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Hogarth and the Shows of London

Hogarth and the Shows of London

by Andrew Stevens

Elvehjem Museum of Art
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Hogarth and the Shows of London, organized by Andrew Stevens, curator of prints and drawings at the Elvehjem Museum of Art, is on exhibition at The Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery at Reed College in Portland, Oregon, November 7, 1996–January 1, 1997; the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas, February 1–March 30, 1997; and at the Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin–Madison from April 26–June 29, 1997.

This exhibition was supported by a grant from the National Endowment of Art, a Federal agency, and the Wisconsin Federation of Museums.

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This publication was edited by Patricia Powell, designed by Earl Madden, produced by University Publications, and printed by American Printing Company, Madison.

Cover illustration: *The Laughing Audience*, 1733, cat. no. 15.

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FOREWORD

Considered by his contemporaries as the greatest printmaker in England, William Hogarth (1696–1764) is famous for his satires on London life and manners. In addition to his social commentary, he was responsible for raising the technical standards of English printmaking and creating a market for prints where before none existed. He also prompted the passage of a copyright law for artists. Understandably, his works continue to be studied and enjoyed by a broad audience.

The present exhibition looks at Hogarth's prints from a new perspective, namely, their intimate connection to the public shows of his time, those performances witnessed by Londoners which ranged from Shakespeare to puppet theater, Italian opera to autopsies. Hogarth's criticism of and borrowing from these spectacles allow us to understand better the artistic, literary, and theatrical facets of English life at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

I wish to acknowledge Andrew Stevens, our curator of works on paper, whose new insights

into Hogarth's work produced this exhibition and catalogue.

I wish to express the Elvehjem's profound gratitude to Suzanne and Gerald Labiner who lent seven prints from their personal collection. Without these rare works, it would not have been possible to illuminate Hogarth's early interest in London's shows.

I wish to acknowledge the National Endowment for the Arts, a Federal agency, and the Wisconsin Federation of Museums whose support made this exhibition and catalogue possible.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the efforts of the entire Elvehjem team who worked so diligently to complete this project, the cooperation of Kohler Art library personnel who helped with access to their wonderful resources, and the design and production staff of the UW's Publications Department.

Russell Panczenko
Director

INTRODUCTION

William Hogarth (1697–1764) lived during the age when Alexander Pope was publishing his satires of English mores and letters and Samuel Johnson was publishing his criticism and his landmark dictionary of the English Language. Hogarth was friends with David Garrick and Henry Fielding, when Garrick was breathing new life into Shakespeare's classic plays and Fielding was writing witty farces excoriating the government of Prime Minister Robert Walpole. It was a time when the English language, letters, and government were being examined anew, the triumphs of the past celebrated, and the shortcomings of the present criticized. It was in this intensely literary age that Hogarth's largely mute prints made their mark. Hogarth's prints were successful because they are witty, excellently engraved, and because a law was passed in his lifetime (called Hogarth's Law) giving printmakers protection against piracy of their works. However, Hogarth also used the shows of London to his advantage, those grand spectacles and modest entertainments which daily diverted London's citizens, high and low.

This exhibition and catalogue are intended to explore the close relationship between Hogarth's prints and the various shows that he and his audiences would have had access to in eighteenth-century London.¹ A wide variety of entertainments vied for the attention of Londoners in Hogarth's time. There were the patent theaters which were the "legitimate theater" of the 1700s and were housed in permanent locations and employed the most famous actors. Plays were also allowed at some of the annual London fairs, most notably Bartholomew Fair and Southwark Fair. The productions were put on in rickety booths, with their runs limited by law to a short span of days; however, because they were profitable, the productions commonly ran well past the legal limit. These stage productions, sometimes quite elaborate, but as often low-budget, placed a wide bill of fare before their audiences, from high tragedy to Punch-and-Judy shows. However, such entertainments were by no means the only shows Londoners could see.

Fashionable Londoners of Hogarth's day attended operas and masquerades, the former sometimes featuring new works by Georg Friedrich Handel, and the latter hosted by King George II's Master of Revels, John Heidegger. They also appeared at the Royal levees where social climbers might hope to catch the royal attention enough to achieve a preferment. The annual seating of the Lord Mayor brought out brocaded royalty

and rag-clad beggars to see the procession made up by the London guilds. There was a continually changing assortment of more home-spun revelries as well; Londoners might spontaneously stage a shivaree to honor the newly married or a skimmington to mock the cuckolded. They could visit the poor house or Bethlehem Hospital to muse on the plight of their less-fortunate fellows, and they gathered to see law-breakers punished in the stocks and executed for their crimes, horrific shows, indeed.

Hogarth depicted all of these and more in his prints. His relationship with the shows of his day was complex. His prints celebrate these shows and criticize them. He emulated theatrical successes and in turn saw his successful work turned into plays and travesties. He seems to have been particularly drawn to the theater and theater people. He not only alludes to the dramas and farces that passed over the boards but to characters and conflicts mostly hidden behind the scenes. He was a founding member of The Sublime Society of Beefsteaks, which counted among its members such theatrical people as Theophilus Cibber. The name Cibber, referring to Theophilus, his father Colley, or his sister whose married name was Charlotte Charke crops up continually in this survey.

Hogarth was also a friend of David Garrick, the subject of one of Hogarth's very few monumental portraits in print. Garrick's less formal, more naturalistic acting style catapulted him to prominence during this period. He breathed new life into classic Shakespearean characters of the English stage by breaking with a stiff tradition of acting and endowing his characters with easier gestures which made their emotions more comprehensible to his audience. Similarly, Hogarth's prints seem to have struck a chord by holding up to Londoners a mirror of their daily lives; translating familiar scenes and situations into stories in his prints. By doing so Hogarth used a visual lingua franca for Londoners which drew from the stage and the street. Working to communicate his message to this audience, he took advantage of his audience's familiarity with the rich and varied sights of London in order to allow them to discover the subtleties of his prints.

Among the pleasures of Hogarth's prints for us today, as much as for his original audience, is the pleasure of discovery. We sometimes experience that pleasure in puzzles or even jokes in which apparently unrelated pieces fit suddenly and satisfyingly together. When we look at Hogarth's prints, we must first discern the subjects depicted and deduct from them what is happening in the print, often with implications about what has

come before and what will come after the scene portrayed. These pleasures of initial discoveries are surely among the most elemental of the visual arts, but Hogarth does not let us stop there. We are coaxed on to further discoveries about the reasons behind the actions and to a moral judgment upon the characters Hogarth presents.

In his early works Hogarth is sometimes content to have these more sophisticated discoveries spelled out by a text that relates to the image. The text may appear as a caption to the print as in *The Lottery* and *Masquerades and Operas* or may exist independently of the print as in his illustrations to Butler's *Hudibras* and his print based upon Shakespeare's *The Life of King Henry VIII*. However, he quickly creates extremely complex original stories which are not based on a text, as in the case of his series *A Harlot's Progress*. In the later prints, when text does appear it is most often tangential to the story being told, commenting upon it in the case of *A Rake's Progress*. However, when he is creating a work for an unsophisticated audience, such as *Industry and Idleness*, geared to the apprentices of London, his prints bear titles to make their import especially obvious. Even in these works the pleasures of discovery were not completely circumvented by the text, and innumerable details were included so his audience could construct a fuller tale.

