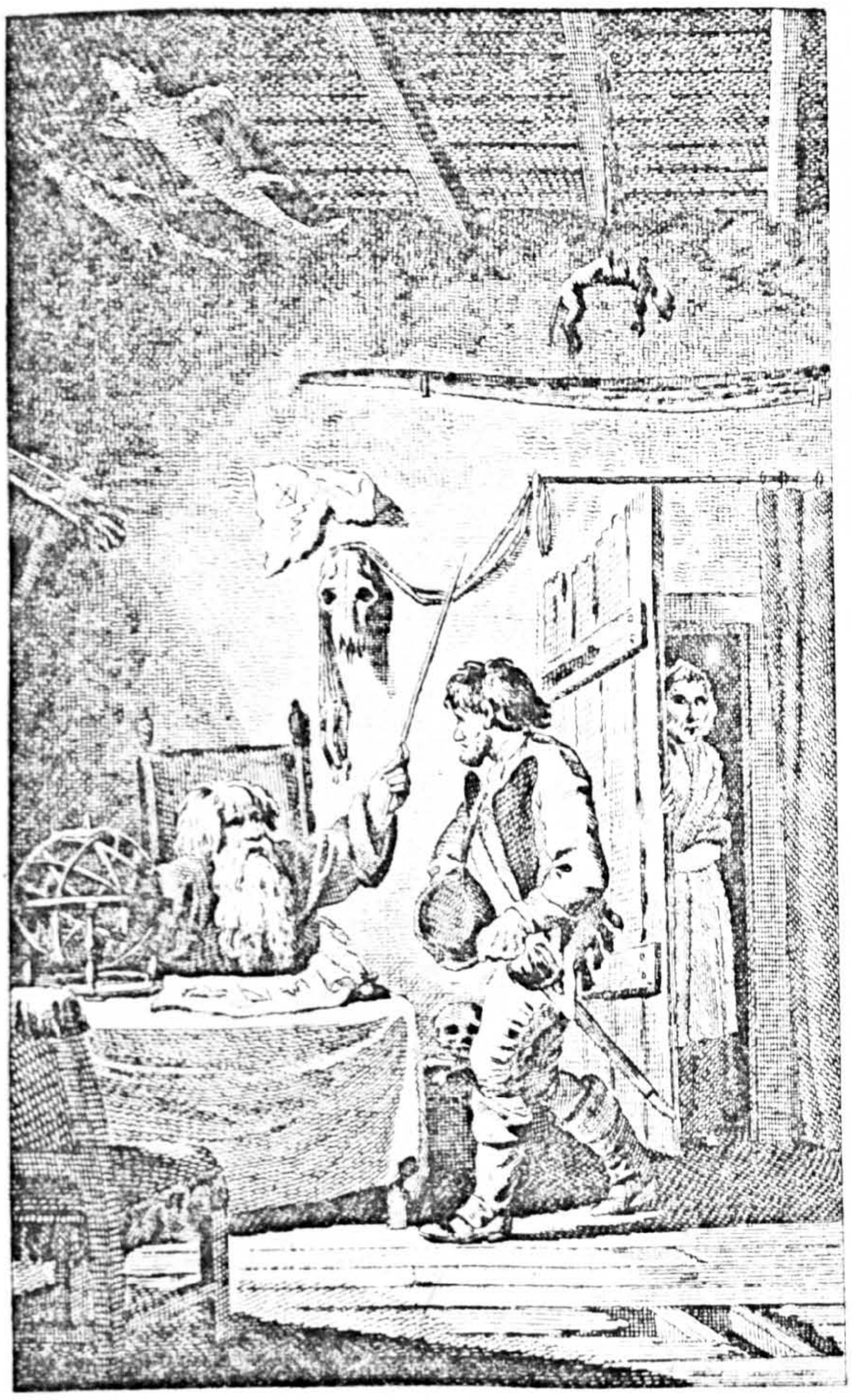
50 One exception is Craig's second set of illustrations to the novel(LG16), where the two plates are of Sir Launcelot in the mad-house, and saving Aurelia and her mother from the runaway horses. The peripheral nature of the episodes, and the omission of the armoured hero theme, suggest that he was avoiding elements in the novel already dealt with.



Pl.155. Craig (1816)



Pl.156. Craig (1813)



Pl.157. Stothard (1782)



Pl.158. Clennell (1810)

one an affecting scene of Aurelia's mother on her deathbed(Pl.159), and the other, Sir Launcelot discovers Aurelia at the inn(Pl.160), a standard reconciliation of hero and heroine, where Launcelot's medieval costume is to all intents and purposes incidental. The tone of both these plates is charming and domestic, and a strong contrast to the illustrations to Wallis's edition of 1810. Here the frontispiece(Pl.161), drawn in a florid and romanticised manner, shows Launcelot as a knight in shining armour, and misinforms the reader(to say the least) of the significance of knight-errantry in the tale. The same kind of eccentric interpretation is evident in the titlepage vignette, Crabshaw roaring under the influence of the night mare(Pl.162), which makes obvious reference to Fuseli's Nightmare(Pl.163),[51] an influential and highly Romantic painting, adjectives which do not spring to mind in connection with Smollett's novel.

The Wallis edition is just the first of several early nineteenth century illustrated editions of the novel which tend to emphasise the knightly theme. The visually surprising notion of a hero in full armour appearing in an eighteenth century setting is not made much of in the original magazine plates, since the dress and behaviour of the contextual characters are

51 See N. Powell, Fuseli: 'The Nightmare' for extensive discussion of this painting and its influence. Fuseli's Nightmare was originally painted in 1781, but he returned to the subject several times, for example in 1792. It was very popular and appears in many caricatures of the period, some of which are reproduced, as well as the originals, in P. Tomory's The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli, pp.201-3, and plates 222-8. Tomory, p.184, discusses the influence of Armstrong's ideas of the physical and psychological bases for nightmares, and Crabshaw's nightmare is interesting for the care with which Smollett accounts for it psychologically. In this respect it may be compared with Smollett's interest in 'the impulses of fear which is the most violent and interesting of all the passions' in Ferdinand Count Fathom(Dedication, p.3).



Sr Launcelot Greaves's *Interview with* Mrs Darnel

Pl.159. Dodd (1780)



Sir Launcelot *discovers* Aurelia *at the Inn*

Pl.160. Dodd (1780)

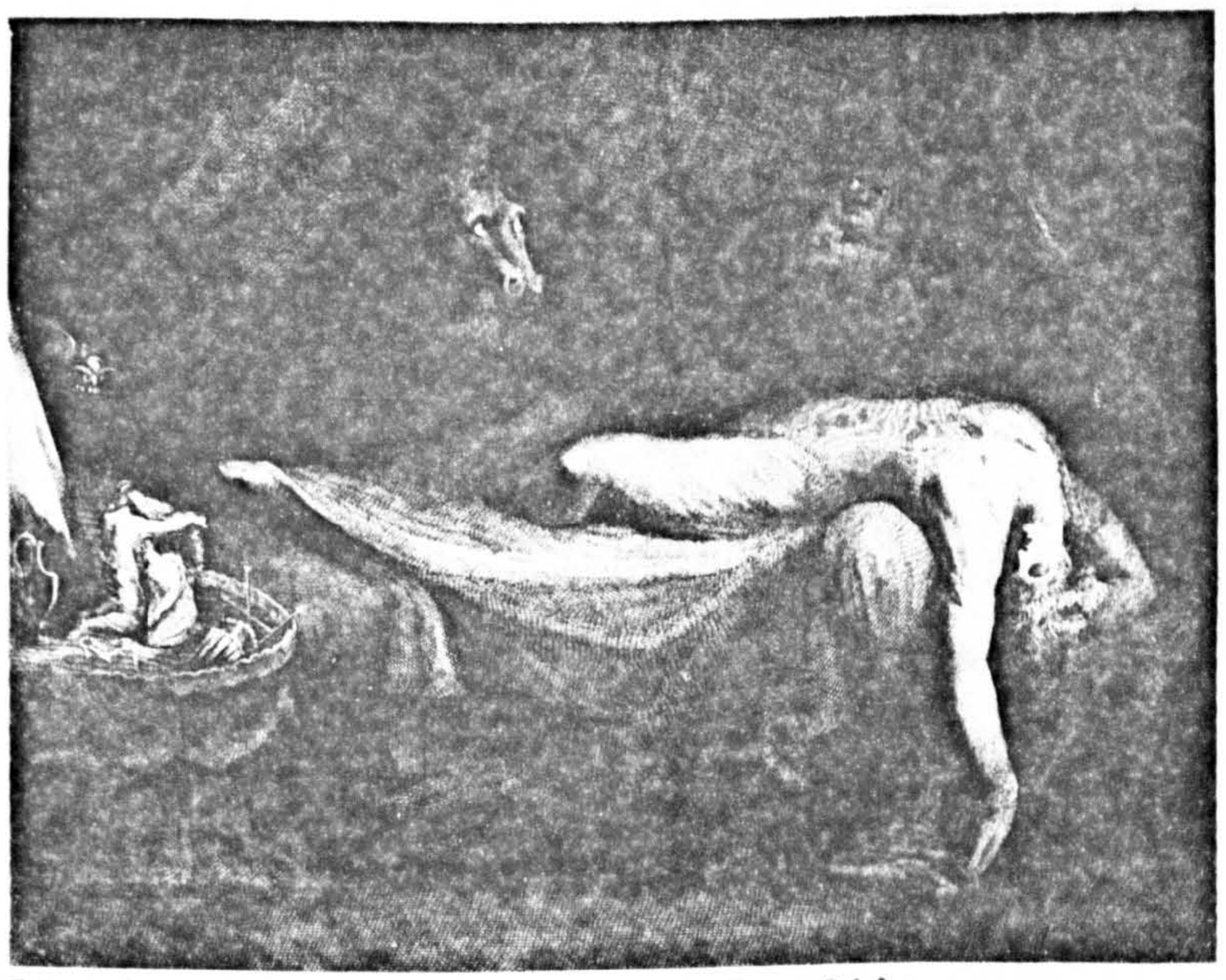


The attention of the Knight aroused by Crabshaws disaster

Pl.161. Brooke (1809)



Pl.162. Brooke (1809)



Pl.163. Raddon engraving of Fuseli's
The Nightmare (1827)

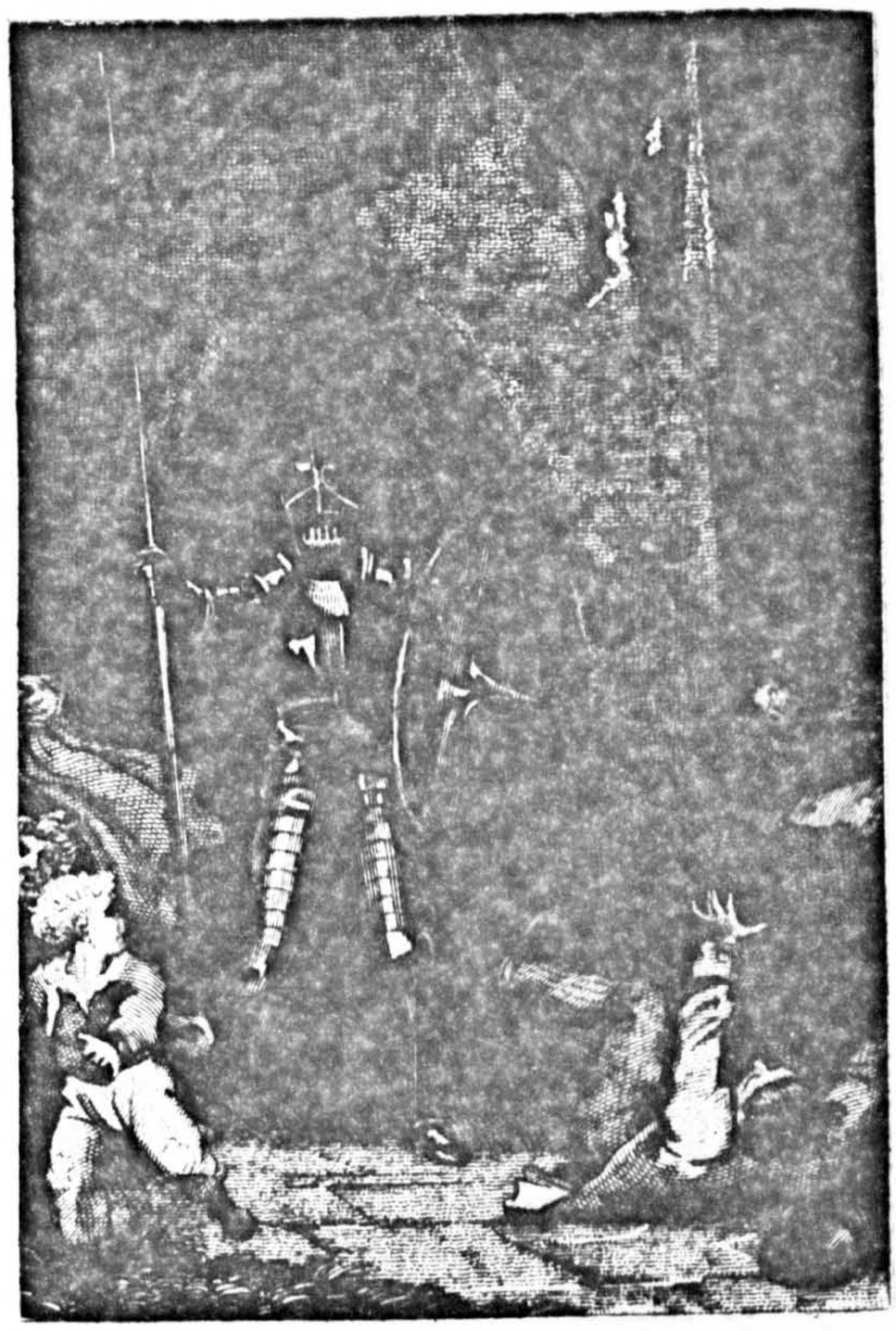
not especially designed to show up the anachronistic costume of the hero. Contemporary illustrations therefore reinforce the notion that contemporary readers found nothing very odd in this unrealistic use of armour but accepted it as a convention of the plot, unless they shared the carping mentality of Ferret. It plays a relatively minor role in the plates to Wenman's, Harrison's and Cooke's editions of the novel, and it is not until Wallis's, Mudford's and the Mirror of Amusement editions of the nineteenth century that it becomes an important feature. At about this time too there is more sensitivity in written commentary on the novel to the 'wild and improbable subject'[52] on which Sir Launcelot Greaves is based, especially in the criticism of Sir Walter Scott. He complains of 'the great extravagance of the story, as applicable to England' and considered that 'for all the purposes of reformation to be effected in England, his pocket-book, filled with bank-notes, would be a better auxiliary than either sword or lance',[53] a criticism not surprising from one who demands 'in the most improbable fiction ... some air of vraisemblance'.[54]

The illustrations by Clennell to Mudford's British Novelists edition are typical of this emphasis on the extravagant, especially the one showing Launcelot's emerging from the church after his nocturnal vigil(Pl.164). And, like Craig in the Mirror of Amusement plate(Pl.143), Clennell's inn scene(Pl.142)

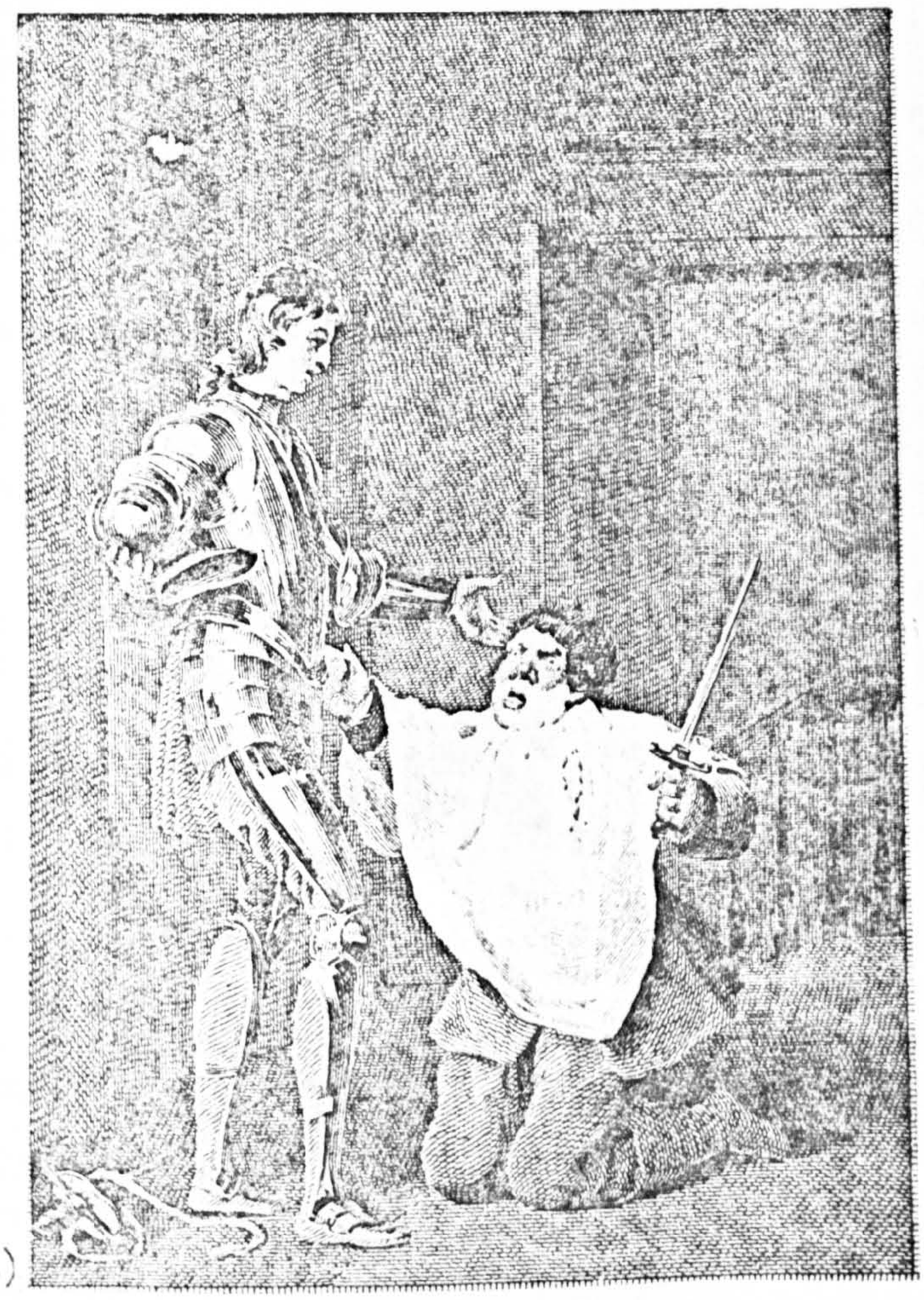
52 Mudford makes this criticism in his 1810 prefatory essay to the British Novelists edition of the novel.

53 Lives of the Novelists: Tobias Smollett, 1821, [redacted] repr. 1825, I, 126.

54 Advertisement to the 1829 edition of Waverley.



Pl.164. Clennell (1810)



Pl.165. Craig (1813)

places greater stress on the entrance of the armed hero than Stothard's design of the same episode done some thirty years earlier, which concentrates more on the contemporary setting (Pl.141). Craig's plate suggests that he had been doing some fairly intensive historical research, with its strong parallel with Hogarth's famous caricature of John Wilkes in the central seated figure. Remarks he made later in a lecture corroborate this when he notes that

> in representing, by your pencils, the transactions and events of ages far back in our history, though you may properly represent all the beauty, and elegance, and grace, of these polished times, you should, I think, be very cautious in introducing its fashions. [55]

The Mirror of Amusement edition of the novel is of historical interest quite apart from its concentration on the armed hero in the illustrations, being proudly advertised as a 'Stereotype Edition'. Not only is this a very early date for the process, but it presupposes a large readership, which might not have been expected for this particular novel. Stereotyping had been invented by William Ged of Edinburgh in 1725,[56] but because of the small size of editions had been virtually forgotten for the rest of the eighteenth century. It was re-introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Charles Stanhope, but remained rare until the papier-maché matrix was developed by Claude Genoux in 1829, to replace the more brittle plaster-of-

55 W.M. Craig, A Course of Lectures on Drawing, Painting and Engraving, Considered as Branches of Elegant Education(1821), pp.225-6. The figure of Sir Launcelot in the other plate in this edition(Pl.165) also shows attention to details of dress in his suit of armour.

56 See Biographical Memoirs of William Ged(1819). The advertisement to this 1819 edition emphasises that it is a reprint of the 1781 original since stereotyping is 'an art, which has lately attracted much attention'.

paris one previously used.[57] The years 1806-7 saw considerable public debate about this new process, with much opposition from the compositors whose livelihood was threatened by the solid block method of printing. A pamphlet from this date by 'A Compositor' complains of the prospect of redundancy in the trade due to 'stereotype printing, which will certainly engross our larger and popular works(vide Andrew Wilson's advertisement) and leave us nothing but the floating pamphlets of the day'.[58] At this date it was generally felt that the demand did not require the use of stereotyping because, according to a note in the Monthly Magazine for April 1807,

> it does not appear that more than twenty or thirty works would warrant the expence of being cast in solid pages ... As the extra expence of stereotyping is in all works equal to the expence of paper for 750 copies, it is obvious that this art is not applicable to new books ...[but] to staple works of such great and constant sale, as prayer-books and bibles.[59]

This brought a reply from Andrew Wilson, the 'proprietor of the Stereotype Office', who claimed that it was economical to the publisher and that

> a saving of 25 to 40 per cent will accrue to the public in the prices of all books of standard reputation and sale, which, I believe, are pretty accurately ascertained to comprehend THREE FOURTHS of all the book printing of England, Scotland, and Ireland.[60]

It is difficult for a modern reader to comprehend a time when

57 Information on stereotypes comes from C.Knight, The Old Printer and the Modern Press, pp.252-6, and R.Altick, The English Common Reader, p.262, M.Plant, The English Book Trade, pp. 300-3, and G.A. Kubler, Historical Treatises, Abstracts and Papers on Stereotyping.

58 Repr. in E.Howe, The London Compositor, p.122.

59 Monthly Magazine, vol.XXIII, April 1807, p.264.

60 Ibid., May 1807, p.373.

Sir Launcelot Greaves was ever to be numbered among the three fourths of books of standard reputation and sale, but this appears to be the case since a second, and different, stereotype edition of the novel was issued three years later, published along with Gil Blas by Kinnersley and 'Embellished with Beautiful Engravings'. While the first might be explained away as experimental, especially as it pre-dates the more predictable use of stereotype for The Times newspaper by at least a year,[61] the second is more difficult to account for. The development of stereotyping was a response to a demand for cheap mass production of literature, from which one infers that in some way Smollett's novel suited a large, but possibly undiscriminating, audience.

While statistics on literacy over the period are inevitably nebulous, a distinct general trend can be distinguished from the twelve thousand readers claimed for numbers of Harrison's Novelist's Magazine in the eighties to the eighty thousand claimed as readers of Limbird's Mirror of Literature some forty years later.[62] Although the Mirror was not actually a magazine for novel reprints, the connection between its readers and the readers who might purchase his 'reprints of standard Works at the same cheap rate' is made by Limbird, so that 'by this means of cheap publication the temple of knowledge is thrown open to

61 R.Altick, The English Common Reader, p.262. Altick estimates that stereotyping did not come into general use until after 1820.

62 The figures for Harrison's Novelist's Magazine are given without any substantiation in Rees and Britton's Reminiscences of Literary London, p.22; and Limbird's by H.Brougham in Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, p.3 and proudly reproduced by Limbird in his prefatory remarks to The Mirror, vol.V, June 20, 1825.

all'.[63] This same claim was optimistically made in the nineties by James Lackington:

> the poorer sort of farmers, and even the poor country people in general ... shorten the nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales, romances, etc. and on entering their houses, you may see Tom Jones, Roderick Random, and other entertaining books stuck up on their bacon-racks, etc.... In short, all ranks and degrees now READ.[64]

In fact the age of cheap popular literature could more probably be dated from the publishing of Bentley's Standard Novels in the eighteen thirties, and his rapid reprints of contemporary novels,[65] but earlier publishers had helpfully paved the way. A mid-nineteenth century tribute to men such as Harrison, Cooke, and Mudford comes from C.H. Timperley when, furiously mixing his metaphors, he writes:

> however it may be customary to kick the ladder down when we find we no longer want it, these sort of publications must be confessed to have greatly contributed to lay the foundation of that literary taste and thirst for knowledge, which now pervades all classes.[66]

Although it appeared in no editions of extreme merit, Sir Launcelot Greaves was from the beginning published in interesting

63 Preface to The Mirror, vol.V, June 20, 1825. Limbird worked on the principle of small profits on an extensive scale, and his undercutting was unpopular with the rest of the trade. The Mirror was a sixteen page weekly adorned with woodcuts, containing miscellaneous pieces scissored from books and periodicals, and cost a mere twopence. See The Bookseller, November 30, 1859, for an article on him entitled 'The Pioneer of Cheap Literature'. Henry Vizetelly remembers him as 'a dull-brained individual, with a swinish cast of countenance, giving the idea that he was of a gluttonous turn; while the tinted tip of Timbs's nose suggested that "the Mirror" editor was not averse to what is called the cheerful glass'. (Glances back through Seventy Years, vol.1, p.86.)

64 J. Lackington, Memoirs(1791), p.254-5.

65 M.Sadleir, XIX Fiction: A Bibliographical Record,vol.2,p.108.

66 C.H. Timperley, A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, p.838, in a footnote.

circumstances, which reflected the growing popularity of the most democratic of literary forms, the novel. The adventures of knightly heroes and abducted heroines in the novel are the themes most often emphasised by illustrators, themes which appeared to be popular in the early nineteenth century and attractive to the kind of reader who was beginning to discover 'cheap literature'. It thus had a kind of subterranean and chronologically limited popularity not generally appreciated by either eighteenth or twentieth century readers.

CHAPTER V HUMPHRY CLINKER

I

Smollett's last novel is generally considered to be his finest, and certainly became his most popular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its position today is still that described by Dickens in a letter to the artist Frank Stone:

> 'Humphry Clinker' is certainly Smollett's best. I am rather divided between 'Peregrine Pickle' and 'Roderick Random', both extraordinarily good in their way, which is a way without tenderness. [1]

'Smollett's best' it might be now, but this is not noticeably reflected in its illustration in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century; and possibly we should infer from this that contemporaries viewed Smollett's career as a novelist as a falling off after the great success of Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, and possibly even that Humphry Clinker was felt to be somewhat old-fashioned as a novel for the seventies.

The first illustrated editions of the novel were not English, but German and Dutch. The German edition was published in 1775 (HC1), with three charming frontispieces and some very unSmollettian vignettes which transpose situations in the novel to baroque cherubic imagery.[2] The frontispieces appeared again in the Dutch edition four years later(HC2), and once more in another German edition in 1803(HC9). The first English illustrations

1 Letters of Charles Dickens, 1833 to 1870, ed. M.Dickens and G.Hogarth, p.334. The letter is dated 30 May 1854.

2 See notes to HC1 in the checklist. These cherubic vignettes closely resemble Eisen's endpieces to Dorat's Baisers (1770), see footnote 4 to chapter 1.

did not appear until 1785, with the inevitable edition in Wenman's Entertaining Museum series(HC3), with two frontispieces, and a Novelist's Magazine edition(HC4) with four plates by Edward Burney. All but one of these plates emphasise the element of 'tenderness' in the novel, an approach also stressed in illustrations to Cooke's editions of the novel(HC7 and 8). Like Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Launcelot Greaves it therefore has no 'standard' frontispieces, such as Hayman's to Roderick Random, or Fuseli's to Peregrine Pickle.

Volume six of the 1790 Miscellaneous Works(HC5) was again, as it were, unavoidably illustrated with a frontispiece by Rowlandson, but it was his set of ten plates to the novel three years later(HC6) that are the first 'spontaneous' illustrations to Humphry Clinker, the first significant as an interpretation to the novel. These plates enjoyed their customary popularity, reappearing in an 1805 edition(HC10), and in the 1809 Miscellaneous Works volume containing Humphry Clinker(HC12).

The period 1800 to 1830 saw an increase in illustrations to the novel, with Walker's two editions in 1808 and 1815(HC11 and 15), Mudford's edition in the British Novelists series in 1810(HC13), Dean and Munday's reprint of the Cooke's edition in 1819(HC16), Dove's English Classics version in 1825(HC17) (with plates by Henry, son of the prolific Richard Corbould), Limbird's cheap part-issue with woodcuts in 1827(HC18), and with an American edition published in Philadelphia in 1829(HC19).

By 1830 the position of the novel as 'certainly Smollett's best' was secure, as it was the first work reprinted in Roscoe's Novelist's Library series, with four plates by Cruikshank(HC20).[3]

3 Roscoe's Novelist's Library began abortively with an edition

And as with Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, Phiz also illustrated the novel in 1857.[4] This position was however assured much earlier on, implicitly in Mrs Barbauld's choice of Humphry Clinker as the only Smollett novel included in her otherwise fairly comprehensive British Novelists series in 1810, and explicitly in her remarks on why this was so:

> His mind, either from the vulgar scenes of his early life, or the society of the crew of a man-of-war, seems to have received an indelible taint of vice and impurity. Vice in his works cannot be said to be seductive ... It must be remembered, however, that vice may pollute the mind, and coarseness vitiate the taste, even when presented in the least attractive form; and it is therefore to the praise of the present generation that this author's novels are much less read now than they were formerly. The least exceptionable of them is Humphrey Clinker.[5]

II

Moral turpitude was not the grounds on which Humphry Clinker was criticised in 1771, but for its 'want of events', and in his analysis of this defect the Gentleman's Magazine reviewer makes an interesting cross-reference to the graphic arts:

> nor is it indeed principally a narrative of events, but rather a miscellany containing dissertations on various subjects, exhibitions of character, and descriptions of

---

of Robinson Crusoe, illustrated by Jacob Strutt. It recommenced with Cruikshank as the illustrator, Humphry Clinker becoming the new volume 1, see M.Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction. A Bibliographical Record, vol.2, p.109.

4 Humphry Clinker. By T.Smollett, M.D. Author of 'Roderick Random', 'Peregrine Pickle', Etc. Etc.[Motto] With Illustrations by Phiz. London: G.Routledge & Co. Farringdon Street; New York: 18, Beekman Street. 1857.

5 Preface to vol.30 of the British Novelists series(1810), ed. Mrs Barbauld, p.xvi. Michael Sadleir notes that Mudford's British Novelists series in the same year and with illustrations mostly by Luke Clennell was probably in 'parsimonious imitation of Harrison's Novelist's Magazine, and provoked by the success in 1810 of Mrs Barbauld's British Novelists. The whole affair is jerry-built'(XIX Century Fiction, vol.2, p.142).

places. Many of the characters are drawn with a free but masterly hand; in some particulars perhaps they are exaggerated, but they are not therefore the less entertaining or instructive; Some appear to be pictures of particular persons, but others of human nature, represented indeed in individuals peculiarly distinguished, but drawn rather from imagination than life. Some, however, are extravagant as the fancies of Calot, but though they do not less deviate from nature, their irregularities discover the same vivacity and spirit.

In this part of the work consists its principal excellence, and its principal defect is the want of events.[6]

The fact that literature and art could be mutually interpretative was an eighteenth century cliché, but it often took the form of vague literary pictorialism of the ut pictura poesis type, or of a more specific but still unhelpful nature, as when Scott compares Smollett's genius with that of Rubens, 'coarse, and even vulgar in conceptions ... but ... redeemed by such richness and brilliancy of colours'.[7] The Gentleman's Magazine review of Humphry Clinker, appearing in the month after publication, makes for the period an unusually particularised cross-reference between some of the characters in the novel and the 'fancies of Calot', which I take to be a reference to the seventeenth century French graphic artist, Jacques Callot.

In the eighteenth century the work of Callot was frequently synonymous with grotesqueness and the 'distortion of physical reality'.[8] It was this aspect as well as his technical skill

6 Gentleman's Magazine, vol.41, p.317. The Critical Review also praised 'a strong, lively, and picturesque description of characters'(vol.32, p.81). In the self-portrait of Dr S ----- in Humphry Clinker the only literary reference is 'he pretended to have a knack at hitting off characters' (p.132).

7 Lives of the Novelists: Tobias Smollett, 1821, repr. 1825 [illegible]. I, 156.

8 A.Clayborough, The Grotesque in English Literature, p.12. Callot was well-known in eighteenth century England through

which was generally admitted to have influenced Hogarth, whose superiority, according to Samuel Ireland, 'we may impute [to] his happy selection of a model from a neighbouring country, the celebrated CALLOT.' [9] In the nineteenth century a more frequent analogy would be made between Smollett and Hogarth, as the description of Smollett's novels as 'repositories and store-houses of humour, as galleries of portraits from the life, as written Hogarths'.[10] The choice of Callot rather than Hogarth by the eighteenth century reviewer may have been because the French artist was normally associated with the single distorted figure, where little attention is paid to the background setting, as in his series of Beggars(Pl.166), or on the other hand could refer to those of his designs which are crowded with small figures and a multiplicity of incident, as in The Temptations of Saint Anthony. Hogarth's figures by comparison, though of central importance in his designs, are always carefully integrated into a completely realised setting and often into a narrative as well. The reviewer, by choosing Callot rather than Hogarth, seems to be stressing that part of Smollett's characterisation

---

Abraham Bosse's influential Traicté des Manieres de grauer en taille douce sur l'airin(1645, and reprinted by Cochin in 1765), see W.M. Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication, p.75. It is interesting that Thackeray uses the same phrase as the Gentleman's Magazine reviewer, 'the fancies of Callot', in describing Cruikshank's Points of Humour vignette to The Consultation episode in Peregrine Pickle (see chapter 2 footnote 28).

9 S. Ireland, Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth(1794), p.3. The connection was also made by Wilkes in the North Briton, no.17(May 21, 1762), and is frequently referred to in Frederick Antal's Hogarth and his place in European Art.

10 Westminster Review(1827), vol.7, p.343. Compare also Scott's review in 1810 of Murphy's Fatal Revenge where he calls Smollett 'the literary Hogarth, whose figures, though they seldom attained grace or elegance, were marked with indelible truth and peculiarity of character'(quoted in Sir Walter Scott on novelists and fiction, ed. I.Williams, p.206).



Pl.166. Callot from his series <u>The Beggars</u> (1626)

which concentrates on particularisation of physical detail regardless of any relative importance in the context of the novel as a whole. Of this type is Captain Weazel, discussed in the Roderick Random chapter, a character whose appearance is an end in itself rather than subordinate to his actions, opinions, or to the setting in which he is placed. And in Humphry Clinker there are two characters described in this manner, Tabitha Bramble and Lismahago.[11]

Smollett's other Callotesque use of character is to group them en masse such as the 'assemblage of originals' described in the 'lunch at Chelsea' episode in Humphry Clinker where their exaggerated grotesqueness tends to Callot rather than to Hogarth. This does not imply that Smollett ignores Hogarth; like Fielding and Sterne, and many other contemporary novelists, Smollett uses Hogarth as a source when wanting to describe a character's expression.[12] In Humphry Clinker 'the expression of the two faces [of Tabby and Lady Griskin], while they continued in this attitude, would be no bad subject for a pencil like that of the incomparable Hogarth'(p.144) and was certainly a good subject for Rowlandson(Pl.167), whose design is a comic study

11 Humphry himself is also a caricature but described more briefly: 'he seemed to be about twenty years of age, of a middling size, with bandy legs, stooping shoulders, high fore-head, sandy locks, pinking eyes, flat nose, and long chin - but his complexion was of a sickly yellow; his looks denoted famine'(p.81). In his account of Scotland in The Present State of all Nations(1768) Smollett gives his only description of a national type: 'the commonalty of Scotland are mostly raw-boned, hard-featured, lean, lank, and muscular. In size they are rather smaller than their neighbours of South-Britain: they have generally long visages, with high cheek-bones, and hair of a sandy, red colour'(vol.2, p.11).

12 See chapter 1, footnote 58.



Fl.167. Rowlandson (1793)



Fl.168. Phiz (1857)

in three female types.[13] Smollett does not use the Hogarthian symbolic scene to the same extent as Fielding or Richardson but restricts his borrowing to the expressive figure which was, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Hogarth's most influential quality. William Gilpin, in the Hogarth section of his Essay Upon Prints(1768), shows this kind of appreciation at its most extreme, where he criticises the artist's low subject-matter, bad drawing and composition, lack of grace and so on, 'but of his expression, in which the force of his genius lay, we cannot speak in terms too high'.[14]

Callot's most influential quality was grotesque distortion of the human figure, although the standard accounts in English of his work tend to ignore this aspect; in the three pages of his Biographical Dictionary devoted to Callot,[15] Joseph Strutt omits to mention his 'fancies', and the first English catalogue of his work, by J.H. Green in 1804,[16] repeats Strutt's assessment also including a list of 'Sets of Grotesque Works, and Pieces of Fancy', where the association of 'grotesque' and 'fancy' is a reflection of the Gentleman's Magazine point. Interesting too is Green's exclusion of these sets from his endlist of 'Callot's best pieces for ... those who wish to make a Select Collection of his Works'; it seems that these pieces were at the same time his best known work, and also the least respectable.

13 Phiz also illustrates this scene, but detracts from the whole effect by including Jery and Matt in it as well(Pl.168).

14 W.Gilpin, Essay Upon Prints, p.169.

15 J.Strutt, A Biographical Dictionary ... of All the Engravers (1785), vol.1, pp.168-71.

16 J.H. Green, A Catalogue and description of the whole of the works of the celebrated Jacques Callot.

An account of Callot, closer in time to the review, is found again in Gilpin's Essay Upon Prints. His main contention is that 'tho he could not make a picture, he was admirably skilled in drawing a figure',[17] which parallels the reviewer's criticism that, in Humphry Clinker, the 'exhibition of character' is its 'principal excellence, and its principal defect ... the want of events'. Gilpin finds Callot's Beggars, one of Green's 'Grotesque Works', his most successful because they are of 'detached figures, in which lay his strength ... I shall only add, that a vein of drollery and humour runs through all the designs of this master'.[18]

III

The 'detached figure' was as much a feature of Smollett's novel as it was of Callot's designs. Indeed Humphry Clinker separates out all too conveniently into detached areas: character studies, topographical essays, comic situations, and so on. This separation is echoed, or disguised, in the narrative form of the novel with its series of correspondents, in which the reader is encouraged to take by turn a satiric, or sentimental, or misanthropic, or comic view of the events. Illustrations are not so flexible, and cannot practically show a single episode from more than one point of view; so they largely ignore both the subjective areas of the novel displayed in Matt's letters, and the predominantly non-fictional parts of the novel. There is thus a noticeable gap in illustration in the long Scottish travelogue section, apart from the single episode of

17 W. Gilpin, Essay Upon Prints, p.77.

18 ibid., p.78.



Pl.169. Corbould (1799)



Pl.170. Clennell (1810)

Win's consultation with the witch, which was illustrated by Richard Corbould(Pl.169) and Luke Clennell(Pl.170), and presumably of a certain exotic appeal to the readers of the modest editions in which they appeared. Apart from this one scene, visual treatment of the novel ends with Lismahago's leaving the Bramble entourage at the Scottish border and resumes on his meeting them again after their tour, so that in addition to the comic/ sentimental limitation, illustrations tend to ignore unusual or original features.

The sentimental approach is characterised by the choice of episodes in the first illustrated edition of the novel(Pls.171-3), the three frontispieces illustrating Lydia's recognition of her lover selling spectacles, the scene where Humphry is mistaken for the blacksmith by his distraught widow(an episode prized as a moment of supreme pathos in the novel by Thomas Carlyle),[19] and the recognition of Humphry by Matt as his illegitimate son. This cannot be put down merely to Germanic taste, as it is also the emphasis in the first English illustrated edition, with Edward Burney's plates to the Novelist's Magazine edition.[20] Professor Eaves uses Rowlandson's illustrations to the novel as evidence that later readers have persistently misinterpreted the tone of Humphry Clinker, and that eighteenth century readers saw it in an entirely comic light.[21] Although this is certainly

19 'Nothing by Dante or any one else surpasses in pathos the scene where Humphry goes into the smithy made for him in the old house, and whilst he is heating the iron, the poor woman who has lost her husband, and is deranged, comes and talks to him as to her husband'(quoted in M.Conway, Thomas Carlyle, p.32).

20 An almost identical set of plates as those to the German edition, is found in Cooke's edition, see Pls. 174-6.

21 In the unpublished thesis, T.C.D.Eaves, 'Graphic Illustrations



Pl.171. Mansfeld (1775)



Pl.172. Mansfeld (1775)



Pl.173. Mansfeld (1775)



Pl.174. Aller (1794)



Pl.175. Corbould (1799)



Pl.176. Allen (1794)

how Rowlandson chose to interpret the novel, and although it was also the approach of Cruikshank and Phiz, they were exceptional. The first illustrated English edition has a plate by Burney showing that most melodramatic of reconciliation scenes, between Ferdinand Count Fathom(now plain Mr Grieve) and the Melvilles, with barely a touch of satire in the treatment, although the same could hardly be said of the text(Pl.177). Generally then the more humdrum illustrated editions of the novel tend to an ungainly mixture of comedy and sentimentality, as in the 1825 English Classics edition which has two illustrations, one serious showing Humphry in prison[22] and the other vaguely comic showing Lismagaho as he 'pranced away in great state'(Pls. 178 and 179).

The early-comic, late-sentimental idea is again insufficient to account for illustration of the drowning scenes in the novel. In two places Matt 'drowns' and Humphry 'saves' him, one episode comic when he is merely enjoying a sea-bathe, and the other serious when the coach overturns into a river. The early Wenman edition of 1785 shows the serious incident(Pl.181), and Cruikshank naturally chooses the comic one, since like Rowlandson his interpretation of the novel concentrates entirely on the humorous elements(Pl.182). Broadly the approach seems to have depended on the individual artist, and to a lesser extent the public for whom the various editions were intended, rather than on the date of the design. Sentimental gentility perhaps suited the German reader of foreign novels or the purchaser of Cooke's Select Novels, just as the exoticism of Red Indians or the social nuances of a

---

of the Principal English Novels of the Eighteenth Century' (Harvard, 1944), pp.207-8.

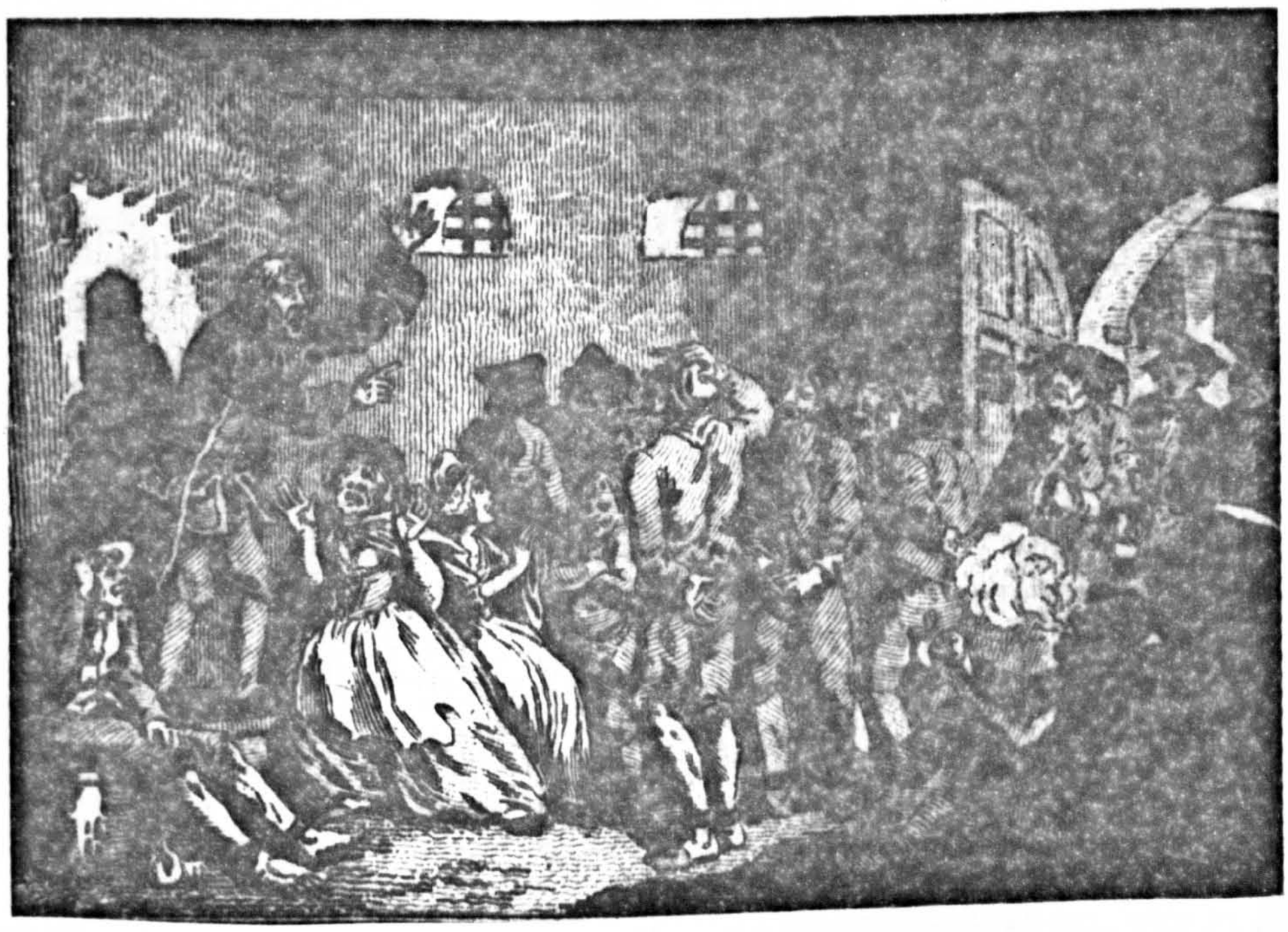
22 Compare this with Rowlandson's choice of a comic prison scene showing Humphry's attempt at preaching to an amused and unrepentant congregation of prisoners(Pl.180).