To help his audience discover the clues to unravel these tales, Hogarth used a familiar sign-language drawn from the shows of London. Citizens immersed in the city's sights would recognize the scenes Hogarth alluded to in his prints. In addition each place and event Hogarth depicted had its own complex associations which Hogarth exploited. For instance the weird clutter of a collection of rarities and the combination of sorrow and camaraderie at a wake both had associations for his contemporaries, and both serve as starting points upon which Hogarth builds in scenes from *A Rake's Progress* and *A Harlot's Progress* respectively. Conversely, Hogarth's prints were popular enough that they were alluded to or even copied on the London stage; their scenes and characters had in turn become a part of Londoner's visual vocabulary.

Andrew Stevens

¹ Hogarth's life and art have been carefully documented and analyzed by many excellent historians, and this catalogue builds upon the deep foundation provided by such scholars as Ronald Paulson. Readers interested in a fuller understanding of Hogarth's life and art are encouraged to see Paulson's three-volume *Hogarth* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991–1993) and two-volume *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) and David Bindman's *Hogarth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).



See here y^e Causes why in London,
 So many Men are made, & undone,
 That Arts, & honest Trading drop,
 To Swarm about y^e Devils Shop, (A)
 Who Cuts out (B) Fortunes Golden Haunches,
 Trapping their Souls with Lotts & Chances,
 Shareing em from Blue Garters down
 To all Blue Aprons in the Town.
 Here all Religions flock together,
 Like Tame & Wild Fowl of a Feather,
 Leaving their strife Religious bustle,
 Kneel down to play at pitch & Hussle; (C)
 Thus when the Shepherds are at play,
 Their flocks must surely go Astray;
 The Woeful Cause y^e in these Times,
 (E) Honour, & (D) honesty, are Crimes,
 That publicly are punish'd by
 (G) Self-Interest, and (F) Vilany;
 So much for Monys magick power
 Guess at the Rest you find out more.

1
The South Sea Scheme, 1721

Paulson number 10
 Etching and engraving, 10 ⁵/₁₆ x 12 ⁷/₈ in.
 On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

The target of Hogarth's satire in this print was the wild speculation that ran rampant in London in the first decades of the 1700s. Everyone, it seemed, was anxious to invest in the new plantations in the South Seas and in the Americas. The South Sea Company had been set up in 1710, to raise money by selling shares which supported the costs of British trading ships. The same man who founded the South Sea Company had conceived an immensely successful grand lottery for the state the year before, for which

each ticket cost £100. The success of these money-raising schemes eventually brought forth the South Sea scheme of 1720. Greeted with wild enthusiasm, the company was invested in by all levels of London's society; even those who could not afford the cost of a share could go to "jobbers" who would sell them portions of shares. The whole undertaking was based upon trade in areas of the world where Britain not only did not hold power, but was actually in conflict with. By the end of the year the bubble quickly burst with many of the principals in the company obliged to flee the country.

This print generally satirizes all get-rich-quick schemes, including the lotteries which were still popular, holding up the notorious South Sea company as an example of the disastrous results of speculation.

Hogarth caricatures the enthusiasm for these schemes with the accouterments of a fair placed around the monument to the London Fire of 1666. The inscription on the monument is changed to commemorate "THE DESTRUCTION OF THIS CITY BY THE SOUTH SEA IN 1720." Among his earliest works, the print shows Hogarth's penchant to turn spectacles of the London streets into moral allegory. In choosing a familiar street in London in which to set his metaphorical activities, Hogarth consciously built upon a visual vocabulary that his audience was already familiar with, and by choosing a fair as the vehicle for his metaphor, Hogarth contrived to endow his print with an implication of the excitement of the South Sea bubble as well as its ephemeral nature.



The Explanation. 1. Upon the Pedestal National Credit leaning/ on a Pillar supported by Justice. 2. Apollo shewing Britannia a/ Picture representing the Earth receiving enriching Showers/ drawn from her self (an Emblem of State Lottery's). 3. Fortune/ Drawing the Blanks and Prizes. 4. Wantonness Drawing y^e Numbr^s./ 5. Before the Pedestal Suspence turn'd to E fro by Hope E Fear./ 6. On one hand, Good Luck being Elevated is seized by Pleasure E/ Folly; Fame perswading him to raise sinking Virtue, Arts Etc. 7. On y^e / other hand Misfortune opprest by Grief, Minerva supporting him,/ points to the Sweets of Industry. 8. Sloth hiding his head in y^e / Curtain: 9. On y^e other side, Avarice hugging his Mony. 10. Fraud/ tempting Despair wth Mony at a Trap-door in the Pedestal.

2

The Lottery, 1721 [24]

Paulson number 11

Etching and engraving, 10 1/2 x 12 15/16 in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

The Lottery, which may have been intended as a companion piece for *The South Sea Scheme*, pokes fun at the Londoner's enthusiasm for the lottery. State lotteries were an effective way of raising money as well as a public diversion. Slips with numbers corresponding to auction tickets sold were placed in one of the wheel-shaped drums on the stage and slips

either blank or listing a prize in the other. So a number and prize were drawn until all of the prizes were exhausted. The drawing itself was the culmination of weeks of ticket-buying and thus took on a carnival atmosphere where greed, triumph, and disappointment became a floor-show.

Hogarth's print reproduces the scene in the guild hall where drawings were held fairly accurately, but he peoples the stage and the gallery before it with symbolic figures. The figures follow the conventions of history painting with personifications of virtues and vices, of the state and the gods. However, the immediate reference to the stage from which the prizes were

announced to the gathered crowd would have been recognizable to a Londoner who followed the lotteries. Hogarth sets allegorical figures in place of the audience to identify possible outcomes of good fortune (waste, avarice, or wise investment) and bad (despair, fraud, or commitment to honest industry). For his popular series Hogarth would move away from symbolic personifications taking the place of real people. Instead he would create characters whose dress and behavior identified them as ordinary people, who in their imperfect ways embody the flaws human beings are prone to, and occasionally the heights they can achieve.



O how refin'd how elegant we're grown!
What noble Entertainments Charm the Town!
Whether to hear the Dragon's roar we go,
Or gaze surpriz'd on Fawks's matchless Show,
Or to the Opera's, or to the Masques,
To eat up Ortelans, and empty Flasques
And rille Pies from Shakespear's clinging Page,
Good Gods! how great's the gusto of the Age.

3

Masquerades and Operas, 1723/24, February

Paulson number 34

Etching and engraving, 5 x 6 1/16 in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

Masquerades and Operas was one of Hogarth's earliest satires to scrutinize the boisterous public entertainments of his time. This print lays out the targets which Hogarth returned to again and again in his criticism of London: mindless pursuit of diversion and the substitution of spectacle for substance. However, it is far from being his most masterful print; it pulls too many disparate issues into a slight frame, which, along with the relatively rough engraving, marks it as a journeyman work rather than one which shows full mastery of the craft.

Hogarth's long career of casting a critical eye on the entertainments of London may start with *The Lottery*, but it reaches a fuller exposition in this print. Here he leaves behind many of the practices of history painting and turns more strictly to the technique of representing public shows to explore his subject matter. Although processions are an integral and ancient part of important public events in most cultures, in England, the procession has particular connotations.