Fl.177. Burney (1785)



Fl.178.Corbould (1825)

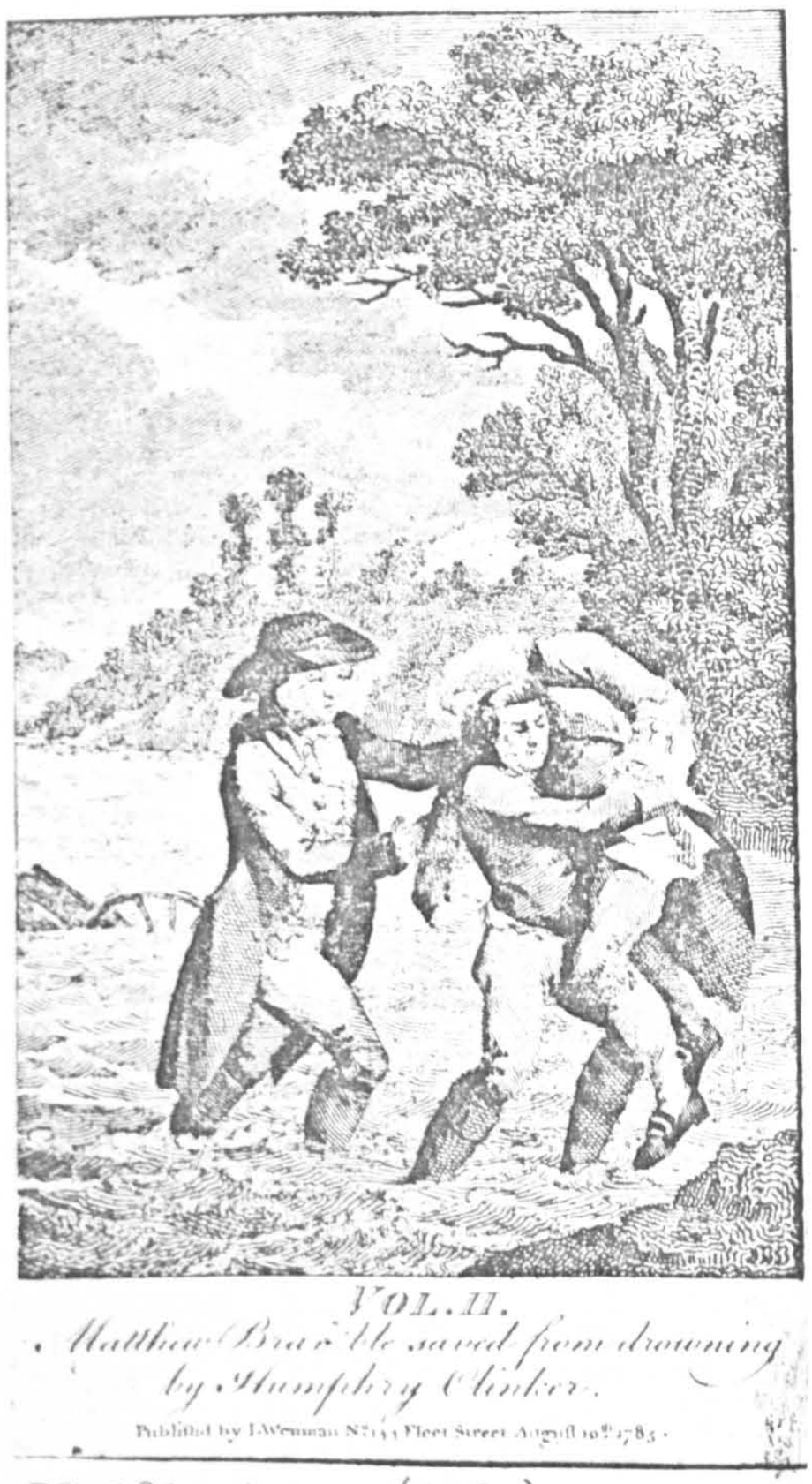


Fl.180. Rowlandson (1793)



Designed & Etched by G. Cruikshank

Pl.182. Cruikshank (1831)



VOL. II.

Matthew Bruce be saved from drowning by Humphrey Clinker.

Published by I. Wenman N°. 141 Fleet Street August 10th 1785.

Pl.181. Anon. (1785)



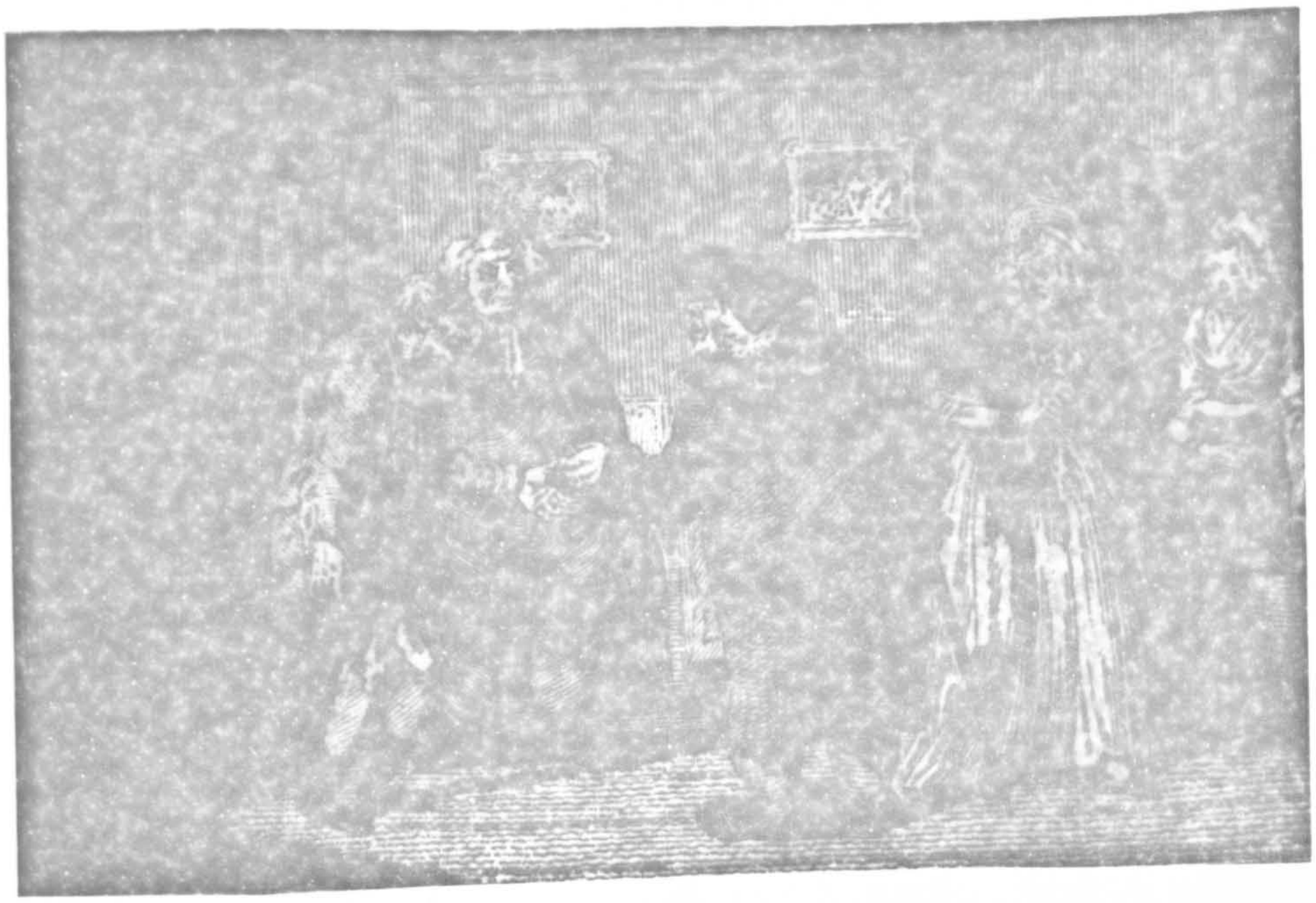
Pl.183. Uwins (1808)

Humphry preaching to the footmen at St James's Palace appealed to the lower-class reader of 'Limbird's British Novelist ... Humphry Clinker, price 1s.8d.' [23]

Rowlandson's attitude to the text shows exceptional levity, as is evident from his treatment of Humphry's first interview with his new family(Pl.184). Burney's Novelist's Magazine illustration done in 1785(and the frontispiece for the Entertaining Museum edition in the same year, the year that Humphry Clinker became out of copyright Pls. 185 and 186) is restrained in its depiction of this scene of mixed emotional effect, where Humphry stands 'convicted of sickness, hunger, wretchedness, and want' while Tabby charitably remarks that 'she had never seen such a filthy tatterdemalion, and bid him begone'(pp.81-2). Rowlandson's Humphry is a 'filthy tatterdemalion' while Burney's is an unfortunate social misfit. It is Cruikshank who sails nearest the wind in comic rudeness in illustrating the earlier part of the episode where Humphry takes over as postilion and shocks Tabby and Win 'by shewing his bare posteriors', though Win observes 'at the same time, that he had a skin as fair as alabaster' (p.81)(Pl.187).

These divergent attitudes of illustrators to the same episode illustrate nicely an important element in the novel, that one's view of the 'facts' of the external world is entirely relative and influenced or qualified by one's personality. It is an opinion implicit in many of Matt's remarks, and obvious from the contiguous arrangement of many of the letters, especially those

23 See Sir Launcelot Greaves chapter, Pls. 151 and 152. Limbird's catalogue is bound into the British Museum copy of Humphry Clinker published in his series. Walker's inexpensive edition also has a vignette showing Lismahago and his squaw(Pl.183).



Fl.184. Rowlandson (1793)



Fl.185. Burney (1795)



VOL. I.

Humphry Clinker's examination before Matthew Bramble at Salt Hill.

Published 10th Augt 1785 by J. Wenman No 241 Fleet Street.

Pl.186. Anon. (1785)



Designed & Etched by G. Cruikshank

Pl.187. Cruikshank (1831)

of Matt and Lydia.[24] It is also baldly stated at several points in the novel, the clearest statement coming from Jery:

> I am, however, mortified to reflect what flagrant injustice we every day commit, and what absurd judgment we form, in viewing objects through the falsifying medium of prejudice and passion. Had you asked me a few days ago, the picture of Wilson the player, I should have drawn a portrait very unlike the real person and character of George Dennison.[25] (p.332)

The phrase, 'the real person and character', expresses the idea that prejudice and passion not only pervert our moral judgment but also 'pervert the organs of sense'(p.95), the way, in other words, that we see the world of the novel.

If we visualise it through the eyes of its illustrators, it is very largely Jery's view that we follow. The burden of narration is divided almost equally between Jery and Matt, each an extreme of objective and subjective analysis. The contrast is spelt out in a letter of Jery's:

> I cannot account for my being pleased with these incidents, any other way than by saying, they are truly ridiculous in their own nature, and serve to heighten the humour in the farce of life, which I am determined to enjoy as long as I can. -
>
> Those follies, that move my uncle's spleen, excite my laughter. He is as tender as a man without a skin; who cannot bear the slightest touch without flinching. What tickles another would give him torment. (p.49)

Bramble is frequently described in critical commentary on the novel as the <u>persona</u> through whom Smollett 'revealed much of his own personality',[26] and although this may well be biographically

24 For example Matt's view of London as the 'grand source of luxury and corruption'(p.87), and Lydia's as 'all these tumultuous pleasures'(p.95).

25 The same point is made by Hogarth in <u>The Analysis of Beauty</u>(1753), p.6: 'Indeed it would be well for us all, if one of Gulliver's flappers could be placed at our elbows to remind us at every stroke how much prejudice and self-opinion perverts our sight.'

26 Lewis M.Knapp, in his introduction to the Oxford English Novels edition of <u>Humphry Clinker</u>, p.xv.

true it is Jery who reveals most of the attitudes and uses many of the mannerisms of the narrator of Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle. The overt claim to be observing mankind for the sake of entertainment rather than for moral instruction is rare in the eighteenth century novel but openly stated in the preface to Roderick Random, where the reader will 'find entertainment in viewing those parts of life, where the humours and passions are undisguised by affectation, ceremony, or education; and the whimsical peculiarities of disposition appear as nature has implanted them', an attitude strongly reminiscent of Jery's 'farce of life' approach to the world.

Jery's letters, unlike those of any other character, do not materially enrich the reader's understanding of his personality; he has no part in the 'plot' which ends in the triple marriage, in fact his attitude to this is more that of the Thackerayan master-of-ceremonies: 'the fatal knots are now tied. The comedy is near a close; and the curtain is ready to drop; but, the latter scenes of this act I shall recapitulate in order'(p.346). The relationship between Jery and Matt is not just the (fictional) one of uncle and nephew but, when Jery claims that Matt like himself frequents public places 'where he picks up continual food for ridicule and satire'(p.33) is seen to be one of shared attitudes. The epistolary technique was obviously the easiest way to accommodate the double viewpoint of Jery's objectivity and Matt's subjectivity, the first a satirical attitude to society giving full rein to caricature for its own sake, and the second an exaggeratedly emotional reaction from the stance of the benevolent misanthrope.

But although Jery writes twenty-eight to Matt's twenty-seven

letters, thirty-nine of the fifty-two separate illustrations refer to his letters compared to a mere nine referring to Matt's. Thus a great proportion of the pictorial representation of the novel, its graphic qualities in other words, is filtered through the consciousness of only one of the main narrators. Where Peregrine cultivated eccentric characters and created 'ludicrous situations', Jery selects and describes them, so that when Smollett emphasises Jery's creative vision, in his aside to Sir Watkin Phillips, he is incidentally drawing attention to his own technical subtlety:

> I shall grow vain, upon your saying you find entertainment in my letters; barren, as they certainly are, of incident and importance, because your amusement must arise, not from the matter, but from the manner, which you know is all my own. (p.136)

Part of the 'manner' is the set-piece caricature portrait, which in Humphry Clinker is highly stylised into two extended portraits, and the other part is 'situations', the two quqlities which Cruikshank found so amenable to illustration in Smollett's earlier novel Peregrine Pickle.[27] It is Jery who 'sees' Tabitha and Lismahago, and Jery who witnesses(with some difficulty) the first 'situation' in the novel when Matt is detected in flagrante caritate by Tabby giving money to the poor widow.

Of the two major caricatures Tabby is the first to be described,[28] although not until over half way through the first

27 See footnote 15 to chapter 2.

28 Earlier in the novel is a brief description of Sir Ulic Mackilligut, an Hibernian prototype of Lismahago, who 'stooped mortally, was tall, raw-boned, hard-favoured, with a woollen nightcap on his head'(p.29), whose dancing lesson is described by Jery, and illustrated by Corbould(Pl.188). Mickelwhimmen, the mean Scotch lawyer, is another Lismahago surrogate whose actions and personality rather than appearance is emphasised.



Pl.189. Corbould (1794)

volume; she is however everything and more that we might expect from Smollett's practice in his earlier novels:

> In her person, she is tall, raw-boned, aukward, flat-chested, and stooping; her complexion is sallow and freckled; her eyes are not grey, but greenish, like those of a cat, and generally inflamed; her hair is of a sandy, or rather dusty hue; her forehead low; her nose long, sharp, and, towards the extremity, always red in cool weather; her lips skinny, her mouth extensive, her teeth straggling and loose, of various colours and conformation; and her long neck shrivelled into a thousand wrinkles - In her temper, she is proud, stiff, vain, imperious, prying, malicious, greedy, and uncharitable. (p.60)

In some ways the reader has been expecting this 'individual peculiarly distinguished' for some time, as Jery's letters have all followed the same predictive pattern. In his first, after revealing to whom he is writing and why, and after filling in the details of the beginning of the sketchy Lydia/Dennison loveplot which forms the ostensible structure of the novel, he goes on to what the reviewer noted as the 'principal excellence' of the work, the 'exhibition of character': 'I have got into a family of originals, whom I may one day attempt to describe for your amusement'(p.8). His second letter follows the same pattern, starting with a titbit of college gossip, and going on 'as there is nothing that can be called company at the Well ... to observe the singularities in my uncle's character'(p.17). The way in which these originals are 'peculiarly distinguished' is by an exaggeration and extravagance which owes more to 'imagination than life'. This can take the form of extravagance in appearance or in behaviour and action, and is frequently reflected in the vocabulary and syntax;[29] and with Smollett's caricatures their

29 For example a typical stylistic trait of Smollett's is the improvised list of highly specific and quite often irrelevant details, such as Humphry's self-description: 'I can read and write, and do the business of the stable indifferent well -

actions tend to reinforce psychologically, and occasionally morally, the visual image.

With Tabby the visual reinforcement comes later rather than early, but with Lismahago this graphic note is struck from the first:

> He [Martin] had not been gone half an hour, when we were joined by another character, which promised something extraordinary - A tall, meagre figure, answering, with his horse, the description of Don Quixote mounted on Rozinante. (p.188)

There follows a slight piece of situational comedy when the 'cavalier' falls off his horse and 'his hat and periwig falling off, displayed a head-piece of various colours, patched and plaistered in a woeful condition'. Then Jery launches into his description of the 'strange figure that presented itself to my view':

> above six feet in height, had he stood upright; but he stooped very much; was very narrow in the shoulders, and very thick in the calves of his legs, which were cased in black spatter-dashes - As for his thighs, they were long and slender, like those of a grasshopper; his face was, at least, half a yard in length, brown and shrivelled, with projecting cheek-bones, little grey eyes on the greenish hue, a large hook-nose, a pointed chin, a mouth from ear to ear, very ill furnished with teeth, and a high, narrow fore-head, well furrowed with wrinkles. His horse was exactly in the stile of its rider; a resurrection of dry bones. (p.188)

Lismahago is then described in various ludicrous situations, such as falling off his horse or getting married, and his characteristically 'aukward, rude and disputacious' style of speech is also conveyed. It is interesting that when Scott came to take over elements of Lismahago for the character of Drumthwacket in A Legend of Montrose he used Smollett's hints of the character's

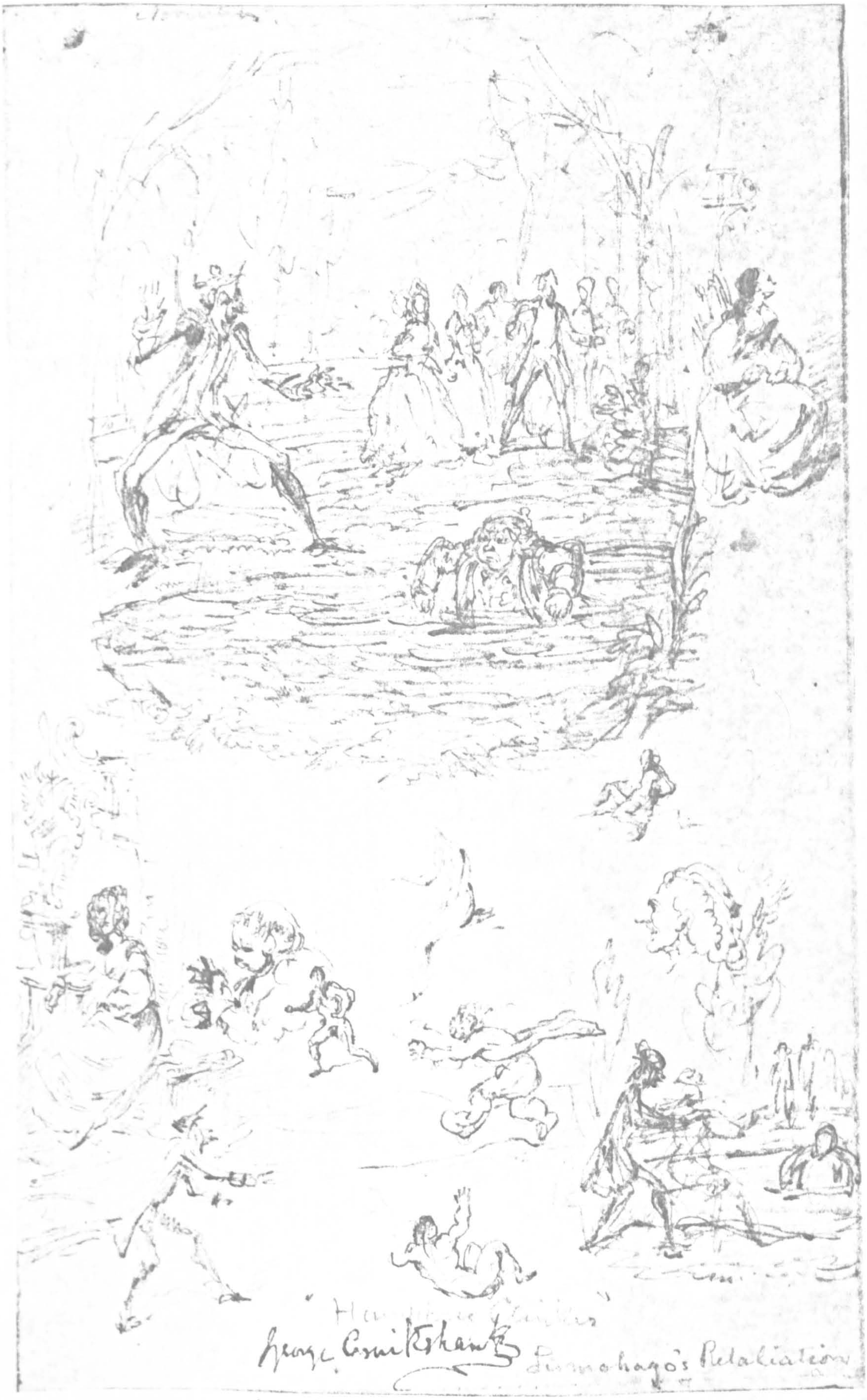
---

I can dress a horse, and shoe him, and bleed and rowel him ... I know something of single-stick, and psalmody(proceeded Clinker) I can play upon the Jew's-harp, sing Black ey'd Susan, Arthur-o'Bradley, and divers other songs; I can dance a Welsh jig, and Nancy Dawson; wrestle a fall' and so on (pp.83-4). It is also a feature of the comic device, the 'chain-of-accidents', see below footnote 36.

pedantic learning and speech, but omitted the extravagant visual description and the humour of ridiculous comedy, thus utilising the psychological but not the physical caricature.[30]

So powerful is the visual effect of Lismahago that of the seventeen illustrations to the novel after his appearance, twelve take their point from this character. A sketch of Cruikshank's design Lismahago's Retaliation provides an especially pertinent example of this characteristic effect(Pl.189). The page of designs and doodles for this illustration, in Princeton Library, shows clearly the way in which Bullford's importance in the design is reduced and Lismahago's correspondingly increased. The main pencil sketch is essentially the same as the finished etching(Pl.190) apart from one detail; one of the background figures in the sketch has his legs apart like Lismahago's; this is omitted from the final etching, where all the background figures stand normally, and thus do not detract from Lismahago's singular appearance. Although only a detail it does emphasise the figure of the scotch lieutenant and also the strange shape of his legs, much remarked upon by the author. Below the main pencil sketch and in the centre is a light drawing of Bullford in flight, presumably rejected because this would make him, rather than Lismahago, of central importance in the design. There are two other sketches of Lismahago, the one on the right showing the same

30 In his preface Scott describes Dalgetty as 'the more modern sketch of a Scottish soldier of the old fashion, by a master-hand, in the character of Lesmahagow'(p.12 of the 1878 Edinburgh edition of the Waverley Novels). Scott confesses that, like Smollett's Lismahago, his captain has 'too prominent a part in the story', but unlike Lismahago his physical appearance is unexceptionable: 'above middle size, and of strength sufficient to bear with ease the weight of his weapons, offensive and defensive. His age might be forty or upwards, and his countenance was that of a resolute weather-beaten veteran'. The first flicker of humour in the Scott portrait comes when he speaks: 'My name is Dalgetty - Dugald Dalgetty, Ritt-master Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket.'



Fl.189. Cruikshank (1831)



Designed Etched by G Cruikshank &c

Lasmahagos Retribution.

London. Printed for Cochrane & Pickersgill. 1831

Pl.190. Cruikshank (1831)

basic organisation as the finished etching but with Lismahago drawn from behind; the figure is then re-drawn more clearly, halfturned and therefore roughly in profile. The finished sketch shows him almost full-face, his expression and attitude realised to the fullest possible extent.[31]

Cruikshank is not the only illustrator to develop the graphic potential of the character. While Clennell satisfies himself with a simple version of the lieutenant on his horse, without much attempt at caricature of either and without involving him in the altercation with the ostler(Pl.191) Rowlandson, as might be expected, elaborates on appearance and situation, by exaggerating the gruesome detail of his patched skull, and by an organisation which gives central importance to his figure and facial expression(Pl.192). Phiz and Burney, by showing him on the ground cannot fully exploit the oddity of his appearance (Pls.193 and 194), his appearance being the main point of Rowlandson's Lismahago illustrations, where he challenges Lord Oxmington for example(Pl.195), or where he is saved from the 'fire'(Pl.196). In this last episode Bullford's reaction is strictly graphic, relishing the scene as a work of art: 'O, what a subject! - O, what <u>caricatura</u>! - O, for a Rosa, a Rembrandt, a Schalken!'(p.300).[32]

While Lismahago is described in the novel in graphic terms[33]

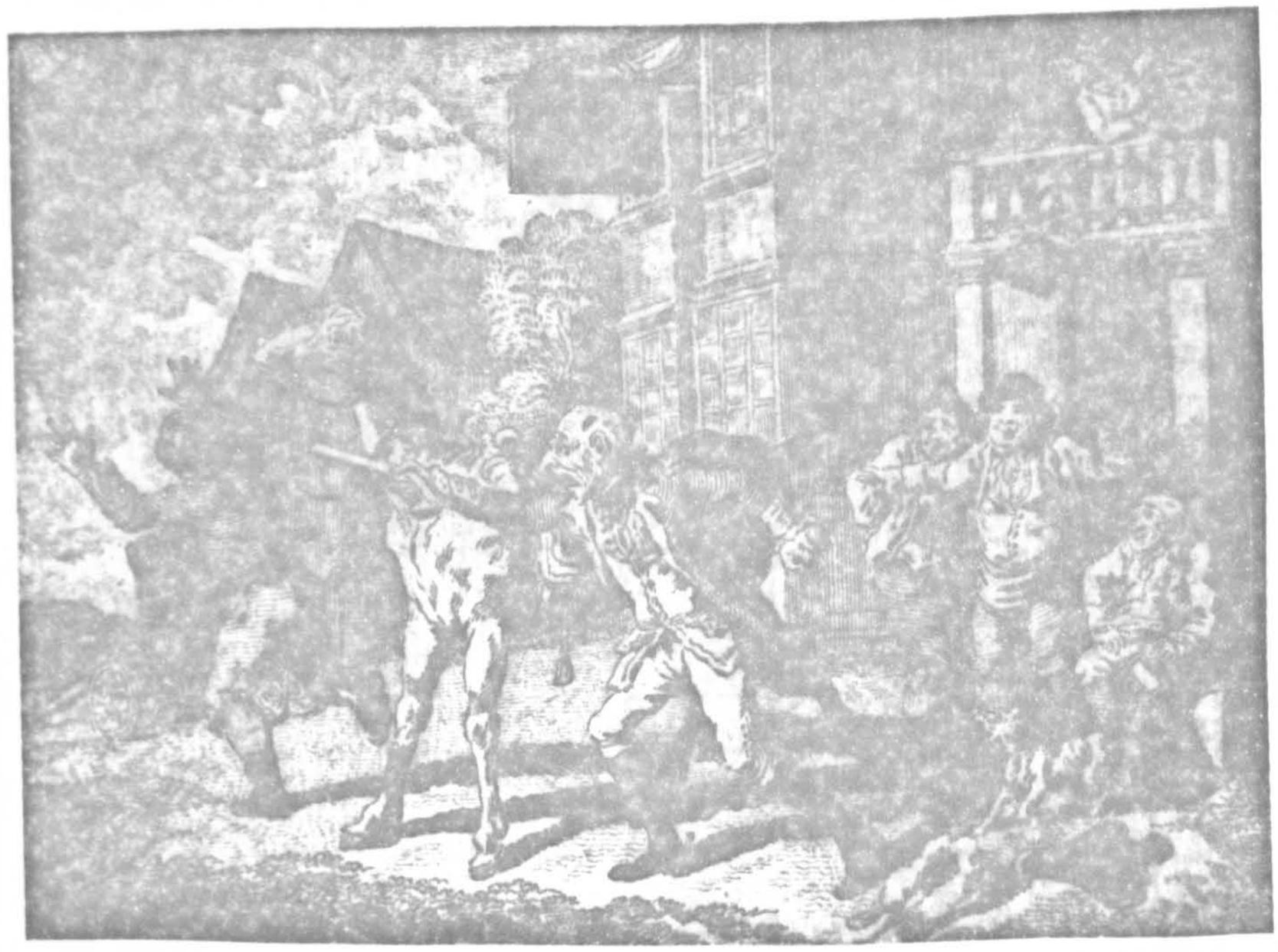
31 The same development from sketch to etching is evident in Cruikshank's <u>Roderick Random</u> illustration of the battle between Roderick and Captain Weazel, especially in the figure of Mrs Weazel, see above pp. 20-22.

32 Bullford's remarks continue in this vein. Rembrandt, Rosa and Schalken in this context were all noted for their dramatic lighting effects.

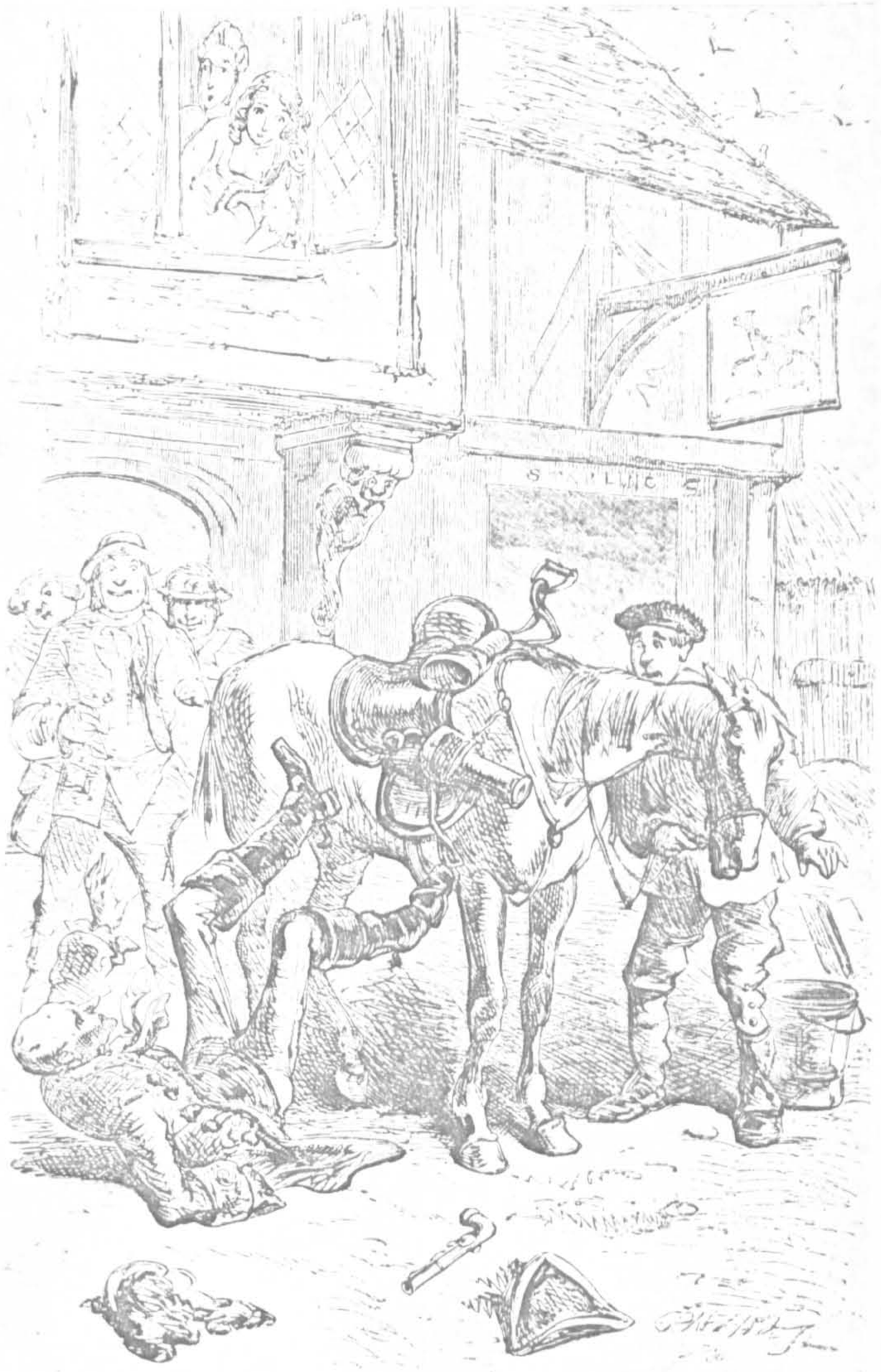
33 Not only in Bullford's comments, but also where Matt 'would



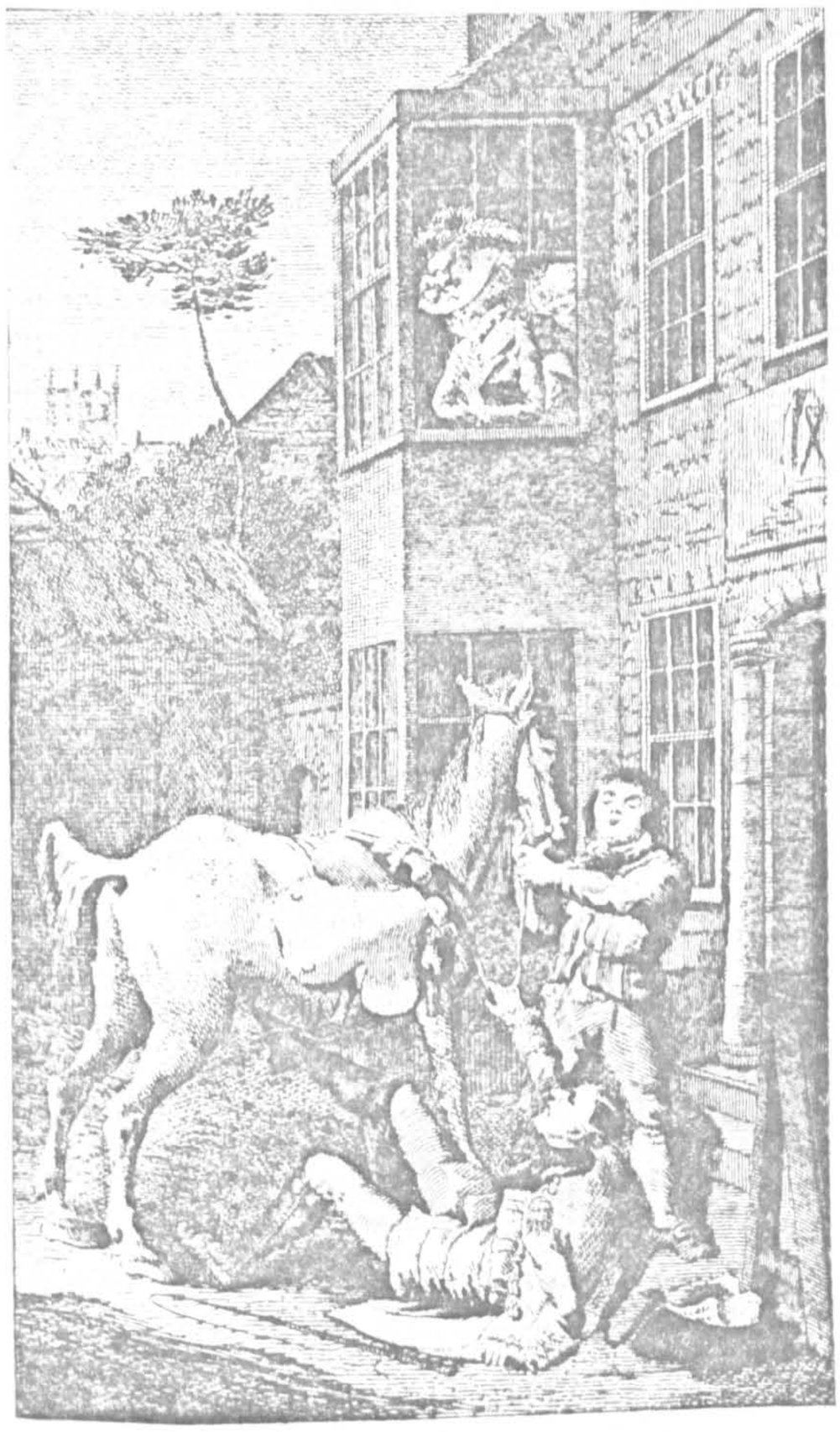
Fl.191. Clennell (1810)



Fl.192. Rowlandson (1793)



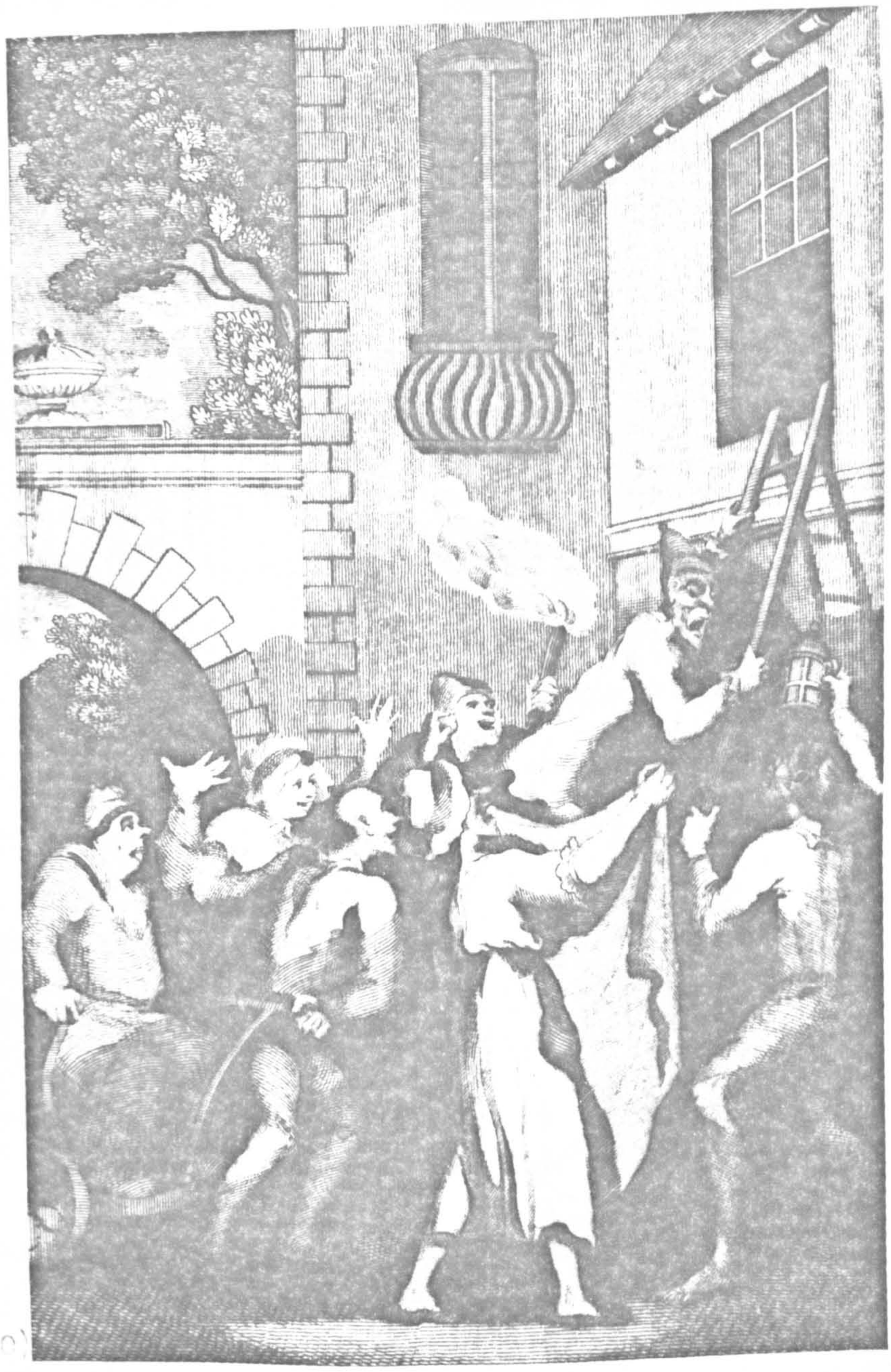
Pl.193. Phiz (1857)



Pl.194. Burney (1785)



Pl.195. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.196. Rowlandson (1790)

and in illustration is important almost entirely for his appearance, Tabby is used mostly to give point to 'situations', although she too, in the confrontation with Lady Griskin, has her share of graphic analogy. It is her presence which provides graphic interest to the three illustrations of the first 'situation' in the novel, where Matt gives the poor widow twenty pounds, and Burney, Rowlandson, and finally Phiz approach the scene in predictable fashion, Burney stressing Matt's benevolence and the other two Tabby's uncharitableness(Pls. 197-9).

'Situations' in Humphry Clinker appear almost parodically repetitive, since Smollett's emphasis on the figure is combined with what almost amounts to contempt for 'events'; the more original the characters, the more banal the plot. Within the loose framework of the journey there are two fires, four 'drownings', three reconciliations, two overturned coaches, three public sermons by Humphry, three highway robberies, four duels, and at least four authorial self-portraits,[34] and apart from the last they are all subject of illustration at one time or another. In the face of such repetition one is tempted to seek design rather than mere lack of originality.[35] In some cases it is the simple effect of parallelism, as in the high melodrama of the Melville/Fathom reconciliation and the similar revelation of Matt and Humphry's relationship; or of contrast

---

give twenty guineas to have them [Lismahago and his horse] tolerably represented on canvas'(p.207); and again when Jery describes Lismahago as Pierot, 'divertingly picturesque ... a lively representation of Death in pursuit of Consumption'(p.347).

34 Reconciliations and duels and suchlike were common in all the novels, but not to such an extent as in Humphry Clinker.

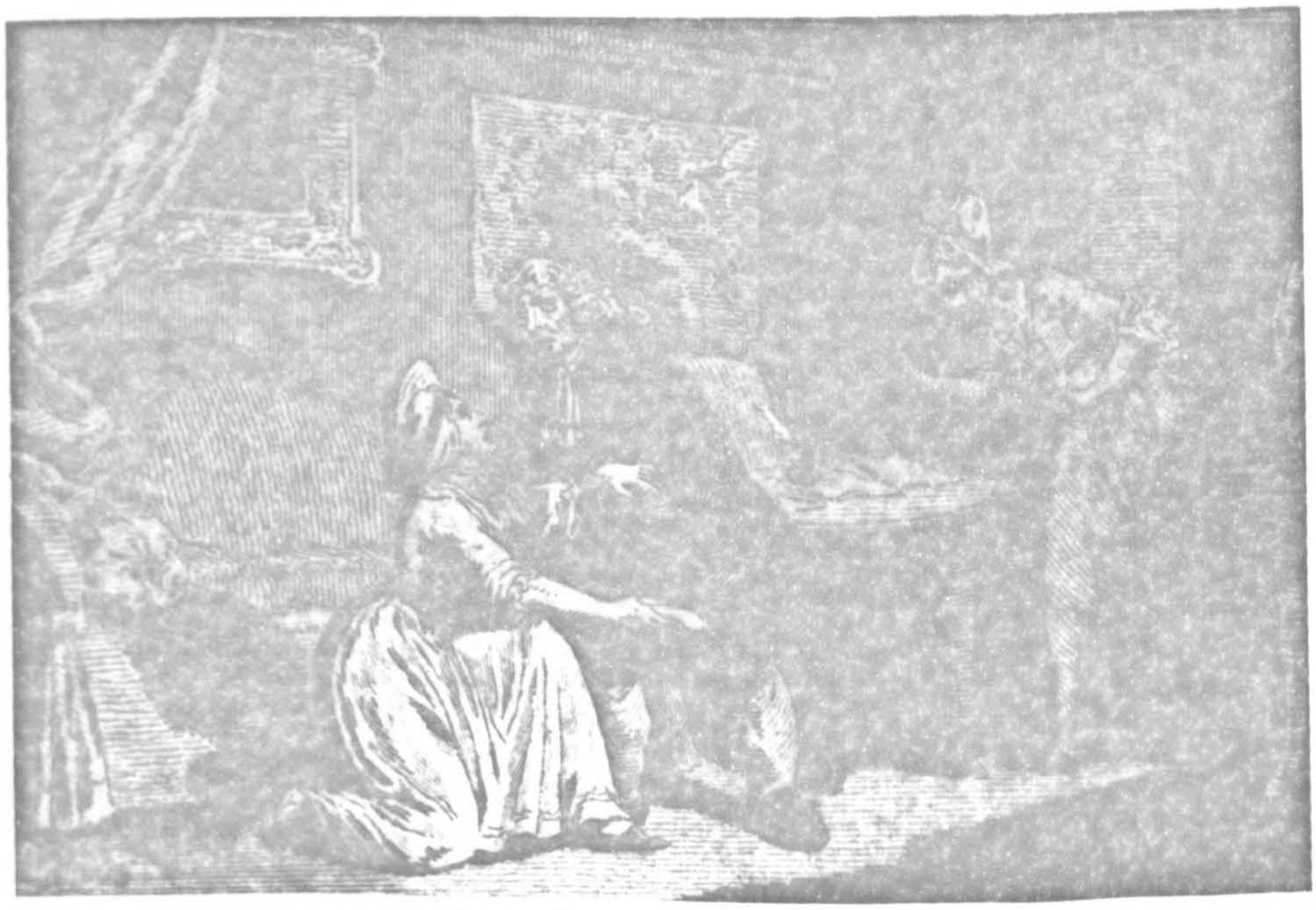
35 Compare for example Burdock's and Lismahago's unwilling trepanning, one medically and the other anthropologically interesting; or Jery's affair with Miss Blackerby and Matt's youthful indiscretions.



Pl.197. Burney (1785)



Pl.199. Phiz (1857)



Pl.198. Rowlandson (1793)

in the two drownings of Matt. Either way it would appear to be used to counteract the divisive effect of several narrators.

One 'situation' in Humphry Clinker, the most popular episode for illustration, is not of this type. It is where Humphry starts his career as a footman in the 'family of originals' and succeeds in creating a disaster, and here again, as in the illustrations of Matt and the widow, Tabby's presence is essential. Illustrated by Rowlandson, Allen, Clennell, Cruikshank and Phiz, (Pls. 200-204), its popularity is due to two comic factors. It includes two characters who are innately funny because of their physical appearance, Humphry and Tabby, and it is also the most successful example in the novel of another of Smollett's comic devices, the chain-of-accidents.[36] The simple comic device, the effects of groups, functions in episodes such as the Duke of Newcastle's levée or Matt's meeting with his old and decrepit friends in Bath, or in the 'assemblage of originals' at Dr S ---'s house in Chelsea, and to a lesser extent in the multiple reconciliations and marriages at the end. Rowlandson was particularly sensitive to the comic potential of the group,[37] and he illustrates three of these scenes, each basically an 'assemblage of originals' with a single bizarre twist, the Duke's lathered chin(Pl.205), the physical wrecks in the Bath coffee-house(Pl.206), and the fantastic appearance of 'my aunt and her paramour' at their

36 Defined as the first comic process in this episode, by P.-G. Boucé in Procédés du Comique dans Humphry Clinker; the second is 'l'outrance graphique'. He also points out the similarity in the caricature portraits(including Humphry with Lismahago and Tabby), that all are large, thin, round-shouldered, and sallow, 'un veritable automatisme graphique et chromatique de Smollett'(p.60).

37 See the discussion of his plates(Pls. 32 and 33) in the Roderick Random chapter, p. 33 above.



Pl.201. Allen (1794)



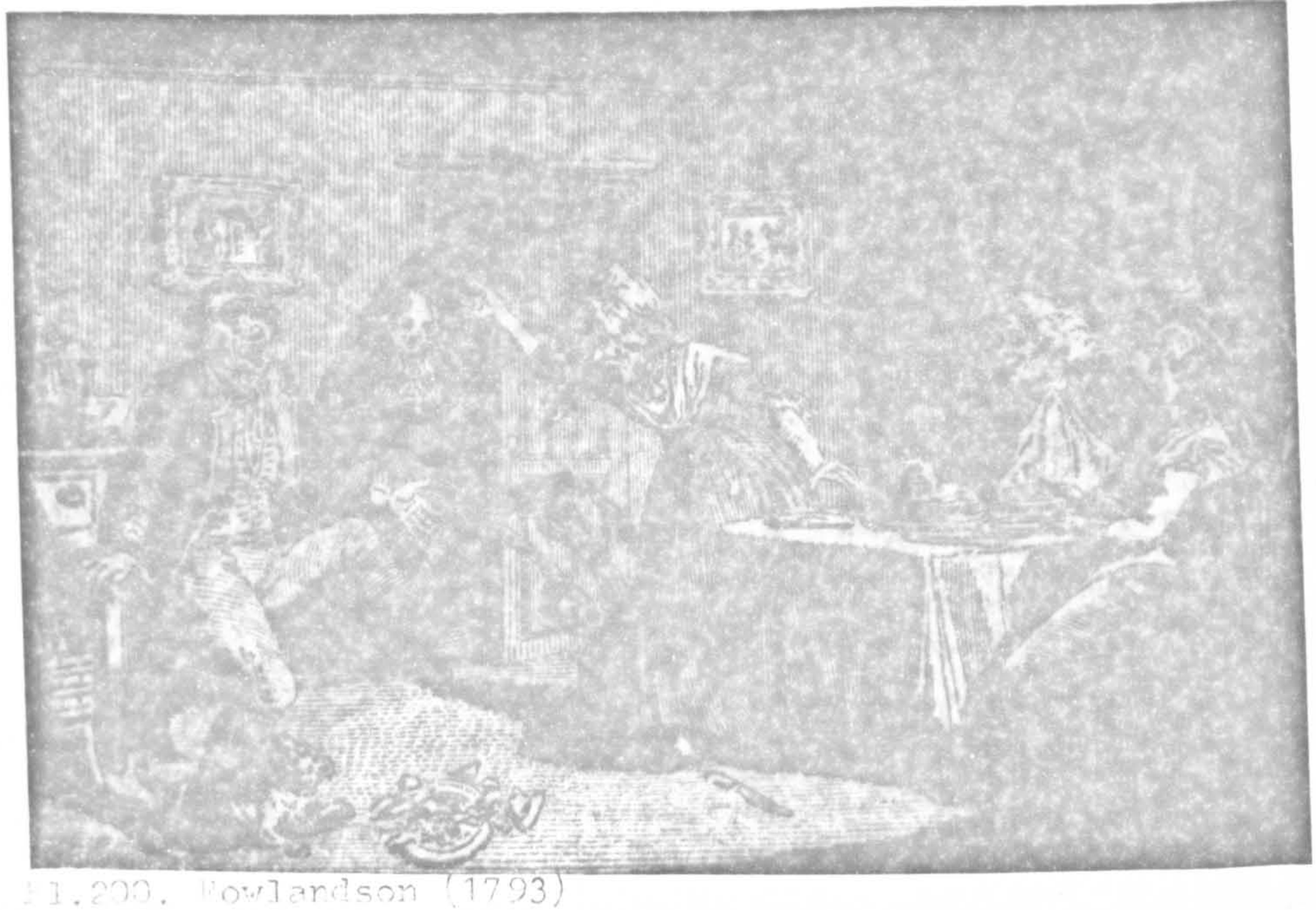
Pl.203. Cruikshank (1831)



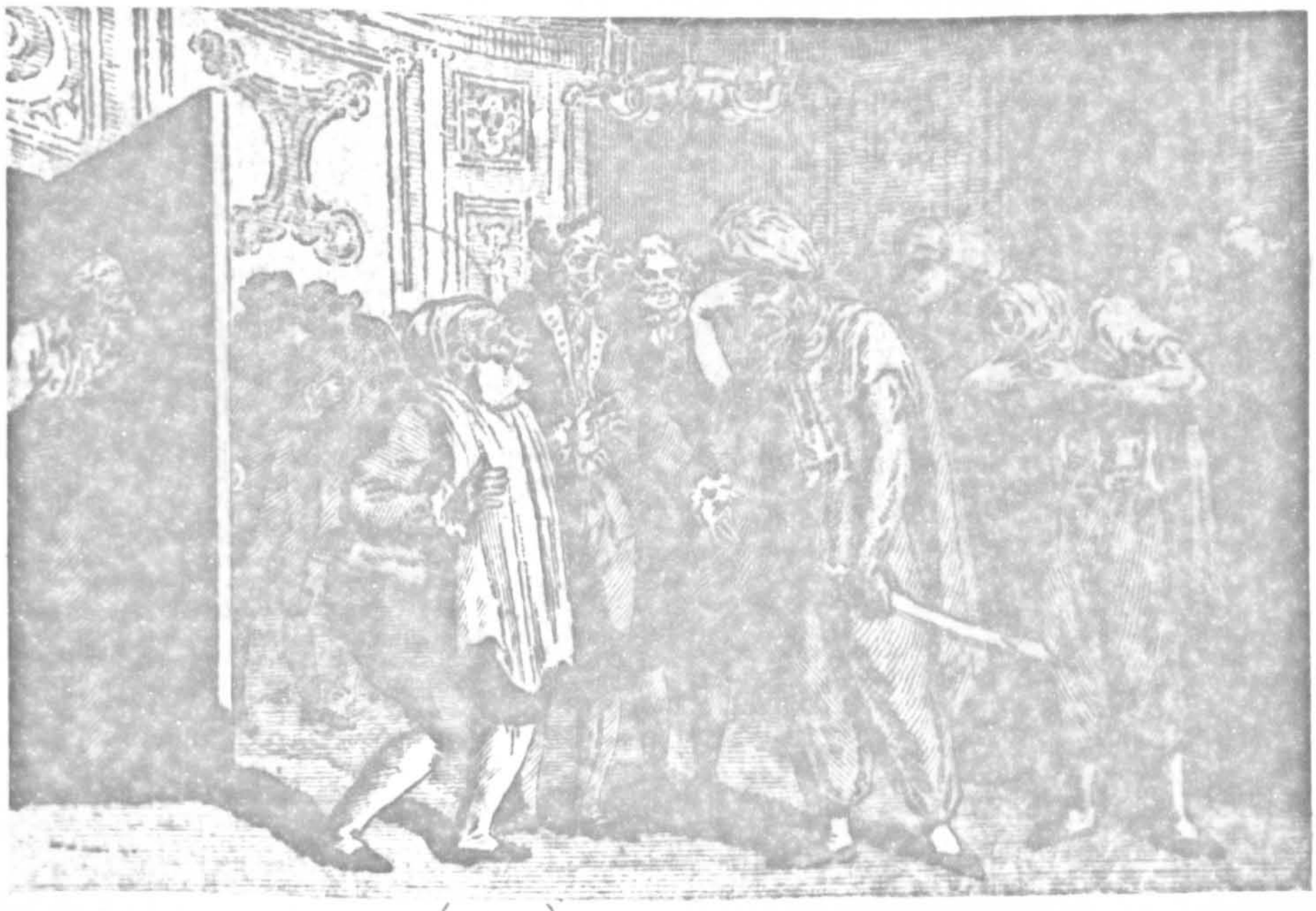
Pl.202. Clennell (1810)



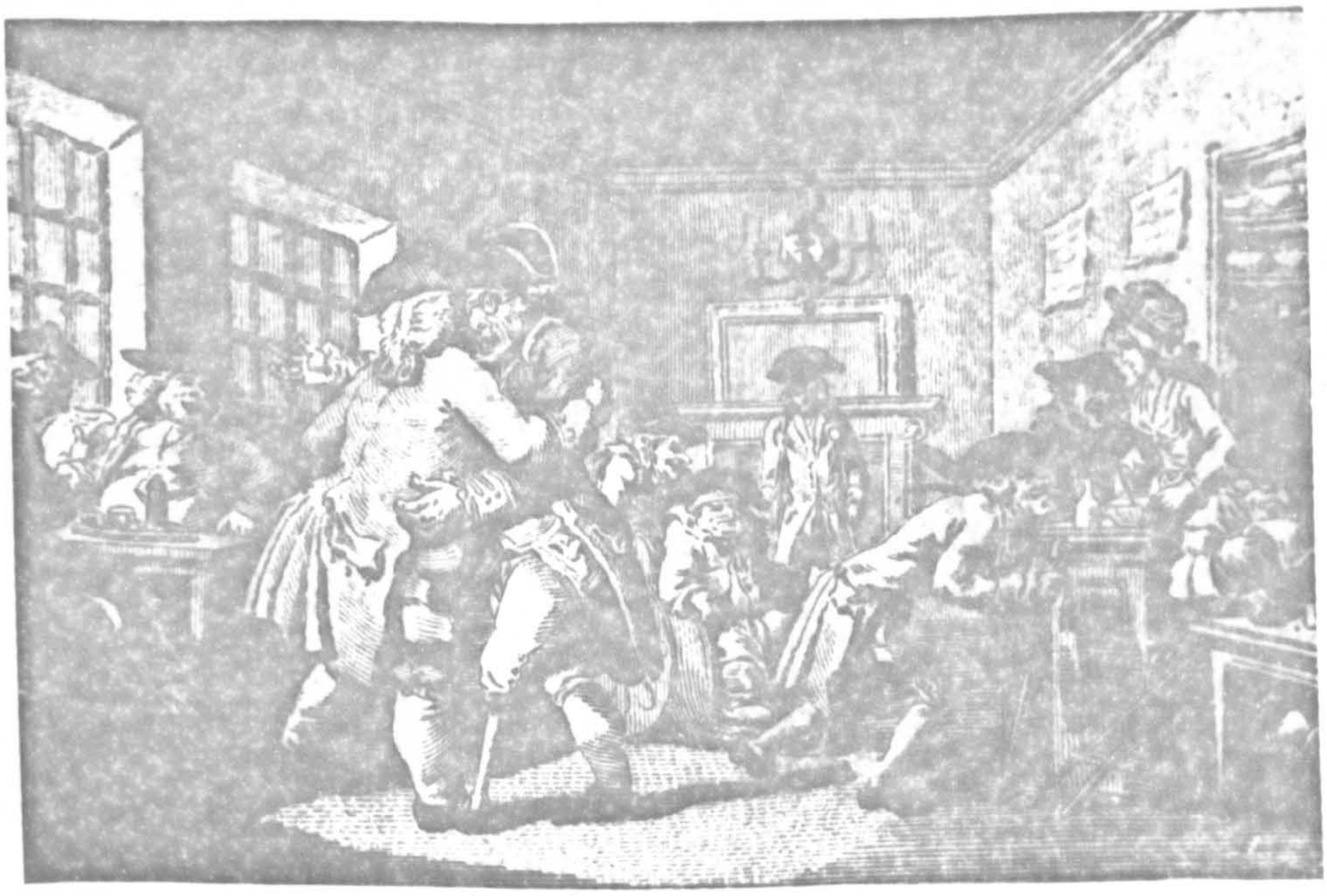
Pl.204. Phiz (1857)



Pl.203. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.205. Rowlandson (1793)



Pl.206. Rowlandson (1793)

wedding(Pl.208). The chain-of-accidents is essentially a further galvanisation of the simple group device, and is a feature in the early novels, as in Strap's precipitate entrance into an ordinary in Roderick Random(Pl.39), or the feast after the manner of the ancients in Peregrine Pickle(Pls. 63 and 64), but less noticeable in Sir Launcelot Greaves or Ferdinand Count Fathom.

The situation in which Humphry tries his hand at waiting at table is in its way complex:

> At length, he split part of a custard upon her right shoulder; and starting back, trod upon Chowder, who set up a dismal howl - Poor Humphry was so disconcerted at this double mistake, that he dropt the china dish, which broke into a thousand pieces; then, falling down upon his knees, remained in that ppsture gaping, with a most ludicrous aspect of distress - (p.84)

Each of the five illustrators gives a slightly different stress. Rowlandson, Cruikshank and Phiz all emphasise the grotesque, particularly in the figure of Tabby, and Cruikshank's especially is as frightful a creature as his Mrs Weazel or Mrs Grizzle(Pl. 203). Rowlandson has added his own touch to the chain of accidents by making her knock over a chair(Pl.200), a frequent trick of his. The imminence of disaster is repeated in his illustration of Matt meeting his old friend Rear-Admiral Balderick, whose insensitive wooden leg is on the point of making contact with Matt's super-sensitive gouty toe(Pl.206). Phiz has made his own contribution to interpretation of the scene where Humphry waits at table by showing Tabby clasping Chowder to her skinny bosom, thus emphasising Smollett's point about Tabby's unnatural affection for an animal, a point reinforced by her accusation to Matt that she is 'affronted by every mangy hound[i.e. Humphry] that you pick up in the highway'(p.85); however unlike Rowlandson and Cruikshank Phiz does not exploit Humphry's 'ludicrous aspect of distress'(Pl.204). The two remaining illustrations of this

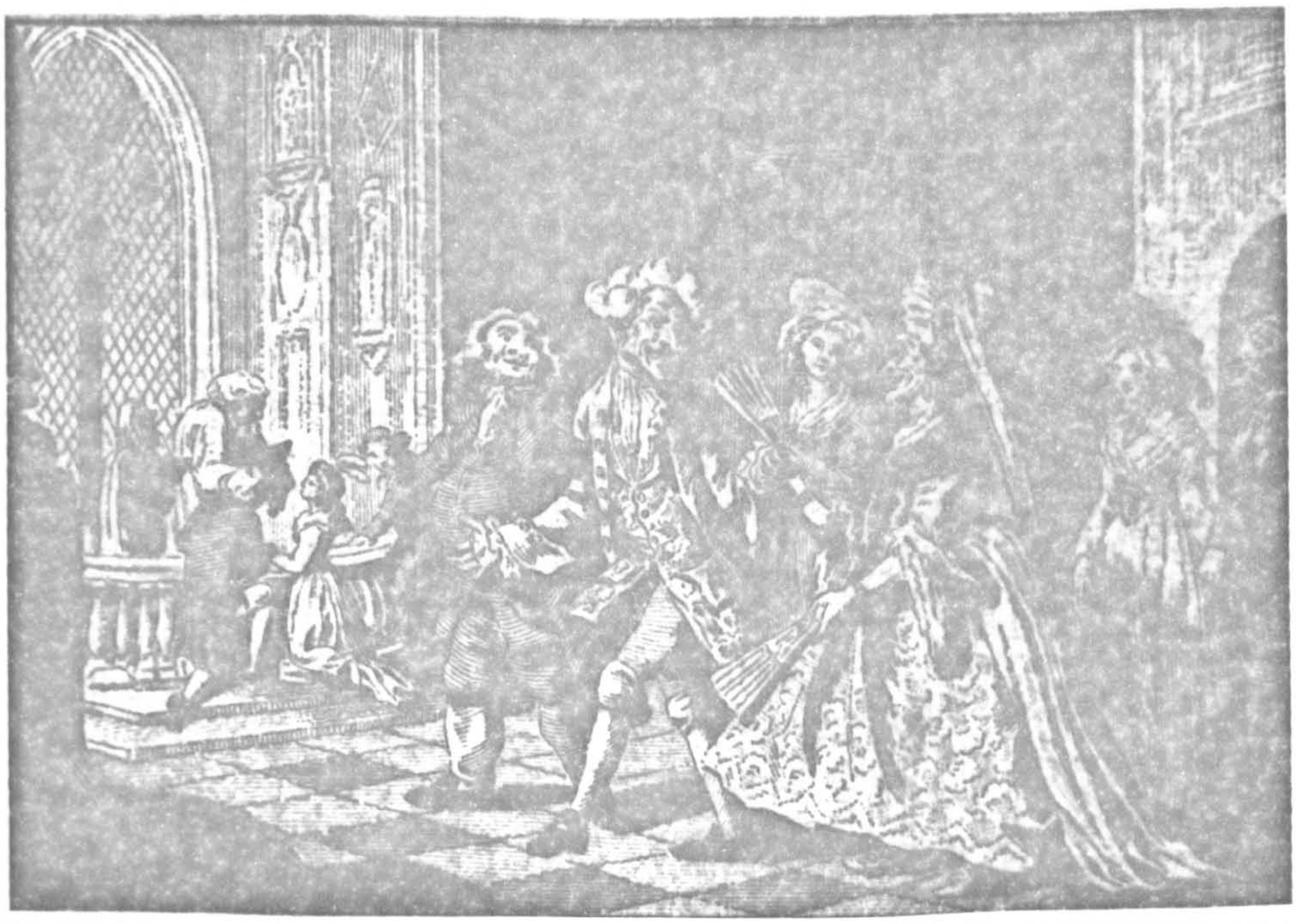
scene resemble each other in that they do not stress the grotesque, either in individual figures or in the situation. Allen omits the broken plate(Pl.201), and Clennell(Pl.202) does not convey the undoubted agony of Chowder; and more importantly in neither is Tabby or Humphry especially odd-looking.

The literary equivalent for portrait caricature in art is, in this novel at least, the 'original'. There are at least twenty references to characters as 'originals' in the course of the novel and Smollett uses the word in two contexts. Sometimes he defines groups in this way, as when the central characters are called a 'family of originals'; and those present as a group at the Duke's levée, the society of authors, the 'assemblage of originals' at Dr S---'s house at Chelsea, and the visitors at the Harrogate inn, are all defined in this way. In addition single characters are described as 'originals', Dr L---n, Sir Ulic Mackilligut, Quin, Tabby, Humphry, Micklewhimmen, and Bullford. Of this type the crowning examples are of course Lismahago and Tabby, initially because of their physical appearance alone, later compounded by the 'ogling correspondence forthwith commenced between this amiable pair of originals', and brought to fruition in their marriage. As Jery explains to Sir Watkin Phillips, 'it would be worth your while to come across the country on purpose to see two such original figures in bed together, with their laced night-caps; he, the emblem of good chear, and she, the picture of good nature'(p.281).

While Clennell's final illustration to the novel(Pl.207) shows the blushing reconciliation of Lydia and Dennison, only Rowlandson is brave enough to show the 'fatal knots' being tied in the triple marriage which closes the work(pl.208). As in



Pl.207. Clennell (1810)



Pl.208. Rowlandson (1793)

Jery's description, 'George Dennison and his bride were distinguished by nothing extraordinary' and consequently take the background position. Similarly Win and Humphry are merely the 'third couple ... sacrificed to Hymen' and are reserved for a little sexual 'waggery' later in the proceedings. But 'my aunt and her paramour took the pas, and formed, indeed, such a pair of originals, as, I believe, all England could not parallel'(p.347). Rowlandson's plate is both typical of his interpretation of the novel, and a splendid conclusion to it.

IV

In this thesis I have concentrated on the single figure in the Roderick Random chapter, and on the ludicrous situation in the Peregrine Pickle chapter. Humphry Clinker, written twenty years later, contains both these elements organised to an exceptional degree. From this one might assume that it was therefore an automatic re-working of old techniques, but to the reader it is undoubtedly richer and more varied than the early novels.

This is partly the result of Smollett's control over his narrators, so that what had been discrete elements in the early novels, evolves naturally from the contrasting voices of the letter-writers. Where one narrator had to incorporate both the caricaturist's and the love-lorn hero's role, the author now utilises two, Jery and Lydia, and further varies his response to 'reality' with the engaged satirist Matt, and the emotionally and socially limited observers Tabby and Win. Win's lexical blind spots are merely verbal expression of her(and by extension any one of the narrators') partial view of the external world,[38] a

recurrent theme. When Matt remarks that 'the fumes of faction not only disturb the faculty of reason, but also pervert the organs of sense'(p.95) this does have a local significance; but when it is added to Jery's confession of his misjudgment of Dennison(p.332), to descriptions of a character who 'saw imperfectly through the mist of prejudice'(p.77), and to an account of Quin where 'report has influenced my opinion of his looks - You know we are the fools of prejudice'(p.50) it becomes a narrative refrain. This exploitation of the 'perversion of the organs of sense' implicit in every individual's view of life accounts for the energy evident in all Smollett's fiction, the strong sense of an authorial personality behind the novels, which at its worst tempts the reader into the trap of biographical deduction.[39]

Smollett's split viewpoint therefore is not just a technical device to incorporate satire and sentimentality into his novel in an unembarrassed and unembarrassing way, but has a more significant function in illustrating a multiple and fluctuating reaction to 'reality'. Here fiction goes beyond the scope of the visual arts, and by concentrating largely on Jery's view of events artists such as Rowlandson and Cruikshank do not just restrict themselves to the comedy in the novel(although this is true), but also since Jery is the most graphic narrator they achieve the most comprehensive interpretation of the novel possible within their own medium.

---

38 See note 25 to this chapter, and also Smollett's preface to the second edition of Peregrine Pickle, where he admits to representing characters 'through the exaggerating medium of prejudice'.

39 Seen at its most prejudiced in Mrs Barbauld's 'vice and corruption' charge, quoted above.

Discussion of the illustrations to Smollett's earlier novels involvesan inevitable selectivity and twisting of the evidence. But it is one of the virtues of Humphry Clinker that discussion of its simple graphic elements does no more than begin to 'explain' its acknowledged superiority as fiction. Ruskin's appreciation of the 'Grotesque Expressional School' in Modern Painters, though perhaps a little weighty in this context, might nevertheless stand as an appreciation of the novelist; one of those who

> having peculiar powers of observation for the stronger signs of character in anything, and sincerely delighting in them, lose sight of the associated refinements, or beauties. This school is apt, more or less, to catch at faults or strangenesses ... It is evident that many subjects of thought may be dealt with by this kind of art which are unapproachable by any other, and that its influence over the popular mind must always be great; hence it may often happen that men of strong purpose may rather express themselves in this way(and continue to make such expression a matter of earnest study) than turn to any less influential, though more dignified, or even more intrinsically meritorious, branch of art. And when the powers of quaint fancy are associated (as is frequently the case) with stern understanding of the nature of evil, and tender human sympathy, there results a bitter, or pathetic spirit of grotesque, to which mankind at the present day owe more thorough moral teaching than to any branch of art whatsoever. 40

40 In Appendix I 'Modern Grotesque', Modern Painters(Orpington, 1888), vol.4, pp.395-7.

APPENDIX I

HENRY FUSELI'S PLATES TO PEREGRINE PICKLE

Unlike Hogarth and Hayman, two artists with whom Smollett is known to have had personal connections,[1] Fuseli's link with the author is apparently entirely professional, the designer of the most widely reprinted plates to Peregrine Pickle of the eighteenth century. However a personal connection may be conjectured via John Armstrong, a close friend of both. Fuseli came to England from Berlin at the end of 1763, having made the acquaintance of Armstrong, then physician to the British Army in Europe, and with letters of introduction from Sir Andrew Mitchell, ambassador at the Court of Prussia. Mitchell was a distant relative of Smollett's and is presumed by Lewis Knapp to have been helpful to the author on his own arrival in London in 1739.[2] Fuseli's connection with Armstrong remained very close until the Italian trip of 1770. In one of his letters to Bodmer Fuseli goes so far as to claim that England's 'einziger Poet ist mein Freund Armstrong',[3] The two men also appear in John Hamilton Mortimer's A Caricature Painting[4] (c.1765-6) which shows a group caricatured in the Ghezzi manner; and Armstrong's name frequently appears in Fuseli's letters at this period.

Sir Andrew's letters included introductions to printers and

1 See Appendix II, on Hayman and the character Pallet.

2 Knapp, pp.27-28.

3 From A. Federmann, Johann Heinrich Füssli, p.115.

4 Reproduced in P.Tomory, The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli, facing p.52.

booksellers in London, such as Andrew Millar and his successor Thomas Cadell,[5] and Joseph Johnson where Fuseli was a 'constant visitor' eventually moving in to lodge with him. Fuseli supported himself by doing translations and occasional illustration for the booksellers. In a letter to Bodmer in 1766 Fuseli also mentions Becket, one of the publishers of the first illustrated Peregrine Pickle, 'ein Buchhändler in London, sucht sich durch Publicirung deutscher Bücher bekandt zu machen, Er hat aber weder Geschmack noch einen Rathgeb und so wird Er Deutschlands Verderben seyn'.[6] Fuseli's biographer John Knowles claims that 'at this time he visited very frequently Smollett, and also Falconer, the author of "The Shipwreck"'[7] but this can scarcely have been the case since, from Knapp's account, the novelist was rarely in London during this period, being in France until July 1765 and in Bath and Scotland from October 1765 until May 1768. His final departure for Italy was in the autumn of 1768, so presumably if Smollett personally supervised them the Peregrine Pickle illustrations were designed just before his departure.[8]

5 In Knowles's Life of Fuseli, vol.I, p.33, 'Mr Cadell having, in the year 1766, succeeded to the business of Mr Millar, as a bookseller and publisher, he also kept up the connection with Fuseli, and gave him constant employment'. Cadell's name appears on all 7 London imprints with Fuseli's designs for the novel.

6 A.Federmann, Johann Heinrich Füssli, p.115.

7 Knowles, Life of Fuseli, vol.I, p.32.

8 As far as I can see the first illustrated edition of Peregrine Pickle came out in 1769, and this is supported by H.A. Hammelmann's checklist of Fuseli's illustrations in his article in The Book Collector, vol.6, 1967, p.355. There is however a persistent claim that the designs were done in 1766, and that they were very rare, neither of which seems to be true.

Knowles's description of the circumstances surrounding Fuseli's illustrations to the novel, presumably based on the artist's account since he was a close friend, implies a more personal connection between artist and author:

> For Dr. Smollett he made several drawings of scenes in his novel of Peregrine Pickle, which were engraved and published in an early edition of that well-known work. This edition is now very scarce.[9]

The personal connection between the men does not cease with Smollett's departure for Italy. On October 10 1769, Armstrong wrote to Smollett:

> Notwithstanding all you tell me, I have still such confidence in your Stamina that I hope to enjoy a pleasant ramble with you through several parts of Italy next Spring. It is my serious Intention and if neither Bob(or Rob) Smith who is I don't know where, nor Gov. Bell who is somewhere in France, will lend me their Company I'll come alone.[10]

He did not in fact go alone but was accompanied by Fuseli.

The two left London for Leghorn, where Smollett was by that time resident, in the spring of 1770, and they both doubtless would have spent some time with the novelist before Fuseli left for Rome, but the combination of a gale, which caused them to land at Genoa, and a quarrel over whether a Swiss had as great a right to judge of the correct pronunciation of English as a Scotsman',[11] had not made them part company on landing.

In addition to this meagre account of the personal connections between Smollett and Fuseli, there are other hazier links. In 1767 Fuseli published anonymously his Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J.J. Rousseau, in defence of his countryman

9 Knowles, Life of Fuseli, vol.I, p.32.

10 Knapp, p.286. See also his article on John Armstrong in PMLA, LIX, 1944, pp.1019-58.

11 Knowles, Life of Fuseli, vol.I, p.47.

against the attacks of Hume and Voltaire. He sent a copy to Bodmer, with the following remark, 'das Titulblat meiner Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J.J.Rousseau. Dass sie Meine sind, sage ich izo nur noch Ihnen. Hier waren sie Sternes, Smollets, Armstrongs.' [12] The frontispiece(Pl.209), designed by Fuseli himself and engraved by Grignion, has certain affinities with the Peregrine Pickle illustrations(Pls. 59,77,92 and 100), since the figures of Voltaire and Rousseau are depicted in a restrained and realistic manner, although the frontispiece as a whole is symbolic. This 'English' work contrasts strongly with the Baroque style of drawings such as the illustrations to Till Eulenspiegel[13] done while he was still on the Continent, and was doubtless due to a closer knowledge of Hogarth's work. Hogarth was an important influence at this point in Fuseli's career, and the aspect which he most admired was that of the 'comic history painter'. In a letter to Bodmer as early as 1763 he used the term of his own invention 'verhogardiseren' as a substitute for 'to satirise' and Hogarthian touches have been noted in his early drawings.[14] His choice of scenes from Peregrine Pickle as subjects for illustration are those comic ones, such as Hogarth might have chosen, in contrast to the more romantic parts of the novel chosen by its next illustrator, Thomas Stothard(Pl.8). A letter to Lavater after his arrival in

12 A.Federmann, Johann Heinrich Füssli, p.117. The letter is dated London, 10 June 1767.

13 F.Antal, in Fuseli Studies, and P.Tomory, in The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli, reproduce examples of these illustrations.

14 F.Antal, in Fuseli Studies, p.14, quotes the letter and draws parallels with Hogarth.



Pl.209. Fuseli frontispiece to Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J.J.Rousseau (1767)

Italy shows how his ideas had changed and widened:

> I have lost the desire and perhaps also the ability to squeeze great thoughts and noble lines into the compass of three inches so that even a bungling engraver must see the point to them.[15]

Fuseli's departure for Italy meant new influences in more ways than one, as a fire at the publisher Johnson's house just before he left, destroyed most of his papers and drawings. The Peregrine Pickle illustrations therefore may be said to mark the end of Fuseli's Hogarthian phase, and do not prefigure the more typical work of the 1790s, the Shakespeare and Milton illustrations.

As Fuseli's oldest friend, and as a theorist on physiognomy whose works he was attempting to illustrate, Lavater must have in some ways had an influence on his ideas on characterisation. As Lavater defined it physiognomy was

> the talent of discovering the interior of Man by his exterior - of perceiving by certain natural signs, what does not immediately strike the senses ... the Science of discovering the relation between the exterior and the interior - between the visible surface and the invisible spirit which it covers.[16]

This becomes a visual refinement on Fielding's idea that 'the only way by which we can come to any knowledge of what passes in the Minds of others, are their Works and Actions',[17] but

15 The letter is translated in Hammelmann's article on Fuseli, The Book Collector, vol.6, 1967, p.352.

16 J.C.Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, trans. H.Hunter, vol.1, p.20.

17 H.Fielding, The Champion, Dec.4.1739. There was a widespread interest in the subject of physiognomy in the 18th century, see for example Addison's Spectator, number 86; James Parson's 'Human Physiognomy Explain'd ...' in Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vol.44.1746(supplement), and most interestingly an essay by Armstrong in his Sketches; or, Essays on Various Subjects(1758), written before he could have met Fuseli. Two years later the British Magazine included an article 'An Essay on Physiognomy', in its September 1760 issue, an issue which also featured an

treated with Lavater's own brand of enthusiastic mysticism.

More important when trying to relate these ideas of Lavater's to the novel and its illustration, is a sub-division of physiognomy called pathognomy, 'the interpretation of the passions, or the science which treats of the signs of the passions', a term which Fuseli used many years later in his lectures on the history of art.[18] Lavater mixed physical notation of a Smollettian particularity with mental and even moral qualities as his descriptions frequently illustrate: 'the character of goodness is sometimes manifested in the appearance, the form, the arrangement, and colour of the teeth'.[19] The combination of the satirical caricatura/character elements of Hogarth's influence and Lavater's ideas on physiognomy equipped Fuseli well for the illustration of Smollett's novels, since the author himself was inclined to 'verhogardiseren' verbally, and to define his characters' personalities by their physical characteristics.

Perhaps even more important than all this theory was the artist's lifelong interest in the mid-eighteenth century novel, illustrated in the following anecdote, recorded by Knowles:

> Fuseli ... was very indignant, in the later period of his life, with a gentleman who spoke contemptuously of Clarissa Harlowe. This person said in his presence, 'No one now

---

instalment of Sir Launcelot Greaves. Indeed it seems to have been enough of a craze to have provoked the Reverend John Clubbe to a burlesque essay 'to ridicule those Characters, that more serious Admonitions cannot amend'(Dedication addressed to William Hogarth) entitled Physiognomy(1763), which was graced with a frontispiece by Hogarth. See also M.Allentuck, 'Fuseli and Lavater: physiognomical theory and the Enlightenment', Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century, vol.LV. 1967, pp.89-112.

18 J.C. Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, vol.I. p.23, and Fuseli's lectures, reprinted by Knowles, Life of Fuseli, vol.2, p.258.

19 J.C. Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, vol.II, part 2, pp.419-20.

> reads the works of Richardson'. 'Do they not?' said Fuseli, 'then by G-d they ought. If people are now tired of old novels, I should be glad to know your criterion of books.' [20]

It is not surprising that someone on the fringe of the Sturm und Drang should be more sensitive to Richardson's than to Smollett's work.[21] Nevertheless it might also be noticed that Smollett's is the only novel that Fuseli is known to have illustrated.

Knowles's claim that the editions of Peregrine Pickle with Fuseli's illustrations are 'now very scarce'(now presumably being 1830 when the biography of Fuseli was published) is hardly true, since there are at least seven editions containing Fuseli's illustrations in the fifteen years after 1769, as the following chart indicates. The numbering refers to my Peregrine Pickle checklist, and the whole is in the form of a 'family tree' since the first illustrated edition had two sets of plates, from which the others stem in an almost predictable pattern.

The Fuseli designs first appeared in the 1769 'Fourth Edition', published by Baldwin, Roberts, Robinson, Becket and Cadell, of which there are two versions. A.Federmann claims that Fuseli did the illustrations in 1766 for an earlier edition of the novel, under Andrew Millar's direction, which was for some reason suppressed.[22] One set of plates was engraved by Grignion,[23]

20 Knowles, Life of Fuseli, vol.I, p.13.

21 Note also the selection of English novels that the Berlin artist Chodowiecki chose to illustrate, note 5 to the Peregrine Pickle chapter.

22 Johann Heinrich Füssli, p.35.

23 Charles Grignion(1717-1810) was connected with illustrations to Smollett's work throughout much of his long working life, as engraver to Hayman's plates for the 1748 2nd edition of Roderick Random(RR1) and the 1755 translation of Don Quixote, as well as some plates for his Complete History of England (1758) and the Continuation of the Complete History of England

1769
'Fourth Edition'
Baldwin, Robinson,
Roberts, Becket, Cadell,
2 versions

PP1 Plates engraved by Grignion

PP1 var. Anonymous plates, volumes 3 and 4 reversed.

PP2 1773 'Fifth Edition'
Lowndes, Becket, Cadell,
Baldwin, Robinson,
Goldsmith.
Plates re-engraved by Lodge.

PP3 1776 Baldwin, Robinson,
Roberts, Becket, Cadell.
The anonymous plates,
volumes 3 and 4 reversed.

PP4 1778 'Sixth Edition'
Strahan, Rivington,
Baldwin, Robinson,
Lowndes, Becket, Cadell,
Goldsmith.
The Lodge plates.

PP5 1779 Baldwin, Robinson,
Roberts, Becket, Cadell.
The anonymous plates,
volumes 3 and 4 reversed.

PP7 1784 Baldwin, Robinson,
Roberts, Becket, Cadell.
Anonymous plates, re-engraved,
volume 3 only reversed.

[PP8 1784 'Seventh Edition'
Strahan, Rivington, Baldwin,
Robinson, Lowndes, Cadell,
Goldsmith.
New designs by Stothard.]

PP15 1793 Silvester Doig.
Anonymous plates,
re-engraved, volumes
3 and 4 reversed.

who engraved all Fuseli's other book illustrations in England at this time, the 1767 Rousseau pamphlet, a vignette for Joseph Priestley's Essay on ... Liberty(1768), a Treatise on Virtues and Rewards by G.Drazonetti(1769) and plates for Willoughby's Practical Family Bible(1772). Grignion's engravings seem to have lasted for one edition only, being re-engraved for the 'fifth' and 'sixth' editions by Lodge. The 'seventh' edition has completely new designs by Stothard. The other set of plates, for PP1 var., are unsigned and differ from the Grignion plates chiefly in having volumes 3 and 4 reversed. Many of the same publishers appear to have had an interest in both sets(Cadell's name for example appears on all seven imprints) but those with plates from PP1 var. are never designated 'editions' on the titlepage, and have no engraver's signature on the plates. Presumably the 1793 edition published in Scotland had its frontispieces based on those to PP1 var. as its plates are reversed in volumes 3 and 4 in relation to Grignion's. The crudity of these Scottish plates recalls the 1791 Edibburgh reprint of Hayman's designs for Roderick Random (RR23). The 1784 edition(PP7) is unusual in having the same publishers as the 1779 edition(PP5) but with a mixture of reversed and unreversed plates. It is natural for an engraver to reverse a design if he is copying from a published illustration, but why this should have been the case with only one plate is less easy to explain.

The designs themselves are discussed in the Peregrine Pickle

(1760). He was also engraver for one set of Fuseli designs to Peregrine Pickle(PP1) and Rowlandson's designs to Humphry Clinker, 1793(HC6). In the British Museum Print Room is an attractive pencil sketch of the engraver by Thomas Uwins, on the reverse of which are biographical notes by Charles Warren, both of whom were involved in illustrating Smollett's novels(for example RR34).

chapter, but there is enough evidence to show that, far from being 'not published' at all, as Frederick Antal claims,[24] they were the most frequently reproduced illustrations to this novel of Smollett's for at least twenty years. The frequency with which they were re-engraved(for almost every edition in fact) suggests the possibility that editions of Peregrine Pickle were larger in numbers of copies produced than those of Roderick Random, whose plates seem to have lasted through several editions.[25]

24 F.Antal, Fuseli Studies, p.26.

25 See notes to RR4.

APPENDIX II

FRANCIS HAYMAN: A SOURCE FOR PALLET IN PEREGRINE PICKLE

The original for the physician-companion of Pallet in Peregrine Pickle was accepted by contemporaries as a portrait of Mark Akenside the poet.[1] The reasons for Smollett's antipathy to Akenside have been explored by H.S. Buck,[2] who concludes that it was Akenside's pedantry and vanity and also his harsh reflections against Scotland rather than any personal feud which provoked the novelist's caricature. The Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon (1748) is cited as a particular source for the virulence of the portrait but there is an earlier ode, not mentioned by Buck, which has even closer analogies with the fictional character, and which incidentally casts some more light on the identity of Pallet.

This ode, On Lyric Poetry, is found in the 1745 collection Odes on Several Subjects, and the first stanza sets the tone, indicating that the physician in the novel is barely a caricature of the poet who could open with the following lines:

> Once more I join the Thespian quire,
> And taste th'inspiring fount again:
> O parent of the Graecian lyre,
> Admit me to thy secret strain -
> And lo! with ease my step invades
> The pathless vale and opening shades,
> Till now I spy her verdant seat,
> And now at large I drink the sound,
> While these her offspring, listening round,
> By turns her melody repeat.

1 The two earliest biographers of Smollett, Robert Anderson in his Life of Tobias Smollett, M.D., with Critical Observations on his Works(1796), and John Moore in a prefatory Memoirs of his Life to the 1797 edition of Smollett's Works, make it obvious that the Akenside identification was common knowledge.

2 'Smollett and Dr.Akenside', JEGP, vol.31, 1932, pp.10-26.