As Hogarth says in his *Autobiographical Notes*, "[M]y Picture was my Stage, and men and women my actors who were by Means of certain Actions and express[ions] to Exhibit a dumb shew."¹ "Dumb show" has a very particular tradition on the English stage. It requires, as one might expect, playing out a scene without words, but there is an implication that the subject of the scene is a very grave one indeed. According to Dieter Mehl in his history of the Elizabethan dumb show, it excluded dialogue in order to make "abstract spiritual experiences and conflicts visible as concrete scenes and to impress a moral idea on the spectators by appealing directly to the senses."²

Most familiar to modern audiences is the dumb show within Shakespeare's *Hamlet*; the young prince hires players to pantomime the murder of his father by his uncle, believing that "... the play's the thing/ wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king" (act 2, sc. 2, lines 589-590). However, the dumb show, particularly in the form of processions goes back much further in English drama, all the way back to its roots in religious mystery plays. It also stretched all the way forward to Hogarth's time, when on the streets of London he could see processions like the annual seating of the Lord Mayor. Some of the most sophisticated examples of prints recording royal performances and processions were created in the previous century by the French artist Jacques Callot. Callot was employed by the court to commemorate in prints such public events as those accompanying the betrothal of monarchs that inevitably included grand solemn processions, and he created prints which Hogarth certainly would have seen.

For Hogarth to take up this long and hallowed tradition of the procession and apply it not to court or clergy but to common Londoners smacks almost of disrespect, certainly of satire, as is shown by the fact that these people are both led by a harlequin and devil to masquerade and to the execrable depths of English theater of the time, the *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*. Here they are linked with a jibe at Italianism as well, in the form of Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington's Palladian design for his house in Piccadilly. At the summit of the pediment is William Kent, another contemporary designer whose aspiration to Italianate architecture is parodied by placing images of Michelangelo and Raphael so that they look up to him.

The whole is intended at once to chronicle the debasement of English arts (texts of Shakespeare, Congreve, and others are being hauled away as waste in the foreground) while denouncing the importation of foreign, here specifically Italian, influences in opera

and architecture. The sentiment is summed up in the verse which appears below the first state of the print.

*Could new dumb Faustus, to reform the Age,
Conjure up Shakespear's or Ben Jonson's Ghost,
They'd blush for shame, to see the English Stage
Debauch's by fool'ries, at so great a cost.*

*What would their Manes say? should they behold
Monsters and Masquerades, where usefull Plays
Adorn'd the fruitfull Theater of old,
And Rival Wits contended for the Bays.*

Hogarth further stigmatizes operas by including in this print a banner which itself reproduces a print satirizing patrons of opera of the time by showing one presenting £8,000 to a particularly motley set of singers. He places this next to an advertisement for the slight-of-hand magician Isaac Fawkes (spelled Faux^s in the advertisement). In fact, Fawkes appeared in a room of the opera house (the long room specified on the banner)³ so the link between opera and such shows was ready for Hogarth to take advantage of, implying that the silly trickery of one was comparable to the empty show of the other.

¹ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. With the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes*, ed. Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 209; hereafter Hogarth, *Autobiographical Notes in Analysis of Beauty*.

² Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show* (London: Methuen, 1965), 17; hereafter Mehl, *Dumb Show*.

³ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), vol. 1, 104; hereafter Paulson, *Graphic Works*.



This Print Represents the Rehearsing a new Farce that will Include y^e two famous Entertainments D^r Faustus & Harlequin Shepherd to w^{ch} will be added Scaramouch Jack Hall the Chimney-Sweeper's Escape from Newgate through y^e Privy, with y^e comical Humours of Ben Johnsons Ghost, Concluding wth the Hay-Dance Perform'd in y^e Air by y^e Figures A, B, C, Assisted by Ropes from y^e Muses. Note, there are no Conjurors concern'd in it as y^e ignorant imagine. The Bricks, Rubbish &c. will be real, but the Excrements upon Jack Hall will be made of Chew'd Gingerbread to prevent Offence. Vivat Rex.

4
A Just View of the British Stage, 1724

Paulson number 45

Etching after Hogarth, 7 1/8 x 8 3/8 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, Gift of Mark and Helen Hooper, 1977.173

Hogarth had used the Londoner's theatrical experience in earlier works, casting his characters upon stages in familiar ways. In this print he casts London theater itself as the target for his wit. It is among the first prints to satirize the English theater, a topic which Hogarth would return to again and again in his career.

The three men seated on the stage are Robert Wilks, Colley Cibber, and Barton Booth, all managers (we might call them producer-directors today) of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. The print satirizes their stooping to perform pantomimes in the style of a popular entertainments by John Rich. Rich's pantomimes were silly, filled with spectacle, and immensely popular—thus profitable. That Rich himself doesn't appear in this print is remarkable, since his shows were among the most popular. Perhaps nothing more could

be expected of Rich, but we should also note that Rich and Hogarth were certainly friends (they were among the founders of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks, about which we will see more in cat. no. 46). During the twenties an abundance of pantomimes played around London. They were generally performed without speaking parts, though they often contained songs, and so were the antithesis of the serious dumb show which Hogarth aspired to in his prints.

The stage is set as Newgate Prison, and Booth lowers a puppet harlequin down into a privy, enacting an escape from Newgate. Cibber looks to the muses for assistance in guiding his puppet, and Wilks pities his rival Rich as he admires his Punch puppet. Ben Jonson's ghost rises from a trap door to express his opinion of the stage mechanisms and costumes which rule the stage, and three nooses await the managers when they conclude their piece with the "Hay-Dance Perform'd in y^e Air . . . Assisted by Ropes from y^e Muses."

The idea of putting the managers on the stage is not a particularly novel trope in the theater where earlier authors had ridiculed players, authors, managers, and theater-goers with unflattering representations; the

play within a play put on by Bottom and his part-time actors in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is perhaps the best known. Appropriately, Hogarth uses theatrical references in the print. Later, Hogarth would more often imply the actions that led up to the scene by incorporating hints to that previous action within the scene. However, in this small print he presents all the actions going on at once. This seems appropriate to the overcrowding of actions and special effects that the theaters were competing with each other to pack into these light farces.

Paulson identifies the theater as Drury Lane by the motto "*Vivitur Ingenio*" which appears in this print and was part of the decoration of that theater as well.¹ Figures of comedy and tragedy flank the stage and have been defaced by having bills for *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and *Harlequin Shepherd* tacked onto them. Such figures were not uncommon on eighteenth-century stages, and were a part of the decorations at the nearby Covent Garden which John Rich managed.

¹ Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 2, 322, n. 11.



*This said, they both advanc'd, and rode
A Dog-Trot through the bawling Crowd,
T'attack the Leader and still prest,
Till they approach'd him Breast to Breast:
Then Hudibras, with Face and Hand
Made signs for Silence; which obtain'd,
What means (quoth he) this Devil's Procession
With Men of Orthodox Profession?
Are things of Superstitious Function*

*Fit to be us'd in Gospel Sun-Shine?
It is an Antichristian Opera,
Much us'd in Midnight times of Popery,
Of running after Self-Inventions
Of wicked and profane Intentions;
To scandalize that Sex, for scolding,
To whom the Saints are so beholden.
Women, that left no stone unturn'd,
In which the Cause might be concern'd*

*Brought in their Childrens Spoons & Whistles,
To purchase Swords, Carbines, and Pistols;
Drew sev'ral gifted Brethren in,
That for the Bishops would have been,
Rubb'd down the Teachers, tir'd and spent
With holding forth for Parl'ament;
Pamper'd and edify'd their Zeal
With Marrow-Puddings many a Meal;
And Cramm'd 'em till their Guts did ake,*

*With Cawdle, Custard, and Plumb-cake,
What have they done, or what left undone,
That might advance the Cause at London
Have they . . . ? At that an Egg let fly
Hit him directly o'er the Eye,
And running down his Cheek, besmeard
With Orange tawny-slime his Beard;
And streight another with his Flambeaux,
Gave Ralpho o'er the Eyes a damn'd blow.*

5
Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington from the series
Large Illustrations for Samuel Butler's Hudibras,
1725/6

Paulson number 79

Etching and engraving, 9 1/16 x 19 1/2 in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labine

Throughout his career, Hogarth designed several sets of engravings as illustrations for books. His illustrations for Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* are the most fully realized of these and were issued independently of the text. Hogarth sold the plates to the publisher who sold subscriptions (a way of raising money for the edition before the publication of the works) in much that same way that Hogarth himself would later in his career.