The poem goes to describe those gathered around Melpomene's 'verdant seat', Anacreon, Alcaeus, Sappho, and 'majestic in the frown of years,/ Behold, the Man of Thebes appears.' [3] This part of the poem is illustrated in a large titlepage vignette to the collection(Pl.210). The illustration shows Melpomene with her lyre, three bearded figures, presumably Anacreon, Alcaeus and Pindar, and a female figure, presumably Sappho. This leaves a younger male figure in the background to the right, and in view of the opening lines and the fact that there are no other characters in the poem except 'I', one assumes that this is Akenside himself. The fifth stanza makes a tacit parallel between Pindar and his enthusiastic eighteenth century follower:

> Behold, the Man of Thebes appears;
> For some there are, whose mighty frame
> The hand of JOVE at birth indow'd
> With hopes that mock the gazing crowd;
> ... Propitious Muse,
> While I so late unlock thy hallow'd springs,
> And breathe whate'er thy ancient airs infuse,
> To polish Albion's warlike ear
> This long-lost melody to hear,
> Thy sweetest arts imploy.

It would appear to be this lyric vision which is mercilessly parodied in chapter 65 of Peregrine Pickle, where Pallet bursts into the physician's room, convinced that his friend 'was under the power of some convulsion'. In fact he is merely communing with the Muses, and a 'fierce contention' ensues, only resolved on the condition that the physician should never again mock Pallet's paintings, and that Pallet 'should make a sketch of the physician's vision, to be engraved and prefixed to the next edition of his odes'. The vision in the novel is a masterpiece of pompous vanity,

3 The Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon also makes devoted reference in an apostrophe to Pindar.



Vide page 48

Pl.210. Hayman frontispiece to Odes on Several Subjects by Akenside (1745)

but not much more so than its poetic original:

> He imagined(as he afterwards imparted to Peregrine) that as he enjoyed himself in walking through the flowery plain that borders on Parnassus, he was met by a venerable sage, whom, by a certain divine vivacity that lightened from his eyes, he instantly knew to be the immortal Pindar. He was immediately struck with reverence and awe, and prostrated himself before the apparition, which taking him by the hand, lifted him gently from the ground; and with words more sweet than the honey of the Hybla bees, told him, that of all the moderns, he alone was visited by that celestial impulse by which he himself had been inspired, when he produced his most applauded odes. So saying, he led him up the sacred hill, persuaded him to drink a copious draught of the waters of t e Hippocrene, and then presented him to the harmonious nine, who crowned his temples with a laurel-wreath.
>
> No wonder then, that he was enraged to find himself cut off from such sublime society. (pp.322-3)

The passive inspiration satirised in the novel is expressed by the poet in the final lines of his ode <u>On Lyric Poetry</u>:

> Or when to nourish freedom's vestal flame,
> I hear my Genius utter his command,
> Nor Theban voice, nor Lesbian lyre
> From thee, O Muse, do I require,
> While my prophetic mind,
> Conscious of pow'rs she never knew,
> Astonish'd grasps at things beyond her view,
> Nor by another's fate felt her own confin'd.

That it was the frontispiece even more than the text of the ode which offended Smollett, the effrontery of not merely claiming oneself 'the favourite of the Muses', but going so far as to depict one's inflated self-conceit, is seen in <u>Peregrine Pickle</u> by the emphasis on the sketch of the vision. Smollett's reaction to the 1745 collection of odes, and particularly its engraved embellishment, was probably aroused or re-activated when he met the designer of the plate, Francis Hayman, in connection with illustrated second edition of <u>Roderick Random</u>,[4] and a letter from Smollett to Hayman, dated 11 May 1750, gives the

4 For an article on Hayman, see H.A. Hammelmann, 'Eighteenth Century Illustrators: Francis Hayman, R.A.' <u>The Book Collector</u>, vol.2, 1953, pp.116-32.

impression that the two were fairly intimate at this time.[5] The early Life of Smollett by John Moore indicates that it was a painter that Smollett met in Paris in 1750 who formed the basis of the character Pallet; and it was possibly through meeting Hayman and discussing his previous work that the idea of Akenside as the physician occurred to the novelist.

Some years later in the Critical Review for March 1756 appeared a short notice of Covent Garden: A Satire, which begins:

> The genius of a modern writer is very often distinguished by the frontispiece of his works: thus, in the beginning of a collection of certain odes, the author introduces to our view a portrait of himself led up by Pindar to Parnassus, [6] where he is presented to the Muses.

Smollett was editor of the Critical Review at this period, and it is hard not to think that he was at the back of this particular review, and that it referred to Akenside's Odes on Several Subjects. According to a marked copy of the Critical Review,[7] the author was Samuel Derrick, but Derrick was probably living in Smollett's house in Chelsea at this period, as well as working with Smollett on the magazine.[8]

5 Letters, pp. 13-14. Smollett asks Hayman to do him the 'additional favour of transmitting my Play to Mr. Garrick' and goes on to the familiar complaints about his 'unjust Exclusion from the Theatre', and as a well-known scene-painter at Drury Lane, and friend of Quin's, Hayman was no doubt a useful friend for Smollett in the theatre world.

6 Critical Review, vol.1, p.164. See also Smollett's letter to Wilkes, 10 April 1759: 'I long to see your house at Aylesbury as much as ever Akenside, or Gilbert Cooper, or any other wrong-headed Platonist longed to visit the Groves of Academus'(Letters, p.79).

7 D,Roper, 'Smollett's "Four Gentlemen": The first contributors to the Critical Review', RES, New Series, Vol.X, No.37 (1959), pp.38-44.

8 Knapp, p.178n. In a letter to John Moore, 12 May 1757, Smollett describes Derrick as his 'Amanuensis, and has been occasionally employed as a Trash reader for the Critical Review'(Letters, p.57).

While Akenside has always been known as the original of the physician, it is only fairly recently that Ronald Paulson has identified the character Pallet as William Hogarth.[9] The single instance of the full name 'Layman Pallet' a few pages after the episode of the physician's vision, when he signs a challenge to a duel addressed to the physician(p.338), seems to indicate that, temporarily at least Smollett was thinking of Hayman rather than Hogarth as his Pallet.[10] This would be on the level of an in-joke among friends rather than any intent to satirise Hayman. Indeed if anyone is satirised in the episode, it is the physician yet again. As a source for this personal satire, Hayman's frontispiece to Akenside's Odes on Several Subjects seems to have supplied Smollett with an additional more specific grievance, to add to the anti-Scottish feelings cited by Buck as the reasons for Smollett's animosity, feelings shared and expressed by very many of Akenside's English contemporaries.

9 'The Identity of Pallet', Studies in English Literature, Summer 1964, pp.351-9.

10 Paulson does note the Layman/Hayman possibility, especially since Hayman was with Hogarth in France when both were imprisoned for sketching the fortifications at Calais, see Peregrine Pickle, ch.51.

SECTION II

Checklist of editions of Smollett's novels

Notes on the Checklist

The scope of this checklist is from 1748, and the publication of Smollett's first novel, through to 1832 and the selection of Smollett novels illustrated by Cruikshank for the Novelist's Library edition edited by Thomas Roscoe. 'Collected Works' are omitted except when they are illustrated, such as in 1790, or for collections like the Novelist's Library, or the special case of the Dublin 'Select Works' of 1775(see Roderick Random checklist for 1775).

For the purposes of cross-reference the novel titles are abbreviated to RR for Roderick Random, PP for Peregrine Pickle, FCF for Ferdinand Count Fathom, LG for Sir Launcelot Greaves, and HC for Humphry Clinker. The checklist numbers refer to illustrated editions only, and the others are included to give some idea of the frequency of illustrated editions. I have not attempted to ascertain the order in which editions appeared if there were more than one in a year, for example the three London editions of Roderick Random for 1780. Otherwise my normal practice is to put the London edition first, followed by other British editions, then foreign ones; for an example see the Roderick Random checklist for 1784. If an edition has more than one titlepage, for example both an engraved and a printed one, I follow the order in which they appear in the book, and do the same for the plates. Plates are distinguished by letters, so that RR3b would,of course, refer to the second plate in the third illustrated edition of Roderick Random.

Following a transcription of the titlepage, where this is available(see however PP11), I note the format where known, and

then describe the graphic embellishment under the following headings. I do not describe portraits of the author, or decorative features such as the tailpieces in PP30.

Illustration: Plates are described in the order in which they appear in the volume. In the case of serial editions this does not necessarily seem to have been the order in which they were published, see RR18. The information which appears after the heading Illustration gives the number of plates, the general technique of illustration, although 18th century 'engraving' was normally a mixture of both engraving and etching. The approximate size of the plate is then given, with the horizontal measurement followed by the vertical. Where there are borders the measurement is of the central section omitting the border since they were often engraved on a different plate. Where all the plates in an edition are titled with the name of the novel this is given here to save repetition.

In the description of the plates which follows the general principle is that any mark or information not appearing on the plate is bracketed, except where I am only noting variations from a previous appearance of the plate, for example PP27a.

Position: If the information does not appear on the plate, the position of the illustration is put in square brackets.

Date: If this information is not on the plate, then in square brackets I note 'None' with a presumed date, depending on the date of the edition or on the date of an earlier version, for example RR7a.

Signature: The name of the designer and of the engraver of the plate is given if this appears on the plate. If only one is given, but the other is known, as in RR2b, the one appearing on

the plate is given first and the other second in square brackets.

Description: If this is the title as it appears on the plate, it is underlined. Plate numbers and page references on the plate are not underlined. In the case of untitled plates with just a page reference, the page reference is given and then a short verbal description of the episode illustrated is given in square brackets. In both cases the chapter reference to the episode is given in round brackets at the end. The texts used for these chapter references are the Oxford English Novels series for all except Roderick Random where the edition used is the 2nd edition (1748). Because chapter 88 of Peregrine Pickle, the 'Memoirs of a Lady of Quality', is so lengthy I give the page reference as well.

Notes: Here cross-references are given, and also references to reproductions of the plates in the text of the thesis.

Location: The abbreviations are as follows:

Bodl. - Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BM. - British Museum
BP. - Boston Public Library
CUL. - Cambridge University Library
EUL. - Edinburgh University Library
H. - Harvard Library
Joliat. - 'Bibliographie des Traductions de Smollett' in E. Joliat, Smollett et la France(Paris, 1935)
Knapp collection - Noted in L.M. Knapp's The Works of Tobias Smollett and Related Material(Colorado Springs, 1963)
LC. - Library of Congress
McM. - MacMaster University Library, Ontario.
NCBEL. - The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, vol. II
NLS. - National Library of Scotland
NYPL. - New York Public Library

PML. - Pierpont Morgan Library

Pr. - Princeton Library

Y. - Yale Library

THE ADVENTURES OF RODERICK RANDOM

1748 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for J. Osborn in Pater-noster-Row./ MDCCXLVIII./
12o
Notes: The first edition. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '. The Berg Collection in the New York Public Library has variant versions of this edition.
Bodl. BM.EUL.H.NLS.NYPL.PML.Pr.Y.

1. 1748 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Second Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for J. Osborn in Pater-noster-Row./ MDCCXLVIII./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 8 by 12·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece Vol.I
Date: Publish'd by John Osborn according to Act of Parlt. Mar:28.1748.
Signature: F.Hayman inv. et del. C.Grignion sculp [In both plates.]
Description: [The battle between Random and Weazel, (ch.12).]
(b) Position: Frontispiece Vol.II
Date: Publish'd by Jon.Osborn according to Act of Parlt. Mar:28.1748.
Description: [Random finds Bowling in distress, (ch.41).]
Notes: The first illustrated edition. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '. The plates were used in editions until 1792(see RR3 and with a different imprint RR4, 6,8,9,10,12,16, and 24) and the designs re-engraved (see RR2,5,7,11,14,15,20, and 23). See Pl.9.
Bodl.BM.EUL.H.Y.

1748 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II'.]/ I/ [ornament]/ II/ Dublin:/Printed and Sold by Richard James, opposite/ Sycamore Alley in Dame -Street./ / MDCCXLVIII./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ ' At the end of volume 1 is a list of James's recent publications.
Bodl.

2. 1749 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.']/ I / The Third Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ Dublin:/ Printed and Sold by Richard James, at Newton's/ Head, opposite Sycamore-Alley in Dame-Street./ MDCCXLIX./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 12·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece Vol.1
Date: Publish'd by Richard James in Dame Street Dublin 1749
Signature: F.Hayman in. T.Chambars sculp
Description: [As RR1a.]
(b) Position: Frontispiece Vol.II
Date: Publishd by Richd. James 1749
Signature: Phillip Simms sculpt.[Designed by Hayman.]
Description: [As RR1b]
Notes: The 2 Hayman frontispieces from the 2nd edition re-engraved for this Irish edition. See also RR5 and RR11 below.
Pr.Y.

3. 1750 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.']/ I/ The Third Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for J.Osborn, in Pater-noster-Row./ MDCCL./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR1. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '.
Bodl.BM.Y.

1751 French edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1752 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1754 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1754 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

4. 1755 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.[('II.']/ I/ The Fourth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand;/ J.Hodges, near London Bridge; J. and J.Rivington,/ in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and R.Baldwin,/ and M.Cooper, in Pater-noster-row./ MDCCLV./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ ' This edition is the first to contain the Apologue, see O.M.Brack, 'The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of Tobias Smollett', Books at Iowa, 7.Nov.1967, pp.41-2. There are 2 frontispieces as in RR1 except that the dating imprint has been changed so that 'Andr.Millar', replaces 'John Osborn' in the volume 1 frontispiece, and 'A.Millar', replaces 'Jon.Osborn' in volume 2. In both it is possible to see traces of the original name, as is the case in much later editions such as RR24, which suggests either small editions or that a large number of plates were printed and then used as an issue was required.
Bodl.

5. 1755 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Fourth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ Dublin:/ Printed and Sold by Richard James, at/ Newton's Head, in Dame-Street,/ '/ MDCCLV./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR2.
BM.

1755 German edition
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

6. 1760 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Fifth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for A.Millar, W.Strahan, John Riving-/ ton, J.Rivington and J.Fletcher, R.Bald-/ win, J.Ward, J.Richardson, S.Crowder,/ P.Davey and B.Law, T.Caslon, T.Hope,/ T.Becket, and M.Cooper./ MDCCLX./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '. 2 frontispieces as in RR4.
Bodl.BM.Y.

7. 1761 Halftitle: Aventures/ de/ Roderik Random./ II/ Tome Premier. ['Second.' and 'Troisième']/ II/
Title: Aventures/ de/ Roderik Random,/ Traduites de l'Anglois de Fielding./ Avec figures en Taille-Douce./

"./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' and 'Troisieme']/ "./
[ornament]/ A Londres/ Chez Jean Nourse, Libraire./
I/ M.DCC.LXI./
12o
Illustrations: 3 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 12·5 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece volume] 1
Date: [None, presumably 1761 engraving of 1748 design.]
Signature: [Designed by Hayman] A.Pinssio sculp.
Description: [As RR1a]
(b) Position: [Frontispiece volume] 2
Date: [None, presumably 1761.]
Signature: C. Eissen inv. A.Pinssio scul.
Description: [Random discovered in the barn by the peasants, (ch.38).]
(c) Position: [Frontispiece volume] 3
Date: [As above RR7a]
Signature: [Designed by Hayman] A.Pinssio sculpt.
Description: [As RR1b]
Notes: A French translation in 3 volumes. The frontispieces to volumes 1 and 3 are re-engravings of RR1, while volume 2 has a new design. See Pl.30.
NLS.

1762 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1762 Avantures/ de/ Roderik Random,/ Traduites de l'Anglois/ de M.Fielding./ Tome Premier.['Second.']/ [ornament]/ A Amsterdam,/ Aux Depens de la Compagnie./ MDCCLXII./
12o
BM.Y.

8. 1763 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Sixth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for A.Millar, W.Strahan, J.Rivington,/ R.Baldwin, W.Johnston, J.Richardson, T./ Caslon, T.Hope, T.Becket and P.A. De Hondt,/ and J.Hinxman./ M,DCC,LXIII./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR4. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '
Y.

1764 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

9. 1766 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Seventh Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for A.Millar, W.Strahan, J.Rivington,/ R.Baldwin,W. Johnston, T.Caslon, B.Law,/ T.Becket and P.A.De Hondt, T.Lowndes,/ J.Knox, W.Nicoll, T.Durham,/ and M.Richardson./ MDCCLXVI./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR4. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '.
BM.Y.

1768 Dublin edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1769 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

10. 1770 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Eighth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for W.Strahan, J.Rivington, R.Baldwin,/ Hawes, Clarke, and Collins, W.Johnston,/ T.Caslon, B.Law, J.Johnson and Co. W. and/ J.Richardson, T.Becket and P.A. De/ Hondt, T.Lowndes, E. and C.Dilly,/ T.Cadell, J.Knox, W.Nicoll, and/ T.Durham. MDCCLXX./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR4. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./ I/ '.
BM.EUL.Y.

1772 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Eight Edition./ '/ Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXII./
8o
Notes: See also an edition of Ferdinand Count Fathom (1789) without publisher's imprint.
EUL.

11. 1773 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Eighth Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ Dublin: /Printed for James Williams, at No.5./ In Skinner-Row./ '/ M,DCC,LXXIII./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR2, but lacking the dating imprint in both plates. The engraver's name in the volume 2 plate is spelt 'Sims' and not 'Simms' as in RR2b.
Bodl.BM.

12. 1774 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ The Ninth Edition./ London:/ Printed for W.Strahan, J.&F.Rivington, Hawes & Co./ W.Johnston, T.Caslon, B.Law, B.& C.Dilly, T.Becket,/ T.Lowndes, G.Robinson, T.Cadell, J.Knox, W.Nicoll,/ T.Durham, R.Baldwin, and J.Richardson,/ '/ M.DCC.LXXIV./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes.' Volume 1 has a frontispiece as in RR4a, but volume 2 is lacking the frontispiece in the only copy I have seen.
Bodl.

13. 1775 London 'Tenth Edition'
Notes: Not seen, but probably illustrated, see RR12 above.
CUL.

1775 Halftitle: Roderick Random./ Volume First. ['Second.']/
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Volume First. ['Second.']/ London:/ Printed for Bernard Lintot, in the Strand./ M.DCC.LXXV./
12o
McM.Y.

1775 General title: The/ Select'/ Works/ of/ T.Smollet, M.D./ containing/ The Adventures of/ Roderick Random,/ Peregrine Pickle,/ Launcelot Greaves,/ And Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ In Eight Volumes./ Revised, Corrected, and Altered by the Author./ Dublin: Printed by the United Company/ of Booksellers./ MDCCLXXVI./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ The Ninth Edition./ I/ Dublin:/ Printed for the United Company of/ Book-sellers. 1775./
18o
Notes: The first 'works of Smollett', interestingly omitting Ferdinand Count Fathom. The general title is found in volume one of Roderick Random only. Volume 2 titlepage omits the hyphen between 'Book-sellers.' See other checklists under 1775 for corresponding volumes. As is obvious from the titlepages this was an ad hoc edition.
Bodl.H.

1776 Child's version.
Notes: Knapp describes a children's version of 'The Comical Adventures of Roderick Random and his friend Strap ... Adorned with Curious Copper-Plates.' (London, 1776) in NQ, 1954, vol. CXCIX, p.475.

14. 1777 The/ Adventures/ of / Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ A New Edition./ London:/ Printed for J.Coote, No.14,/ Red Lion-Street, Clerkenwell./ M.DCC.LXXVII./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces, re-engravings of the Hayman designs(see RR1), but reduced in size to 5·5 by 9 cms. Neither have any signature or dating marks, but are described only as 'Frontispiece to Vol.I['II']. Private collection.

1778 The / Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Vol.II./ I/ The Tenth Edition./ I/ II/ London:/ Printed for J.Gardner and R.Gray; - and/ Patrick Anderson, Parliament-square,/ Edinburgh./ ·1./ M,DCC,LXXVIII./
12o
Notes: There is apparently no illustration to this edition, but the first few pages, including the titlepage to volume 1, are either missing or loose.
NYPL.

1778 Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ By T.Smollet./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ Volume I./ / II/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Alexander Donaldson;/ And sold at his Shop, No.48. St.Paul's Church-yard,/ London; and at Edinburgh./ I/ M,DCC,LXXVIII./
Halftitle: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ Volume II./
12o
Notes: The pagination and the chapters are numbered continuously, and the whole is bound in one. There is no halftitle to volume 1 and no general title to volume 2.
NLS.

15. 1779 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ A New Edition./ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Sold by W.Davidson, A.Newton, T.Nelson,/ B.White, and J.Hammond./ MDCCLXXIX./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces, wooden re-engravings of Haymans designs(see RR1), with no signature or date. Both plates are marked 'Frontispiece Vol.I.['II.'], and 'Published according to Act of Parliament -----'.
See also RR20 below.
CUL.

16. 1780 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ The Tenth Edition./ Illustrated with Frontispieces./ London:/ Printed for W.Strahan, J.Rivington & Sons, T.Caslon,/ B. Law, C.Dilly, G.Robinson, T.Cadell, T.Lowndes,/ R.Baldwin, J.Murray, and J.Bowen./ / M.DCC.LXXX./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes.' and 'Illustrated with Frontispieces.' 2 frontispieces as in RR4.
MH.PML.Y.

17. 1780 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ A New Edition./ London:/ Printed for W.Cavell, No. 327, Holborn./ M.DCC.LXXX./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 6·5 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece volume 1.]
Date: [None, presumably 1780 engraving of 1748 design.]
Signature: [None, designed by Hayman]
Description: Rod.Randm.p. (sic)[The battle between Random and Weazel (ch.12).]
(b) Position: [Frontispiece volume 2.]
Date: [None, presumably 1780.]
Signature: [None.]
Description: Rod.Randm.page (sic) [A duel (ch.59?).]
Notes: The plate to volume 1 is a bad re-engraving of Hayman's design(see RR1a), while that to volume 2 is new for this edition, but no better technically than the first. The Berg Collection copy of this edition belonged to Cruikshank and contains pencil sketches to the novel. See Pls.15,17 and 18.
MH.NYPL.

18. 1780 General Title: The/ Novelist's Magazine./ Vol.II./ Containing/ Solyman and Almena,/ The Vicar of Wakefield,/ Roderick Random,/ Zadig, and/ The Devil upon Two Sticks./ [Vignette]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co./ No.18, Paternoster-Row./ 1780./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ By Dr.Smollet./ [Motto]/ [ornament]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co. No.18, Paternoster-Row./ M DCC LXXX./
8o
Illustration: 6 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 12·5 cms. Ornamental borders, entitled 'Roderick Random'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 14.]
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co; June 3d. 1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate.I.[Bowling repulses the Squire's dogs (ch.3).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 36.]
Date: Publish'd ... 1st July 1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate V. [Random and Strap join the waggon (ch.11).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 74.]
Date: Publish'd ... June 10th.1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate II. [Random threatens Gawky (ch.21).]
(d) Position: [Facing page 142.]
Date: Publish'd ... 17th.June 1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate III.[Random rescues Narcissa from Sir Timothy Quiverwit (ch.41).]
(e) Position: [Facing page 209.]
Date: Publish'd ... July 8th.1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate VI. [Random introduced to Narcissa by her brother (ch.56).]
(f) Position: [Facing page 249.]
Date: Publish'd ... June 26th.1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate IV. [Random discovers his father (ch.66).]

Notes: Harrison's Novelist's Magazine was produced serially in weekly numbers, price sixpence, each with a plate(see the Prospectus for the series in the British Museum). The plates do not seem necessarily to have referred to that week's portion of the text, if the dates mean anything. This edition is sometimes found bound alone without the general title. See corresponding volumes in PP6, FCF2, LG5 and HC4. See also RR19 below. See Pl.38.
Bodl.BM.NYPL.Pr.

1781 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1782 Halftitle: Aventures/ de/ Roderik Random./ I/ Tome Premier. ['Second.']/ I/
Title: Histoire/ et/ Aventures/ de/ Roderik Random./ Traduction de l'Anglois/ de M.Fielding./ I/ Tome Premier.['Second.']/ I/ [ornament]/ À Geneve,/ Chez Nouffer de Rodon & Compagnie,/ Imprimeurs-Libraires./ '/ 1782.
12o
BM.Y.

1782 Halftitle: Bibliotheque/ ou/ Choix des Meilleurs Romans Anglois./ I/ Tome Onzieme./ I/
Title: Oeuvres/ de/ M.Fielding./ Tome XI.['XII.']/ II/ Aventures/ de/ Roderik Random./ Tome Premier., ['Second.']/ II/ [ornament]/ À Geneve,/ Chez Nouffer de Rodon & Compagnie,/ Imprimeurs-Libraires./ / 1782./
12o
Notes: A different edition from the preceding entry. The halftitle is missing in volume 2.
NYPL.

19. 1783 Novelist's Magazine edition.
Notes: An edition identical with RR18 above, except for the change in date on the general title('1783.'), and on the sectional title('MDCCLXXXIII.'). The dating on the plates is not changed.
Bodl.Y.

1783 London edition published by Wenman.
Notes: Not seen, but see the notes to HC3.

20. 1784 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ A New Edition,/ I/ In Two Volumes./ I/ Volume First. ['Second.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ [ornament]/ II/ London:/ Printed for J.Wren, and W.Hodges./ / MDCCLXXIV./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR15 above. Volume 2 titlepage reverses the position of the motto and 'Volume Second'. See also Humphry Clinker checklist for 1784 and 1795.

1784 Halftitle: /I/ Roderick Random./ Volume First. ['Second.']/ I/
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ / Edinburgh:/Printed for W.Darling, Advocates Close,/ and W.Coke, Bookseller Leith./ / M.DCC.LXXIV./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'and W.Coke, Bookseller Leith.'
NLS.

1784 Halftitle: Petite/ Bibliotheque/ de Campagne,/ ou/ Collection de Romans./
Title: Aventures/ de/ Roderik/ Random./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Trois.' and 'Quatre.']/ [ornament]/ A Reims,/ Chez Cazin, Libraire./ / 1784./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits stop in halftitle.
BM.H.

1786 French edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1788 Russian edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Joliat, op.cit., pp.266-7.

21. 1790 Roderich Random./ I./ Ein Seitenstüt/ zum/ Gil Blas./ I/ [Motto in Latin]/ I/ Neuübersezt./Erster['Zweiter'] Band./ I/ Berlin, 1790./ bei Christian Friedrich Himburg./
8o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece volume 1] B.1.S.119.
Date: 1789
Signature: W.Chodowiecki inv: & fecit [In both plates.]
Description: [The recruiting-sergeant's nightmare (ch.10).]
(b) Position: [Frontispiece volume 2] S.5.
Date: 1790
Description: [Random discovered in the barn by the peasants (ch.38).]
Notes: The titlepage is engraved. See also RR27 and PP10. See Pl.31.
NLS.Y.

22. 1790 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Six Volumes./ Volume the First,/ containing/ The Adventures of Roderick Random./ [ornament]/ / Edinburgh:/ Printed by David Ramsay./ For Jo. and Ja. Fairbairn, No 9. Hunter's Square,/ and/ A.Guthrie, No 25. South Bridge./ / 1790./
Volume title: / / The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ / [Motto]/ I/
8o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece. Engraving. Oblong, 10·5 by 16·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece to Vol I
Date: [None, presumably 1790.]
Signature: Rowlandson delt. Kirkwood sculpt.
Description: --God's fury! there shall no passengers come here.----Waunds, Coptain, why woan't you sooffer the poor waggoneer to make a penny? Engraved for Smollets Miscellaneous Works. Roderick Random page 53 (ch.11.)
Notes: The first of several of Rowlandson's illustrations to the novel(see also RR25 and RR28). See corresponding volumes in PP13, FCF4, LG7 and HC5. See Pl.7. The Edinburgh University Library copy lacks the plates.
EM.EUL.NLS.Y.

1791 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1791 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ Written by/ Dr.Smollet,/ And abridged by R.Lewis, Corrector of the Press./ I/ A New Edition./ II/ Dublin:/ Printed by Pat.Wogan, at the Old Bridge./ I./ MDCCXCI./
12o
Notes: A shortened child's version of 178 pages with no chapter divisions. Bound in at the end is a catalogue of Wogan's school publications. See Peregrine Pickle checklist[1790].
BM.

23. 1791 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ Vol.I.['II.']/ II/ [Motto]/ II/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by W.Darling and Son,/ for/ W.Coke, Leith, and W.Anderson, Stirling./ '/ M,DCC,XCI/
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces, re-engravings of the Hayman designs(see RR1), slightly rdduced in size to 7·5 by 12 cms. Neither has any signature, or dating narks, but are described only as 'Frontispiece Vol 1 ['2']'. The British Museum copy lacks the plates.
Bi.CUL.NLS.

24. 1792 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ Vol.I.['II.']/ I/ A New Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for B.Law, C.Dilly, G.G.J. and J./ Robinson, T.Cadell, F. and C.Rivington,/ W.Goldsmith, W.Richardson, S.Hayes,/ W.Lane, R.Baldwin, J.Murray,/ G. and T.Wilkie, and W.Lowndes./ M,DCC,XCII./
12o
Notes: 2 frontispieces as in RR4.
BM.McM.

25. 1792 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By/ Doctor Smollett./ In Two Volumes./ I/ [Motto]/ I/ Vol.I. ['II.']/ '/ London/ Printed and Published by C.Lowndes,/ No 66, Drury-Lane,/ MDCCXCII./
8o
Illustration: 6 folio coloured plates. Aquatint. Rectangle, 27 by 19·5 cms.
(a) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 21.]
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs, by C.Lowndes, No.66, Drury Lane: August 1.1792.
Signature: G.M.Woodward, delin. Rowlandson, sculpt.

Description: Plate 1st. Lieut.Bowling, pleading the cause of young Rory, to his Grandfather. Vide, Roderick Random. Vol.1. Chap.111(ch.3.).

(b) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 67.]
Date: Published as the Act directs Augt 11. 1792 by C.Lowndes No.66 Drury Lane
Signature: G.M.Woodward delt. T.Rowlandson sculp.
Description: Hogarthian Novelist. Plate 2 The Passengers from the Waggon arriving at the Inn. Vide Roderick Random. Vol.I Chap XI (ch.11).

(c) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 116.]
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs, by C.Lowndes, 13,Octr.1792.
Signature: Collings, delin. Stadler. sculpt.
Description: Hogarthian Novelist, Plate 3. Roderick's Examinationat Surgeon's Hall. Vide Roderick Random, Vol.I. Chap.XVII.(ch.17).

(d) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 264.]
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs, by C.Lowndes, Novr.1.1792.
Signature: Colings, delin. Stadler.sculp.
Description: Hogarthian Novelist Plate.4. Morgan offending the delicate organs of Captain Whiffle. Vide Roderick Random, Vol.I. Chap. XXXIV.(ch.34).

(e) Position: [Volume 2 facing page 222.]
Date: Published as the Act directs, by C.Lowndes, No.66. Drury Lane, Sepr.15.1792.
Signature: Singleton delin. Rowlandson sculpt.
Description: Hogarthian Novelist. Plate 5. Melopoyn haranguing the Prisoners in the Fleet. Vide Roderick Random. Vol.II. Chap. XXV.(ch.61).

(f) Position: [Volume 2 facing page 297, misbound facing page 201.]
Date: Published as the Act directs Septr.1 1792, by C.Lowndes No 66 Drury Lane
Signature: Singleton.Delin. Rowlandson sculpt
Description: Hogarthian Novelist Plate.6 Captain Bowling introduced to Narcissa Vide Roderick Random Vol II Chap (sic)(ch.68).

Notes: Volume 2 titlepage omits 'In Two Volumes.' These fine plates occur in two forms, either folded and bound into an edition of the novel published by Lowndes, or as in the Harvard copy mounted as separate prints. See Pls.6,25, and 34.
H.Pr.

1793 London edition.
Notes: Not seen, but there was presumably an edition in this year(see the dating on the plates to RR28).

26. 1793 Engraved titlepage: Roderic Random,/ Vol.I.['II'.] forming Vol. VIII.['IX.'] of/ Cooke's Edition of Select Novels,/ or Novelists Pocket Library,/ being a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Histories, Adventures, Anecdotes, &c./ by the most/ Esteemed Authors/ [Vignette]/
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderic Random./ In Two Volumes./ By T.Smollet, M.D./"/ With the Life of the Author./ "/ Vol.I.['II.']/ II/ [Motto]/ II/ [ornament]/ "/ London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17,/ Pater-noster-Row./ [n.d.]/
12o
Illustration: 1 vignette, and 5 plates. Engraving. Square vignette, 7·5 by 7·5 cms.; and oval plates, 6·5 by 8 cms, in ornamental borders and entitled 'Cooke's Edition of Select Novels'.

(a) Position: [Titlepage vignette in both volumes.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, March 16. 1793.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. C.Warren,sculpt.
Description: Vide Vol.I.page 64. [Random and Strap join the waggon (ch.11).]

(b) Position: Roderic Random, Vol.I. Ch.12.P.72
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row. Feby.9.1793
Signature: R.Corbould delint. C.Grignion sculpt.
Description: Roderic Random encountering Captn.Weazel, in defence of his companion Strap(ch.12).

(c) Position: Roderic Random. Vol.I.Ch.13.P.80.
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, March 1793
Signature: R.Corbould delint. Saunders, sculpt.
Description: Roderic Random and Strap terrified at an old man, supposing him to be an apparition. (ch.13).

(d) Position: Roderic Random Vol.II.Ch.2.P.[9]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, Feby.23.1793.
Signature: R.Corbould delint. W.Hawkins sculpt.
Description: The Peasants terrified at the ghastly appearance of Roderic Random in the Barn(ch.38).

(e) Position: Roderic Random. Vol.II.Ch.2.P.[33]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row. March 1793
Signature: R.Corbould delint. C.Grignion sculpt.
Description: Roderic Random's unexpected interview with his Uncle Bowling who had been Shipwrecked(ch.41).

(f) Position: Roderic Random, Vol.II.Ch.14.P.[116]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, Feby.16.1793.
Signature: H.Hamilton.delint. W.Hawkins, sculpt.
Description: Roderic Random's disappointment on his interview with the affected old Maid Miss Withers(ch.50).

Notes: The printed titlepage to volume 2 has 'Embellished with Engravings.' in the place of 'With a Life of the Author.' Cooke's edition, like the Novelist's Magazine (see RR18), came out weekly, price sixpence. Some of the designs were used again in various editions of Cooke's Select Novels, see for example notes to RR30 and RR35. RR35f is a different design by Corbould to Hamilton's design for this edition, suggesting that the plate had worn out. There is a particularly fine example of the titlepage vignette in an album of Warren engravings held in the Print Room of the New York Public Library. The British Museum copy lacks the engraved titlepages. See Pls. 8, 10, 23, 24, and 29. For corresponding novels in the same series, see MP16, FCF7, LG9 and HC7.
BM.H.

1794 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1794 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ By T.Smollet, M.D./' / [Motto]/' / Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ Philadelphia:/ Printed for Mathew Carey,/ No.118, Market-Street./ '/ Sept.24, 1794./
12o
Notes: The first American edition. The New York Public Library copy has a catalogue of Carey publications bound at the end of volume 2.
NYPL.Y.

c.1795 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ II/ Vol.I.['II.']/ II/ [Motto]/ II/ London:/ Printed for H.D. Symonds, No 20, Pater-/Noster-Row./ [n.d.]/
8o
Notes: No preface, apologue, list of contents, or date. In volume 2 the imprint is on a single line. See HC6 for edition published by Symonds, dated 1793, with plates by Rowlandson.
BM.

1797 Halftitle: Oeuvres/ Complettes/ de M.Fielding./ I/ Tome Onzieme. ['Douzième.' 'Treizième.' and 'Quatorzième.'] / I/
Title: Aventures/ de/ Roderick Random;/ Par Fielding./ I/ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisième.' and 'Quatrième.'] / [ornament]/ A Paris,/ Au Bureau du Journal de Perlet, rue/Saint-André-des-Arts, No.41;/ Et chez Ouvrier, libraire, même adresse./ '/ 1797.
12o

Notes: Volumes 3 and 4 have 'Roderik Random' on the titlepages instead of the normal English spelling, as do the running titles in all four volumes. See the 1804 edition also.
Y.

27. 1802 Roderich Random./ Ein Seitenstück/ zum/ Gil Blas./ Neu übersetzt von W.C.S.Mylius./ I/ Erster['Zweyter' 'Dritter' and 'Vierter'] Band./ [Motto in Latin]/ Neue Auflage./ '/ Mannheim,/ 1802./
8o

Illustration: 4 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12·5 cms.

(a) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 1]
Date: [None, presumably 1802 engraving of 1789 design.]
Signature: Chodowiecki.del. J.Mansfeld sc.
Description: [As RR21a.]

(b) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]
Date: [None, presumably 1802.]
Signature: L.Maillard,del. J.Mansfeld.sc.
Description: [Random and the pressgang(ch.24).]

(c) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 3.]
Date: [As RR27a above.]
Signature: Chodowiecki.del. J.Mansfeld.sc.
Description: [As RR21b.]

(d) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 4.]
Date: [As RR27b above.]
Signature: L.Maillard.del. J.Mansfeld.sc.
Description: [The card game (ch.56).]

Notes: This 4 volume German edition uses Chodowiecki's 1789/90 designs, see RR21 above, for two of the volumes and two new ones by Maillard. The titlepages are engraved and differ slightly in punctuation, for example volume 2 has no stop after 'Mylius'.
Y.

1803 Danish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1804 Halftitle: Oeuvres/ Complettes/ De Fielding./ I/ Tome XI.['XII.' 'XIII.' and 'XIV.']/ I/
Title: Aventures/ de/ Roderick Random;/ Par Fielding./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisieme.' and 'Quatrieme.'] / '/ A Paris,/ Chez L.Duprat-Duverger, rue des/ Grands-Augustins, no.24./ "/ 1804./
12o
Notes: As with the 1797 French edition which it closely resembles this has the spelling 'Roderik Random' on the running titles to all four volumes.
BM.Y.

28. 1805 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By/ Tobias Smollet, M.D./ With/ Prints by Rowlandson./ II/ [Motto]/ II/ Volume I.['II.']/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Bell & Bradfute, W.Creech,/ B.Balfour, W.Laing, A.Guthrie, P.Hill,/ C.Elliot, Manners & Miller,/ A.Constable & Co./ And/ Longman, Rees, Hurst, & Orme,/ London./ 1805./
8o
Illustration: 12 plates. Etching. Rectangular, 13·5 - 14·5 by 9 cms.

(a) Position: Vol.I.p.16[Used as frontispiece.]
Date: [Not visible, presumably 1793.]
Signature: T.Rowlandson delt. & Fect.
Description: The reading of the Will of Lieut: Bowling's Brother (ch.4).

(b) Position: Vol.1.p.58.
Date: [Not visible, presumably 1793.]
Signature: T.Rowlandson delt. & Fect.
Description: Mutual defiance of Capt: Weazel and Miss Jenny Ramper (ch.11).

(c) Position: Vol.1.p.116.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs by J.Sibbald May 18th.1793.
Signature: T.Rowlandson delt. & Fect.
Description: The Return of Mrs. Lavement & Capt:O'Donnel from the Play (ch.19).

(d) Position: Vol:1.p.132.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs by J.Sibbald 25th May 1793.
Signature: T:Rowlandson delt. & Fect.
Description: Rod: Random finds Miss Williams in a miserable situation (ch.21).

(e) Position: Vol.1.p.178.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs by J.Sibbald, June 8.1793.
Signature: T.Rowlandson delt. & Fect.
Description: Battle between Rod: Random and the Midshipman (ch.27).

(f) Position: Vol.1.p.224
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs by J.Sibbald, June 1st, 1793.
Signature: T:Rowlandson delt. & Fect,
Description: The abrupt Entrance of Morgan thows(sic) Capt: Whiffle into a swoon (ch.34).

(g) Position: Vol:2:p:30
Date: London Publish'd as the Act directs by J.Sibbald June 15.1793.
Signature: [None, presumably Rowlandson.]
Description: Rod: Random discovers his Uncle Bowling in distress (ch.41).

(h) Position: Vol.2 p.44
Date: [None, presumably 1793.]
Signature: Rowlandson del. et sculp.
Description: [Title from Index of Plates: R.Random joins in the festivity of a company of French soldiers (ch.43).]

(i) Position: Vol.2.p.112.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs, by J.Sibbald July 27.1793.

Signature: Rowlandson del. et sculp.
Description: Melopoyn(a distressed Poet) and the Manager (ch.62).

(j) Position: Vol.2.p.126.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs, by J.Sibbald July 6.1793.
Signature: Rowlandson del. et sculp.
Description: Rod: Random visits a Gaming Table (ch.52).

(k) Position: Chap.64 Book 2.
Date: London. Publish'd as the Act directs, by J.Sibbald Augt. 10.1793
Signature: Rowlandson del. et sculp.
Description: [Title from Index of Plates: Lieut: Bowling visits Roderick in prison (ch.64).]

(l) Position: Vol.2.page 231
Date: [None, presumably 1793.]
Signature: Design'd and etched by T.Rowlandson
Description: Narcissa contemplates the picture of Rod: Random (ch.65).

Notes: The plates were evidently made for an earlier edition, which I have not come across. RR28a to f were used again in 1809, see RR30 below. For a water-colour of RR28a in the possession of the Boston Public Library, see reproduction in H.A. Heintzelmann's Water-colour Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson From the Albert H.Wiggin Collection in the Boston Public Library. See Pls. 3, 11, 26, 32, 33, and 35. For corresponding novels in the same series see also PP19 and HC10.
Fr.

1805 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1805 Dutch edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1805 Gotha edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

29. 1808 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random/ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London./ Publish'd by J.Walker, Paternoster Row: and J.Harris,/ St.Paul's Church Yard./ "/
Title: The/ Adventures/ of / Roderick Random./ '/ By T.Smollett, M.D./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed by

Lewis & Hamblin, Paternoster-row;/ For J.Walker;/ J.Johnson; J.Richardson; R.Faulder and Son;/ F.C. and J.Rivington; Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe;/ R.Lea; J.Nunn; Cuthell and Martin; E.Jeffery;/ Lackington, Allen, and Co.; Lane, Newman, and/ Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell/ and Davies; Wilkie and Robinson; J.Booker;/ Black, Parry, and Kingsbury; H.D.Symonds;/ J.Asperne; R.Scholey; and J.Harris./ '/ 1808./ "/ Price 5s./
24o

Illustration: 1 frontispiece, oblong, 5 by 7·5 cms.; 1 vignette, rectangle, 6·5 by 4·5 cms. Engraving.

(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, presumably 1808. In both plates.]
Signature: T.Uwins del. Edwards sculp. [In both plates.]
Description: Narcissa and Miss Williams discovering the miniature. Vide.Chap.65. Pub. by J.Walker Paternoster Row, and J.Harris. St.Pauls Church Yard. (ch.65.)

(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette.]
Description: Roderick and Strap, on their road to London. Vide.Chap.9.(ch.9.)

Notes: For a reprint see below RR34 and also RR37; for other Smollett novels published by Walker see PP25 and HC11 and HC15.
EH.

30. 1809 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett;/ To which is prefixed,/ Memoirs of his Life and Writings./ In Five Volumes./ '/ Embellished with/ Twenty-Six Engravings,/ By Rowlandson & Others,/ Volume IV./ containing/ The Adventures/ of Roderick Random,/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random,/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Two Volumes./ '/ Plates by Rowlandson./ '/ Volume I.['II.']/ [Motto]/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 180[illegible]./
8o

Notes: This edition occurs in several forms. The copy in the Library at Harvard omits the general titlepage and is therefore simply an edition of Roderick Random. The National Library of Scotland copy substitutes engraved titlepages from a Cooke's Select Novels edition of the novel for the two volume titlepages, as in the engraved titlepages in RR35 but omitting the Dean & Munday imprint. The 2 vignettes resemble RR35b and g in many particulars:

(a) Position: [Volume 1 titlepage vignette.]
Date: Embellished under the direction of C.Cooke.Oct.27.1797.
Signature: R.Corbould del.C.Warren sculp.
Description: Random and Strap proceeding to London Vide Vol.1.Page 46 (ch.11).

(b) Position: [Volume 2 titlepage vignette.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke.Jan.1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by Corbould Engraved by Granger.
Description: Distress of Random after being shipwreck'd. Vide Vol.II.Chap.1.Page.7.(ch.37).

With this exception, it resembles the other copies of the novel in having six plates by Rowlandson in volume 1 and no plates in volume 2. The Rowlandson plates are as RR28a to f, in position, signature and description differing from the 1805 plates only in having no dating imprint. Why only half the Rowlandson plates were acquired and used for this edition is a mystery. For corresponding volumes see PP21, FCF9, LG11 and HC12.
H.EUL.NLS.

1809 Philadelphia edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Knapp collection.

31. 1810 Engraved title: The/ Adventures of/ Roderic Random,/ forming Part of/ Tegg's/ Miniature Novelist./ [Vignette]/ London/ Printed for Thomas Tegg, 111, Cheapside/ 1810./
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By Tobias Smollet./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I. ['Vol.II.']/ Embellished with Engravings./ II/ Tegg's Edition, Edited by Miss Burney./ II/ London:/ Published by Thomas Tegg,/ 111 Cheapside:/ Printed by George Hazard,/ Beech-Street./ [n.d.]/
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces, oblong 5·5 by 7 cms, and 2 vignettes, volume 1, 6 by 6 cms., and volume 2, 5·5 by 4·5 cms. Engraving.

(a) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 1.]
Date: London, Published by T.Tegg 111 Cheapside May 1 1810.
Signature: Thurston del. Rhodes sculp. [In all 4 plates.]
Description: Roderick Random. Vide Vol.1. Chap.11. [The miser accused by Jenny Ramper (ch.11).]

(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette to volume 1.]
Date: 1810.
Description: Vol.1.Chap.3 [Bowling repulses the squire's dogs (ch.3).]

(c) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]
Date: London, Published by T.Tegg Cheapside June 1 1810.
Description: Roderick Random. [Narcissa's aunt, (ch.39).]

(d) Position: [Titlepage vignette to volume 2.]
Date: 1810
Description: Vol.11.chap 30[Random left ship-wrecked (ch.37).]

Notes: There is no sign of Miss Burney's editorship. The engraved titlepage to volume 2 has a comma after 'London'.
NYPL.

32. 1810 General title: The/ British Novelists;/ comprising/ Every Work of Acknowledged Merit which is Usually/ Classed under the Denomination of/ Novels./ Accompanied with/ Biographical Sketches/ of/ The Authors,/ And a/ Critical Preface to Each Work./ By William Mudford./ Embellished with Elegant Engravings./ Volume II./ Containing/ Roderick Random -- Ferdinand Count Fathom --/ and Sir Launcelot Greaves./ || / London:/ Published for the Proprietors,/ By W.Clarke, New Bond Street; Goddard, Pall Mall; Taylor and/ Hessey, Fleet Street; J.M.Richardson, Cornhill; and/ Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row./ 1810./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ By Dr. Smollett./ [Motto]/ I/ Forming Part of a Series of the most esteemed Novels, and embellished/ with elegant Engravings./ '/ "/ London:/ [Same imprint as general title.]/ 1810./
8o
Illustration: 6 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 10 cms., entitled 'Roderic Random'.

(a) Position: [Facing page 14.]
Date: Publish'd for the Proprietors June 30, 1810. by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. A.Warren.sc.
Description: Pl.6.[Bowling repulses the squire's dogs (ch.3).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 39.]
Date: Publish'd ... May 19.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Hawkesworth,sc.
Description: Pl.1.[Battle between Jenny and Weazel (ch.11).]

(c) Position: [Facing page 153.]
Date: Publish'd ... June 9.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Walker,sc.
Description: Pl.3 [Random finds Bowling in distress (ch.41).]

(d) Position: [Facing page 164.]
Date: Publish'd ... May 26.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. G.Walker, sc.
Description: Pl.2.[Random introduces himself to 'M.d'Estrapes' (ch.44).]

(e) Position: [Facing page 234.]
Date: Publish'd ... June 22.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell delt. Davenport sc.
Description: Pl.5[Random fights Lord Quiverwit, (ch.59).]

(f) Position: [Facing page 259.]
Date: Publish'd ... June 16.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Tookey,sc.
Description: Pl.4.[Narcissa and Miss Williams discover the miniature(ch.65).]

Notes: Sadleir, in XIX Century Fiction, vol.2,p.141, describes this edition, issued in shilling parts and then in 5 volumes, in imitation of Mrs.Barbauld's British Novelists series(see Humphry Clinker checklist for 1810). See PP22, FCF10, LG14 and HC13 for corresponding novels in the series. See Pl.12.
BM. NYPL.

1810 Children's version.
Notes: Not seen but described in Knapp's collection.

33. 1811 General title: The/ Adventurers:/ or,/ The History/ of/ Roderick Random/ and/ Robinson Crusoe./ '/ With neat engravings./ '/ London:/ '/ Printed and Sold by Knevett, Arliss, and Baker,/ Juvenile Library,/ No.87, Bartholomew Close, West Smithfield./ [n.d.]/
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ II/ [Motto]/ II/ [ornament]/ Edinburgh:/ Published by Oliver & Boyd, Printers,/ Netherbow./ '/ 1811./
12o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece to Roderick Random section. Engraving, Rectangle, 11·5 by 7 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece to Roderic Random
Date: [None, presumably 1811.]
Signature: [None.]
Description: Roderick Random's encounter in the ale-house. Page.18. (ch.13)
Notes: Despite the general title, the one volume work consists of two quite separate shortened versions of each novel, both printed by Oliver and Boyd. The separation is carried through in the illustration to each, Roderick Random having a metal plate engraved frontispiece, and Robinson Crusoe illustrated by several wood-engravings. Smollett's novel has been cut down to 108 pages, with no chapter divisions, for juvenile consumption. See previous entry and 1776 child's version, also 1791 Dublin edition.
BM.

34. 1815 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random/ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London/ Publish'd by J.Walker & Co. Paternoster Row./ "/ 1814./
Printed title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By/ T.Smollett, M.D./ With/ A Life of the Author./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for J.Walker and Co.;/ J.Richardson; F.C. and J.Rivington; R.Lea;/ J.Nunn; Newman and Co.; Lackington, Allen,/ and Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown;/ Cadell and Davies; Black and Parry; Sherwood,/ Neely, and Jones; Cradock and Joy; J.Asperne;/ Gale, Curtis, and Fenner; and J.Robinson./ '/ By S.Hamilton, Weybridge, Surrey./ 1815./
24o

Notes: 1 frontispiece and 1 titlepage vignette as in RR29a, and b, except that the designs have been re-engraved, therefore 'C.Warren sculp.' replaces the earlier 'Edwards sculp.' The plate imprint too has been changed so that the 1808 Walker and Harris imprint is now, for the frontispiece, 'Pub. by J.Walker & Co. Paternoster Row. Septr. 1814.' and for the vignette, 'London. Publish'd by J.Walker & Co. Paternoster Row./ "/ 1814.' The designs are used again in 1824, see RR37 below.
Bodl. EM. II.

1817 Halftitle: /II/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ II/
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ "/ In Two Volumes./ "/ Volume First. ['Second.']/ '/ [Motto]/ '/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by William Blair, James' Court./ '/ 1817./
12o
Notes: The only copy of this edition which I have seen has the original boards with the price '7s.Boards.' printed on it.
NLS.

35. 1819 Engraved title: Roderic Random/ Vol.I. ['II.'] forming part of/ Cooke's Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels,/ or Novelists Entertaining Library/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Adventures, Tales, &c by the most Esteem'd Authors./ Superbly Embellished,/ [Vignette]/ London,/ Printed for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street,/ and all other Booksellers./ [n.d.]/
Printed title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ '/ By Dr. Smollett./ '/ In Two Volumes./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ A New and Correct Edition./ '/ London:/ Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday,/ Threadneedle-Street./ '/ 1819./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces, oval, 6·5 by 7·5 cms.; 2 vignettes, 7·5 by 7·5 cms.; 5 plates, oval, 6·5 by 7·5 cms. Engraving. Allegorical borders, except to vignettes.
(a) [Frontispiece portrait of Smollett, engraved by Ridley.]
(b) Position: [Volume 1 titlepage vignette.]
Date: [None, but see RR30a.]
Signature: [As RR30a.]
Description: Random and Strap proceeding to London Vide Vol. I. Page 71. (ch.11.)
(c) Position: Vide Vol.1.Chap.1.Page 22.
Date: Printed for C:Cooke July 7 1816. Reprinted for Dean and Munday, Threadneedle Street, July 1.1819.
Signature: Drawn by E.F.Burney Engraved by C.Warren

Description: Roderic Random Lieutenant Bowling after his attack on the dogs, expressing his contempt at the threats of the young Squire. (ch.3)

(d) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chapter 11. Page 10 (sic) [Wrongly described but correctly bound facing page 79 of volume 1.]
Date: C.Cooke Feb.1.1816 Reprinted ... June 1 1819.
Signature: Design'd by R.Corbould Engrav'd by C.Grignion
Description: Roderick Random. Roderick Random opposing a spit to the sword of Captn.Weazel, in defence of his companion Strap. (ch.12)

(e) Position: Vide Volume I Chap 13 Page 88
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke Octr.20 1816. Reprinted ... May 1.1819.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by J.Saunders
Description: The terror of Random and Strap, at the entrance of the old man into their chamber, supposing him an apparition. Roderic Random(ch.13)

(f) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]
Date: C.Cooke. Octr.1815 Reprinted ... June 1 1819.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: Roderick Random. The manoeuvre of the old maid, Miss Withers to obtain an interview with Roderick Random who is disgusted at her antique appearance, Vide Vol.II.Chap.13. Page (sic) (ch.50)

(g) Position: [Volume 2 titlepage vignette.]
Date: C.Cooke Jan.1.1816.[But see also RR30b.]
Signature: Drawn by Corbould Engraved by Granger.
Description: Distress of Random after being shipwreck'd Vide Vol.II.Chap.1.Page 8. (ch.37)

(h) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.1.Page 9
Date: C.Cooke Feb.7.1816. Reprinted ... June 15.1819.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Roderick Random. The consternation of the old Peasant and his Son, at the ghastly appearance of Randon in the Barn. (ch.38)

(i) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.27 Page 255.
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke Jany.28.1808 Reprinted ... Augst. 1819
Signature: R.Corbould del. W.Hawkins sculp.
Description: Roderic Random. The rapture of Narcissa on discovering the Portrait of Roderic Random. (ch.65)

Notes: A reprint of Cooke's edition, see RR26, and RR30 for the 2 engraved titlepage vignettes. Three of the illustrations here(d,e, and h) are the same plates as in RR26a, b and c; they have however different borders and a different letterpress. RR35f is a new version of RR26f. The various datings on the plates suggest several more issues of Cooke's edition of the novel than those I have located, e.g. RR35i has a date for 1808. Two of the plates, RR35c and g, are re-engraved as frontispiece and titlepage vignette to an 1838 edition

of the novel, 'A New and Correct Edition. Manchester: S.Johnson, 88 Market Street; T.Johnson, 20, Dale Street, Liverpool; And all other Booksellers.' The engraved titlepage to volume 2 of the 1819 edition spells 'Roderick' correctly. For corresponding novels reprinted by Dean and Munday, see also PP27 and HC16. See Pls. 24 and 121.
BM.Y.

1819 The/Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ Vol. I.['II.']/ '/ [Motto]/ "/ New-York:/ Published by L. and F. Lockwood,/ 110 Chatham-street./ '/ 1819./ S.Marks, Printer./
12o
Notes: This edition has no preface, apologue or list of contents.
Y.

1820 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ [Woodcut]/ Falkirk:/ Printed and Sold by T.Johnston./ 1820./
12o
Notes: A children's version much reduced in length to 144 pages. The titlepage woodcut depicts parents and two children on either side of a fire reading aloud.
LC.

36. 1823 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ '/ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ Chiswick:/ Printed by C.Whittingham./ Sold by C.S. Arnold, Tavistock Street,/ Covent Garden;/ Simkin and Marshall, Stationers' Court;/ And Thomas Tegg, Cheapside, London./ '/ 1823./
16o
Illustration: 2 titlepage vignettes. Wood engraving. Rectangle, 6 by 4 cms.
(a) Position: [Volume 1 titlepage vignette.]
Date: 1823. [In both plates.]
Signature: [None, in both plates.]
Description: [Random repulses Gawky with a bottle (ch.21).]
(b) Position: [Volume 2 titlepage vignette.]
Description: [Random declares his love to Narcissa (ch.57).]
Notes: The illustrations may be by William Harvey, and engraved by John Thomson(see M.Jackson, The Pictorial Press. Its Origin and Progress,(1885) p.359). See Pl.39.
BM.

1823 The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random,/ By/ Dr.Smollett;/ With/ Memoirs/ of/ The Life and Writings/ of/ The Author./ '/ Embellished and Illustrated with Six appropriate Engravings./ '/ Two Volumes in One./ '/ Glasgow:/ Printed and Published by D.Mackenzie./ 1823./
8o
Notes: The only copy of this edition which I have located has had the plates removed.
Private collection.

37. 1824 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random/ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London/ Printed for C.& J.Rivington & the other Proprietors. Jan.1824./
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By T. Smollett, M.D./ With/ A Life of the Author./ '/[Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for C. and J.Rivington; J.Nunn; T.Ca-/ dell; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and/ Green; G. and W.B. Whittaker; J.Richardson;/ J.Walker; Newman and Co.; Harding, Mavor,/ and Lepard; Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen;/ Black, Young, and Young; Sherwood, Jones,/ and Co.; Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; E.Ed-/ wards; Simpkin and Marshall; R.Scholey; and/ G.Cowie./ By T. Davison, Whitefriars./ '/ 1824./
24o
Notes: The frontispiece and vignette in this 1 volume edition were originally published in 1808, see RR29, but re-engraved by C.Warren for an 1815 edition, see RR34. The 1824 plates are those engraved by Warren but the imprint has been changed to 'Printed for C. & J.Rivington & the other Proprietors.Jan.1824.' and the chapter reference in the frontispiece to 'Ch.65. p.529.' and in the vignette to 'Chap.9.p.29.'
BM.

1824 Swedish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Joliat, op.cit., p.266.

38. 1830 Illustrations/ of/ Popular Works./ By/ George Cruikshank./ Part I./ '/ London:/ Published for the Artist/ By/ Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green,/ Paternoster Row./ [n.d.]/ Charles Whittingham, London./
4o
Illustration: 1 plate. Etching. Oblong, 8·5 by 10 cms.
(a) Date: May 1830
Signature: Designed Etched and Pubd. by George Cruikshank
Description: Combat between Roderick and Capt: Weazel (ch.12)
Notes: A set of six plates, with descriptive extracts

from Roderick Random, The Vicar of Wakefield, Burns's Poems, and Irving's tale Knickerbocker's New York. The plates, of which the Roderick Random one is first, are dedicated to HRH Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex. See next entry, RR39a, and Pl.13.
BM.H.PML.Pr.

39. 1831 General title: The/ Novelist's Library:/ Edited By/ Thomas Roscoe, Esq./ With Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ Vol.II./ Roderick Random./ Smollett./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Roderick Random./ By T.Smollett, M.D./ With/ Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ [Motto]/ '/London: /James Cochrane and Co.,/ 11,Waterloo Place, Pall Mall;/ And J.Andrews, 167, New Bond Street./ 1831./
12o
Illustration: 5 plates. Etching. Oblong, approximately 7·5 by 8·5 cms.

(a) Position: [Frontispiece]
Date: London. Printed for Cochrane & Pickersgill, 1831. [In all 5 plates.]
Signature: Geo^e Cruikshank-
Description: The Combat between Roderick Random & Captain Weazel (ch.12)

(b) Position: [Facing page 70.]
Signature: Geo^e Cruikshank-
Description: Straps, fright at the Raven (ch.13)

(c) Position: [Facing page 75.]
Signature: Geo^e Cruikshank-
Description: Strap's misfortune in the Dining Cellar (ch.13)

(d) Position: [Facing page 131.]
Signature: George Cruikshank-
Description: Roderick Random threatening to execute justice on Gawky (ch.21)

(e) Position: [Facing page 243.]
Signature: Geo. Cruikshank-
Description: Roderick Random & the Bumpkins (ch.38)

Notes: A 1 volume edition. For the original pencil sketch of RR39a see notes to RR17 above, and for an earlier etched version see RR38 above. These etchings were very popular, appearing in 1832 and 1836 in Illustrations of Smollett, Fielding, And Goldsmith, In a Series of Forty-One Plates, Designed and Engraved by George Cruikshank. Accompanied by Descriptive Extracts. London: Charles Tilt; in an 1836 New York edition published by Harper and Brothers; in 1837 in Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle Illustrated; in an 1839 Roderick Random published by Orlando Hodgson for his Standard Library, as well as mid century Miscellaneous Works. See also PP32, LG18 and HC20. Ferdinand Count Fathom was omitted from the Novelist's Library. See Pls. 14, 28, 37, 40 and 120.
BM.H.NLS.NYPL.Pr.Y.

THE ADVENTURES OF PEREGRINE PICKLE

1751 Thc/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ II/ London:/ Printed for the Author:/ And sold by D.Wilson, at Plato's Head, near/ Round-Court, in the Strand./ MDCCLI./
12o
Bodl.BM.CUL.EUL.H.NLS.NYPL.PML.Pr.Y.

1751 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ I/ In Three Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' and 'III.']/ I/ [Motto]/ II/ Dublin:/ Printed for Robert Main, Bookseller in/ Dame-Street, opposite to Fownes's-Street./ '/ M DCC LI./
12o
Notes: Volumes 2 and 3 omit 'In Three Volumes./ I/', and from the evidence of this titlepage the novel was immediately attributed to the 'Author of Roderick Random'. The preface to the 2nd London edition describes how 'a very large impression has been sold in England: another was bought up in a neighbouring kingdom: the work has been translated into the French Language; and the demand for the original lately increased in England'.
BM.H.Y.

1753 Halftitle : Histoire/ et/ Avantures/ de Sir/ Williams Pickle./ Premiere ['Seconde' 'Troisieme' and 'Quatrieme'] Partie./
Title: Histoire/ et/ Avantures/ de Sir/ Williams Pickle./ Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois, par l'Auteur/ des Moeurs./ Premiere ['Seconde' 'Troisieme' and 'Quatrieme'] Partie./ [ornament]/ A Amsterdam et a Leipzig./ Chez Arkstee & Merkus./ MDCCLIII./
12o
Notes: Translated by Francois Vincent Toussaint. Joliat, op.cit.p.255, notes 2 French editions for this year. The one I have examined has a handsome two-colour titlepage in red and black.
NLS.Y.

1753 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1758 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/I/[Motto] /I/ The Second Edition,/ Revised, Corrected, and Altered by the Author./ II/ London:/ Printed for R. Baldwin, and J.Richardson,/ in Pater-noster-Row; and D.Wilson and/ T.Durham in the Strand./ MDCCLVIII./
12o
Notes: The titlepages to volumes 2 and 4 have a comma after 'Durham' in the imprint, and a lower case 'a' in 'Altered'. For analysis of Smollett's 'revisions, corrections, and alterations' see H.S.Buck, A Study of Smollett, Chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle'(1925).
Bodl.EUL.H.W.

1763 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Second Edition,/ Revised, Corrected, and Altered by the Author./ II/ Dublin:/ Printed by Henry Saunders in Castle-Street,James/ Potts in Dame-Street, and Thomas Richey/ in Essex-Street, Booksellers./ MDCCLXIII./
12o
CUL.

1765 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Third Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, and M.Richardson,/ in Pater-noster-Row./ '/ M DCC LXV./
12o
Notes: Volumes 2 and 3 have the date on the same line as the imprint.
Bodl.BM.

1768 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Third Edition,/ Revised, Corrected, and Altered by the Author./ II/ Dublin:/ Printed by Henry Saunders in Castle Street, and James/ Potts in Dame-street, Booksellers./ '/ MDCCLXVIII./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 only omits 'In Four Volumes./ I/ ' and volumes 3 and 4 have a slightly different imprint, viz. 'Dublin:/ Printed by Henry Saunders in Castle-street, and/ James Potts in Dame-street, Booksellers./ '/ M,DCC,LXIX./'
Bodl.BM.

1. 1769 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a /Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Fourth Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, No.47. and Robinson/ and Roberts, No. 25. in Pater-noster-Row; and/ T.Becket and T.Cadell, in the Strand./ MDCCLXIX./
12o
Illustration: 4 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 8 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: Vol.1.[Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, presumably 1769, in all 4 plates.]
Signature: C.Grignion sculp.[Designed by H. Fuseli. In all 4 plates.]
Description: [Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn, (ch.2).]
(b) Position: Vol.2.[Frontispiece.]
Description:[Pallet in the Palais Royal (ch.46).]
(c) Position: Vol.3.[Frontispiece.]
Description: [Cadwallader as magician (ch.90).]
(d) Position: Vol.4.[Frontispiece.]
Description: [The beggar-woman's daughter (ch. 95).]
Notes: The first illustrated edition, with designs generally attributed to Fuseli. There appear to be 2 versions of this edition and 2 sets of plates. One is that described above, and the other variant(hereinafter described as PP1var.)differs in minor typographical detail, for example with different spacing in the date thus: 'M DCC LXIX.' The set of plates differs in having PP1c and d reversed and omitting the engraver's name. Both sets of plates were used again in subsequent editions, based on the variant edition in PP3, PP5 and PP15 and on the other in PP2 and PP4. The plates to PP7 share characteristics of both. For further details see Appendix I. See Pls. 59,77,92,100 and 101.
Bodl.BM.DUL.H.McM.Y.

1769 Halftitle: Begebenheiten/ des/ Peregrine Pickels,/ worinne zugleich/ die Geschichte/ eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers/ enthalten ist./ Aus dem Englischen Übersetzt./ I/ Vier Theile./ [Vignette]/ Leipzig und Koppenhagen,/ verlegts heineck und Faber, 1769./
Title: Begebenheiten/ des/ Peregrine Pickels,/ worinne zugleich/ die Geschichte/ eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers/ enthalten ist./ Aus dem Englisbhen Übersetzt./ Vier Theile./ I/ [Motto in German]/ I/ Erster ['Zweyter' 'Dritter' and 'Vierter'] Theil./ II/ Zwente Auflage./ '/ Leipzig,/ verlegts Heineck und Faber Buchh. in Koppenhagen./ 1769./
8o
Notes: The halftitle occurs in volume 1 only, and the phrase 'Vier Theile./ I/' in the volume 1 general title-page only. The vignette in the halftitle is of a sailing ship, which may reflect the contents or be a printer's device. Translated by W.C.S.Mylius.
Y.

2. 1773 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Fifth Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for T.Lowndes in Fleetstreet; T./Becket and T.Cadell, in the Strand; R./ Baldwin, G.Robinson, and W.Goldsmith,/ in Pater-noster-Row. M DCC LXXIII./
12o
Notes: The volume 1 titlepage omits the rule before the phrase 'In Four Volumes.' The 4 frontispieces appear to be re-engravings of the plates engraved by Grignion in PP1 and have the substituted signature 'J.Lodge sculp.' in all 4 plates. The position marks are the same, but a dating imprint has been added to all 4 plates: 'Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Octr. 5th.1773.' See also PP4.
Bodl.BM.EUL.

1775 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle. /In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Three Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Fourth Edition,/ R evised, Corrected, and Altered by the Author./ II/ Dublin:/ Printed by the United Company of/ Book-sellers. 1775./
18o
Notes: Part of the Dublin 'Select Works', see notes to Roderick Random checklist for 1775.
Bodl.H.

3. 1776 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ In Four Volumes./ Volume I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ II/ London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, No.47. and Robinson/ and Roberts, No.25. in Pater-noster-row; and/ T.Becket and T.Cadell, in the Strand./ M DCC LXXVI./
12o
Notes: 4 unsigned frontispieces, as in PP1var.
BM.H.McM.

1776 French edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

4. 1778 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Sixth Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for W.Strahan, J.Rivington and Sons,/ R.Baldwin, G.Robinson, T.Lowndes, T.Becket,/ T.Cadell, and W. Goldsmith./ M DCC LXXVIII./

12o
Notes: 4 frontispieces, as in PP2, signed by Lodge and dated 1773.
BM.McM.Y.

5. 1779 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ In Four Volumes./ Volume.I. ['Volume II.' 'Volume III.' and 'Volume IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ '/ London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, No.47. and Robinson and Ro/ berts, No.25. in Pater-noster-row; and T.Becket and/ T.Cadell, in the Strand./ M,DCC,LXXIX./
12o
Notes: There are minor typographical variants in the titlepages to volumes 3 and 4, where the type of 'Lady of Quality' is altered to italic capitals and the date omits the commas. The edition has 4 frontispieces as in PP1var. with the only marks being 'Vol.1', 'Vol.2', 'Vol.3' and 'Vol.4'.
BM.EUL.McM.Y.

1779 Edinburgh edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

c.1780 Dublin edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Knapp collection.

6. 1781 General title: The/ Novelist's Magazine./ Vol.VI./ Containing/ Peregrine Pickle,/ and/ Marmontel's Tales./ [Vignette]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co./ No.18 Paternoster Row/ 1782./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ In Four Volumes./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ [ornament]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co.No.Paternoster-Row./ MDCCLXXXI./
8o
Illustration: 11 plates, Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms., with decorative borders entitled 'Peregrine Pickle'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 7.]
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co.Octr.21.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate XI. [Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn (ch.2).]
(b) Position: [Facing page 49.]
Date: Publish'd ... Augt.17.1781.

Signature: Stothard del. Collyer sculp.
Description: Plate III.[Pipe's battle with the gardener (ch.19).]

(c) Position: [Facing page 81.]
Date: Publish'd ... Augst.4.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp
Description: [Presumably plate I. Peregrine and Emilia exchange rings (ch.30).]

(d) Position: [Facing page 95.]
Date: Publish'd ... Sepr.2.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate V. [The duel between Trunnion and Peregrine impersonating his father (ch.36).]

(e) Position: [Facing page 108.]
Date: Publish'd ... Augt.11.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Grignion sculp.
Description: Plate II.[Peregrine and the French cook (ch.40).]

(f) Position: [Facing page 140.]
Date: Publish'd ... Augt.26.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate.IV. [Pallet in prison (ch.51).]

(g) Position: [Facing page 226.]
Date: Publish'd ... Octr.7.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Grignion sculp.
Description: Plate X.[Peregrine attempts to seduce Emilia (ch.82).]

(h) Position: [Facing page 238.]
Date: Publish'd ... Sep.16.1781.
Signature: Stothard del Angus sculp.
Description: Plate VII. [Peregrine meets the Lady of Quality at the widow's house (ch.87).]

(i) Position: [Facing page 292.]
Date: Publish'd ... Sepr. 9.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate VI. [Lady Vane flees on horseback (ch.88, p.516).]

(j) Position: [Facing page 336.]
Date: Publish'd ... Sepr.30.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate.IX.[The gipsy girl offends the lady card-players (ch.95).]

(k) Position: [Facing page 412.]
Date: Publish'd ... Sepr.23.1781.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate.VIII.[Hatchway visits Peregrine in prison (ch.107).]

Notes: As with Roderick Random this edition was published serially(see RR18), and it appears that one of the Peregrine Pickle plates failed to appear as there is a gap in the normal weekly sequence between October 7 and 21, plates X and XI. See also PP14, and for corresponding novels in the series RR18, FCF2, LG5 and HC4. See PP8 for other Stothard plates to the novel. See Pls. 61,70,71,80,84,97 and 137.
Bodl.BM.CUL.NYPL.Pr.Y.

1781 London edition, illustrated by Stothard.
Notes: Not seen, but presumably the Novelist's Magazine edition described above, separately bound.
NCBEL.

7. 1784 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ In Four Volumes./ Volume I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ '/ London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, No. 47. and Robinson and Roberts,/ No.25. in Pater-noster-row; and T.Becket and T.Cadell,/ in the Strand./ M,DCC,LXXXIV./
12o
Notes: 4 frontispieces, crude re-engravings of the Fuseli designs, with no signatures or dating, the only markings on the plates being 'Vol.1.' ['2.' '3.' and '4.'] The plates are based on PP1 in volumes 1,2 and 4, the plate to volume 3 being reversed as in PP1var. The titlepage to volume 1 omits the stop after '25' in the publisher's address.
CUL.H.McM.

8. 1784 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ The Seventh Edition./ II/ London:/ Printed for W.Strahan, J.Rivington and Sons,/ R.Baldwin, G. Robinson, T.Lowndes,/ T.Cadell, and W.Goldsmith./ M DCC LXXXIV./
12o
Illustration: 4 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: Vol.I.[Frontispiece.]
Date: Published as the Act directs, March 1st. ['1' in volume 2] 1784, by W.Strahan, G.Robinson, T.Cadell &c.['&c.&c.' in volumes 2,3 and 4.] [In all 4 plates.]
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp. [In all 4 plates.]
Description: p.13. [Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn (ch.2).]
(b) Position: Vol.II.[Frontispiece.]
Description: p.227.[The duel on the ramparts, (ch.68).]
(c) Position: Vol.III. [Frontispiece.]
Description: p.28. [Peregrine attempts to seduce Emilia (ch.82).]
(d) Position: Vol.IV.[Frontispiece.]
Description: p.295. [Peregrine and Emilia reconciled (ch.114).]
Notes: A second set of Stothard plates to the novel, cf. PP6 above. Presumably the engravings of the Fuseli designs based on PP1 were worn out and replaced by these new designs. See Pls. 67, 81 and 138.
Bodl. BM.McM.NYPL.PML.

9. 1784 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ Vol.I. ['II.' and 'III.']/ I/ [Motto]/ II/ London:/ Printed for Joseph Wenman,/ No.144, Fleet-Street./ M DCC LXXXIV./
12o
Illustration: 3 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 6·5 by 10 cms.
(a) Position: Peregrine Pickle. Vol.1.[Frontispiece.]
Date: Published Decr.1.1783 by J.Wenman, Fleet Street. [In all 3 plates.]
Signature: Dodd del. Walker sculp. [In all 3 plates.]
Description: The Lawyers reception at the Garrison. (ch.15)
(b) Position: Peregrine Pickle. Vol.2.[Frontispiece.]
Description: The Duel on the Ramparts between the Physician and the Painter. (ch.68)
(c) Position: Peregrine Pickle. Vol.3.[Frontispiece.]
Description: The reconciliation of Peregrine Pickle & Emilia. (ch.114.)
Notes: See Roderick Random checklist under 1783, and FCF1, LG4 and HC3. See Pls. 58 and 66.
MH.Y.

1785 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ I/ By the Author of Roderick Random./ I/ Glasgow;/ Printed for the Booksellers./ "/ MDCCLXXXV./
12o
Notes: A shortened version ending with the expulsion of the exciseman from the garrison, ch.16.
Bodl.

10. 1786 Peregrine Pickle./ I/ Neuübersezt./ [Motto in Latin]/ Erster ['Zweiter' 'Dritter' and 'Vierter'] Band./ II/ Berlin, 1785./ bei Christian Friedrich Himburg./
8o
Illustration: 4 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: Pickle I.Band.[Frontispiece.]
Date: 1785
Signature: D.Chodowiecki del.D.Berger sc:
Description: [Peregrine saves Emilia from the fire at the inn (ch.30).]
(b) Position: Pickle II.Band.[Frontispiece.]
Date: 1785.
Signature: D.Chodowiecki del.D.Berger. scul.
Description: [Pallet and the ass (ch.60).]
(c) Position: Pickle III.Band.[Frontispiece.]
Date: 1786.
Signature: D.Chodowiecki del.D.Berger sculp.
Description: [The game of billiards (ch.74).]
(d) Position: Pickle IV.Band.[Frontispiece.]
Date: 1786.
Signature: D.Chodowiecki del.D.Berger scul.

Description: [The battle at the College of Authors (ch.101).]

Notes: See also PP12 below for these plates, and PP11 for another set of plates by Chodowiecki to the novel. The Harvard copy lacks plates to volumes 3 and 4. Daniel Chodowiecki's son also illustrated Roderick Random, see RR21. See Pls. 51,55 and 57.
EM.H.

11. 1786 'Im: "Berliner genealogischen CALENDER auf das Jahr 1786. (Mit dem Bildn. von Hawser-Trunion.s.No.547.)' Entry number 533 in W.Engelmann, Daniel Chodowiecki's Sämmtliche Kupferstiche(Leipzig, 1857).
Illustration: 1 circular portrait, 5 cms. diameter. 12 plates. Etching. Oblong, 5 by 7 cms.

(a) Date: D.Chodowiecki ad vivum pinx:u.sc:1785.
Signature: [See above.]
Description: Hawser Trunion Engl: Admiral [A portrait of Trunnion on an ornamental pedestal.]

(b) Date: [None in remaining 12 plates.]
Signature: D.Chodowiecki fecit.
Description: Was Blitz und Donner! Will Bower ein Pair, von diesem Königreiche! ein Gelb-schnabel - Und ich Hawser Trunnion - werde vergessen. Begebenheiten des Peregrine Pickels. 1.Theil.2.Cap. [Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn (ch.2).]

(c) Signature: [None in remaining 11 plates.]
Description: Hier bin ich, bereit mich in den Ehestandsblock spannen zu lassen: verflucht sey alle der unverständliche Misch masch. I.Th.vii.Cap. [Trunnion proposes to Mrs.Grizzle (ch.7).]

(d) Description: Haben sie nicht? oder fühlen sie nicht. I.Th.10.Cap. [Mrs.Trunnion's pseudo-pregnancy (ch.10).]

(e) Description: Ich Euch plagen, dass dich! ich glaube es ist nicht richtig in Eurem oberstübchen. I.Th.14.Cap. [Peregrine introduced to his aunt (ch.14).]

(f) Description: Sagt dem alten Schelm, der Euch hierher geschickt hat, dasz ich ihm ins Angesicht speÿe, und ihn einem Karngaul nenne; I.Th.16. Cap. [Trunnion's reaction to the letter brought by the exciseman (ch.16).]

(g) Description: Gott seÿ uns gnädig! wo? wo? II. Th.42.Cap. [Jolter's sleepwalking (ch.42).]

(h) Description: Madame, Ihr habt Euren ünterrock im nächsten Zimmer verlohren. II.Th.42.Cap. [Mrs.Hornbeck's petticoat found in Peregrine's room (ch.42).]

(i) Description: Mein Herr ich verachte sie zu sehr, dass ich Ihnen Ihre ehmaligen Gelübde vorhalten und verweisen solte. III.Th.72.Cap. [Emilia rejects Peregrine's lovemaking (ch.82).]



Was Blitz und Donner! Wilh Bower ein Kur von diesem Königreiche! ein Gelbschnabel Und ich Hauser Trunnion werde vergessen. Begebenheiten des Peregrine Pickels. I Theil 2 Cap.

D. Chodowiecki rdsit.



Potz Velten, was für eine prächtige Galeere!

IV. Th. 114 Cap



Haben Sie nicht? oder fühlen Sie nicht.

I. Th. 10. Cap.



Christe seÿ uns gnädig! Wahrhaftig er ist ein eingefleischter Teufel.

III. Th. 90. Cap.



Sagt dem alten Schelm, der Euch hierher geschicket hat, daß ich ihm ins Angesicht speije, und ihn einen Karrngaul nenne, I. Th. 16 Cap.



Mein Herr ich verachte Sie zu sehr, daß ich Ihnen Ihre ehmaligen Gelübde vorhalten und verweisen solte. III. Th. 72. Cap.

Pl.211. Chodowiecki
(1786)



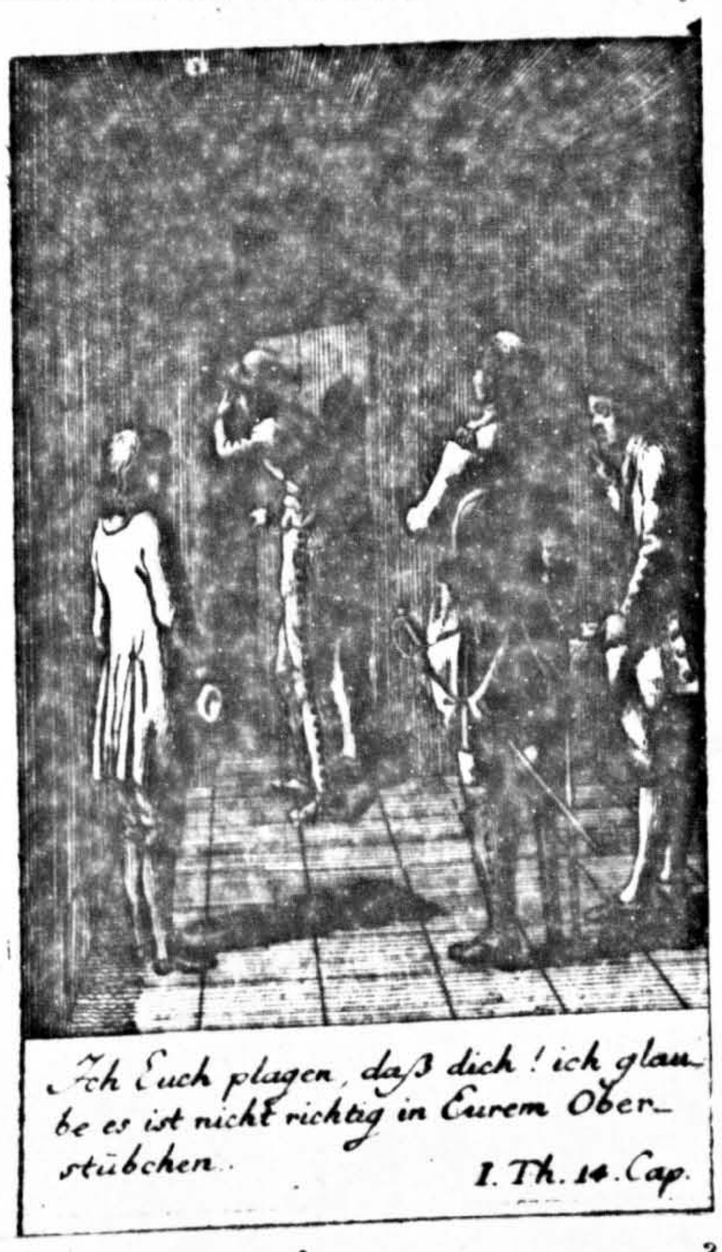
Gott sey uns gnädig! wo? wo?

II. Th. 42 Cap.



Madame, Ihr habt Euren Unterrock im nächsten Zimmer verlohren.

II Th. 42 Cap.



Ich Euch plagen, daß dich! ich glaube es ist nicht richtig in Eurem Oberstübchen.

I. Th. 14. Cap.



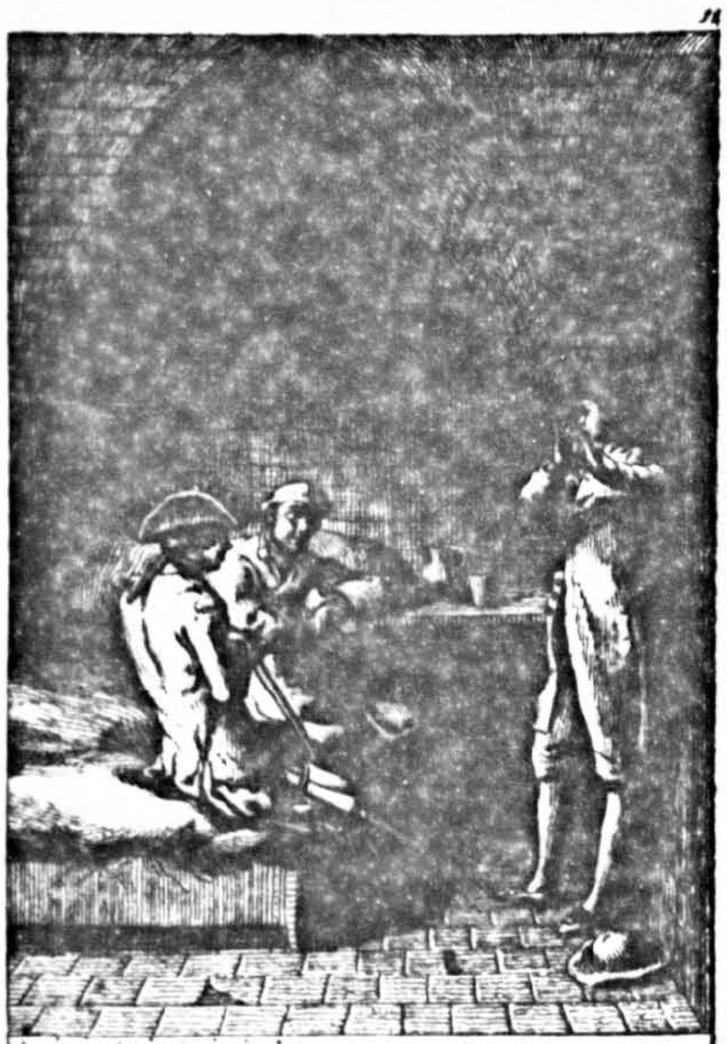
— die berühmte Lady —

III. Th. 87. Cap.



Hier bin ich, bereit mich in den Ehestand block spannen zu lassen: verflucht sey alle der unverständliche Muschmasch.

I. Th. VII Cap.



Zum Zeichen der Freude.

IV. Th. 110. Cap.

Pl.211. (cont.)
Chodowiecki (1786)

(j) Description: -- die berühmte Lady -- III:Th. 87.Cap. [The Lady of quality visits the indigent widow (ch.87).]
(k) Description: Christe seÿ uns gnädig! Wahrhaftig er ist ein eingefleischter Teufel. III.Th.90. Cap. [Cadwallader as magician (ch.90).]
(l) Description: Zum Zeichen der Freude. IV.Th. 110. Cap. [Peregrine reconciled with Hatchway (ch.110).]
(m) Description: Potz Velten, was fur eine prachtige Galeere! IV.Th.114.Cap. [Hatchway introduced to Emilia (ch.114).]
Notes: The Prints Division of the New York Public Library has examples of the separate plates, and the Print Room of the British Museum a proof plate with the 12 designs, b to m, before division into separate pages. I have never seen a copy of the almanack for which they were designed. The design PP11a appears again in PP12.
BM.NYPL.

1787 Halftitle: Histoire/ et/ Aventures/ de Sir/ Williams Pickle./ I/ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisieme.' and 'Quatrieme.']
Title: Histoire/ et/ Aventures/ de Sir/ Williams Pickle,/ Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois./ I/ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisieme.' and 'Quatrieme.'] / I/ [ornament]/ A Amsterdam./ II/ M.DCC.LXXXVII./
12o
Notes: The Princeton copy, the only one I have seen, originally belonged to Napoleon.
Pr.

1787 German edition, published in Prague
Notes: Not seen. Joliat, op.cit. p.259.

1787-95 Danish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1788 Russian edition, first 35 chapters only.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

12. 1789 Peregrine Pickle/ Neue Auflage/ [Vignette]/ Erster ['Zweiter' 'Dritter' and 'Vierter'] Band/ Berlin 1789/ bey Christian Friedrich Himburg/ 4 Bande 3 Rthl. 8 Kupfer besonders 1Rthl. 16gl./
8o

Notes: The vignette is a re-engraving, signed 'Ch.del. G.sc.', of Chodowiecki's 1785 portrait of Trunnion, see PP11a. It is found in volume 1 only, being replaced in volumes 2,3 and 4 by the motto in Latin. These volumes also omit the last line of the volume titlepage. Each volume has a frontispiece as in PP10.
Y.

13. 1790 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Six Volumes./ Volume the Second ['Third'],/ containing/ The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle,/ Part I. ['II./ And Plays and Poems.']/ [ornament]/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by David Ramsay./ For Jo. and Ja. Fairbairn, No 9. Hunter's Square,/ and/ A.Guthrie, No25. South Bridge./ '/ 1790./
Volume title: / '/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle:/ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./' / [Motto]/ '/ Part I. ['II.']/ '/ '/
8o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 10 by 17 cms.

(a) Position: Frontispiece to Vol.II.
Date: [None, presumably 1790. In both plates.]
Signature: Rowlandson delt. Kirkwood sculpt. [In both plates.]
Description: Peregrine Pickle. Part I.p.244. Engraved for Smollett's Miscellaneous Works. [Pallet at the Palais Royal (ch.46).]

(b) Position: Frontispiece to Vol.III.
Description: Peregrine Pickle Part II.p.9. Engraved for Smollett's Miscellaneous Works. [Lady Vane and the shoeblack (ch.88, p.439).]

Notes: For other illustrations by Rowlandson to the novel see PP19 and PP20. For corresponding volumes see RR22, FCF4, LG7 and HC5. See Pl.60.
BM.EUL.NLS.Y.

c.1790 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle,/ In which are included/ Memoirs/ of a /Lady of Quality/ in Four Volumes./ '/ Vol.III./ [Vignette]/ Dublin/ Printed & Sold by P.Wogan, & P.Shea/ [n.d.]/
12o

Notes: Volume 3 only with an engraved titlepage and vignette of 'Fancy decorating the Tomb of Smollett'. The only copy I have seen is trimmed and bound to match a volume 4 of the 1779 London edition(see above), but the style of the Dublin titlepage is almost certainly later than this. It may be as late as 1820 when R.Boege, Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist, p.73, notes magazine references to Smollett's tomb as a national shrine. See also checklist for 1791, for another Wogan edition.
NYPL.