Butler's *Hudibras*, written more than sixty years earlier, was an enduring favorite of Britons. Advertisements for Hogarth's prints called Hudibras "the Don Quixote of this nation." The title character is a Quaker whose search for purity is continually undone by his own hypocrisy; his various inevitably disastrous sorties are arranged to make him an anti-

hero and the continual object of derision. The verse, too, falls short of the heroic couplet upon which it is patterned; Butler continually uses off-rhyme. For instance, when Hudibras sees his beloved, Butler tells us, "No sooner did the Knight perceive her./ But streight he fell into a fever," (Part 2, Canto 1, lines 115-16). In the verse used for the caption to this print Hudibras wonders in a particularly strained rhyme, "Are things of Superstitious Function/ Fit to be us'd in Gospel Sun-Shine?" (Part 2, Canto 2, lines 767-78). The purpose of such risible rhyming is to reinforce the irony of treating trivial as weighty matters under discussion and to reassure the reader that Hudibras's tribulations are not true heroism.

Hogarth's own image, in turn, is a travesty of the tradition of royal procession painting, possibly of Andrea Mantegna's *Triumph of Julius Caesar*, but certainly of the type of paintings and prints which commemorated events in the lives of rulers. Thus Hogarth's print does not merely illustrate Butler's canto, but participates in the same sort of satire, portraying events in order to contrast the gravity and high emotion of classical sources with the silliness and

tumult of the subject at hand which may aspire to importance, but falls far short.

The skimmington itself was a mock-procession, intended not to honor but to scorn. An unfaithful husband or wife would be paraded through town and ridiculed. In Hogarth's print it is the husband who is shown amongst emblems of cuckoldry—one reveler carries a shirt surmounted with the cuckold's horns—and the unfortunate husband spins while his wife beats him with the skimming-ladle which apparently gives the procession its name. Never one to miss an opportunity to enlarge the scope of his satire, Hogarth places at the upper left of the print a well-off tailor whose amusement at the object of the skimmington is undercut by the woman who makes the cuckold's horns behind him, branding him with the same scorn. Hogarth, like Butler, takes the old tradition of the skimmington as a prefiguration of the sort of unbridled satire which uses scorn as an inducement to quit improper behavior. The ruckus, raised by beating on pots, bones and cleaver, and a gridiron as the procession passes through town, is itself a parody of the music that would accompany a more solemn procession.



Here struts old Pious Harry, once the Great,
 Reformer of the English Church and State:
 'Twas thus he stood, when Anna Bullen's Charms,
 Allur'd th' Amorous Monarch to her Arms.
 With his Right hand, he leads her as his own,
 To place this matchless Beauty on his Throne;
 Whilst Kate & Piercy mourn their wretched Fate,
 And view the Royal Pair with equal Hate,
 Reflecting on the Pomp of glittering Crowns,
 And Arbitrary Power that knows no bounds.
 Whilst Woolsey leaning on his Throne of State,
 Through this unhappy Change foresees his Fate,
 Contemplates wisely upon wordly Things,
 The Cheat of Grandeur, & the Faith of Kings.

6
Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, 1728/9

Paulson number 116

Etching and engraving, 17 ³/₈ x 14 ⁵/₈ in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

This print brings together in one composition all the characters affected by the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn, including her lover and his queen in the background and the designing Cardinal Thomas Wolsey leaning on the throne. It does not illustrate a particular scene from Shakespeare. It was, however, probably created in response to Colley Cibber's extremely successful production of Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry VIII*, which opened in October of 1727. Cibber's success also inspired others, including John Rich who produced the farcical *Harlequin Anna Bullen*. However, the popularity of Cibber's own production of the play was due at least in part to the fact that the coronation scene was a dumb show modeled on George II's coronation of 1727.

For the London audience, the theater of the playhouses was not simply a place to see the production of the moment; rather the stage reflected upon the town and court by allowing a kind of secondhand access to the splendor of a coronation, or in the case of Rich's farce, by looking at history through a fun-house mirror, whose distortions are most amusing when the original object is familiar. Paulson suggests that Hogarth's own print may have been designed to agree with the reading which the opposition party gave to the play. In their view, George II was being misguided by Sir Robert Walpole in the same way that Henry VIII had been by Wolsey, and that Walpole should be dismissed as Wolsey was. While Hogarth may have produced this print with an eye to supporting this political view, he would also have been at least partly influenced by the success of Cibber's remounting of a classic work from the cannon of English literature. Throughout his career Hogarth holds up the great English plays as achievements which his contemporaries have unwisely deserted. In this print he

celebrates a contemporary production by one of the very men whom he lambasted in his *Just View of the British Stage*.

Such associations were part of the milieu in which Hogarth's prints were originally appreciated. For an artist the challenge was to weave these strands into a single print as an enticement to the various tastes of people who might purchase a print. However, Hogarth would become more interested in inventing his own stories rather than interpreting other's. After all, in his apprenticeship Hogarth was, in effect, interpreting others' stories when he engraved coats-of-arms into silver and other metals, since in armorial work the choice of figure and pattern and their placement convey lineage symbolically. In subsequent works Hogarth explored the possibilities of telling more complex stories. He moved from borrowing plots from plays to borrowing other theatrical conventions in series like his progresses.



7

The Beggar's Opera, 1790

No Paulson number

Engraving by William Blake, English, 1757–1827,

15 3/4 x 21 3/8 in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

Hogarth again looked to the theater for inspiration for his paintings of *The Beggar's Opera*. This print was engraved by William Blake after one of the six paintings that Hogarth did of this scene in the play in 1729 and 1730. The version of the painting that served as Blake's model is part of the Paul Mellon Collection of the Yale Center for British Art. In this scene Macheath, the highwayman, is brought to justice, but his two lovers Lucy and Polly plead his case to their fathers. At the sides of the stage, the audience is seated in positions that allow them close interaction with the

actors. Stage seating was not at all unusual in London theaters, and Hogarth uses the give-and-take of audience and actors that provided some amusement to indicate that the relationship of the play to the audience is that of art to life. As Paulson notes, the composition of the print emphasizes Gay's satirical device of substituting London's lower classes for the heroes and heroines of Italian opera. Hogarth's depiction also juxtaposes the characters with the upper-class audience implying that it is not the poor who are being satirized in Gay's opera but the rich "whose imitation of a false ideal is only dimly reflected in the whore and highwayman who mimic and hang for their crimes."¹

Hogarth had finished his set of prints illustrating *Hudibras*, which placed an unlikely hero into a romantic role of the previous century. The example of *Hudibras* may have encouraged him to stretch the tradition of heroic painting further by turning it from

heroic deeds of the past to contemporary life, and the success of *The Beggar's Opera* may have encouraged him to look to the streets of London for his storyline. *The Beggar's Opera*, written by John Gay and produced by John Rich, was enormously popular; consequently its influence can be traced throughout the popular arts of its decade, as writers, musicians, and critics endeavored to emulate or condemn it. Hogarth's immediate response, the paintings he created of the climax of the opera, are followed by a more measured and thoughtful response in his series, which like Gay's work drew its characters from the lower classes of London and sets its action in their world instead of dwelling upon distant climes, classes and times.