14. 1792 The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle.
Notes: Another issue of the Novelist's Magazine, volume 6, identical to PP6 except for new dating on the title-pages and the number '18,' in the printed titlepage address of the publisher. See FCF6 and LG8.
EM.

15. 1793 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ I/ In Four Volumes/ I/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ I/ [Motto]/ I/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Silvester Doig,/ Royal Exchange./ '/ M.DCC.XCIII./
12o
Notes: An edition with 4 frontispieces based on PP1var. All 4 are dated 'Published as the Act directs by Silvester Doig Royal Exchange Edinr.1793.' but have no other markings except 'Vol.1', 'Vol:2', 'Vol.3' and 'Vol.4'. An edition of the novel without plates was published by Doig in 1811, see below.
EM.

16. 1794 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ By Dr. Smollett./ In Four Volumes./ "/ Cooke's Edition./ "/ Embellished with Superb Engravings./ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ II/ [Motto]/ II/ [ornament]/ '/ London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17, Paternoster-Row;/ And sold by all the Booksellers in/ Town and Country./
12o
Illustration: 10 plates. Engraving. Oval, 6·5 by 8 cms. Decorative borders, entitled 'Cooke's Pocket Edition of Select Novels. Peregrine Pickle.'
(a) Position: Vol.I.Ch.6.P.32.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. Augt.16.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. J.Saunders,sculpt.
Description: Mrs.Grizzle intreating the Commodore, to gratify the longing of Mrs.Pickle (ch.6)
(b) Position: Vol.I.Ch.6.P.49.
Date: Printed ... Augt.30.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delt. C.Warren, sculp.
Description: The disastrous situation of Commodore Trunnion & Hatchway on the Wedding Day (ch.8)
(c) Position: Vol.I.P.161.
Date: Printed ... 1794.
Signature: J.Allen, delint. W.Hawkins, sculpt.
Description: Pipes preventing the Duel between Peregrine & Hatchway (ch.28)
(d) Position: Vol.II.Ch.4.P.24.
Date: Printed ... Sept.27,1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. J.Saunders, sculp.

Description: Hornbeck shewing his Wife her Petticoat, which he had found in Peregrine's Chamber. (ch.42)

(e) Position: Vol.II.Ch.19.P.119
Date: Printed ... Octr.11.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint.J.Saunders,sculp.
Description: The Capuchin reproving Peregrine for his attempt on the Chastity of Amanda (ch.57)

(f) Position: Vol.III.Ch.6.P.41.
Date: Printed ... Augt.9.1794.
Signature: J.Allen, delint. J.Saunders,sculp.
Description: The disappointment of Peregrine Pickle in his pursuit of Emilia. (ch.84)

(g) Position: Vol.III.Ch.10.P.199.
Date: Printed ... Sepr.13.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. J.Saunders,sculpt.
Description: The Misanthrope, disguised as a Magician, discovers the Secrets of his Visitants. (ch.90)

(h) Position: Vol.IV.Ch.2.P.18.
Date: Printed ... Augt.16.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. C.Warren,sculp.
Description: Peregrine Pickle, attracted by the Charms of the Beggar Woman's Daughter. (ch.95)

(i) Position: Vol.IV.Ch.11.P.108.
Date: Printed ... Sept.6.1794.
Signature: J.Allen, delint. J.Saunders,sculp.
Description: Peregrine Pickle, surprized by a Visit from the Lady of Quality. (ch.104)

(j) Position: Vol.IV.Ch.18.P.224.
Date: Printed ... July 25.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. C.Warren sculpt.
Description: Lieutenant Hatchway discharging a Pitcher of Water at Peregrine Pickle (ch.111)

Notes: For reprints or re-engravings of some or all of these plates see below PP17, PP23, PP26, PP27, PP28 and PP29. For other novels in the same series, see RR26, FCF7, LG9 and HC7. See Pls. 53,68,85,87 and 98. Bodl.E4.11.

1797-1817 Danish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1798 A shortened child's edition.
Notes: Not seen, but described in Evans's American Bibliography, no.34563.

17. 1799 Engraved title: Peregrine Pickle,/ Vol IV forming part of/ Cooke's Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels/ or Novelist's Entertaining Library/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Adventures, Tales,

&c by the most Esteem'd Authors./ Superbly Embellished./
[Vignette]
Title: As PP16.
12o
Illustration: 1 vignette, 7 by 7 cms.; 13 plates, oval 6 by 7·5 cms., in decorative or allegorical frames. Engraving. All plates entitled 'Peregrine Pickle'.

(a) Position: [Titlepage vignette in all 4 volumes.]
Date: Embellish'd under the direction of C. Cooke.Jan.1.1799.
Signature: [None, but see PP16c.]
Description: Pipes preventing the Duel. Vide Vol.I.Page 181. (ch.28)

(b) Position: Vide Vol.I.p.32.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row. October 8.1796.
Signature: R.Corbould delin. I.Saunders sculp.
Description: Mrs.Grizzle entreating the Commodore to gratify the longing of Mrs.Pickle. (ch.6)

(c) Position: Vide Vol.I.Chapter 6.Page 49.
Date: C.Cooke Jan 1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engrav'd by C.Warren.
Description: The ludicrous situation of Trunnion and Hatchway on their journey to celebrate the Commodore's nuptials. (ch.8)

(d) Position: Vide Volume I.Page 151.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke. 1798.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Pipes preventing a duel between Peregrine Pickle & Lieut.Hatchway. (ch.28)

(e) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.4.Page 24-
Date: Printed for C.Cooke May 1.1798.
Signature: R.Corbould,delint.J.Saunders, sculpt.
Description: Hornbeck shewing his Wife her petticoat which he had found in Peregrine's chamber. (ch.42)

(f) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.12.page 79
Date: Printed for C.Cooke. May 4,1797.
Signature: Corbould delin.Saunders sculp.
Description: Peregrine Pickle while in prison caricaturing the French Prince who ordered his confinement. (ch.50)

(g) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.19.Page 121.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke May 1798.
Signature: R.Corbould, delint. J.Saunders, sculpt.
Description: The Capuchin reproving Peregrine, for his attempt to violate the chastity of Amanda. (ch.57)

(h) Position: Vide Vol.II.Chap.22.Page 134.
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke.Feby.17.1797.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by R.Rhodes.
Description: Cooke's Edition of Select Novels. Amanda terrified at the noise of the Ass upon which Pallet entered her chamber. (ch.60)

(i) Position: Vide Vol.III.Chap.1.page 7.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke. April 4.1797.
Signature: Corbould del.Warren sculp.
Description: The extreme concern of Peregrine Pickle, at the approaching death of Commodore Trunnion. (ch.79)

(j) Position: Vide Volume III.Chapter 6.Page 41
Date: C.Cooke.Jany.1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by Allen. Engraved by Saunders
Description: Select Novels. Peregrine Pickle apprehensive of Emilia's elopement bursting open the Chamber door to reproach her with infidelity and avenge himself of his Rival when he discovers his mistake. (ch.84)

(k) Position: Vide Vol.III.p.199.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row. Octr.22.1796.
Signature: R.Corbould delin.J.Saunders sculp.
Description: Cooke's Edition of Select Novels. The Misanthrope, disguised as a Magician discovers the secrets of his visitants (ch.90)

(l) Position: Vide Volume IV.Chap.11.Page 108. [Misbound facing page 11.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Octr.1.1798.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: The surprise of Peregrine Pickle, by a visit from a Lady of Quality, who comes to relieve his distresses. (ch.104)

(m) Position: Vide Vol.IV.Chap.2.Page 18.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Decr.1.1797.
Signature: Designed by R.Corbould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: Peregrine Pickle, attracted by the charms of the Beggar-woman's daughter. (ch.95)

(n) Position: Vide Vol.IV.Chap.18.Page 225.
Date: C.Cooke. Feb.1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engrav'd by C.Warren.
Description: Peregrine's agitation on the news of his succession to his father's fortune considered as a delirium by Hatchway who discharges a pitcher of water at him. (ch.111.)

Notes: Most of these plates had already appeared in a slightly different form in an earlier Cooke's edition; see PP16. The plates which seem to be new are PP17d, which is a different design of the same episode used for the titlepage vignette; and PP17f, H,i, and l, a slightly different episode from the one already illustrated in PP16i. However as the dates indicate these were designed and engraved at various times between 1794 and 1799, presumably as various issues were called for. See also HC3. See Pls. 49 and 75.
H.

18. 1799 Aventures/ de Six/ Williams Pickle,/ Traduites de l'Anglais./ Nouvelle Edition,/ Ornée de Gravures./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisième.' 'Quatrième.' 'Cinquième.' 'Sixième.']/ '/ A Paris,/ De l'Imprimerie de Rabaut le jeune,/ place du Carousel, no.527./ '/ An VII./
18o
Illustration: 6 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 5·5 by 7·5 cms.
(a) Position: Tome 1er[Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, presumably 1799. In all 6 plates.]
Signature: Gonord sculp [In (f) also, but none in any other of the plates.]
Description: Combat du Capitaine Trunion et de son Lieutenant. (ch.2)
(b) Position: Tome 2[Frontispiece.]
Description: Pallet a la Bastille (ch.51)
(c) Position: Tome 3[Frontispiece.]
Description: Espiéglerie de Pallet. [Pallet on the ass (ch.60).]
(d) Position: Tome 4[Frontispiece.]
Description: Humanité de Pickle. [Peregrine relieves the widow in distress and meets the Lady of Quality (ch.87).]
(e) Position: Tome 5[Frontispiece.]
Description: Cawallader Devin. (ch.90)
(f) Position: Tome 6 [Frontispiece.]
Description: Séance litteraire. [Battle at the College of Authors (ch.101).]
Notes: This appears to be a child's version, from the crudeness of technique in the plates. The whole book resembles FCF8, another French translation of Smollett for children, produced at the same date. See Pls. 50, 54,72 and 78.
DM.Y.

19. 1805 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle;/ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of/ A Lady of Quality./ By/ Tobias Smollet, M.D./ With/ Prints by Rowlandson./ II/ [Motto] / II/ Volume I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Bell & Bradfute, W.Creech,/ E.Balfour, W.Laing, A.Guthrie, P.Hill,/ C.Elliot, Manners & Miller,/ A.Constable & Co./ And/ Longman, Rees, Hurst, & Orme,/ London./ 1805./
8o
Illustration: 8 plates. Etching. Rectangle, 9 by 14 cms.
(a) Position: Vol.1.p 44[Used as frontispiece.]
Date: London Publish'd by J.Sibbald 1790 [In all 8 plates.]
Signature: Rowlandson del: & sculp.
Description: Commodore Trunnion & Lt.Hatchway engaged in a Fox-chace. (ch.8)
(b) Position: Vol.1.p.158.
Signature: Rowlandson del.et sc.
Description: Fire at the Inn -- Peregrine rescues Emilia &c. (ch.30)

(c) Position: Vol.2.p.63.
Signature: Rowlandson del. et sculp.
Description: Feast after the manner of the Antients. (ch.48)
(d) Position: Vol.2.p.125
Signature: Rowlandson del. & sculp.
Description: Pallets odd scheme of revenge against his Jew Rival. (ch.60)
(e) Position: Vol.8.p.50. [Used as frontispiece.]
Signature: Rowlandson del. & sculp.
Description: Peregrine relieves a distressed family and meets Lady V--- (ch.87)
(f) Position: Vol.3.p.181
Signature: Rowlandson delin. et sculp.
Description: Cadwallader assumes the Character of a Fortune-teller. (ch.90)
(g) Position: Vol.4.p.17.
Signature: Rowlandson del. & sculp.
Description: Peregrine purchases a Gypsey Girl from her Mother (ch.95)
(h) Position: Vol.4 p.72.
Signature: Rowlandson delin. et sc.
Description: General Engagement in the College of Authors (ch.101)

Notes: As with RR28 and HC10, with which it corresponds, I have only seen one copy of this edition with all the plates by Rowlandson, and in this copy they are all coloured. Two of the plates, PP19b and c, appear again PP20 and PP21. The Huntington Library has a watercolour of PP19a. See Pls. 56,63,90, 93 and 102.

20. 1805 Title as PP19, substituting 'Plates by Rowlandson.' for 'Prints by Rowlandson.' and a double for the single half-rule.
8o
Illustration: 6 plates. Etching. Rectangle, 10 by 16 cms.
(a) Position: Vol.I.Page 9. [Used as frontispiece.]
Date: [None, in all 6 plates.]
Signature: Woodward delt Etch'd by F.Sansom
Description: The Inn. -- Comm.Trunnion, Lieut. Hatchway, and T.Pipes. (ch.2.)
(b) Position: Vol.I. Page 37 [Should be volume 3.]
Signature: Woodward delt Etch'd by Sansom
Description: Peregrine terrifying the Landlord and his Wife. (ch.84)
(c) As PP19b, omitting date.
(d) Position: Vol.II.Page 10. [Used as frontispiece.]
Signature: Woodward delt. Etch'd by F.Sansom
Description: The Alarm at the Inn at Chantilly (ch.42)
(e) As PP19c, omitting date.
(f) Position: [Volume 3 frontispiece.]
Signature: Woodward del. Sansom sculp
Description: Pipes introduces the gipsey girl to Hatchway. (ch.95)

Notes: This is a curious hybrid issue sharing the title of PP19, for the most part, and the illustration of PP21, the 1809 Miscellaneous Works volumes. There are no plates in volume 4. See Pls. 52,79 and 96.
BM.

1806 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle,/ With/ The Memoirs/ of/ A Lady of Quality./ '/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ '/ To which is prefixed,/ A Life of the Author. / '/ In Four Volumes./ Vol.III./ London:/ Printed for Vernor and Hood, Cuthell and Martin,/ J.Walker, B. Crosby and Co. By Mundell/ and Son, Edinburgh./ '/ 1806./
12o
Notes: There is apparently no illustration to this edition, but I have only located volume 3.
H.

1807 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs/ of a/ Lady of Quality./ '/ In Three Volumes./ '/ Vol.First. ['Second.' and 'Third.'] / '/ [Motto]/ '/ Harrisburgh:/ Printed by John Wyeth,/ M DCC VII./
12o
HI.NYPL.Y.

21. 1809 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett;/ To which is prefixed,/ Memoirs of his Life and Writings./ In Five Volumes./ '/ Embellished with/ Twenty-Six Engravings,/ By Rowlandson & Others,/ '/ Volume II. ['III.']/ containing/ The Adventures of/ Peregrine Pickle, vols.1. & 2. ['3. & 4.']/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle;/ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality,/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Four Volumes./ "/ With Plates/ By Rowlandson and Woodward./ "/ Volume I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ [Motto]/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
8o
Notes: The National Library of Scotland lacks volume titles and the plate by Woodward The Alarm at the Inn at Chantilly, while Pipes introduces the gipsey girl to Hatchway is bound in the Roderick Random volume. The plates are as in PP20 with minor variations, (a) has here a date 'London Pub. as the Act directs by I.Sibbald May 1.1797.'; (b) is correctly bound in volume 3 although the position mark 'Vol.I.Page 37' is not altered. For corresponding volumes see RR30, FCF9, LG11 and HC12.
EUL.NLS.

22. 1810 General title: The/ British Novelists;/ comprising/ Every Work of Acknowledged Merit which is Usually/ Classed under the Denomination of/ Novels./ Accompanied with/ Biographical Sketches/ of/ the Authors,/ And a/ Critical Preface to Each Work./ By William Mudford./ Embellished with Elegant Engravings./ Volume I./ containing/ Peregrine Pickle and Humphry Clinker./ II/ London:/ Published for the Proprietors,/ By W.Clarke, New Bond Street; Goddard, Pall Mall; Taylor and/ Hessey, Fleet Street; J.M.Richardson, Cornhill; and/ Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row./ 1810./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle:/ In which are Included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ In Four Volumes./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ I/ Forming Part of a Series of the most esteemed Novels, and embellished/ with elegant Engravings./ '/ "/ London:/ [Same imprint as general title.]/ 1810./
8o
Illustration: 12 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 10 cms. All plates entitled 'Peregrine Pickle.'

(a) Position: [Facing page 13.]
Date: Publish'd for the Proprietors Feb.1. 1810 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. Springsguth sc.
Description: Pl.1.[Trunnion, Hatchway and Pipes at the inn (ch.2)]

(b) Position: [Facing page 51.]
Date: Published ... Mar.17.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. A.Warren sc.
Description: Pl.2. [Pipes removes the exciseman (ch.16).]

(c) Position: [Facing page 65.]
Date: Published ... Apl.14.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell delt. Dadley sc.
Description: Pl. ** [Narcissa reads Pipes's version of Peregrine's letter (ch.22).]

(d) Position: [Facing page 93.]
Date: Published ... Feb.8.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. Davenport sc.
Description: Pl.4. [Peregrine takes leave of Emilia before going to France (ch.30).]

(e) Position: [Facing page 107.]
Date: Published ... Feb.24.1810 ... Row.
Signature: L.Clennell del. et sculp.
Description: Pl.3. [The duel between Peregrine, disguised as his father, and Trunnion (ch.36).]

(f) Position: [Facing page 213.]
Date: Publish'd ... Feb.15.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. Hawkins sc.
Description: Pl.5. [Peregrine greeted by Hatchway on his return to the garrison (ch.71).]

(g) Position: [Facing page 226.]
Date: Published ... Feb.10.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel, delt. Davenport sc.
Description: Pl.6. [The colonel and the doctors (ch.75).]

(h) Position: [Facing page 252.]
Date: Published ... March 3.1810 ... Row.

Signature: L.Clennell delt. S.Springsguth.sc.
Description: Pl.7. [Peregrine's remorse after attempting to rape Emilia (ch.82).]

(i) Position: [Facing page 345.]
Date: Publish'd ... Feb.1.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. A.Warren sc.
Description: Pl.9.[Cadwallader as magician (ch.90).]

(j) Position: [Facing page 373.]
Date: Publish'd ... Feb.15th.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Thos.Sargant, delt. Angus,sc.
Description: Pl.8. [Peregrine purchases the gipsy girl (ch.95).]

(k) Position: [Facing page 429.]
Date: Published ... Apl.7.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell delt. J.G.Walker sc.
Description: Pl.* [Peregrine dismisses Pipes from his service (ch.105).]

(l) Position: [Facing page 482.]
Date: Publish'd ... Feb.22.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel, delt J.G.Walker sc.
Description: Pl.10. [Hatchway visits Peregrine in prison (ch.110).]

Notes: There are no separate titlepages to the 'volumes' in the novel. The dating on the plates is very irregular, but this edition was presumably issued in parts. For corresponding volumes see RR32, FCF10, LG14 and HC13. See Pls. 41,48,69,83,95 and 99.
BM.NYPL.

1811 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle;/ With/ The Memoirs/ of/ A Lady of Quality./ '/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ '/ To which is prefixed,/ A Life of the Author. / '/ In Four Volumes./ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.'] / " / London:/ Printed for Silvester Doig and Andrew Stirling,/ Edinburgh./ '/ 1811./
12o
Notes: The National Library of Scotland copy has the original boards with the price, 14 shillings a volume on the spine.
H.NLS.

1813 Edition published in Harrisburgh.
Notes: Not seen, but see entry for 1807.
NCBEL.

23. 1813 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ By Dr. Smollett./ [Motto]/ '/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.'] / '/ '/ Embellished with Engravings./ '/ New York:/ Published by R.M'Dermut, and D.D.Arden,/ No.1, City-Hotel, Broadway./ '/ 1813./
12o

Illustration: 12 plates. Wood engraving. Oval, 6 by 7·5 cms., with allegorical borders.

(a) Position: Vol.I.p.49. [Used as frontispiece.]
Date: [None in all 12 plates.]
Signature: Anderson [In all 12 plates, except (b) which appears to have no signature, and (f) which is signed 'A'.]
Description: [As PP17c.]

(b) Position: Vol.I.p.32
Description: [As PP17b.]

(c) Position: Vol.I P.151
Description: Pipes preventing a Duel between Peregrine Pickle and Lieut. Hatchway.(ch.28)

(d) Position: Vol.II.p.79. [Used as frontispiece.]
Description: Peregrine, while in prison, carricaturing the French Prince. (ch.50)

(e) Position: Vol.II.p.24.
Description: Hornbeck showing his Wife her petticoat, which he had found in Peregrine's chamber. (ch.42)

(f) Position: Vol.2.chpp.19.p.121.
Description: [As PP17g.]

(g) Position: Vol.II.p.134.
Description: Amanda terrified at the noise of the Ass. (ch.60)

(h) Position: Vol.3.c.10,p.199. [Used as frontispiece.]
Description: The chambermaid in the disguise of her mistress, terrified at the prediction of the magician. (ch.90)

(i) Position: Vol.3.Chap.6,p.41.
Description: Peregrine Pickle apprehensive of Emilia's elopement, bursting open the chamber-door, to avenge himself of his rival, when he discovers his mistake. (ch.84)

(j) Position: Vol.4,chap.2,page 18. [Used as frontispiece.]
Description: [As PP17m.]

(k) Position: Vol.4.chap.11.p.206 [Should read 106.]
Description: [As PP17l, omitting 'Pickle'.]

(l) Position: Vol.4.c.18,p.228.
Description: [As PP17n.]

Notes: An American edition based closely on Cooke's Select Novels edition, and from the evidence of the plates probably the 1799 issue, see PP17 above. All the plates, with the exception of the titlepage vignette and PP17i, are here re-engraved by the well-known American engraver Anderson. The titles to the plates follow the earlier ones except where noted, and the frequent similarity of the position markings suggest that the text was also based closely on Cooke's. See also PP26 below.
Y.

24. 1814 Twelfth Night/ Characters,/ Taken from the most celebrated/ Novels/ of/ Smollett, Sterne & Fielding./ Presented by Swift & Co./ contractors for the/ State

Lottery./ To be drawn/ 18th January, 1814./
Notes: This collection consists of 12 small separate coloured plates in the original wrapper with the title above, and is attributed to the juvenile George Cruikshank. Five of the characters are from Tom Jones, Tom, Sophia, Squire Western, Square, and Molly Seagrim; two are from Joseph Andrews, Lady Booby and Parson Adams; one from Tristram Shandy, Widow Wadman; two from Humphry Clinker, Tabitha Bramble and Miss Snap(sic); and two from Peregrine Pickle, Trunnion and Pipes. Characterisation is minimal and the figures wooden, Trunnion for example is merely a sailor with a pipe, a crutch and a tankard. It is interesting however in relation to Cruikshank's later illustrations to English fiction, see PP32 below.
H.

25. 1815 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle,/ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ Vol.I. ['II.'] / London./ Published by J.Walker & Co.Paternoster Row./
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle:/ In which are included/ Memoirs/ of/ A Lady of Quality./ '/ In Two Volumes./ '/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ London:/ Printed for.J.Walker and Co.;/ J.Richardson; F.C. and J. Rivington; Law and/ Whittaker; J.Nunn; Newman and Co.; Lacking-/ ton, Allen, and Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme,/ and Brown; Cadell and Davies; Black and Parry;/ Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; Sherwood, Neely,/ and Jones; R.Scholey; J.Asperne; Gale, Curtis,/ and Fenner; and J.Robinson:/ By S.Hamilton, Weybridge, Surrey./ '/ 1815./
24o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces, oblong, 5·5 by 7·5 cms.; 2 vignettes, approximately 6 cms. square. Engraving.
(a) Position: [Volume 1 frontispiece.]
Date: [None, presumably 1815. In all 4 plates.]
Signature: T.UWins del. C.Warren sculp. [In all 4 plates.]
Description: Commodore Trunnion making love. Published by J.Walker and Co.Paternoster Row. (ch.7)
(b) Position: [Volume 1 vignette.]
Description: Trunnion alarmed at the apparition of Davy Jones. Chap.13. (ch.15)
(c) Position: [Volume 2 frontispiece.]
Description: Peregrines first Interview with Emily after the reconciliation. Chap.105. (ch.114)
(d) Position: [Volume 2 vignette.]
Description: The visit to the Conjuror. Chap. 82 (ch.90)
Notes: For novels by Smollett in the same series see also RR29 and RR34, and HC15. See P1.122.
M.Y.

1815 Dutch edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

26. 1816 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ By Dr. Smollett./ [Motto]/ Volume I. ['Volume II.' 'Vol.III.' and 'Vol.IV.']/ '/ Embellished with Engravings./ '/ New-York:/ Published by David Huntington./ Isaac A. Kollock, printer./ 1816./
16o
Notes: The printing was shared so the titlepages differ in detail: volume 3 spells the novelist's name 'Smollet' and has the printer's imprint '1816./ T & W.Mercein, printers.'; volume 4 has a comma after 'Pickle' and a printer's imprint 'S.Marks, Printer./ 1816.' This edition uses the 12 plates from PP23. See Sinclair Hamilton, Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, p.55.
NYPL.Pr.

27. 1818 Engraved title: Volume 1 as engraved title for PP17 with minor alterations, viz. 'Vol IV' omitted, and the imprint added below the vignette: 'London:/ Printed for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street,/ and all other Booksellers.' Volume 2 as volume 1 but with a different vignette, see PP27f below, and the addition of 'Vol 2' in the title.
Printed title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle,/ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality,/ '/ By Dr.Smollett./ '/ [Motto]/ "/ Vol.I.['II.']/ "/ A New and Correct Edition./ '/ London; / Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday,/ Threadneedle-Street./ '/ 1818./
12o
Notes: The only copy of this edition which I have seen, lacks the last 2 volumes. It has 2 frontispieces, 2 titlepage vignettes, and 5 plates from Cooke's Selects Novels edition, see PP16 and PP17 above. The plates are as follows:

(a) Frontispiece to volume 1. As PP17b, but with the date '1796' changed to '1814' and the additional 'Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street. Septr.1.1818.'
(b) Vignette to volume 1. As PP17a but with the date '1799' changed to '1816', and the page reference changed from '181' to '166'.
(c) Plate facing page 50. As PP17c with the position changed to 'Vide Vol.I.Chapter 8.Page 50' and the date from '1799' to '1814. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, Septr.1. 1818.'
(d) Plate facing page 166. As PP17d, with the position changed to 'Vide Volume I. Page 166.' and the date from '1798' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'

(e) Frontispiece to volume 2. As PP17e but page reference omitted and date changed from '1798' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818'.
(f) This plate is 'new' in that it is from an edition which I have not located.
Position: [Volume 2 titlepage vignette.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke July 1 1797.
Signature: R.Corbould del W.Hawkins sculp.
Description: Peregrine & Mrs.Hornbeck eluding the vigilance of the Duenna Vol 2.Ch LX p.182 (ch.63)
(g) Plate facing volume 2 page 82. As PP17f, but page reference omitted and date changed from '1797' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'
(h) Plate facing page 125, volume 2. As PP17g but page reference changed from '121' to '125', and date from '1798' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'
(i) Plate facing volume 2 page 138. As PP17h, but page reference changed from '134' to '138' and date from '1797' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.' Also omits 'Cooke's Edition of Select Novels.'

For corresponding volumes see also RR35 and HC16. See P1,135,
E1,

28. 1819 Engraved title: As PP27 above, with no volume number in volume 1 and 'Vol 2', 'Vol III.' and 'Vol IV' in subsequent volumes.
Printed title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ '/ By Dr.Smollett./ '/ [Motto]/ "/ Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ "/ A New and Correct Edition./ [ornament]./ London./ Published by/ Geo.Virtue, 26,Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row,/ And Bath-Street, Bristol./ Sold also by Jones & Co. Acton-Place, Kingsland Road,/ and may be had of all Booksellers in the Kingdom./
12o
Notes: An edition utilising the Dean and Munday reprints of Cooke's Select Novels plates, see PP27 above, but with a new printed titlepage and a portrait frontispiece of Smollett dated 1819. This copy, unlike the Dean and Munday edition noted above(PP27), is complete in 4 volumes, with 1 frontispiece, 4 titlepage vignettes and 12 plates all ultimately from a Cooke's edition. The plates are as follows:
(a) Frontispiece to volume 1. Portrait of Smollett Engraved by Ridley ... Printed for C.Cooke, 27, Paternoster Row. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, Septr.1.1819.'
(b) As PP27b.
(c) As PP17b but with the page reference changed from '32' to '33' and the date from '1796' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'

(d) As PP27c.
(e) As PP27d.
(f) As PP27f.
(g) As PP17e but with the page reference changed from '24' to '25' and date from '1798.' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'
(h) As PP27g but with the page reference 'Vide Vol. II.Chap.46.page 82.' (cf. PP17f)
(i) As PP27h but with the page reference changed from '125' to '123'.
(j) As PP27i.
(k) This vignette is 'new' in that it is from an edition which I have not located.
Position: [Volume 3 titlepage vignette.]
Date: [None.]
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: The Lady of Quality by a stratagem escapes from her servants in the Park. Vol.3, Ch.9.p.146. (ch.88, p.498)
(l) As PP17i but page reference changed from 'Chap. 1.page 7.' to 'Chap.4.page 13.' and the date from '1797' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'
(m) Another 'new' plate.
Position: [Volume 4 titlepage vignette.]
Date: [None.]
Signature: [None.]
Description: Tom Pipes and the Beggar Woman's Daughter. Vol.IV.Ch.2.p.21. (ch.95)
(n) As PP17m but page reference changed from '18.' to '20.' and date from '1797.' to '1814.'
(o) As PP17l but page reference changed from '108.' to '111.' and date from '1798.' to '1814. Reprinted ... 1818.'
(p) As PP17n but page reference changed from '225.' to '227.' and the date from '1799.' to '1815.'
(q) Another 'new' plate.
Position: Vide Vol.IV.Chap.21.Page 246.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Mar.1.1814. Reprinted ... 1818.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Ornamented by R.W.Satchwell. Engrav'd by C.Warren.
Description: Peregrine Pickle. The transport of Peregrine Pickle, on rushing from his concealment into the presence of Emily. (ch.114)

Y.

29. 1823 Engraved title: Volume I only. As PP27 above.
Printed title: [Volumes 2,3 and 4 only.] The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ '/ By Dr.Smollett./ '/ [Motto] / "/ Vol.II. ['III.' and 'IV.']/ "/ A New and Correct Edition./ '/ London:/ Printed for J.Bumpus, Holborn-Bars./ '/ 1823./
12o

Notes: The vignette on the engraved titlepage is as PP27b. Volume 1 has a frontispiece, as in PP27a, and two plates, as in PP27c and d, but none of the remaining volumes has embellishment of any kind. On the verso of the volume 4 titlepage the printers' names are given; not surprisingly these are 'Dean & Munday, Printers, Threadneedle Street'.
BM.

30. 1824 Points/ of/ Humour;/ Illustrated/ By the/ Designs of George Cruikshank./ '/ Part II./ '/ London:/ Published by C.Baldwyn, Newgate Street./ '/ 1824./
8o
Illustration: 10 plates, 3 illustrating Peregrine Pickle. Etching. Approximately 9 cms. square.
(a) Position: [Facing page 18.]
Date: [None, presumably 1824. In all 3 plates.]
Signature: G.Cruikshank fec:
Description: [Extract entitled 'The Consultation' i.e. the colonel and the doctors (ch.75).]
(b) Position: [Facing page 29.]
Signature: G.Cruikshank fect
Description: [Extract entitled 'The Dinner' i.e. the feast after the manner of the ancients (ch.48).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 41.]
Signature: Geo.Cruikshank
Description: [Extract entitled 'The Duel' i.e. duel between the physician and the painter (ch.68).]
Notes: Peregrine Pickle is the only English novel to be included in this collection, for reasons explained in the preface. The other plates illustrate humorous historical scenes, Burns's poems, Shakespeare's Henry IV,Part II, and Les Barons de Felsheim. Each extract has a tailpiece which reflects on the text: (a) shows the tortures of gout, (b) pigs feeding at a trough, and (c) two asses kicking one another. The original cover in the Pierpont Morgan Library copy has the price, 8 shillings. An edition was reprinted by Robins in 1835. See Pls. 43,45,64 and 65.
H.NLS.NYPL.PML.Pr.

31.c.1825 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ [Vignette]/ London:/ Engraved for Dove's English Classics./
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle:/ In which are included/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ [ornament] / London:/ Printed for J.F.Dove, Piccadilly;/ Opposite Burlington House./ [n.d.]
24o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece, oblong, 5 by 7 cms. 1 vignette, 6 cms. square. Engraving.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, in either plate.]

Signature: H.Corbould. E.Portbury. [In both plates.]
Description: Beheld a hideous phantom, vomiting blue flame. Chap.XIII. [Trunnion and the ghost of Davy Jones (ch.15).]

(b) Position: [Vignette]
Description: He started with great emotion. Chap.XXIII. [Peregrine hears Pipes's version of his loveletter to Emilia (ch.26).]

Notes: A 1 volume edition, undated but presumably in a series with Dove's 1825 Humphry Clinker, see HC17. NYPL.

1825 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ '/ By Dr. Smollett./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ Vol.I. ['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ "/ Philadelphia:/ Published by L.B.Clark./ J.Harding, Printer./ '/ 1825/
12o
Notes: The Harvard copy lacks volume 1.
H.Y.

1827 The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle,/ In which are included,/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ '/ By Dr. Smollett./ '/ Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ '/ A New and Correct Edition./ '/ London:/ Printed for the Booksellers./ '/ 1827./
12o
Notes: The only copy I have seen has the spine title with 'Price 18s.' on it.
BM.

1828 German edition.
Notes: Not seen. Described in Joliat, op.cit. p.259.

1829 American edition published in Philadelphia.
Notes: Not seen, but see above 1825.
Knapp collection.

32. 1831 General title: The/ Novelist's Library:/ Edited by/ Thomas Roscoe,Esq./ With Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ Vol.III.['IV.']/ Peregrine Pickle. -- Vol.I. ['II.']/ Smollett./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Peregrine Pickle./ In which are included/ Memoirs of a Lady of Quality./ By T.Smollett, M.D./ With/ Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I. ['II.']/ London:/ James Cochrane and Co.,/ 11, Waterloo

Place, Pall Mall;/ And J.Andrews, 167, New Bond Street./
1831./
12o
Illustration: 8 plates. Etching. Oblong, 8 by 9·5 cms.
(f) has a slight decorative border.

(a) Position: [Volume 1 frontispiece.]
Date: London, Printed for James Cochrane and Co. 1831. [In all 8 plates.]
Signature: George Cruikshank fec.
Description: The three black hairs (ch.6)

(b) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 45.]
Signature: Geo.Cruikshank fect.
Description: The Commodore's Wedding (ch.8)

(c) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 78.]
Signature: G.Cruikshank fec.
Description: Davy Jones (ch.15)

(d) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 277.]
Signature: Geoe.Cruikshank
Description: Pallets fright (ch.51)

(e) Position: [Volume 2 frontispiece.]
Signature: George Cruikshank
Description: The Tailors baffling the Bailiff (ch.105)

(f) Position: [Volume 2 facing page 187.]
Signature: George Cruikshank
Description: The Magician (ch.90)

(g) Position: [Volume 2 facing page 418.]
Signature: George Cruikshank fec.
Description: Hatchway's Eagerness to meet Peregrine (ch.110)

(h) Position: [Volume 2 facing page 429.]
Signature: George Cruikshank
Description: Hatchway's Experiment to rouse Peregrine (ch.111)

Notes: Cruikshank's second set of illustrations to Peregrine Pickle, see PP30 above. For corresponding volumes in the series see RR39, LG18 and HC20. See Pls. 73,86,88,94,103 and 104.
BM.H.NLS.NYPL.Pr.Y.

THE ADVENTURES OF FERDINAND COUNT FATHOM

1753 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ || / London:/ Printed for W.Johnston, at the Golden Ball/ in St. Paul's Church-yard./ MDCCLIII./
12o
Notes: The first edition. Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./'
Bodl.BM.EUL.H.NLS.NYPL.Pr.Y.

1753 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ Vol.I.['Vol.II.']/ || / London./ Printed for T.Johnson, at the Golden Ball/ in St.Paul's Church-yard./ M,DCC,LIII./
12o
Notes: A piracy of the first edition. Volume 2 titlepage has a colon after 'London'.
BM.EUL.NYPL.

1753 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./| / By the Author of Roderick Random./| / In Two Volumes./| / Vol.I.['II.']/| / [Motto]/ || / Dublin: /Printed for R.Main, Bookseller, in Dame-/ street. MDCCLIII./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes./| / ' At the end of the first volume of this Irish edition there is a catalogue of new publications, Peregrine Pickle for example 'Bound and Letter'd' in 3 volumes for 8s.1½d, and a note appended: 'N.B. At said Main's may be had most of the new Books of Entertainment, shortly after they are Publish'd in London.'
Y.

1760 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Advertised in the London Chronicle, this edition seems never to have been published.
NCBEL.

1770 German translation.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1771 Halftitle: / | / The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ Vol.I.['II.']/ | /
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ | / The Second Edition./ | / London:/ Printed for W. Johnston, in Ludgate-Street./ MDCCLXXI./
12o
Notes: The volume 2 titlepage omits 'In Two Volumes.'
Bodl.BM.EUL.H.NLS.NYPL.Y.

1772 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ Dublin:/ Printed by James Potts, at Swift's-Head in/ Dame-Street, M DCC LXXII./
12o
CUL.

1. 1780 General title: The/ Entertaining Museum;/ or/ Complete Circulating Library./ '/ Vol.XIII. ['XV.']/ '/ Being the Second ['Fourth'] Volume of/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ || / London:/ Printed for J.Wenman, No.144, in Fleet-Street;/ and sold by the Booksellers, News-Carriers, &c./ in Town and Country./ ** Vol.I. may be perused gratis, and returned/ if not approved. -- And if any Person in Town or/ Country should find any Difficulty in getting supplied/ with these Volumes regularly, they are requested to/ write or send to Mr.Wenman, who will punctually/ supply their Orders./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ | / [Motto]/ | / Vol.I.['II.' 'III.' and 'IV.']/ || / London:/ Printed for Joseph Wenman,/ No. 144,Fleet-Street./ M.DCC.LXXX.
12o
Illustration: 4 frontispieces, that to volume 3 missing. Engraving. Oblong, 6 by 10 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece. Vol.I.
Date: Published as the Act directs Septr 16,1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Cook sc.
Description: Wilhelmina hiding Count Fathom in her Closet (ch.13)
(b) Position: Frontispiece. Vol.II.
Date: Published as the Act directs for J. Wenman. 23 Sepr.1780
Signature: Dodd del. Wells sc.
Description: The Swiss challenges Count Fathom at his Lodgings (ch.33)
(c) Position: Frontispiece. Vol.IV.
Date: Published as the Act directs Octr.6.1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Cook sc.
Description: Renaldo Surprised by Monimia in the Church (ch.63)

Notes: The only copy I have seen is missing several pages, the frontispiece to volume 3, and the general title to volumes 1 and 3. On the reverse of the general title is a puff for the series: 'This Work will contain All such Performances as are particularly calculated for the Amusement, Entertainment, Emolument, and Instruction of the Readers; and especially such as are universally held in Estimation ... That every Person may be enabled to become a Purchaser of this Work, and gradually become possessed of a most valuable library, without being sensible of the Expence, A Volume per Week will be published, Price only Six-Pence sewed, or Nine-Pence bound and lettered. N.B.Vols.I. and II. contain the Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves, by the Author of Roderic Random ...' See also PP9, LG4, and HC3. See Pls. 105,106 and 114.
BM.

2. 1782 General title: The/ Novelist's Magazine./ Vol.VII./ Containing/ The Fortunate Country Maid,/ Louisa Mildmay,/ Theodosias and Constantia,/ and/ Count Fathom,/ [Vignette]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co./ No.18. Paternoster Row./ 1782./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ [Ornament]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co.No.18, Paternoster-Row./ MDCCLXXXII./
8o
Illustration: 4 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms. Ornamental borders, entitled 'Count Fathom'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 12.]
Date: Published as the Act directs, by Harrison and Co. March 2, 1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate IV. [Fathom's mother attacks the Turkish leader (ch.4).]
(b) Position: [Facing page 76.]
Date: Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. Feby.9.1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Heath sculp.
Description: [Don Diego gives his wife and daughter poison (ch.26).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 173.]
Date: Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Feby.18.1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate II. [Renaldo communicates with his mother at Trebasi's castle. (ch.58).]
(d) Position: [Facing page 194.]
Date: Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Feby.23, 1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Angus sculp.
Description: Plate III. [Monimia appears to Renaldo in the church (ch.63).]
Notes: The general titlepage is engraved. See also RR18, PP6,LG5 and HC4: also FCF3 and FCF6. See Pls. 115, 129,130 and 133.
Bodl.BM.BP.H.NYPL.Pr.

1782 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Not seen, possibly a separately bound issue of the Novelist's Magazine edition.
NCBEL.

3. 1874 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Another issue of the Novelist's Magazine, volume 7, identical to FCF2 except for the change of date on the titlepages.
Bodl.

1786 The/ Adventures/of/ Ferdinand/ Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ [Motto]/ Vol.I. ['II.']/ London:/ Printed for J.Davies; T.Smith; N.Taylor;/ and W.Thompson./ '/ M,DCC,LXXXVI./
12o
Y.

1789 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ London:/ Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIX./
12o
Notes: An edition with no publisher's imprint printed on coarse grey paper. Volume 2 omits the stop after 'Vol'. See Roderick Random checklist under 1772 for a similar edition.
Y.

4. 1790 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Six Volumes./ Volume the Fourth,/ containing/ The Adventures of Ferd.Count Fathom./ [Ornament]/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by David Ramsay./ For Jo. and Ja.Fairbairn, No 9, Hunter's Square,/ And/ A.Guthrie, No 25. South Bridge./ '/ 1790./
Volume title: / '/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ '/ [Motto]/ '/
8o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece. Engraving. Oblong, 10·5 by 16·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece to Vol.IV.
Date: [None, presumably 1790.]
Signature: Rowlandson delt. Kirkwood sculpt.
Description: Ferdinand Count Fathom. Page 388. Engraved for Smolletts Miscellaneous Works [Renaldo sees Monimia in the church (ch.63).]
Notes: For corresponding volumes see RR22, PP13, LG7 and HC5. See Pl.113.
Bodl.BM.EUL.NLS.Y.

5. 1791 Avventure/ di/ Ferdinando/ Conte Fathom/ Tratte dall' Inglese./ || / [Motto in Latin]/ || / Tomo I.['II.']/ [Ornament]/ In Venezia,/ Dalle Stampe di Silvestro Gatti/ [Ornament]/ Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio./ M.DCC.XCI./
8o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 1.]
Date: [None in either plate.]
Signature: [None in either plate.]
Description: [Arrival of a waggon at an inn (Possibly ch.28).]
(b) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]
Description: [A hunting scene with dogs attacking a clergyman (ch.?).]
Notes: The only Italian translation of a Smollett novel that I have seen. The illustrations are rather obscure.
H.

6. 1792 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Another issue of the Novelist's Magazine, volume 7, identical to FCF2 except for the change of date on the titlepages. See also PP14 and LG8.
Y.

7. 1795 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand/ Count Fathom./ By Dr.Smollett./ In Two Volumes./ [Motto]/ Vol.I.['II.']/ " / Cooke's Edition/ "/ [Ornament]/ || / Embellished with Superb Engravings./ || / London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17, Paternoster-Row,/ And sold by all the Booksellers in/ Great-Britain and/ Ireland./
12o
Illustration: 6 plates. Engraving. 6·5 by 8 cms. Oval, in ornamental borders and entitled 'Cooke's Pocket Edition of Select Novels.'
(a) Position: Count Fathom. Vol.I.p.24.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Sepr.26.1795.
Signature: Painted by T.Kirk. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Mrs Fathom, attempting to murder the Hussar Officer (ch.4)
(b) Position: Count Fathom. Vol.I.p.131.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row Novr.7. 1795.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by J.Chesham
Description: Count Fathom, releasing the old Woman of the Forest (ch.21)
(c) Position: Vidd Vol.I.Chap.26.p.150.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. Decr.5.1795.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by J.Saunders

Description: Count Fathom. The noble Castilian, relating his adventures to Count Fathom.(ch.25)

(d) Position: Vide Vol.II.p.81.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row. Septr.26.1795.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: Count Fathom. Monimia resisting Fathoms attempt to violate her Chastity. (ch.49)

(e) Position: Count Fathom. Vol.II.Ch.28.P.198.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, Octr.27.1795.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by R.Pollard.
Description: Renaldo, surprised at the Supposed Apparition of Monimia. (ch.63)

(f) Position: Vide Vol.II.p.238.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, Paternoster Row, Octr.6.1795.
Signature: Drawn by R.Combould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: Eleanor discovering to Melville the deplorable situation of Fathom. (ch.67)

Notes: See also RR26, PP16, LG9, HC7 and, below, FCF9.
See Pls. III , 116, 128, 132, 136 and 139.
Bodl. BM.