¹ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), vol. 1, 181; hereafter cited as Paulson, *Life*.

A HARLOT'S PROGRESS

Hogarth's overall plan for this innovative print series may have been inspired by several sources. *A Harlot's Progress* chronicles the brief rise and rapid decline of a young country woman, Moll Hackabout, who comes to London and proceeds from innocence to prostitution, disease, and death. The choice to focus on the life of a common young woman may have been influenced by Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* of a decade earlier. Perhaps from his experience illustrating Butler's *Hudibras* Hogarth was encouraged to create a satire of his own, independent of a text. The tradition of telling the events of the lives of the great, long established by history-painting cycles, forms a backdrop for Hogarth's *Progress*. The series events are a distorted mirror of those in-print series by Albrecht Dürer and Hendrik Goltzius portraying the life of the Virgin Mary, with Moll's aspirations and descent the opposite of Mary's humility and elevation.¹ Moll's life was not an exemplar to be imitated, but a small tragedy to be pitied, and the throng of others that contribute to her sorrows implies that although she ultimately is the one punished for her fall, all about her share in some part of the guilt.

Hogarth may have been indebted to theatrical

conventions when creating the overall plan for his set of six engravings. Paulson notes that the relatively rapid shifting of scenes in John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* produces "tableaux very like those represented by 'Hogarth' a few years later in his 'progresses.'" ² Hogarth was very familiar with *The Beggar's Opera*; he painted the climax six times during the height of the opera's popularity from 1728 to around 1731. Moll's life in London is played out in settings much like the box set which was used for plays like *The Beggar's Opera*, consisting of a back and two side walls and dressed with appropriate props which provided the actors with an unobstructed area in which to perform. Hogarth uses similar scene settings in *A Harlot's Progress* to good effect. As a result, the prints in this series are less constricted in composition than, for instance, Hogarth's illustration for *Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn* of only two or three years before. There the composition was framed by drapery on the left and by an ornate throne on the right. The viewer looks through the throne and between the three foreground figures to the background figures and to a release into far distance through windows beyond.

If Hogarth glances at theatrical staging in creating *A Harlot's Progress*, his contemporaries in the

theatrical world made his work the continual focus of their attention for some time. Just as Hogarth had ridden the popularity of Colley Cibber's revival of *The Life of King Henry VIII* with his illustration from the play, Cibber's son, Theophilus, cashed in on the instant success of *A Harlot's Progress* in 1733 by producing a stage burlesque travesty called *The Harlot's Progress; or, The Ridotto al' Fresco: A Grotesque Pantomime Entertainment* which featured scenes based on Hogarth's prints. However, T. Cibber takes considerable liberty with Hogarth's series. The very modest plot of Cibber's pantomime starts with a scene based on the first print of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress*, but gets no farther before introducing a harlequin character to liven things up a bit and comes to a complete halt at the third print when the scene is magically transformed from Bridewell Prison to the environs of Vauxhall gardens for the *Ridotto al' Fresco*, an unscripted series of costumed singers.

Much closer in following Hogarth's plot is the anonymous play *The Jew Decoy'd, or, The Progress of a Harlot: A New Ballad Opera of Three Acts* that drew from all six of Hogarth's prints for its action. But even this play lightens the progress of the series by breaking into song two or three times in every scene.



8
A Harlot's Progress, Plate 1, 1732
 Paulson number 121
 Etching and engraving, 11 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 14 ³/₄ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.2

The morality play, with its unsparing characterizations of sin and its consequences, lies behind all of Hogarth's modern moral subjects. This is true not only of the overall structure of the tale but in the way that Hogarth includes details to enable the viewer to infer the underlying facts of the scene. This identification by symbolic elements infused meaning into the many religious, folk, and civil pageants of London through details of clothing. The Lord Mayor's mace,

gold chain, and sword identify him and also symbolize his powers and duties, and the mortarboards of scholars and collars of priests not only mark their profession but come to be associated with learning and religion. Here decorative details also have associations, the rose at Moll Hackabout's bosom shows she is fresh from the country and symbolizes her innocence, just as its imminent wilting and decay may hint at her own future. Her dress is modest and protected with an apron, and her shoes are sturdy and sensible. The sewing scissors and needle packet at her waist are emblems of industry, which she sheds quickly.

Similarly, the many beauty marks on the face of the woman who approaches Moll, at once allude to the fashions to which she adheres and hint at her likely infection by syphilis and its sores which could be hidden by such cosmetics. She is identified as Mother

Needham, an infamous bawd who had died the year before the print series was published. Colonel Francis Charteris is identified as the figure at the door of the building at the right; Charteris, too, was widely associated with sexual vices, having been condemned to death twice for rape and eluding his sentence through bribery and influence. Opposed to these symbols of the ravaging forces that will shortly bear Moll away is a cleric, who studies the address of the bishop whom he has come to London to meet in hopes of a preferment. His narrowed attention prevents him from noticing the moral danger Moll is in, as well as the damage his nag is about to inflict on a pile of crockery.

¹ Paulson, *Life*, vol. 1, 273.

² *Ibid.*



9
A Harlot's Progress, Plate 2, 1732
 Paulson number 122
 Etching and engraving, 11 ⁷/₈ x 14 ⁵/₈ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.3

Having fallen in a moral sense, Moll Hackabout finds herself raised socially by her liaison with a wealthy lover whose largess has financed her transformation. Not only has she achieved an immodesty of dress by casting away the flower at her bosom, trading her homespun for frills, and her shoes for dainty slippers, she has become sufficiently debauched that she has taken a younger lover in addition to her wealthy patron. Here she creates a diversion while her young lover steals away. This distraction also acts as an emblem of the life she is living—ornate, fragile, pre-

carious and destroyed by her own actions.

This print implies that the problem lies in Moll's ambition to be something which she is not. Like the monkey dressed in hat and lace in the lower left or the black serving boy in his turban, Moll is all show; her condition depends entirely on the whim of her employer, not upon any inborn fitness for her temporary place. The mask which lies on the dressing table at the left of the scene carries hints at the dissolution of the people with whom she now associates. Hogarth castigates masquerades in his *Masquerades and Operas*, and the presence of the mask here alludes to the profligacy associated with masquerades, as well as the frequently repeated criticism of masquerades that the participants most often dress as what they are least fit for.

For Hogarth, as for an anonymous pamphlet writer of the era, the link between the popularity of

masquerades and operas arose from the same conditions that occasioned the sad condition of British theater. "For as *Nits* by assembling together in corners do grow into Lice, so *Puppet-Shows, Raree-Shows, Balls, Assemblies, and Opera's* by a quick growth became a *Masquerade*."¹ All of these shows from the modest puppet show to the elaborate opera conspire to rob the Londoner of the proper food for his intellect "and very much incline Mankind to a Decay of Wit."²

¹ C. R., *The Danger of Masquerades and Raree-Shows*, preface by Arthur Freeman for series *The English Stage: Attack and Defense 1577-1730* (1718; reprint, New York: Garland, 1974), 10; hereafter cited as C. R., *Danger of Masquerades*.

² C. R., *Danger of Masquerades*, 15.



10
A Harlot's Progress, Plate 3, 1732
 Paulson number 123
 Etching and engraving, 11 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 14 ⁷/₈ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.4

Moll Hackabout has come down in the world from her comfortable situation with her rich lover, as is shown by her relatively mean dwelling, with its far more modest decorations, bed, and dressing table than her previous abode. Conspicuous in her room are the images of the angel staying the hand of Abraham as he

prepares to sacrifice Isaac and portraits of Dr. Sackevial and Captain Macheath from *The Beggar's Opera*. The portraits seem held in place by the jar and bottles on the shelf above them which undoubtedly contain nostrums for the cure of venereal disease. It could be that Macheath, the rogue highwayman who escapes his punishment in *The Beggar's Opera*, and Sackevial, a notorious preacher who had a successful clerical career after having been found guilty of anti-government preaching, are exemplars of those who escaped punishment as Moll hopes to with a cure for venereal disease, which would have been seen as the penalty for carnality. However, Moll will not escape

the consequences of her actions; the figure at the doorway was apparently immediately identifiable to Londoners of Hogarth's time as Sir John Gonson, whose career as a magistrate was most notable for his suppression of prostitution.

On her wall are a witch's hat to be used for masquerades and a broomlike bundle of sticks, perhaps part of the costume or to use on jaded clients. She still retains a fine jacket which hangs on the back of her chair and stockings which are under the stool, but in their present dingy context they are no less costumes that the witch's hat.



11
A Harlot's Progress, Plate 4, 1732
 Paulson number 124
 Etching and engraving, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.5

Sentenced to Bridewell Prison, Moll Hackabout beats hemp to loosen its fibers for spinning. She is dressed in an incongruously lovely gown, though to add insult to injury, she has lost her elaborate shoes and stockings (full of holes though they are) to her own serving maid, who puts them on at the right. The prisoners and the viewers are clearly told what the relationship is between laziness and punishment; the stock bears an admonitory warning, "Better to Work than Stand

thus," as does the whipping post, "The Wages of Idleness." The discipline meted out is an object lesson for all, not just punishment for one. The crimes of the rest of the inmates are unclear except for the man beside Moll; nearly as elegantly dressed as she, he is an unsuccessful gambler judging from the torn card on the floor before him.

Public humiliations, with bystanders taking an active part in the punishment of offenders, were very much a part of the public life in London. The real-life model for the bawd who entices Moll in the first print of the series, Mother Needham, met her death at the hands of a London mob who abused her while she was in the stock.¹ In making public the terrible circumstances of Moll's life, Hogarth makes of her a similar object lesson and participates in the intention

that lay behind the grisly show provided by public punishments like the stocks. Justice here is not merely done, but seen to be done.

¹ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 1, *The "Modern Moral Subject," 1697-1732* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 252.



12

A Harlot's Progress, Plate 5, 1732

Paulson number 125

Etching and engraving, 12 x 14 3/4 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.6

By this time in her short, troubled life, Moll Hackabout has borne a child, who scratches his presumably lousy head by the fire while she suffers from the effects of syphilis. Two doctors argue about the efficacy of their cures for her disease—one arguing for his pills, the other for his tonic—but their dispute is immaterial to the dying Moll, whose teeth, loosened by the effects of one “cure” lie scattered across the piece of paper beside the cracked bowl and cup-shaped spittoon to the right of the fire. A woman sorts through the trunk Moll brought with her from the country which contains the sum of her gains in London—the dainty shoes, silly costume witch’s hat, and coquette’s fan—outward trappings bought at the cost of her life.

Hogarth’s dramatic planning, if his series will in fact be the anodyne to cases like Moll’s, as the quack’s pamphlet on the floor claims to be, must at once

acknowledge the attraction of the way of life Moll leads while it demonstrates that the pleasures are brief but the payment is long. In practical terms this means that his dumb show must dwell more on the horrors than the pleasures of Moll’s life. The dramatic structure that results, the brief flowering of pleasure followed by the piling of woe upon woe, follows very closely the dramatic structure of tragedy, which classically deals with the fall of the great. In this case the reference is not directly to classical tragedies like the rise and fall of Tamerlane the great; instead Hogarth seems to take as his model the domestic tragedies like Thomas Heywood’s *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse*, a species of drama founded on the notion that divine providence meted out punishment for flouting moral law.

That Hogarth’s series looks back to the seventeenth century for its dramatic model reflects his reaction to the rise of what has been called the sentimental mode in English drama. Playwrights like Charles Johnson in his *Caelia* which was produced the same year as *A Harlot’s Progress* (though to far less success) created a tragedy in which the trials of the title character were largely undeserved; fate and her very

goodness entrapped her. However, both Johnson’s and Hogarth’s tales may have been intended to build upon the great success of George Lillo’s tragedy, *George Barnwell*, which had appeared on the stage in 1731. The story of a young man’s downfall at the hands of a scheming woman, it became a staple of the theater cited for its moral instruction. Henry Fielding is often seen as the reaction to this trend in the eighteenth century; his *Joseph Andrews* was written to reduce Samuel Richardson’s similarly sentimental *Pamela* to absurdity. Hogarth, too, is reactionary in that his progress does not adhere to the sentimental notion of the innate goodness of his characters. Johnson’s *Caelia* staunchly resists the slide into prostitution in spite of her lover’s abandoning of her in London, pregnant. Moll seems to race to her destruction almost immediately upon alighting from the wagon from the country.

Hogarth’s work tends more toward straight satire, in which pride, gluttony, luxury, vanity, sloth, lust, and avarice are to be revealed and excoriated as falling short of the model of human behavior. It is in this spirit that the title of the series *A Harlot’s Progress* is reminiscent of the criticism of worldly behavior set forth in John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.

Moll’s maid, scarred by syphilis as she is, is her only friend to the end; she is the satiric counterpart to Good Deeds in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*; lapsing and occasionally cruel, she nonetheless remains with Moll to the end.



13
A Harlot's Progress, Plate 6, 1732
 Paulson number 126
 Etching and engraving, 11 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 14 ⁷/₈ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.7

At Moll's wake, that one public occasion when one might expect all to reflect upon the brevity of life, the mourners' concerns are extremely mundane. The man in the clerical collar at left spills his drink with his left hand, clearly preoccupied with the doings of his right

which is hidden by the skirt of the woman sitting next to him. The undertaker at right, single-minded in his venereal pursuit, is ignorant that his pocket is being picked. He is far from mindful of the seriousness of this gathering. Moll's son is dressed for the occasion, but preoccupied with his top. Moll's sisters in the trade are busy drinking, seeing to their petty problems, or attending to the mirror. Amidst all this only one woman pauses to peer into the casket, given a special highlight by Hogarth, and she pulls her mourning hood less closely around her head than that of the rest. This suggests that Hogarth is singling her out, perhaps as the one amongst the company who

escapes Moll's sad end.

In a counterpoint to the public lessons made explicit in plate 4 of this series where the stocks and whipping posts of Bridewell are clearly labeled with admonitions, here at Moll's wake the mourners are all too able to ignore the example in their midst. Hogarth implies that such public rituals are empty unless they are carried out with due observance. Like the parson that ignores Moll's plight in the first print of the series, the distracted cleric here is not merely a figure of comedy, but of criticism as he shirks his responsibility to set the tone for this observance.



14
A Chorus of Singers, 1732

Paulson number 127

Etching and engraving, 6 ⁹/₁₆ x 6 ¹/₈ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.62

A Chorus of Singers was produced as a receipt for subscribers to Hogarth's *A Midnight Modern Conversation*. Subscribers paid their money for the unfinished *Conversation* in advance and were given the receipt which served as proof of purchase against the eventual publication of the larger print. Still, the *Chorus* provides an interesting insight into Hogarth's relation with the entertainments of his time as well as a glimpse into their production.