1796 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

8. 1798 Fathom/ et/ Melvil,/ Par Smollet,/ Auteur de Roderic Random, de Périgrine Pickle, et/ continuateur de l'Histoire d'Angleterre de Hume./ Traduit de l'Anglais,/ Sur la quinzième édition./ Avec Figures./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisième.' and 'Quatrième.']/ '/ A Paris,/ De l'Imprimerie de Gueffier./ '/ An VI./
12o
Illustration: 4 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 6 by 9·5 cms.

(a) Position: Tom I [frontispiece]
Date: [None, presumably 1798, in all 4 plates.]
Signature: a legrand et delineavite
Description: Pag.9. Elle l'appaisoit à l'aide d'un tuyau long et fléxible qui, du baril, communiquoit à ses levres. (ch.2)

(b) Position: Tom.II [frontispiece]
Signature: a legrand
Description: Pag.119 Elles tombèrent sur un sofa, l'une à coté de l'autre. (ch.26)

(c) Position: Tom.III.[frontispiece]
Signature: a legrand et delineavite
Description: Ils commencèrent à fumer avec une fureur inexprimable. (ch.41)

(d) Position: Tom.IV.]frontispiece]
Signature: a legrand
Description: Oui, je te suivrai, ombre céleste.
Pag.196. (ch.63)
Notes: The first French translation of the novel in imitation of Day's children's tale Sandford and Merton.
See Pls.112,117,125 and 131.
BM.

1798 Dutch edition.
Notes: Not seen, but noted in Joliat, op.cit., p.263.

1799 German edition.
Notes: Not seen, but noted in Joliat, op.cit., p.262.

1800 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: There are 2 engraved titlepages for Cooke's Select Novels edition in the National Library of Scotland copy of the 1809 Miscellaneous Works, see FCF9 below, which suggests that there must have been an edition for this year.

1800 Dutch edition.
Notes: Not seen, but noted in Joliat, op.cit., p.264.

1803 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

9. 1809 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett;/ To which is prefixed,/ Memoirs of his Life and Writings./ In Five Volumes./ '/ Embellished with/ Twenty-Six Engravings,/ By Rowlandson & Others,/ '/ Volume I./ containing/ Life of the Author, -- Poems and Plays, --/ And Ferdinand Count Fathom./ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand/ Count Fathom,/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Two Volumes./ '/ Frontispiece by Rowlandson./ '/ Volume I.['II.']/ [Motto]/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
8o
Illustration: 1 plate. Engraving. 14·5 by 9·5 cms. Rectangle.

(a) Position: Chapter 13 Page 61
Date: [None.]
Signature: Rowlandson inv & scul
Description: The Misery of Intriguing. [Fathom hiding in Wilhelmina's closet (ch.13).]

Notes: The plate is missing in the Edinburgh University Library copy, and the sectional title in the National Library of Scotland copy. As with the Roderick Random, Sir Launcelot Greaves and Humphry Clinker volumes in the collection of Smollett's works in the National Library of Scotland, an engraved titlepage from Cooke's edition is substituted for the sectional title. Since I have never come across an edition published by Cooke using these titlepages, I append a full description of them here:

Count Fathom,/ Vol.I.['II.'] forming part of/ Cooke's Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels,/ or Novelist's Entertaining Library/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Histories, Adventures, Tales, &c. by the most/ Esteemed Authors./

[Vignette (b) Position: [Volume 1 titlepage.]
Date: Embellished under the direction of C.Cooke. Septr. 26.1800.
Signature: R.Corbould delt. W.Hawkins, sculpt.
Description: The German trooper addressing Fathom's mother. Vide Vol.I.p.15. (ch.2)

Vignette (c) Position: [Volume 2 titlepage.]
Date: Embellished under the direction of C.Cooke. Decr.5.1800.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Trebasi shooting at Melvill. Vide Vol. II.Ch.23. (ch.58)

See also RR30, PP21, LG11 and HC12. See Pls. 107 and 126.
EUL.NLS.

10. 1810 General title: See RR32.
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ In Two Volumes./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ '/ Forming Part of a Series of the most esteemed Novels, and embellished/ with elegant Engravings./ '/ "/ London:/ Published for the Proprietors,/ By W.Clarke, New Bond Street; Goddard, Pall Mall; Taylor and/ Hessey, Fleet Street; J.M. Richardson, Cornhill; and/ Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row./ 1810./
8o
Illustration: 5 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 10 cms., entitled 'Count Fathom.'

(a) Position: [Facing page 11.]
Date: Publish'd for the Proprietors Aug.11. 1810. by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Summons.sc.
Description: Pl.5. [Fathom's mother on the battlefield (ch.3).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 58.]
Date: Publish'd ... July 21.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Hawkesworth sc.
Description: Pl.3. [The two murderers (ch.21).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 89.]
Date: Publish'd ... July 16.1810,... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Summons, sc.
Description: Pl.2. [Fathom is accused of being the Young Pretender (ch.29).]
(d) Position: [Facing page 162.]
Date: Publish'd ... July 7.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell delt. Palmer. sc.
Description: Pl.1. [Fathom as a violin virtuoso (ch.50).]
(e) Position: [Facing page 188.]
Date: Publish'd ... July 28.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Davenport, sc.
Description: Pl:4: [Renaldo attacks Count Trebasi (ch.58).]

Notes: See also RR32, PP22, LG14 and HC13. See Pls. 108,109,110,127 and 134.
BM.NYPL.

1813 The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom.
Notes: Not seen.
Knapp collection.

1816 The/ Adventures/ of/ Ferdinand Count Fathom./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ [Motto]/ Vol.I.['II.']/ " / New-York:/ Published by D.Huntington./ A.Paul, Printer./ 1816./
12o
Notes: The first American edition, and what appears to be the last separately printed edition of the novel until the 20th century. See also PP26, and Launcelot Greaves checklist for 1816.
NYPL.Y.

SIR LAUNCELOT GREAVES

1. 1760 The/ British Magazine/ or/ Monthly Repository/ for/ Gentlemen & Ladies./ Vol.I./ London./ Printed for H. Payne, at Dryden's Head, in/ Pater Noster Row./
8o
Illustration: 2 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 8 by 13-5 cms.
(a) Position:[Frontispiece to February 1760 issue. Facing page 57.]
Date: [None, presumably January or February 1760.]
Signature: A.Walker sculp.
Description: Engraved for the British Magazine. Sir Launcelot Greaves, & his Squire, Timothy Crabshaw.-- (ch.2)
(b) Position: [Frontispiece to August 1760 issue. Facing page 449.]
Date: [None, presumably July/August 1760.]
Signature: [None.]
Description: Engraved for the British Magazine. Sr.L.Greaver and his Squire T.Crabshaw at a Country Blection.-- (ch.9)
Notes: Sir Launcelot Greaves first appeared serially between January 1760 and December 1761, at a chapter a month, in the British Magazine. In the first issue the chapter of the novel occupies pages 9-14, while in the second it is moved to the beginning of the magazine and also illustrated. The Bodleian Library has a separate number of the February 1760 number in the original blue wrappers, on the inside front of which is an address 'To the Public', and on the outside back a copy of the granting of a Royal licence to 'Our trusty and Well-beloved T.Smollett, of Chelsea'. This licence indicates Smollett's involvement in the magazine: 'he hath been at great Labour & Expence in writing Original Pieces himself, and engaging Learned and ingenious Gentlemen to write other Original Pieces ... And being desirous of reaping the Fruits of his great Labour and Expence, and of enjoying the Profit and Benefit that may arise from printing and vending the said Work.' Only two of the issues were illustrated and it differs from the type of serialisation in Smollett's weekly Continuation of the Complete History of England, issued in weekly sixpenny parts, from May 1760 onwards, which were intended to be bound together; with instalments of Sir Launcelot Greaves, the article following frequently appeared at the bottom of the last page of the month's serialised section. For a fuller discussion see R.D. Mayo, The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815. The copy of the magazine in the British Museum lacks the plates. See Pls. 146 and 148.
Bodl.BM.Y.

1762 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I. ['II.']/ [ornament]/ London:/ Printed for J.Coote, in Pater-noster-Row./ MDCCLXII./
12o
Notes: The first complete edition, but without illustration.
Bodl.BM.H.NYPL.PML.Pr.Y.

2. 1762 The/ Life/ and/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./| / Illustrated with Copper Plates./ | / By the Author of Roderick Random./ || / Dublin:/ Printed by James Hoey, junior. 1762./
12o
Illustration: 2 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 8 by 13·5 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, but see LG1. In both plates.]
Signature: [None, In both plates.]
Description: Sir Launcelot Greaves, and his Squire, Timothy Crabshaw. Plate 1. (ch.2)
(b) Position: [Facing page 92.]
Description: Sr.L.Greaves and his Squire T. Crabshaw at a Country Election. Plate 2. (ch.9)
Notes: A one volume Dublin edition, presumably based on the British Magazine version as it reproduces the two plates. See LG3 below.
BM.

1763 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

3. 1763 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ The Second Edition./ [ornament]/ Dublin:/ Printed by James Hoey, junior. 1763./
12o
Notes: Two plates as in LG2, with the addition of position marks, i.e. 'frontispiece' and 'page 92'. There is a long section at the end of 'Books, printed by & for James Hoey, junior.'
Bodl.

1767 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ Author of Roderick Random, &c.&c./ |/ The Fourth Edition./ || / Cork:/ Printed for the Proprietor. / '/ M,DCC,LXVII./
12o

Notes: A one volume edition. It is, strangely enough, the only edition I have found attributed on the titlepage to Smollett during his lifetime. The earliest attributed Roderick Random was from the 1775 Dublin Select Works (although none of the corresponding novels in the series was so attributed except by implication). The earliest Peregrine Pickle and Ferdinand Count Fathom 'by Dr. Smollett' were in the Novelist's Magazine series, (PP6 and FCF2), and the earliest Humphry Clinker was the 1779 Dutch edition(HC2). However Smollett was first and foremost 'Author of Roderick Random'.
BM.H.

1769 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1772 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1774 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I. ['II.']/ A New Edition, Corrected./ [ornament]/ London,/ Printed for G.Robinson, in Pater-noster-Row./ MDCCLXX_IV./
12o
BM.Y.

1775 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ The Third Edition./ [ornament]/ Dublin:/ Printed for the United Company of/ Booksellers. 1775./
18o
Notes: A one volume edition, part of the Dublin Select Works, see Roderick Random checklist entry for 1775.
Bodl.Y.

4. 1780 General title: The/ Entertaining Museum;/ or/ Complete Circulating Library./ '/ Vol.II./ '/ Being the Second Volume of/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./‖ / London:/ Printed for J.Wenman, No.144, in Fleet-Street;/ and sold by the Booksellers, News-Carriers, &c./ in Town and Country./ Vol.I.may be perused gratis, and returned/ if not approved. -- And if any person in Town or/ Country should find any Difficulty in getting supplied/ with these Volumes regularly, they are requested to/ write or send to Mr.Wenman, who will punctually/ supply their Orders./

Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By T.Smollet,M.D./ Author of Roderick Random./ | /Vol.I. ['II.']/ ‖ / London:/ Printed for Joseph Wenman,/ No.144, Fleet-Street./ MDCCLXXX./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 6 by 10 cms.

(a) Position: Frontispiece. Vol.I.
Date: Publish'd as the Act directs 1 July 1780.
Signature: Dodd del. Walker sc. [In both plates.]
Description: Sr.Launcelot Greaves's, Interview with Mrs.Darnel. (ch.4)

(b) Position: Frontispiece. Vol.II
Date: Published as the Act directs 8th.July 1780.
Description: Sir Launcelot discovers Aurelia at the Inn. (ch.15)

Notes: The general titlepage is present only in volume 2 of the New York Public Library copy. The date to the volume 2 sectional title is 'M,DCC,LXXX.' For other Smollett novels in the same series, see PP9,FCF1, and HC3. See Pls. 159 and 160.
EM.NYPL.

5. 1782 General title: The/ Novelist's Magazine./ Vol.IX./ Containing/ Sentimental Journey,/ Gulliver's Travels,/ David Simple,/ Sir Launcelot Greaves,/ The Peruvian Princess,/ and Jonathan Wild./ [Vignette]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co./ No.18 Paternoster Row/ 1782./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By Dr.Smollett./ In Two Volumes./ [ornament]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co.No.18, Paternoster-Row./ MDCCLXXXII./
8o
Illustration: 4 plates, Engraving. Oblong, 7·5 by 12 cms., with ornamental borders entitled 'Launcelot Greaves'.

(a) Position: [Facing page 7.]
Date: Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co.Sept.7.1782.
Signature: Stothard del.Walker sculp.
Description: Plate I.[Entrance of Greaves and Crabshaw to the inn. (ch.2).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 45.]
Date: Published ... Sep.21.1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Blake sculp.
Description: Plate III. [The election (ch.9).]

(c) Position: [Facing page 77.]
Date: Published ... Sept.28.1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate IV. [Greaves discovers the abduction of Aurelia. (ch.16).]

(d) Position: [Facing page 107.]
Date: Published ... Sept.14 1782.
Signature: Stothard del. Grignion sculp.

Description: Plate II. [Crabshaw visits a conjuror. (ch.22).]
Notes: Fpr cprresponding Smollett novels in the same series, see RR18, PP6, FCF2 and HC4. See also LG8 below. See Pls. 141,149,150 and 157.
BM.H.NYPL.Pr.Y.

1782 London edition.
Notes: Not seen, but possibly a Novelist's Magazine edition separately bound.
NCBEL.

1782 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ A New Edition./ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Patrick Anderson,/ Parliament Square./ '/ M,DCC,LXXXII./
12o
Notes: A one volume edition. See also next entry but two.
NLS.

6. 1783 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By T. Smollet,M.D./ Author of Roderick Random./ | / Vol.I. ['II.']/ ‖ / London:/ Printed for Joseph Wenman,/ No.144, Fleet-Street./ M DCC LXXXIII./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces and 1 plate. Engraving. Oblong, 6 by 10 cms.
(a) [As LG4a.]
(b) Position: [Volume 1 facing page 39.]
Date: Publish'd by I.Wenman May 1.1783.
Signature: Dodd Del.Walker Sc.
Description: Sir Launcelot Greaves The Battle at the Black Lion. (ch.3)
(c) [As LG4b.]
Notes: Very similar edition to LG4 above, but with an extra plate. There is no general titlepage to the copy that I have seen.
BM.

1783 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1783 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ A New Edition./ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Patrick Anderson,/ Parliament Square./ '/ M,DCC,LXXXIII./

12o
Notes: A similar edition to the Edinburgh edition for 1782 above, but the titlepage is set in different type.
NLS.Y.

7. 1790 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Six Volumes./ Volume the Fifth,/ Containing/ The Adventures of Launcelot Greaves,/ and/ Travels in France and Italy./ [ornament]/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by David Ramsay./ For Jo. and Ja. Fairbairn, No 9. Hunter's Square,/ and/ A.Guthrie, No 25. South Bridge./ '/ 1790./
Volume title: / '/ The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ '/
8o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece. Engraving. Oblong, 11·5 by 17·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece to Vol.V.
Date: [None, presumably 1790.]
Signature: Rowlandson delt. Kirkwood sculpt.
Description: Launcelot Greaves, Page 55.
Engraved for Smollett's Miscellaneous Works
[Crabshaw disperses a band of soldiers (¢h.5).]
Notes: For corresponding volumes see RR22, PP13, FCF4 and HC5. See Pl.140.
Bodl.BM.EUL.NLS.Y.

1790 Danish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1791 German edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

8. 1792 The Adventures of Six Launcelot Greaves.
Notes: Another issue of the Novelist's Magazine, volume 9, identical to LG5 except for new dating on the two titlepages. See FCF6 and PP14.
Pr.

1793 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of Roderick Random./ A New Edition, Corrected./ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ London,/ Printed for G.G.J. and J.Robinson,/ Paternoster Row./ '/ 1793./
12o
Notes: See above entry for 1774.
Bodl.BM.H.

9. 1793 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By Dr. Smollett./ "/ Cooke's Edition./ "/ Two Volumes in One./ Embellished with/ Superb Engravings./ || / [ornament]/ || / London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17, Paternoster-Row,/ And sold by all the Booksellers in/ Town and Country./
12o
Illustration: 2 plates. Engraving. Oval, 6 by 8 cms., in ornamental frames, entitled 'Cooke's Edition of Select Novels.'
(a) Position: Sir Launcelot Greaves. Ch.4.P. [45.]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. Septr.14.1793.
Signature: R.Corbould del. J.Saunders sc.
Description: Mr.Greaves, returnig(sic) Darnel his sword, after disarming him. (ch.4)
(b) Position: Sir Launcelot Greaves Ch.7.P.70.
Date: Engrav'd for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. Septr.28.1793.
Signature: R.Corbould, del. W.Hawkins, sc.
Description: Captn.Crowe, terrified at Clarke and the Misanthrope who appear as Ghosts. (ch.7)
Notes: See LG10 and LG11 below. For corresponding volumes in the series see RR26, PP16, FCF7 and HC7.
See Pl.124.
Bl.H.

1796 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By Dr. Smollett./ Two Volumes in One./ || / [ornament]/ || / London/ Printed for W. Cavil, T.Martin, T.French, and/ J.Wren./ MDCCXCVI./
12o
Bodl.

10. 1797 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves,/ By Dr. Smollett,/ Two Volumes in One./ "/ Cooke's Edition./ "/ [ornament]/ || / Embellished with Superb Engravings./ || / London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17, Paternoster-Row,/ And sold by all the Booksellers in/ Great-Britain./
12o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece and 2 plates. Engraving. Ofal, 6 by 8 cms., in ornamental frames.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke. Decr.1.1797.
Signature: R.Corbould delt. J.Saunders sculp.
Description: Sir Launcelot Greaves. Mr.Greaves returning Darnel his sword after disarming him. Vide Chapter 4. Page 43. (ch.4)
(b) As LG9b, with position changed from 'P.70.' to 'P.67.'
(c) Position: Vide Chapter 10. page 211
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke. Decr.10.1796.
Signature: Painted by T.Kirk. Engraved by A.Raimbach.
Description: Cooke's Select Novels. Launcelot Greaves. Crabshaw and Crowe terrified at the Cook-maid supposing her to be a Ghost. (ch.22)

Notes: LG10a and b had appeared before in 1793, see LG9, but LG10c appears to be new for this edition. This plate is used again as a frontispiece to a later edition published 'Manchester/ Samuel Johnson, Market Street,/ And T.Johnson, Liverpool,/ MDCCXXXVIII.' with a different attribution, viz. 'Sir Launcelot Greaves. Crowe and Crabshaw startled at the sudden appearance of the Cook-maid as they were regaling themselves in the kitchen. Vide Vol.II.Chap.10. Page 220. Design'd by R.Corbould Ornamented by H.Satchwell. Engrav'd by A.Raimbach for C.Cooke Nov.1.1816.' This edition also has a titlepage vignette, in the Cooke's Select Novels style, which I have not seen elsewhere, 'Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by W.Hawkins. Miss Aurilia(sic) Darnel resisting the rude importunities of Mr.Sycamore.' For LG10c, see Pl.153. Private collection.

c.1800 Edinburgh edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Knapp collection.

11. 1809 General title: Thd/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett;/ To which is prefixed,/ Memoirs of his Life and Writings./ In Five Volumes./ '/ Embellished with/ Twenty-Six Engravings,/ By Rowlandson and Others./ '/ Volume V./ containing/ Sir Launcelot Greaves/ and/ Humphry Clinker./ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
Volume title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves;/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In One Volume./ '/ Frontispiece Burnet after Woodward./ '/ "/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
8o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece. Engraving. Rectangle, 14·5 by 9 cms.
(a) Position: Page 62. [Used as frontispiece in NLS copy.]
Date: [None, presumably c.1809.]
Signature: Woodward delt. J.Burnett sc.
Description: "In the name of God, where are you bound, ho?" [Captain Crowe's vigil in church (ch.7).]
Notes: As with the other novels in the series, the National Library of Scotland copy substitutes an engraved titlepage from Cooke's Select Novels edition for the volume title. It comes from the 1793 Cooke's edition, see LG9 above, but is lacking in the only 1793 copy I have seen. I therefore append a full description: Launcelot Greaves/ forming part of/ Cookes Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels,/ or Novelists Entertaining Library/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Adventures, Tales, &c. by the most Esteem'd Authors./ Superbly Embellished/ [Vignette:

(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette.]
Date: Embellished under the direction of C. Cooke. Sepr.14.1793.
Signature: R.Corbould del. W.Hawkins sc.
Description: Mr.Greaves relieving the two Young Villagers Vide Page 27. (ch.3)]/
Fpr corresponding volumes see RR30, PP21, FCF9, and HC12. See Pl.123.
LUL.NLS.

12. 1809 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves,/ | / By Tobias Smollet, M.D./ | / Embellished with a Frontispiece,/ By Rowlandson./ | / Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot, & D.Munro;/ & Miller, Law, & Cater,/ London./ [n.d.]
8o
Notes: A one volume edition, based on the 1809 Miscellaneous Works edition, as the frontispiece is in fact exactly as in LGlla, including Woodward's signature etc.
EUL.

13. 1810 Engraved title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves, By/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London,/ Printed & Published by J.Wallis, 159, Fleet Street,/ and may be had of all Booksellers./ 1809./
Title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ "/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ "/ London:/ Printed by J.Wallis, 159, Fleet-street,/ For T.Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street;/ And may be had of all Booksellers./ '/ 1810./
12o
Illustration: Frontispiece, oblong, 5 by 8 cms., and titlepage vignette, rectangle, 6 by 4·5 cms. Engraving.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None, presumably 1809.]
Signature: Drawn by W.H.Brooke. Engrav'd by J.Wallis London: Published by J.Wallis, 159, Fleet-Str.
Description: The attention of the Knight aroused by Crabshaw's disaster. (ch.2)
(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette]
Date: 1809
Signature: Drawn by W.H.Brooke. Engraved by J.Wallis
Description: Crabshaw roaring under the influence of a night mare. (ch.5)
Notes: A one volume edition. See Pls. 161 and 162.
CM.Y.

14. 1810 General title: See RR32.
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ In Two Volumes./ By Dr.Smollett./ | / Forming Part of a Series of the most esteemed Novels, and embellished/ with elegant Engravings./ '/ "/ London:/

Published for the Proprietors,/ By W.Clarke, New Bond Street; Goddard, Pall Mall; Taylor and/ Hessey, Fleet Street; J.M.Richardson, Cornhill; and/ Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row./ 1810./
8o
Illustration: 6 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 10 cms. entitled 'Sir Launcelot Greaves'.

(a) Position: [Facing page 7.]
Date: Published for the Proprietors, Septr.7. 1810, by Sherwood, Neely and Jones, Paternoster Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. Palmer sculpt.
Description: Pl.3. [Greaves and Crabshaw enter the inn (ch.2).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 29.]
Date: Published ... August,31.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. Davenport sc.
Description: Pl.2. [Greaves emerges from the church fully armed (ch.5).]

(c) Position: [Facing page 50.]
Date: Published ... Octr.6.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delint. Davenport sc.
Description: Pl.5. [Crabshaw in the stocks (ch.10).]

(d) Position: [Facing page 53.]
Date: Published ... Octr.6.1810 ... Row
Signature: Clennel delint. Lester sc.
Description: Pl.6.[Ferret as quack doctor (ch.10).]

(e) Position: [Facing page 87.]
Date: Publish'd ... Aug.4.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel, delt. Lester, sc.
Description: Pl:1: [Greaves saves Captain Crowe from the attacking villagers (ch.16).]

(f) Position: [Facing page 114.]
Date: Published ... September, 27.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennel delt. A.Warren sc.
Description: Pl 4 [Crabshaw visits the conjuror (ch.22).]

Notes: In both copies I have seen plates (c) and (d) are misbound, i.e. the Ferret episode precedes the Crabshaw episode in the chapter. For corresponding volumes see RR32, PP22, FCF10 and HC13. See Pls. 142, 158 and 164.
BM.NYPL.

1811 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By Dr. Smollet./ "/ Two Volumes in One./ "/ Baltimore:/ Published by F.Lucas, Jr. and A.Miltenberger./ A. Miltenberger, Print./ 1811./
12o
Notes: First American edition, prefaced by Smollett's 'Letter to ---- ---- of New Jersey, North America.' See Letters, pp.112-14.
H.Y.

15. 1813 Engraved title: Mirror/ of/ Amusement./ [Vignette]/
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ '/ By/ Dr.Smollett./ '/ Stereotype Edition./ '/ Liverpool:/ Printed and Published by Nuttall, Fisher, and Dixon./ Duke Street./
8o
Illustration: 3 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 8·5 by 12 cms., entitled 'Mirror. Sir Launcelot Greaves.'
(a) Position: [Facing page 251.]
Date: Publish'd by Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon, Liverpool, Feby.1813.
Signature: W.M.Craig.d. Is.Taylor sc.
Description: [Crabshaw left half-shaven by the barber on election day (ch.9).]
(b) Position: [Facing page 273.]
Date: Publish'd ... March 1.1813.
Signature: W.M.Craig del. T.Dixon sculp.
Description: [Greaves and Crabshaw enter the inn (ch.2).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 391.]
Date: [None.]
Signature: W M Craig del I Neagle sc.
Description: [Greaves and Aurelia reconciled at the house of Mr Shackle (ch.24).]
Notes: An early stereotype edition. Opposite the engraved titlepage is a frontispiece depicting 'Fancy under the direction of Wisdom, supplying Youth with Literary Amusement, as a relaxation from severe Study.' Other 'Literary Amusement' in the volume is The Vicar of Wakefield and The Old English Baron, both also illustrated by Craig. The pagination is continuous throughout the volume, with the exception of the plates, misplaced in the BM copy and lacking in the NYPL copy.
See Pls. 143,156 and 165.
BM.NYPL.

16. 1816 General title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Gil Blas of Santillane;/ Translated from the French of/ Le Sage:/ To Which is added,/ The Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ "/ By T.Smollett, M.D./" / Embellished with Beautiful Engravings./ '/ London:/ Published by T. Kinnersley, Acton Place, Kingsland Road;/ '/ Stereotyped and Printed by Cock and M'Gowan,/ 16, Great Windmill Street./ '/ 1816./
Sectional title: / ‖ / The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ "/ By Dr.Smollett./ "/ In Two Volumes./ ‖ /
8o
Illustration: 2 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 9 by 12 cms. Ornamental frame to (a).
(a) Position: [Facing page 399, misplaced.]
Date: Published by T.Kennersley July 8.1816.
Signature: W.M.Craig delt.
Description: Sr.L.Greaves Sir Launcelot in the mad-house. (ch.23)
(b) Position: [Facing page 433, misplaced.]
Date: Pubd. by T.Kinnersley, Augt,1,1816,

Signature: W.M.Craig del. J.Neagle sc.
Description: Sir Launclot(sic) Greaves.
[Greaves rescues Aurelia from the runaway coach (ch.4).]
Notes: An edition like LG15 above in having continuous pagination, plates by Craig, and in being stereotyped. See Pl.155.
EM.

17. 1816 General title: Select Novels./ Vol:I./ Containing/ Almoran & Hamet, The Old English Baron,/ Sir Launcelot Greaves & The Tartarian Tales./ [Vignette]/ London./ Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row. Octr.5. 1816./ Eldridge scu:/
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ '/ In Two Volumes./ '/ By Dr.Smollett./ "/ London:/ Printed by W.Clowes, Northumberland-court, Strand;/ For Thomas Kelly, No.53, Paternoster-Row,/ And Sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom./ '/ 1816./
8o
Illustration: 1 plate. Engraving. Oval, 8·5 by 10·5 cms., with plain frame, and entitled 'Sir Launcelot Greaves'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 7.]
Date: London. Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row. Augt.24.1816.
Signature: [None, possibly Eldridge.]
Description: The astonishment of the Travellers at the Black Lion, on the arrival of Sir Launcelot, with his half-drowned Squire. (ch.2)
Notes: An edition rather in the style of LG15 and LG16 above. The whole volume is dedicated to 'Princess Charlotte in commemoration of her Nuptials with his Serene Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg'. See Pl.144.
Y.

1816 The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ Two Volumes in One./ Volume I.['II.']/ [ornament]/ New-York:/ Published by David Huntington./ Clayton & Fanshaw, Printers, 56 Pine-st./ '/ 1816./
12o
Y.

1824 Halftitle: Les Aventures/ de Sir/ Launcelot Greaves./ Tome I.['III.']/
Verso: Paris. Imprimerie de Fain, Rue Racine, No.4,/ Place de l'Odeon./
Title: Les Aventures/ de Sir/ Launcelot Greaves,/ Traduites de l'Anglais/ De Tobias Smollet./ Par M.de

F*** ./ Tome Premier. ['Second.' 'Troisième.' and 'Quatrième.']/ Paris,/ Chez François Louis,/ Libraire, Rue Hautefeuille, No.10./ '/ 1824./
12o
Notes: There are no halftitles in volumes 2 and 4 in the British Museum copy. The first French edition of the novel.
BM.

18. 1832 General title: The/ Novelist's Library:/ Edited by/ Thomas Roscoe, Esq./ With Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ Vol.X./ Vicar of Wakefield./ Goldsmith./ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ Smollett./
Sectional title: The/ Adventures/ of/ Sir Launcelot Greaves./ By/ Tobias Smollett,M.D./ With/ Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ London:/ James Cochrane and Co.,/ 11, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall./ 1832./
12o
Illustration: 2 plates. Etching. Oblong, 8 by 9 cms.
(a) Position: [Facing page 9.]
Date: London, Printed for James Cochrane & Co. 1832. [In both plates.]
Signature: Geoe.Cruikshank
Description: The Alarm of Crowe & Fillet at the appearance of Sir Launcelot. (ch.2)
(b) Position: [Facing page 179.]
Signature: Geoe. Cruikshank fec.
Description: Dawdle's Victory over Captn.Crowe. (ch.19)
Notes: For corresponding novels in the series, see RR39, PP32 and HC20. See Pls.145 and 154.
H.NLS.NYPL.Pr.Y.

THE EXPEDITION OF HUMPHRY CLINKER

1771 Half-title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./
Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ | / In Three Volumes./
Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ | /[Motto]/ || / London,/
Printed for W.Johnston, in Ludgate-Street;/ and B. Collins, in Salisbury./ MDCLXXI./
12o
Notes: Volumes 2 and 3 are correctly dated 'MDCCLXXI.' There are 2 variant first editions, edition A as above and edition B which differs in the type used in the titlepage, in details such as having a stop in 'Vol.I.', in press numbers and printer's ornaments. See F.B. Newman, "A Consideration of the Bibliographical Problems connected with the First Edition of Humphry Clinker', PBSA, vol.44, 1950, pp.340-371. I do not distinguish between the two.
Bodl.BM.CUL.H.NYPL.PML.Pr.Y.

1771 Half-title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./
Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ | / The Second Edition./
Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ | / [Motto]/ || / London,/
Printed for W.Johnston, in Ludgate-Street;/ and B.Collins, in Salisbury./ MDCCLXXI./
12o
Notes: Called edition C in F.B.Newman's article.
Bodl.CUL.EUL.H.McM.NLS.Pr.Y.

1771 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ | / In Two Volumes./ | / Vol.I.
['II.']/ [Motto]/ || / Dublin:/ Printed for A.Leathley, J.Exshaw, H.Saunders,/ W.Sleater, D.Chamberlaine, J.Potts, J.Hoey,/ jun. J.Mitchell, J.Williams, W.Colles,/ T.Walker, J.A.Husband, R.Moncrieffe,/ W.Wilson, and D.Hay. M,DCC,LXXI./
12o
Notes: Volume 2 is set in different type, and has a differently spaced imprint, and there is no rule between ' ... Random./ In Two Volumes.' The BM has another copy with the same type variation between volumes 1 and 2, but differs from that described above in some details, e.g. ' ... Hoey,/ Jun./ and 'M.DCC.LXXI.' I do not distinguish between the two.
Bodl.BM.Pr.Y.

1772 Half-title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./
Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ | / The Second Edition./ Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ \ / [Motto]/ || / London:/ Printed for W.Johnston, in Ludgate-Street;/ and B. Collins, in Salisbury./ MDCCLXXII./
12o
Notes: Called edition D in F.B. Newman's article. Volume 2 has a stop in place of the colon after 'London'.
Bodl.BM.CUL.EUL.H.NYPL.Y.

1772 German edition.
Notes: Not seen, the Harvard copy is missing.
NCBEL.

1774 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ | / Vol.I.['II.']/|/ [Motto]/ || / Dublin:/ Printed for A.LeatHey, D.Chamberlaine,/ J.Exshaw, W.Sleater, J.Potts, J./ Hoey,jun.J. Williams, W.Colles,/ T.Walker, J.A.Husband, R./ Moncrieffe, W.Wilson, and/ M.Hay. MDCCLXXIV./
12o
Bodl.BM.Y.

1775 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ | / Vol.I.['Vol. II.']/ | / [Motto]/ || / Dublin:/ Printed by the United Company of/ Book-Sellers. 1775./
18o
Notes: Part of the Dublin 'Select Works', see note to Roderick Random checklist entry for 1775; and see also 1790 entry below. Catalogue of H.Saunders publications at the end of volume 1.
Bodl.H.

1. 1775 Humphry Klinkers/ Reisen./ Erster ['Zweyter' and 'Dritter'] Band./ '/ Aus dem Englischen./ '/ [Vignette]/ Neue Auflage./ | / Leipzig,/ ben Weidmanns Erben und Reich. 1775./
8o
Illustration: 3 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 5 by 10 cms.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 1.]
Date: [None in any of the plates, presumably 1775.]
Signature: M.inv. G.sc.
Description: [Lydia recognises her lover selling spectacles (pp.25-6, Apr.21).]
(b) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]

Signature: M inv. G.sc.
Description: [Humphry mistaken for the blacksmith, (p.186, July 10).]
(c) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 3.]
Signature: [None.]
Description: [Humphry recognised as Matt's natural son (p.318, circa Oct.6).]
Notes: The designer of the plates was presumably Mansfeld, see HC9 below. The titlepages are engraved and the vignettes are allegorical versions of parts of the text. That to volume 1 shows several cherubs dining with one kneeling for a blessing (cf. HC1a above); volume 2 has one cherub saving another from drowning; and volume 3 shows a duel between two cherubs naked except for hats and holsters. The general effect is Germanically baroque. See Pls. 171-3.
NLS, Pr.

1779 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ | / [Motto]/ | / Vol.I.['II.']/ London:/ Printed for W.Johnston, in Ludgate-Street;/ and B.Collins, in Salisbury./ MDCCLXXIX./
12o
Bodl.

2. 1779 Halftitle: Humphrij Klinker's/ Reizen./ | / Eerste ['Tweede' and 'Derde'] Deel./
Title: Humphrij Klinker's/ Reizen./ Uit het Engelsh/ Van den Heer Smollet./ | / Eerste ['Tweede' and 'Derde'] Deel./ | / Met Fraaije Kopere Plaaten./ In 'sGraavenhaage,/ Bij Johannes Mensert,/ Boekverkooper op de Groote Groenmarkt,/ MDCCLXXIX./
8o
Illustration: The 3 German plates, re-engraved. Oblong. 7 by 12 cms.
(a) Position: Iste:deel bladz:42.[Volume 1 facing page 42.]
Date: [None, presumably designed in 1775 and re-engraved in 1779. In all three plates.]
Signature: Van Megen sculp:
Description: [As HC1, in all three plates.]
(b) Position: Ilde:deel bladz:140[Volume 2 facing page 140.]
Signature: Van Megen sculp:
(c) Position: IIIde.Deel Bladz:175[Volume 3 facing page 175.]
Signature: B.de Bakker. fecit Amsterdam
Notes: Joliat, op.cit. p.263, notes a Dutch edition for 1780 not 1779. NCBEL notes both.
NLS.

1781 London edition, dated 1681.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1781 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ Vol. I.['II.']/ Dublin:/ Printed for J.Exshaw, M.Hay, W. Sleater,/ D.Chamberlain, J.Potts, J.Holy,/ and J.Williams./ M,DCC,LXXXI./
12o
Bodl.BM.Y.

1783 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ | / In Three Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.' and 'III.']/ | / [Motto]/ | / The Third Edition./ || / London:/ Printed for T.Longman, and G.Robinson./ MDCLXXXIII./ (sic)
12o
Bodl.BM.EUL.H.NLS.Y.

1784 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./| / In Two Volumes./| / [Motto]/ | / Volume First. ['Second.']/| / [Ornament]/ || / London:/ Printed for J.Wren, and W.Hodges./ '/ MDCCLXXXIV./
12o
Y.

1784 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ Vol.I.['Vol.II.']/ '/ [Motto]/ || / Dublin:/ Printed for W.Sleater, J.Potts, H.Chamberlaine,/ J.Williams, J.Hoey, W.Colles, W.Wilson,/ J.Exshaw, and R.Moncrieffe./ M DCC LXXXIV./ ['M DCC LXXXV.' in volume 2.]
12o
Bodl.BM.

3. 1785 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the/ Author/ of/ Roderick Random./ | / Vol.I.['II.']/ | / [Motto]/ || / London:/ Printed for J.Wenman, No.144, Fleet-Street./ MDCLXXXV./ (sic)
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces. Engraving. Oblong, 6 by 10 cms.
(a) Position: Humphry Clinker. Vol.I.[Frontispiece.]
Date: Publish'd 10th.Augst.1785.by I.Wenman No.144 Fleet Street.
Signature: [None, in either plate.]
Description: Humphry Clinker's examination before Matthew Bramble at Salt Hill. (p.81, May 24)
(b) Position: Humphry Clinker. Vol.II.[Frontispiece.]
Date: Publish'd by I.Wenman No.144 Fleet Street August 10th.1785.

Description: Matthew Bramble saved from drowning by Humphry Clinker. (p.313, circa Oct.6)
Notes: The volume 1 titlepage has the erroneous imprint ' ... No.44, Fleet-Street.' The plates may well be by Dodd, see PP9, FCF1 and LG4. At the end of one of the volumes is a list of Wenman's 'New,Cheap, and Elegant Editions of the most celebrated Works in the English Language ... at the following prices: 1. Peregrine Pickle (by Dr.Smollet) 3 vols. 6s.Od.' Also included are '6. The Adventures of Count Fathom(2:vols., 3s.Od.) ... 17. The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves, 1 vol., 2s.Od; 22. Roderick Random, 2 vols., 3s.Od.' See Pls. 181 and 186.
BI.

4. 1785 General title: The/ Novelist's Magazine./ Vol.XIX./ Containing/ Humphry Clinker,/ Pompey the Little,/ Ophelia and/ Tartarian Tales./ [Vignette]/ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co./ No.18, Paternoster Row./ 1785./
Sectional title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ [ornament]/ In Three Volumes./ London:/ Printed for Harrison and Co. No.18, Paternoster-Row,/ M DCC LXXXV./
8o
Illustration: 4 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 12 cms., with ornamental borders, entitled 'Humphry Clinker'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 16.]
Date: Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. July 16.1785.
Signature: E.F.Burney del. Heath sculp.
Description: Plate II.[Matt and the poor widow (p.22, Apr.20).]
(b) Position: [Facing page 48.]
Date: Published ... July 9.1785.
Signature: E.F.Burney del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate I. [Humphry hired as a servant by Matt (p.82, May 24).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 96.]
Date: Published ... July 23.1785.
Signature: E.F.Burney del. Walker sculp.
Description: Plate III. [The mutual recognition of the Melvilles and the Grieves (p.170, June 26).]
(d) Position: [Facing page 107.]
Date: Published ... July 30.1785.
Signature: E.F.Burney del. Angus sculp.
Description: Plate IV. [Arrival of Lismahago (P.188, July 10.)]
Notes: See corresponding checklists, RR18, PP6, FCF2 and LG5. See Pls. 177, 185, 194 and 197.
Bodl.BM.CUL.H.NYPL.Pr.Y.

1785 London edition.
Notes: Not seen, possibly a separately bound Novelist's Magazine edition.
NCBEL.

1785 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ | / [Motto]/ | / Vol. I. ['II.']/ || / Altenbourg:/ printed and sold by Richter,/ 1785./
8o
Notes: An English language edition.
Bodl.

1785 German edition.
Notes: Not seen. The NCBEL notes only one German edition for 1785, which may be the one immediately above this entry, but Joliat, op.cit. p.262, notes a German edition for 1785 identical to one printed in 1772.
NCBEL.

1788 London edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

1788 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ [Motto]/ |/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for W.Coke Bookseller, Leith./ '/ M,DCC,LXXXVIII./
12o
Notes: The NCBEL notes an Edinburgh edition and a separate edition published in Leith, see next entry.
BM.NLS.

1788 Leith edition.
Notes: Not seen, but see above entry.
NCBEL.

1789 Russian edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

5. 1790 General title: The/ Miscellaneous/ Works/ of/ Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Six Volumes./ Volume the Sixth,/ containing/ The Expedition of Humphry Clinker./ [ornament]

/ '/ Edinburgh:/ Printed by David Ramsay./ For Jo. and Ja. Fairbairn, No 9. Hunter's Square./ And/ A.Guthrie, No 25. South Bridge./ '/ 1790./
Volume title: / '/ The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ '/ [Motto]/ '/
8o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece. Engraving. Oblong, 10·5 by 16·5 cms.
(a) Position: Frontispiece to Vol VI
Date: [None, presumably 1790.]
Signature: [None, presumably Rowlandson and Kirkwood.]
Description: Humphry Clinker page 341. Engraved for Smollett's Miscellaneous Works. [Lismahago escapes the 'fire' at the inn (p.299, Oct.3).]
Notes: See corresponding volumes in RR22, PP13, FCF4 and LG7. See Pl.196.
Bodl.BM.EUL.NLS.Y.

1790 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ In Two Volumes./ '/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ [Motto]/ '/ Dublin:/ Printed by the United Company of/ Book-Sellers. 1790./
12o
Notes: See entry for 1775 above also.
Bodl.

1792 London 'Fourth Edition'.
Notes: Not seen.
London Library.

6. 1793 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ ‖ / By Tobias Smollet, M.D./ ‖ / With Ten Plates,/ By T.Rowlandson./ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ [Motto]/ ‖ / London:/ Printed for H.D.Symonds, Pater-Noster-Row;/ And T.Kay, Strand./ '/ 1793./
8o
Illustration: 10 plates. Engraving. Rectangle, 13·5 -14·5 by 9-9·5 cms.
(a) Position: Vol.1.p.21.
Date: [None, presumably 1793(see HC10), in all 10 plates.]
Signature: T.Rowlandson inv.
Description: [Mrs.TABITHA interrupts MATHEW BRAMBLE while engaged in rendering charitable services to the indigent young Widow (p.22, Apr.20).]
(b) Position: Vol.1.p.61.
Signature: T.Rowlandson delint. C.Grignion sculpt.
Description: [MATHEW BRAMBLE recognising Admiral BALDERIC, and other ancient Friends, who had been roughly treated by the Storms of Life (p.55, May 5).]

(c) Position: Vol.1st,p.94.
Signature: T.Rowlandson delint. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [HUMPHRY CLINKER'S Introduction to MATHEW BRAMBLE and Mrs.TABITHA (p.82, May 24).]
(d) Position: Vol.I.p.96.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [HUMPHRY CLINKER spills a Custard on the shoulder of Mrs.TABITHA, and treads upon CHOWDER (p.84, May 24).]
(e) Position: Vol.1st.p.129.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [The Duke of N---- receiving the Ambassador from ALGIERS at his Levee (p.112, June 5).]
(f) Position: Vol.II.p.2.[Incorrectly marked but bound correctly in volume 1 facing page 166. See HC10f.]
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [Altercation between Lady GRISKIN and Mrs.TABITHA (p.144, June 12).]
(g) Position: Vol.1st.p.175.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [HUMPHRY CLINKER preaching to the Felons in CLERKENWELL (p.151, June 11).]
(h) Position: Vol.2nd.p.11th.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [LISMAHAGO threatens to blow out the Brains of the Ostler (p.188, July 10).]
(i) Position: Vol.2.p.121.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [The Servants of Lord OXMINGTON preparing to duck LISMAHAGO in the Horse Pond (p.283, Sept.28).]
(j) Position: Vol.2.p.199.
Signature: T.Rowlandson del. C.Grignion sculp.
Description: [The Marriage of LISMAHAGO and Mrs.TABITHA (p.347,Nov.8).]