The chorus is rehearsing *Judith: An Oratorio*, based on the story of Judith and Holofernes, which was given its premier performance the same year that this print appeared. As Paulson has noted, modern viewers should resist the temptation to see this print as heaping ridicule on *Judith*. For one thing the print was produced before the oratorio's disastrous premier, and for another, Hogarth and the librettist of the work, William Huggins, were friends, and the following year

Hogarth provided the design for a wholly serious frontispiece for the publication of *Judith*. Even in this lighthearted work Hogarth assiduously records not only the tune and text but key and time signatures, suggesting that the music is not the object of his humor. Rather, the discrepancy between the musicians' manner and their message is the object of his humor.

Indeed, musicians are often the butt of Hogarth's jokes, especially those too self-important to be tolerated. Such is the case with the conductor of this chorus, with his peculiar spectacles and ridiculous wiglessness (men in Hogarth's prints who appear bareheaded are consistently under duress: insane, drunk, or in the throes of some overpowering passion, as here). And Hogarth's treatment of the singers' faces betrays his real motive for creating this scene—his fondness for capturing the slight deviations and differences which contribute character to drawn countenance. It is not only the humor of the squinting baritone at the right who reads his score through a glass, but also the contrast of the innocent faces of the soaring boy sopranos at the lower left with those of the serious basses on the right reaching for their low notes.

This print also participates in a current topic following on the heels of Handel's *Esther*, which was

written in 1720 but became his first publicly produced oratorio in England in May of 1732. A commentator of the time records that in response to the general excitement about Handel's new work,

... away goes I to the *Oratorio*, where I saw indeed the finest Assembly of People I ever beheld in my Life, but, to my great Surprise, found this Sacred *Drama* a mere consort, no Scenary, Dress or Action, so necessary to a *Drama*; but H—I was placed in a Pulpit, I suppose they call that (their Oratory) by him sate *Senesino Strada Bertolli*, and *Turner Robinson*, in their own Habits; before him stood sundry sweet Singers of this our *Israel*!

The popularity of Handel's oratorio celebrating an Old-Testament heroine may have contributed impetus for Huggins's production, but it may also have contributed to this print which similarly places the conductor above the singers who face away from him, an odd position for a rehearsal, which this manifestly is judging by the way the singers cling to the sheet music. We might interpret this print as Hogarth's jab at the informality of Handel's production, comparing it to a mere rehearsal of Huggins's libretto and William Defesch's musical score.

The anonymous author of *See and Seem Blind* goes on to deplore the Italians' pronunciation of English in tones that Hogarth, with his frequent jibes at foreign fashions, might have used himself. Though mixed with Hogarth's humorous exploration of nuances of character, the print still upholds Hogarth's lifelong conviction that the arts in England need look up to no other nation's.

¹ *See and Seem Blind, Or, A Critical Dissertation on the Publick Diversions, &c.* Augustan Reprint Society Number 235 (Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1986), 15.



15
The Laughing Audience, 1735

Paulson number 130

Etching, 7 x 6 1/2 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.69

This print depicts an audience in a typical London theater of Hogarth's time. On the floor before the stage, the "pit" with the least expensive seats is separated from the orchestra by a low wall, here set with spikes. Surrounding this area are boxes for those paying higher ticket prices. Hogarth's print seems to show the audience during one of the humorous musical entertainments that dominated the stage of his time: the serious musicians play what may be an oboe and an English horn while young and old in the pit roar with laughter. In the boxes, however, a pair of gentlemen theater-goers concern themselves with their own affairs, one approaches an orange-seller, the other leans close to his lady companion, offering her snuff.

The orange sellers depicted here are described by the playwright Susanna Centlivre in her epilogue to *The Platonick Lady*.¹ She describes how a play's success is determined not by the wits or "quality," but

by the mass of ordinary citizens "Who, like Cock-Sparrows, hop about the Benches./ And court, with Six-pences, fat Orange-Wenches." The scene was probably common enough that Hogarth and Centlivre draw their imagery directly from the actions of those in the theater, though Hogarth's rakes inhabit the first balcony, a level higher than most citizens. It seems unlikely that Hogarth would have been alluding to Centlivre's lines; *The Platonick Lady* only ran for four nights in 1706 and was not revived, although it was published in 1707.

Like *A Chorus of Singers*, this print was produced as a subscription ticket, in this case for nine of Hogarth's prints, the eight-print series *A Rake's Progress*, and the print *Southwark Fair*. As with the *Chorus*, Hogarth uses the scene as an opportunity to explore and contrast the faces of individuals preoccupied with their own passions—intense concentration, mirth, and lechery. However, it is remarkable that Hogarth's three works taken together, as they would have been by the first subscribers, form the sort of varied entertainment that one might see at the playhouses of Hogarth's time, with the ticket becoming a light prologue, *Southwark Fair* a comic interlude, and *A Rake's Progress* the more serious entertainment.

This print does undertake some of the tasks that authors address with prologues to plays. Most simply, Hogarth's subscription ticket appears first and appears to promise that what follows will be amusing. A prologue often directly addresses the crowd and may ask its goodwill in receiving the play or challenge its expectations. Hogarth accomplishes a very similar task by holding up a mirror to a London audience (much as Centlivre had in the epilogue quoted above) to see itself. One part of the audience attends exactly the sort of fallen theater which Hogarth describes in *Southwark Fair*, while the gentlemen in the boxes pursue the vices which will lead to the downfall of the main character in *A Rake's Progress*. Neither the coarse laughter of the audience nor the sly, effete dandies are particularly attractive. The one face caught in a thoughtful frown is usually identified as a critic, whom one can imagine as being as dissatisfied with the production of mere comedy as Hogarth shows himself to be.

¹ Susanna Centlivre, *The Platonick Lady*, ed. and introd. Richard C. Frushell, vol. 2 of *The Plays of Susanna Centlivre* (New York: Garland, 1982).



16

Southwark Fair, 1733

Paulson number 151

Etching and engraving, 13 1/2 x 17 5/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.31

Southwark Fair had been established as a mercantile fair, at which vendors were allowed to sell from temporary shops, in 1462. Originally it had lasted only for three days, but in Hogarth's time this limit was ignored, and the fair lasted for up to two weeks.¹ It had become the collection of popular entertainments Hogarth portrays in this print.

Some events depicted here were part of the fair in 1733, the year of the painting on which this print is based. For instance, the *Fall of Bajazet* being shown in the booth at the left was indeed shown by Theophilus Cibber and William Bullock; however, the *Siege of Troy*, though it was originally produced with elaborate staging and costuming by Hannah Lee and John Harper, had not appeared at Southwark Fair since 1726. It is noteworthy that Lee and Harper revived their *Siege of Troy* at Southwark Fair the year following the appearance of Hogarth's *Southwark Fair*.

Many commentators have noted that Hogarth catalogs a variety of "falls" in the plate. The falls range from the literal collapse of the platform where the actors had been presenting a preview of the show and the rope-slider falling in the background upper right, to the historical falls of Adam and Eve advertised on the show cloth just below the rope-slider and the fall of Troy beside it. There is also a hint of the metaphorical fall of the theater in combining the fall of Adam and Eve on the same show cloth with a farce called "Punches Opera" in which Punch is shown carrying Judy to a mouth of hell in a wheelbarrow, a travesty of the biblical tale. The fall that underlies the whole scene is that fall of London's theater from the heights of drama and comedy by authors like Jonson, Shakespeare, and Dryden that Hogarth explicitly acknowledges in previous satires on the theater and that are significantly absent at the fair.