Notes: The titlepage to volume 2 omits 'In Two Volumes.' The plates themselves have no titles or dates, and the titles in the descriptions comes from 'Subjects of the Prints'. The same plates, with dates and titles, reappear in 1805 and 1809, see HC10 and HC12. The edition carries an advertisement, 'In the same Form is printed Tom Jones, 3 vols. with Twelve Prints. Price 12s in boards. And Joseph Andrews. 1. vol. with Eight Prints. Price 5s. in boards.' See Pls. 167, 180, 184, 192, 195, 198, 200, 205, 206 and 208.
Bodl.Dr.

6. Addendum 1793 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./‖/ By Tobias Smollet, M.D./‖/ With Plates/ By T.Rowlandson./'/ Vol.I. ['II.']/'/ [Motto] /‖/ London:/ Printed for J.Sibbald,/ And sold by T.Kay, Strand./'/ 1793./
8o
Notes: The 10 Rowlandson plates as in HC6 above, but with the position, date and title marks on all plates as in HC10 below. The title Lieut.Lismahago carries a Challenge to Lord Oxmington omitted from the plate in HC10i is, in this edition, engraved on the plate itself.
Private collection.

1793 Dublin edition published by Wogan.
Notes: Not seen, the Harvard copy is missing.
NCBEL.

7. 1794 Engraved title: Humphrey Clinker,/ Vol.I.[ꝶI.'] forming Vol.XXV.['XXVI.'] of/ Cooke's Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels,/ or Novelists Entertaining Library,/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Histories, Advcntures, Tales, &c. by the most/ Esteemed Authors./ [Vignette]/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the/ Author of Roderic Random./ In Two Volumes./ [Motto]/ Vol.I.['II.']/ "/ Cooke's Edition./ "/ [ornament]/ || / Embellished with Superb Engravings./ || / London:/ Printed for C.Cooke, No.17, Paternoster-Row;/ And sold by all the Booksellers in/ Great-Britain and/ Ireland./ [n.d.]/
12o
Illustration: 1 vignette, and 5 plates. Engraving. Square vignette, approximately 7 by 7 cms, and oval plates, 6 by 7·5 cms., in ornamental borders entitled 'Cooke's Pocket Edition of Select Novels.'

(a) Position: [Titlepage vignette in both volumes.]
Date: Embellished under the direction of C.Cooke. Mar.1.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould del. C.Warren sculp.
Description: Clinker & his Master, surprized by Robbers. Vide V.1.P.205.(p.158, June 23)

(b) Position: Humphrey Clinker. Vol.I.P.34.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. April 12.1794.
Signature: J.Allen delint. J.Saunders, sculp.
Description: Lydia Melford, Fainting at the sight of her Lover, disguised as a Jew (p.26, Apr.21)

(c) Position: Humphrey Clinker. Vol.I.P.39.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Mar.22.1794.
Signature: R.Corbould delint. J.Saunders sculpt.
Description: The Old Irishman and his Dancing Master, interrupted by Melford (p.29, Apr.24)

(d) Position: Humphrey Clinker. Vol.I.P.111.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Mar. 1794.
Signature: J.Allen, delint. J.Saunders, sc.
Description: Tabitha Bramble enraged at the awkwardness of Humphrey Clinker (p.84, May 24)

(e) Position: Humphrey Clinker, Vol.I.P.216.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Paternoster Row. Mar.29. 1794.
Signature: R.Corbould delint. C.Warren sculpt.
Description: Burdock resisting the Surgeon's attempt to trepan him (p.166, June 26)

(f) Position: Humphrey Clinker. Vol.II.P.204.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke, 17, Paternoster Row, Feby.28.1794.
Signature: J.Allen, delint. W.Hawkins, sculpt.
Description: Humphrey Clinker after his release from Prison paying his respects to his Master.

[mistitled for Humphry recognised as Matt's natural son (p.318, circa Oct.6).]
Notes: For re-engravings of these plates, see below HC8 and HC16. For corresponding novels in Cooke's series, see RR26, PP16, FCF7 and LG9. See Pls. 174, 176, 188 and 201.
Bodl.BM.H.

1795 The/Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderic Random./ || / In Two Volumes./ || / [Motto]/ '/ Vol. I.['II.']/ "/ [ornament]/ "/ London/ Printed for J.Wren, and W.Hodges./ M,DCC,XCV./
12o
Notes: The volume 2 titlepage has the mis-spelling 'Hodgs.'
Bodl.NLS.

1798 Danish edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

8. 1799 Title: As printed title for HC7.
Notes: An edition very like HC7 but obviously put together later as the dating on some of the plates shows. The only copy I have seen has no engraved titlepage, and the first illustration is identical with HC7b, the second with HC7c, the third has been re-engraved thus:

(a) Position: Vide Volume I.Page 111.
Date: C.Cooke. Feb.1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by J.Allen. Engrav'd by J.Saunders
Description: [As HC7d.]

The fourth is identical with HC7e, and the sixth with HC7f. The fifth appears to be a new design, and is as follows:

(b) Position: Vide Vol.page.20.
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke Feby.24.1799.
Signature: Corbould del. Warren sculp.
Description: Humphrey Clinker. Clinker surprisdd at the caresses of the Blacksmith's Wife (p.186, July 10)
This last plate has an allegorical border entitled 'Select Novels' where the others have nnnamental borders. See also notes to HC12 below. See Pl.175.
BM.

9. 1803 Humphry Klinkers/ Reizen./ '/ Aus/ Dem Engl. des D. Smollet/ neu ubersetzt/ Erster['Zweyter' and 'Dritter'] Band./ [ornament]/ Neue Auflage./ '/ Mannheim./ 1803./
12o

Notes: The titlepages are engraved and differ in detail, that to volume 2 having a stop after 'Smollet.', and to volumes 2 and 3 a stop after 'ubersetzt.' and 'Mannheim.', and a lowercase 'd' in 'dem'. Each volume has an engraved frontispiece, as in HC1a, b, and c, but all are signed simply 'J.Mansfeld.fe.'
EUL.

10. 1805 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By/ Tobias Smollet, M.D./ With/ Plates by Rowlandson./ ‖ / [Motto]/ ‖ / Volume I.['II.']/ "/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Bell & Bradfute, W.Creech,/ E.Balfour, W.Laing, A.Guthrie, P.Hill,/ C.Elliot, Manners & Miller,/ A.Constable & Co./ And/ Longman, Rees, Hurst, & Orme,/ London./ 1805./
8o
Notes: The only copy I have seen, in the Library at Princeton, has the same 10 plates as in the 1793 edition, see HC6. The plates are handcoloured and as far as the binding permits all seen to be dated 'London. Publish'd as the Act directs, by J.Sibbald[February and March] 1793.' In addition there are titles on the plates themselves as follows:
(a) Mrs.Tabitha suspects her Brother of incontinency
This plate is marked as in HC6a but used as frontispiece to volume 1.
(b) Mathew Bramble recognises some ancient Friends.
(c) Humphry Clinker introduced to the Bramble family.
(d) Direful conseugences of Clinker's aukwardness.
(e) Turkish Ambassador introduced to the Duke of N----.
(f) Altercation between Mrs.Tabitha and Lady Griskin
This plate has the corrected position 'Vol.I.p.166.' marked on it, cf. HC6f.
(g) Humphry Clinker in prison preaching to the Felons.
(h) First appearance of the gallant Lismahago.
(i) [Lieut.Lismahago carries a Challenge to Lord Oxnington.] There is no title on this plate; it comes from the 'Subjects of the Prints'.
(j) The Marriage of Lieut:Lismahago and Mrs.Tabitha:&c.
See HC6 and HC12 for versions of these plates, and RR28 and PP19 for corresponding novels in this series.
Pr.

11. 1808 Engraved title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphrey Clinker./ By/ T.Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London,/ Published by J. Walker, Paternoster Row, and J.Harris,/ St.Pauls Church Yard./ "/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By T. Smollett, M.D./ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for J. Walker;/ J.Johnson; J. & J.Richardson; R.Faulder & Son;/ F.C. & J.Rivington; Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe;/ R.Lea; J.Nunn; Cuthell & Martin; E. Jeffery;/ Lane, Newman, & Co.; Lackington, Allen, & Co.;/ Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme; Cadell & Davies;/ Wilkie & Robinson; J.Booker; Black, Parry, &/ Kingsbury; Sherwood, Neely, & Jones;

J.Asperne;/ R.Scholey; and J.Harris./ 1808./
12o
Illustration: Frontispiece and titlepage vignette. Engraving. Frontispiece, oblong, 5·5 by 8 cms.; vignette, 5 cms. square.]
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None in either plate.]
Signature: Drawn by T.Uwins Engrav'd by Stowe
Description: Tabitha Bramble introducing Mr.Barton to her brother as her husband elect
-------pa.169.(p.142,June 12)
(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette.]
Signature: T.Uwins del. Stowe sculp.
Description: Lieutenant Lismahago tete a tete with his amiable Squaw Squinkinacoosta.--pa.233. (p.193, July 13)
Notes: A 1 volume edition, see also HC15 below. For other Smollett novels published by Walker see RR29 and PP25. See Pl.183.
BM.

12. 1809 General title: See LG11.
Volume title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker,/ By Tobias Smollett, M.D./ In Two Volumes./ "/ With Ten Plates/ Grignion after Rowlandson./ "/ Volume I.['II.']/ [Motto]/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for C.Elliot,/ By J.Orphoot, Blackfriars Wynd./ 1809./
8o
Notes: As with the other novels this edition occurs in several forms. The copy in the library at Princeton omits the general title and is therefore simply an edition of Humphry Clinker. The National Library of Scotland copy substitutes engraved titlepages from Cooke's Select Novels edition of the novel for the two volume titlepages. The vignettes, as may be seen, resemble HC7a and HC16h in many respects:
(a) Position: [Volume 1 titlepage vignette.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Octr.1.1799.
Signature: R.Corbould del. C.Warren sculp.
Description: Clinker & his Master surprized by Robbers. Vide Vol.I.Page 205. (p.158, June 23.)
(b) Position: [Volume 2 titlepage vignette.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke.Augt.1.1799.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Winifred Jenkins rewarding the old Witch for telling her fortune Vide Vol. II.Page 115. (p.261, Sept.7)
The rest of the titlepage is as in HC7.
All copies have the ten plates by Rowlandson as in HC10, with the position marks, signatures and titles, including HC10i title which was omitted in the 1805 plate. However all dating references appear to have been erased from the plates. The plates in the Princeton Library copy are coloured, and HC10b and h are used as frontispieces to each volume. See also RR30, PP23, FCF9 and LG10.
See Pl.169.
EUL.NLS.Pr.

1810 General title:The/ British Novelists;/ With/ An Essay;/ And/ Prefaces,/ Biographical and Critical,/ By/ Mrs. Barbauld./ "/ Vol.XXX.['XXXI.']/ || / London:/ Printed for F.C. and J.Rivington; W.Otridge and Son;/ A.Strahan; T.Payne; G.Robinson; W.Lowndes; Wilkie and/ Robinson; Scatcherd and Letterman; J.Walker; Vernor,/ Hood,and Sharpe; R.Lea; J.Nunn; Lackington and Co.;/ Clarke and Son; C.Law; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme;/ Cadell and Davies; E.Jeffery; J.K.Newman; Crosby and/ Co.; J.Carpenter; S.Bagster; T.Booth; J.Murray; J. and/ J.Richardson; Black, Parry, and Kingsbury; J.Harding;/ R.Phillips; J.Mawman; J.Booker; J.Asperne; R.Baldwin;/ Mathews and Leigh; J.Faulder; Johnson and Co.; W.Creech/ Edinburgh; and Wilson and Son, York./ '/ 1810./
Volume title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/
12o
Notes: This edition re-appeared in the same year with a different titlepage, see next entry. See also entry for 1820. Humphry Clinker was the only Smollett novel considered suitable by Mrs.Barbauld for the series, see her Preface to volume3o.
CM.Y.

1810 Halftitle: Humphry Clinker./ "/ Volume the First.['Second.'] / "/
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ London:/ Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme;/ And Edward Jeffery./ '/ 1810./
12o
Notes: The text to this edition is bibliographically the same as the British Novelist's series above.
CM.EUL.

13. 1810 General title: As PP22.
Sectional title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ In Three Volumes./ By Dr.Smollett./ [Motto]/ | / Forming Part of a Series of the most esteemed Novels, and embellished/ with elegant Engravings./ '/ "/ London: / Published for the Proprietors,/ By W.Clarke, New Bond Street; Goddard, Pall Mall; Taylor and/ Hessey, Fleet Street; J.M.Richardson, Cornhill; and/ Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row./ 1810./
8o
Illustration: 5 plates. Engraving. Oblong, 7 by 10 cms., entitled 'Humphrey Clinker'.
(a) Position: [Facing page 22.]
Date: Publish'd for the Proprietors Apl.28. 1810 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. Burnett sc.
Description: Pl.2.[Matt chases away the black trumpeters (p.31-2, Apr.24).]

(b) Position: [Facing page 54.]
Date: Publish'd ... May 12.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. J.G.Walker, sc.
Description: Pl.4.[Humphry's awkwardness in serving at table (p.84, May 24).]
(c) Position: [Facing page 117.]
Date: Published ... Apr.21 1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell delt. Davenport,sc.
Description: Pl.1. [The arrival of Lismahago at the inn (p.188, July 10).]
(d) Position: [Facing page 163.]
Date: Published ... May 26.1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. A.Warren, sc.
Description: Pl.5. [Win Jenkins pays a visit to the witch (p.261, Sept.7).]
(e) Position: [Facing page 205.]
Date: Published ... May 5, 1810 ... Row.
Signature: Clennell, delt. A.Warren,sc.
Description: Pl.3. [The reconciliation of Lydia and Dennison (p.330, Oct.11).]

Notes: For corresponding volumes in this series, see RR32, PP22, FCF10, and LG14. See Pls. 170, 191, 202 and 207.
E4.NYPL.

1811 Edinburgh edition.
Notes: Not seen.
Knapp collection.

1813 The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ "/ By T.Smollett, M.D./ Author of Roderick Random, &c. &c./ "/ [Motto]/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ First American Edition./ "/ Boston:/ Published by Watson & Bangs,/ No. 7, State-Street./ 1813./
12o
Notes: The volume 2 titlepage differs in its imprint, lacking the double rule after 'First American Edition', and continuing 'Boston:/ Printed by Watson & Bangs./ 1813.'
H.NYPL.

14. 1814 Twelfth Night/ Characters,/ Taken from the most celebrated/ Novels/ of/ Smollett, Sterne & Fielding./ Presented by Swift & Co./ contractors for the State Lottery./ To be drawn/ 18th January, 1814./
Notes: See PP24.
H.

15. 1815 Halftitle: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./
Engraved title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphrey Clinker/ By/ T.Smollett, MD./ [Vignette]/ London/ Published by J.Walker & Co. Paternoster Row./ "/ 1814./
Printed title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By T.Smollett, M.D./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for J.Walker and Co.;/ J.Richardson; F.C. and J.Rivington; R.Lea;/ J.Nunn; Newman and Co.; Lackington, Allen,/ and Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown;/ Cadell and Davies; Black and Parry; Sherwood,/ Neely, and Jones; Cradock and Joy; J.Asperne;/ Gale, Curtis, and Fenner; and J.Robinson./ By S.Hamilton, Weybridge, Surrey./ '/ 1815./
12o
Notes: Illustrations as in HC11, but re-engraved so that the signatures in both designs are now 'T.Uwins delt. Ambe.Wm.Warren sculp.' In addition the frontispiece is dated 'Published by J.Walker & Co.Paternoster Row. Octr. 1814.' See also RR34 and PP25. A 1 volume edition. H.NYPL.

16. 1819 Engraved title: Humphrey Clinker,/ Vol.I.['II.'] forming part of/ Cooke's Pocket Edition of/ Select Novels,/ or Novelist's Entertaining Library,/ containing a Complete Collection of/ Universally Approved/ Adventures, Tales, &c. by the most Esteem'd Authors./ Superbly Embellished./ [Vignette]/ London,/ Printed for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street,/ and all other Booksellers./
Printed title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By Dr.Smollett./ In Two Volumes./ [Motto]/ Vol.I.['II.']/ A New and Correct Edition./ London:/ Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday,/ Threadneedle-Street./ 1819./
12o
Illustration: 2 frontispieces, 2 vignettes, and 4 plates. Engraving. Oval, 6·5 by 7·5 cms., frontispieces and plates in allegorical borders.

(a) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 1.]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke, Sepr.1.1815. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, June 1.1819.
Signature: [None, but see HC7b.]
Description: Vide Vol.I.Page 26. Humphry Clinker. Lydia Melford fainting at the sight of her Lover disguised as a Jew Pedlar (p.26,Apr.21.)

(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette to volume 1.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Octr.1.1816.
Signature: R.Corbould del. C.Warren sculp.
Description: Clinker & his Master surprized by Robbers. Vide Vol.I.Page 188. (p.158, June 23)

(c) Position: Vide Volume I. Page 31.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke.Mar.1.1809. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, Novr.1. 1819.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Ornamented by R.W.Satchwell. Engraved by J.Saunders.

Description: Humphrey Clinker. The intrusion of Melford, while the old Hibernian is under the tuition of his dancing master (p.29, Apr.24)

(d) Position: Vide Volume I.Page 98
Date: C.Cooke.Feb.1.1815. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, June 1.1819.
Signature: Drawn by J.Allen. Engrav'd by J.Saunders
Description: Humphrey Clinker. Tabitha Bramble enraged at the awkwardness of Humphrey Clinker. (p.84, May 24)

(c) Position: Vide Volume I.Page 187
Date: C.Cooke Jan.1.1809. Reprinted Octr.1. 1819. by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street.
Signature: Drawn by J.Allen. Ornanented by R.W. Satchwell. Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Humphrey Clinker. Clinker expressing his gratitude to hâs Master for procuring his release from the prison of clerkenwell. (See HC7f)

(f) Position: Vide Volume I. Page 198.
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Mar.1.1809. Reprinted Octr.1.1819. for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould. Engraved by C.Warren.
Description: Humphrey Clinker. Burdock resisting the efforts of the surgeon's assistants to force him to be trepanned. (p.166, June 26)

(g) Position: [Frontispiece to volume 2.]
Date: Engraved for C.Cooke. Feby.24.1809. Reprinted for Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street Novr.1.1819.
Signature: Corbould del. Warren sculp.
Description: Select Novels. Humphrey Clinker. Clinker surprised at the caresses of the Black-smith's Wife. Vide Vol.II.page 9.(p.186, July 10)

(h) Position: [Titlepage vignette to volume 2.]
Date: Printed for C.Cooke Augt.1.1816.
Signature: Drawn by R.Corbould Engraved by W.Hawkins.
Description: Winifred Jenkins rewarding the old Witch for telling her fortune. Vide Vol. II.Page 101. (p.261, Sept.7)

Notes: In the only copy of this edition I have examined there are no more plates to volume 2, and the text for volume 2 has been bound with the titlepages and plates to volume 1 and vice versa. None of the plates are new to this edition but a combination of those to several previous ones, see HC7, HC8 and HC12. See also corresponding volumes in RR35, and PP27.
M.Y.

1820 General title: The/ British Novelists;/ With an/ Essay, and Prefaces/ Biographical and Critical,/ By/ Mrs Barbauld./ '/ A New Edition./ '/ Vol.XXX.['XXXI.']/ "/ London:/ Printed for F.C. and J.Rivington; W.Lowndes;

Scatcherd/ and Letterman; J.Nunn; J.Cuthell; Jeffery and Son;/ Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Co.; T.Wilkie; Cadell/ and Davies; J. and W.T. Clarke; J.Otridge; Lackington/ and Co.; S.Bagster; J.Murray; J.Booker; J.Black;/ Black and Co.; J.Richardson; J.M.Richardson; R.Scho-/ ley; J.Mawman; R.H.Evans; A.K. Newman and Co.;/ J.Asperne; J.Carpenter; J.Booth; W.Ginger; Baldwin,/ Cradock and Joy; T.Hodgson; J.Bohn; J.Ebers; Sher-/ wood, Neely and Jones; G. and W.B.Whittaker; Setch-/ ell and Son; Whitmore and Fenn; R.Hunter; G.Cowie/ and Co.; R.Saunders; T. and J.Allman; T.Boone; C./ Brown; J.Brumby; Edwards and Co.; T.Hamilton; J./Lepard; G.Mackie; W.Mason; J.Miller; Ogle, Duncan/ and Co.; Rodwell and Martin; Hurst, Robinson and Co.;/ Wilson and Sons, York; Sterling and Slade; and Mair-/ bairn and Anderson, Edinburgh./ '/ 1820./
Volume title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By the Author of/ Roderick Random./ '/ In Two Volumes./ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/
12o
Notes: See entry above for 1810.
Bodl.NYPL.Pr.

1823 London edition published by Rivington.
Notes: Not seen, but see RR37.
Reading University Library.

[1825] London edition
Notes: Not seen.
CUL.

17. 1825 Engraved title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphrey Clinker/ by/ T.Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ London:/ For the Proprietors of the English Classics./
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ '/ By T.Smollett, M.D./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for the Proprietors,/ By J.F.Dove./ 1825./
24o
Illustration: 1 frontispiece, and 1 titlepage vignette. Engraving. Frontispiece oblong, 5·5 by 7·5 cms.; vignette 5·5 cms. square.
(a) Position: [Frontispiece.]
Date: [None in either plate.]
Signature: H.Corbould. C.Heath [In both plates.]
Description: He fell down on his knees, and kissing my hand which he bathed with his tears. [Humphry released from gaol (p.150, June 11).]
(b) Position: [Titlepage vignette.]
Description: He took his leave of us -- and pranced away in great state. [Lismahago's departure (p.207, July 15).]
Notes: A 1 volume edition. See also HC19 below, and PP31. See Pls. 178 and 179.
H.

1826 French edition.
Notes: Not seen.
NCBEL.

18. 1827 General title: The/ British Novelists/ Forming/ A Collection/ of/ The Best Novels,/ in the/ English Language;/ With/ Biographical Memoirs and Critical Dissertations./ I / Embellished with numerous superior/ Engravings on Wood./ II / London:/ Printed and Published by J.Limbird, 143, Strand,/(Near Somerset House.)/ 1824./
Part title: Limbird's/ Novelist./ Part 32.['33.' and '34.'] Price 6d['6d' and '8d']/ The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ '/ By/ The Author of Roderick Random./ '/ Embellished with Engravings./ London./ Printed & Published by J.Limbird. 143, Strand./
Printed title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ '/ By the Author of Roderick Random./ "/ Embellished/ With Engravings on Wood./ "/ London:/ Printed and Published by J.Limbird, 143, Strand,/ (Near Somerset-House.)/ 1827./
8o
Illustration: 2 plates. Wood engraving. Rectangle, 10 by 7 cms.
(a) Position: page 43.
Date: [None in either plate, presumably 1827.]
Signature: [None in either plate.]
Description: [Humphry preaching to the footmen (p.99, June 2).]
(b) Position: page 87.
Description: [Lismahago as sachem (p.194, July 13).]
Notes: In the only copy of this edition which I have located both plates are misbound. They are possibly the work of 'Scars of Islington' who designed the ornamental frame for the part title, and also signed one of the plates for The Vicar of Wakefield(1824) in the same series. Limbird's prices were amazingly low, Humphry Clinker 1s.8d., Roderick Random, 2s.6d., and Peregrine Pickle, 4s.6d., as a prospectus bound in with Humphry Clinker proclaims, However they were also ephemeral, as this is the only novel of Smollett's printed by Limbird which I have seen. See Pls. 151 and 152.
DM.

19. 1829 Engraved title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphrey Clinker/ by/ T,Smollett, M.D./ [Vignette]/ Philadâ./ Engraved for J.J. Woodward./
Title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ '/ By T.Smollett, M.D./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ In Two Volumes./ '/ Vol.I.['II.']/ '/ Philadelphia:/ Published by J.J. Woodward,/ N.E.Corner of Market and Seventh Streets./ '/ 1829./
240

Notes: A 2 volume edition with plates from the 2 volume 1825 edition, HC17 above. Volume 1 only has the engraved titlepage, see HC17b, and volume 2 the frontispiece, see HC17a. Both designs have been re-engraved and signed with the new engraver's name only 'P.E.Hamm sc.' H.Y.

20. 1831 General title: The/ Novelist's Library:/ Edited by/ Thomas Roscoe, Esq./ With Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ Vol.I./ Humphry Clinker./ Smollett./
Volume title: The/ Expedition/ of/ Humphry Clinker./ By T.Smollett, M.D./ With/ A Memoir of the Author/ By Thomas Roscoe, Esq./ And/ Illustrations by George Cruikshank./ '/ [Motto]/ '/ London:/ Printed for/ Cochrane and Pickersgill,/ 11, Waterloo Place;/ And J.Andrews, 167, New Bond Street./ 1831./
12o
Illustration: 4 plates. Etching. Oblong, 7·5 by 9 cms.
(a) Position: [Facing page 91.]
Date: London, Printed for Cochrane & Pickersgill, 1831. [In all 4 plates.]
Signature: Designed & Etched by G.Cruikshank
Description: Humphrey's Introduction to the Bramble Family. (p.81, May 24.)
(b) Position: [Facing page 95.]
Signature: Designed & Etched by Geo.Cruikshank.
Description: Humphrey's Disaster. (p.84, May 24.)
(c) Position: [Facing page 208.]
Signature: Designed & Etched by Geo.Cruikshank
Description: Humphrey's zeal for his master. (p.184, July 4.)
(d) Position: [Facing page 348.]
Signature: Designed & Etched by G.Cruikshank.
Description: Lismahago's Retaliation. (p.304, Oct.3)
Notes: A popular set of plates used throughout the 19th and early 20th century, for example in the 1836 New York edition published by Harper. The National Library of Scotland copy has the original spine title with its suggestive word order: 'Roscoe's Novelist's Library. Vol.I. Illustrated by Geo. Cruikshank. Smollett. Humphrey Clinker. Complete.' Princeton Library has the preparatory pencil sketch for (d). See also RR39, PP32, and LG18. See Pls. 182, 187, 190 and 203.
EM.H.NLS.NYPL.Pr.Y.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Addison, J. The Spectator (No.86, 8 June 1711), ed. D.Bond. Vol. I, pp.365–369 Oxford: 1965.

Adhémar, J. Graphic Art of the 18th Century. London: 1964.

Aikin, J. and A.L. Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose. London: 1773.

Akenside, M. Odes on Several Subjects. London: 1745.

Allentuck, M. 'Fuseli and Lavater: physiognomical theory and the Enlightenment.' Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, ed.T.Besterman, vol.55, pp.89–112. Transactions of the Second International Congress on the Enlightenment I. Geneva: 1967.

Almirall. C.L. 'Smollett's Gothic: An Illustration.' MLN, vol.68 (1953), pp.408–410.

Altick, R.D. The English Common Reader, A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900. Phoenix edition. Chicago and London: 1963.

Anderson, R. Life of Tobias Smollett, M.D., with Critical Observations on his Works. London and Edinburgh: 1796.

Andrews, C. The Spectre. 2 vols. Stockdale: 1789.

Anon. 'The Pioneer of Cheap Literature.' The Bookseller, 30 November 1859, pp.1326–1327.

Anon. A Marvellous Pleasant Love Story. 3 vols. London: 1801.

Antal, F. Fuseli Studies. London: 1956.

Antal, F. Hogarth and his Place in European Art. London: 1962.

Armstrong, J. Sketches: or, Essays on Various Subjects by Launcelot Temple, Esq. London: 1758.

Ashton, J. Humour, Wit, & Satire of the Seventeenth Century. Collected and Illustrated by John Ashton. London: 1883.

Barthes, R. 'L'effet du réel.' Communications, vol.11 (1968), pp. 84-89.

Beattie, J. Dissertations Moral and Critical. London: 1783.

Bentley, G.E. and Nurmi, M.K. A Blake Bibliography. Annotated Lists of Works, Studies, and Blakeana. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1964.

Birrell, A. Essays about Men, Women, and Books. London: 1894.

Birrell, A. Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books. London: 1899.

Boege, F.W. Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist. Princeton Studies in English, no.27. Princeton: 1947.

Bosse, A. Traicté des manières de grauer en taille douce sur l'airin par le moyen des eaux fortes & des vernix durs & mols. Paris: 1645.

Boucé, P.-G. 'Les Procédés du Comique dans Humphry Clinker.' Actes du Congrès de Lille. Paris: 1966.

Boucé, P.-G. Les Romans de Smollett, Étude Critique. Publications de la Sorbonne. Littératures, 1. Paris: 1971.

Brack, O.M. 'The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of Tobias Smollett.' Books at Iowa, no.7 (1967), pp.41-42.

Brack, O.M. and Davies, J.B. 'Smollett's Revisions to Roderick Random.' PBSA, vol.64 (1970), pp.295-311.

Bray, A.E. Life of Thomas Stothard, R.A. With Personal Reminiscences. London: 1851.

Brougham, H. Practical Observations Upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers. London: 1825.

Buck, H.S. 'Smollett and Dr.Akenside.' JEGP, vol.31 (1932), pp.10-26.

Buck, H.S. A Study in Smollett, Chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle'. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Burney, F. Evelina. Or, A Young Lady's Entrance into the World, ed. E.A.Bloom. Oxford English Novels edition. London: 1967.

Clayborough, A. The Grotesque in English Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Clubbe, J. Physiognomy; being a Sketch only of a Larger Work upon the Same Plan: wherein the Different Tempers, Passions, and Manners of Men, will be Particularly Considered. London: 1763.

Coleridge, S.T. The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, collected and edited by Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. M.A. Vol. 1. London: 1836.

Collins, A.S. 'Some Aspects of Copyright from 1700 to 1800.' The Library, A Quarterly Review of Bibliography, 4th series, vol. 7 (1927), pp.67-81.

Congreve, W. The Complete Plays of William Congreve, ed. H.Davis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Conway, M.D. Thomas Carlyle. London: 1881.

Cowper, W. The Diverting History of John Gilpin: Showing how he went farther than he intended, and came safe home again. With Six Illustrations by George Cruikshank. London: 1828.

Craig, W.M. A Course of Lectures on Drawing, Painting, and Engraving, considered as Branches of Elegant Education. London: 1821.

Cruikshank, G. The Artist and the Author. A Statement of Facts. London: [1872.]

Cruikshank, G. Catalogue to the Cruikshank Exhibition, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 28 February-28 April 1974. Introd. W.Feaver. Arts Council of Great Britain. London: 1974.

Dibdin, T.F. Reminiscences of a Literary Life. London: 1836.

Dickens, C. The Letters of Charles Dickens, 1833 to 1870, ed. M. Dickens and G.Hogarth. London: 1909.

Dobson, A. Eighteenth Century Vignettes. Second Series, new collected edition. London: 1907.

Dorat, C.J. Les Baisers, Précédés du Moi de Mai, Poëme. The Hague: 1770.

Drake, N. Literary Hours or Sketches Critical and Narrative. Sudbury: 1798.

Eaves, T.C.D. Graphic Illustrations of the Principal English Novels of the Eighteenth Century. Diss.Harvard, 1944.

Egan, P. Life in London; or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq. and his elegant friend Corinthian Tom, accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis. Embellished with Thirty-Six Scenes from Real Life, Designed and Etched by I.R. & G.Cruikshank. London: 1821.

Eliot, G. Adam Bede. Signet edition. New York and Toronto: 1961.

Engelmann, W. Daniel Chodowiecki's Sämmtliche Kupferstiche. Beschreiben, mit historischen, literarischen und bibliographischen nachweisungen, des Lebensbeschreibung des Kunstlers und Registern versehen von Wilhelm Engelmann. Leipzig: 1857.

English, R. 'The Price of the Novel. - 1750-1894.' The Author, The Organ of the Society of Authors (Incorporated). Conducted by Walter Besant. Vol.5 (1895), pp.94-99.

Evans, C. American Bibliography. A Chronological Dictionary of all Books Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820. Vol.12, 1798-1799. Chicago: 1934.

Federmann, A. Johann Heinrich Füssli, Dichter und Maler, 1741-1825. Zurich: [1927.]

Fielding, H. The Champion: containing a series of papers, humorous, moral, political, and critical. To each of which is added, a proper index to the times. London: 1741.

Fielding, H. The History of Tom Jones, ed. R.P.C.Mutter. Penguin English Library edition. London: 1966.

Fielding, H. Joseph Andrews, ed. M.C.Battestin. Wesleyan edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Fuseli, H. Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J.J.Rousseau. London: 1767.

Ged, W. Biographical Memoirs of William Ged; Including a Particular Account of his Progress in the Art of Block Printing. Newcastle: 1819.

George, M.D. Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire. London: 1967.

Gilpin, W. An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty; the Different Kinds of Prints; and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters: Illustrated by Criticisms upon Particular Pieces: To which are added, Some Cautions that may be Useful in Collecting Prints. 2nd edition. London: 1768.

Giovannini, G. 'Method in the Study of Literature in its relation to the other Fine Arts.' Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, vol.8, no.3 (March 1950), pp.185-195.

Gombrich, E.H. Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation. 3rd edition. London: 1968.

Gombrich, E.H. Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art. 2nd edition. London: 1971.

Green, J.H. A Catalogue and Description of the Whole of the Works of the celebrated Jacques Callot; consisting of 1450 Pieces, Including those attributed to him, and after him. To which is added, A List of the Best Pieces of this Master, For the Use of Those who would make a Select Collection of his Works. With a brief sketch of his Life. Translated from the Manuscript of a French Amateur. London: 1804.

Guy, J.C. 'Edinburgh Engravers.' The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. 9 (1916), pp. 79-113.

Hackwood, F.M. William Hone. His Life and Times. London: 1912.

Hagstrum, J. The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray. Chicago: 1958.

Hamilton, S. Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670-1870. A Catalogue of a Collection of American Books in the Princeton University Library, with an Introductory Sketch. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Hammelmann, H.A. 'Eighteenth Century English Illustrators. Henry Fuseli R.A.' The Book Collector, vol.6 (1957), pp.350-360.

Hammelmann, H.A. 'Eighteenth Century English Illustrators. Francis Hayman, R.A.' The Book Collector, vol.2.(1953), pp.116-132.

Hammelmann, H.A. 'Eighteenth Century English Illustrators. Anthony Walker.' The Book Collector, vol.3 (1954), pp.87-102.

Harvey, J.R. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators. London: 1970.

Hazlitt, W. The Complete Works of William Hazlitt. Ed. P.P.Howe, after the edition of A.R.Waller and A.Glover. 21 vols. London: 1931.

Hogarth, W. The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste. London: 1753.

Hogarth, W. The Analysis of Beauty, With the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes. Ed. J.Burke. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Hollingshead, J. Miscellanies. Stories and Essays. 3 vols. London: 1874.

Holtz, W.V. Image and Immortality: A Study of Tristram Shandy. Providence: Brown University Press, 1970.

Howe, E. The London Compositor. Documents relating to Wages, Working Conditions and Customs of the London Printing Trade 1785-1900. London: 1947.

Hunt, L. The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt. A New Edition revised by the Author, with further revision, and an introduction, by his eldest son. London: 1860.

Ireland, J. Hogarth Illustrated. 3rd edition. 2 vols. London: 1806.

Ireland, S. Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth, from Pictures, Drawings, and Scarce Prints in the possession of Samuel Ireland, Author of this Work. London: 1794.

Ivins, W.M. Prints and Visual Communication. M.I.T. paperback edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: M.I.T.Press, 1969.

Jackson M. The Pictorial Press. Its Origin and Progress. London: 1885.

James, H. Picture and Text. New York: 1893.

Joliat, E. Smollett et la France. Bibliothèque de la littérature Comparée. Vol.105. Paris: 1935.

Ker, A. Adeline St, Julian; or, The Midnight Hour. 2 vols. London: 1800.

Knapp, L.M. 'Dr.John Armstrong, Littérateur and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes and other celebrities.' PMLA, vol.59 (1944), pp.1019-1058.

Knapp, L.M. Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners. Princeton: 1949.

Knapp, L.M. The Works of Tobias Smollett and Related Material. Colorado Springs: 1963.

Knight, C. The Old Printer and the Modern Press. London: 1854.

Knight, C. Shadows of the Old Booksellers. New Universal Library edition. London: 1908.

Knowles, J. The Life and Writings of H.Fuseli. The former written, and the latter edited by J.Knowles. 3 vols. London: 1831.

Kubler, G.A. Historical Treatises Abstracts & Papers on Stereotyping. New York: 1936.

Lackington, J. Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington ... Written by Himself, In a Series of Letters to a Friend. London: 1791.

Lamb, C. The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb. Ed. E.V.Lucas. 7 vols. London: 1903-5.

Lavater, J.C. Essays on Physiognomy. Designed to promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind. Translated from the French by Henry Hunter, D.D. 5 vols. London: 1789.

Lichtenberg, G.C. Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings. Trans. and ed. I. and G.Herdan. London: 1966.

Lockhart, J.G. 'Lectures on the Fine Arts. No.1 on George Cruikshank.' Blackwood's Magazine, vol.14 (July 1823), pp.18-26.

McKillop, A.D. The Early Masters of English Fiction. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956.

MacLean, R. George Cruikshank. His Life and Work as a Book Illustrator. London: 1948.

Mayo, R.D. The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815. With a Catalogue of 1375 Magazine Novels and Novelettes. Evanston and London: Northwestern University Press and Oxford University Press, 1962.

Moore, J. Zeluco, Various Views of Human Nature, Taken from Life and Manners, Foreign and Domestic. 2 vols. London: 1789.

Moore, R.E. Hogarth's Literary Relationships. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948.

Moritz, C.P. Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782. A reprint of the English translation of 1795. With an introduction by P.E.Matheson. London: 1924.

Morris, C. An Essay towards Fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humour, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule. London: 1744.

Mumby, F.A. Publishing and Bookselling. A History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. 4th edition. London: 1956.

Nichols, J. Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; With a Catalogue of his Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks. The Third Edition, Enlarged and Corrected. London: 1785.

Novelist's Magazine. Prospectus. London: 1780.

Orowitz, M. 'Smollett and the Art of Caricature.' Spectrum, vol.2 (1958), pp.155-167.

Page, T. The Art of Painting In Its Rudiments, Progress, and Perfection. Norwich: 1720.

Panovsky, E. Meaning in the Visual Arts. Peregrine Books edition. London: 1970.

Parsons, J. 'Human Physiognomy Explain'd: In the Crounian Lectures on Muscular Motion. For the Year MDCCXLVI. Read before the Royal Society.' Supplement to Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. 44, part 1 (1746).

Paulson, R. Hogarth, His Life, Art, and Times. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

Paulson, R. Hogarth's Graphic Works. Revised edition, compiled and with a commentary by Ronald Paulson. 2 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970.

Paulson, R. Satire and the Novel in XVIIIth Century England. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Paulson, R. 'The Identity of Pallet.' Studies in English Literature, vol.4 (1964), pp.351-359.

Pindar, Peter. [ie. John Wolcot] Subjects for Painters. London: 1789.

Plant, M. The English Book Trade. An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books. London: 1939.

Pointon, M. Milton and English Art. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970.

Powell, N. Fuseli: The Nightmare. Art in Context series. London: 1973.

Praz, M. Mnemosyne, The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Putney, R. 'The Plan of Peregrine Pickle.' PMLA, vol.60 (1945), pp.1051-65.

Raimbach, A. Memoirs and Recollections of the late Abraham Raimbach, Esq, Engraver. Edited by M.T.S.Raimbach, M.A. London: 1843.

Rees, T. and Britton, J. Reminiscences of Literary London from 1779 to 1853, With Interesting Anecdotes of Publishers, Authors and Book Auctioneers of that Period, &c, &c. London: 1896.

Reeve, C. The Progress of Romance. 2 vols. Colchester: 1785.

Reynolds, J. Discourses on Art. Introd. R.R.Wark. Collier Books paperback edition. New York and London: 1966.

Richardson, S. Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded. In a Series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel, to her Parents. 2nd edition. 2 vols. London: 1741.

Roper, D. 'Smollett's "Four Gentlemen": The first contributors to the Critical Review.' RES, new series vol.10, no.37 (1959), pp.38-44.

Ross, A. 'The "Show of Violence" in Smollett's Novels.' The Yearbook of English Studies, ed.T.J.B.Spencer and R.L.Smallwood. Modern Humanities Research Association, vol.2 (1972), pp.118-129.

Rousseau, G.S. and Boucé, P.-G., eds. Tobias Smollett. Bicentennial Essays Presented to Lewis M. Knapp. New York: 1971.

Ruskin, J. Modern Painters. Volume IV. Containing Part V. Of Mountain Beauty. Complete Edition. Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent: 1888.

Sadleir, M. XIX Century Fiction. A Bibliographical Record based on his own Collection. 2 vols. Cambridge: 1951.

Scarron, P. The Whole Comical Works of Mon. Scarron. Translated by Mr. Tho.Brown, Mr.Savage, and others. The Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. London: 1712.

Scott, W. A Legend of Montrose. The Waverley Novels edition, vol.13. Edinburgh: 1878.

Scott, W. Lives of the Novelists, 2 vols. Paris: 1825.

Scott, W. Waverley. Ed.A.Hook. Penguin English Library edition. London: 1972.

Scott, W. Sir Walter Scott on novelists and fiction. Ed.I.Williams. London: 1968.

Smedley, F.E. Frank Fairlegh; or Scenes from the Life of a Private Pupil. With Illustrations by G.Cruikshank. London: 1850.

Smith, J.T. 'Memoir of Thomas Rowlandson.' Gentleman's Magazine, vol.97 (June 1827), pp.564-565.

Smollett, T.G. The History and Adventures of the renowned Don Quixote. Translated from the Spanish of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. To which is prefixed, some account of the author's life. Illustrated with Twenty-eight new Copper-plates, designed by Hayman, and engraved by the best Artists. 2 vols. London: 1755.

Smollett, T.G. The History of England; From the Revolution in 1688 to the Death of George II. Designed as a Continuation of Hume. A New Edition. 5 vols. London: 1822.

Smollett, T.G. The Letters of Tobias Smollett. Ed. L.M.Knapp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Smollett, T.G. The Present State of All Nations. Containing a[illegible] Geographical, Natural, Commercial, and Political History of all the Countries in the Known World. 8 vols. London: 1768.

Smollett, T.G. Travels through France and Italy. Containing observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities. With a particular Description of the Town, Territory, and Climate of Nice: To which is added, a Register of the Weather, kept during a Residence of Eighteen Months in that City. 2 vols. London: 1766.

Sterne, L. The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman. Ed. J.A.Work. New York: 1940.

Strauss, A.B. 'On Smollett's Language: A Paragraph in Ferdinand Count Fathom.' English Institute Essays (1958), pp.25-54.

Strutt, J. A Biographical Dictionary containing an Historical Account of all the Engravers, from the earliest period of the art of engraving to the present time. 2 vols. London: 1785.

Sypher, W. Four Stages of Renaissance Style. Transformations in Art and Literature 1400-1700. New York: 1955.

Sypher, W. Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature. New York: 1960.

Thackeray, W.M. 'An Essay on the Genius of George Cruikshank.' The Westminster Review, vol.34 (1840), pp.1-60.

Thackeray, W.M. 'Lectures on the English Humourists.' The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray. Centenary Biographical Edition, vol. 11. London: 1911.

Thomson, D.C. The Life and Labours of HKB "Phiz". London: 1884.

Timperley, C.H. A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern. London: 1839.

Tomory, P. The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli. London: 1972.

Tompkins, J.M.S. The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800. Methuen University Paperbacks edition. London: 1969.

Trusler, J. Hogarth Moralized. Being a complete edition of Hogarth's Works containing near fourscore copper-plates ... with an explanation ... and a comment on their moral tendency. London: 1768.

Vertue, G. Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists; and Incidental Notes on other Arts. Collected by the late Mr.George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. By Mr. Horace Walpole. Vol.4. Strawberry-Hill: 1771.

Vizetelly, H. Glances Back Through Seventy Years: Autobiographical and other Reminiscences. 2 vols. London: 1893.

Wagoner, M.H.S. The changing patterns of humor in the novels of Tobias Smollett. Diss.University of Texas, 1961.

Wark, R.R. Rowlandson's Drawings for the English Dance of Death. San Marino, California: 1966.

Watt, I. The Rise of the Novel, Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. Peregrine Books paperbook edition. London: 1963.

Westmacott, C. Points of Misery; or, Fables for Mankind: Prose and Verse, chiefly original. Illustrated with twenty designs by Robert Cruikshank. London: 1823.

Wiles, R.M. Serial Publication in England before 1750. Cambridge: 1957.

Wilkes, J. The North Briton. 3 vols. London: 1763.

Wolf, E.C.J. Rowlandson and his illustrations of eighteenth century English literature. Copenhagen: 1945.