The print also refers to a theatrical controversy of 1732–33, the Stage Mutiny. Hogarth's show cloth with the various players in the controversy at the left of the composition is a very close copy of a print of the time by John Laguerre, published in 1733. To the left under the banner "We'll starve em out" are the owners of the Drury Lane theater, which had recently

been bought by the amateur Sir John Highmore, who points to a handbill which states, "it Cost £6,000," indicating his expense for the controlling share of Drury Lane. To the right under the banners "Liberty & property" and "We eat" are the actors including Theophilus Cibber, costumed as Pistol, who, chafing under Highmore's inexperienced management, led a group of actors away from the Drury Lane company to start a troupe of their own. To the far left is Colley Cibber, father of Theophilus, who had withdrawn himself from the fray early on and then sold his share of Drury Lane to Highmore; no wonder the elder Cibber sits happily with his bags of money, aptly captioned "quiet and snug."

It is also worth noting that during the 1733 season at Southwark Fair, Theophilus Cibber's pantomime *The Harlot's Progress; or, The Ridotto al Fresco: A Grotesque Pantomime Entertainment* was played at another booth run by Lee and Harper. Moral lessons go by the wayside and even the pretense of following Hogarth's story ceases after Cibber magically banishes the Bridewell of the third print to allow characters to take part in the entirely unscripted *Ridotto*. In the last stage directions of the published text of the play Cibber specifies that "A great Number of People pass over the Stage as going to the *Ridotto*, among whom appears the Marquis de Fresco, performed by the little Harlequin Dog," who is apparently the host of the second part of Cibber's show. This character seems to correspond to the dog with stick, sword, cape, and hat which appears at the lower left of *Southwark Fair* and which, like Cibber's Marquis de Fresco, seems to invite the viewer to this hurly-burly entertainment, which itself is attached to *A Rake's Progress*, in the same way that Cibber's musical entertainment was attached to the farce of *A Harlot's Progress*.

¹ For information on the duration and shows given at Southwark Fair, and its rival Bartholomew Fair, see Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Theater of the London Fairs in the 18th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960). For a review of the scholarship on why Hogarth might have chosen to depict Southwark Fair rather than the larger, closer-to-hand Bartholomew, see Celina Fox, "Notes," *Print Quarterly* 4 (December 1987): 421–23.



17
A Rake's Progress, Plate 1, 1735
 Paulson number 132
 Etching and engraving, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.8

If the set of prints which included *A Rake's Progress*, its subscription ticket *The Laughing Audience*, and *Southwark Fair*, can be compared to an evening at the theater, then *A Rake's Progress* is the "serious work" that carries the weighty moral message. During this period, Lillo's *George Barnwell*, which had the same claim to being a moral entertainment as a work like Hogarth's *Progress*, was a popular stock play. Lillo's tragedy was most often performed in a double-bill with a comedy, or at the very least accompanied by songs, music, and dance.

Hogarth follows the success of *A Harlot's Progress* with a similar formula for *A Rake's Progress*, in which the main character pursues the male version of the fashionably debauched rise and fall. In telling his story, Hogarth has collaborated with one of his many friends in the theater, John Hoadly, a librettist and playwright who wrote the verses that are inscribed beneath each scene of *A Rake's Progress*.

Perhaps Hogarth felt the need of this integrated interpretation after finding *A Harlot's Progress* too much misinterpreted. However, many aspects of this series seem planned to be an improvement on the first, telling the story in eight rather than six plates and using a more polished engraving style, so the addition of verses may have been another part of the effort to improve this second series over the first.

Hogarth's Rake didn't produce the stir in the theatrical world that his Harlot had, though in December of 1739 a puppet-show version of it played at "Punch's Theater," and in January an announcement noted that a comedy called *The Rake* was in rehearsal with David Garrick in the title role. We have no record that this play actually made it to the stage, but the announcement may refer to a farce by Theophilus Cibber. However, if the show people found little that they could draw from Hogarth's new work, Hogarth found a great deal he could draw from the shows of his city: Tom Rakewell's infatuation with all of London's shows eventually accomplishes his downfall.

Like Moll Hackabout's, Tom Rakewell's narrative begins *in medias res*; the first print shows the climax of what has gone on in the months and years before the moment shown. We know that his father has recently died by the fact that the room is being

*O Vanity of Age, untoward,
 Ever Spleeny, ever froward!
 Why those Bolts, & Massy Chains,
 Squint Suspicions, jealous Pains?
 Why, thy toilsom Journey o'er,
 Lay'st thou in an useless Store?
 Hope along with Time is flown,
 Nor canst thou reap y^e Field thou'st sown.*

*Hast Thou a Son? In Time be wise—
 He views thy Toil with other Eyes—
 Needs must thy kind, paternal Care,
 Lock'd in thy Chests, be buried there:
 Whence then shall flow y^e friendly Ease,
 That social Converse, homefelt Peace,
 Familiar Duty without Dread,
 Instruction from Example bred,
 That youthfull Mind with Freedom mend,
 And with y^e Father mix the Friend?*

hung with black for mourning and by the seated man making an inventory of the estate (while surreptitiously stealing a bit of it). That the old man had been a miser is shown by his portrait over the mantelpiece in which he assiduously weighs the coins he is counting to measure his wealth, while the paper peels from the wall behind him. The cap he wears in the portrait, which also appears on the mantel below the picture, and the cloak were an economy as well; they prevented expense for firewood.

The most scandalous of the old man's economies is shown on the floor at the left of the print, where the sprung cover of the Bible has been recycled into the sole of his shoe. Tom's recent past is enacted by Sarah Young at far right, to whom he had given the ring that the weeping Sarah holds, the notes her mother carries in her apron, and the unborn child the mother indicates Sarah carries. As he is measured for a suit (and perhaps a paternity suit), Tom offers to buy her off with some of his father's hoarded wealth. The whole is already more complex than that of *A Harlot's Progress*, in that here much more background is given; it represents Tom's prodigality as rising from his father's miserliness and explains Sarah's devotion to him despite his callousness.



Prosperity, (with Harlot's smiles,
 Most pleasing, when she most beguiles,)
 How soon, Sweet foe, can all thy Train
 Of false, gay, frantick, loud & vain,
 Enter the unprovided Mind,
 And Memory in letters bind;
 Load faith and Love with golden chain,
 And sprinkle Lethe o're the Brain!
 Pleasure on her silver Throne
 Smiling comes, nor comes alone;
 Venus moves with her along,
 And smooth Lyceus, ever-young;
 And in their Train, to fill the Press,
 Come apish Dance, and swollen Excess,
 Mechanic Honour, vicious Taste,
 And fashion in her changing Vest.

18

A Rake's Progress, Plate 2, 1735

Paulson number 135

Etching and engraving, 12 ³/₈ x 15 ¹/₂ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.9

The young rake immediately aspires to all the affectations of the stylish and in the second print is shown at his morning levee attended by a troop of sycophants who compete for his attention and money. His fencing, quarterstaff, and dancing masters and landscape designer stand to the left of him, while to his right are a thug, a jockey who has won a cup with Tom's eponymous horse "Silly Tom," and a horn-blowing huntsman. Tom holds a letter of reference for the thug which reads "Sr. the Capt. is a Man of Honour. His Sword may Serve you Yrs. Wm. Stab." More men

hoping for Tom's support wait in the outer room, including a poet who has written an "Epistle to Rakew---."

Tom's basic inability to choose wisely among all the new opportunities offered to him is played out on the wall behind him: the implied disaster that follows upon the choice of Paris is depicted in the central painting and the ludicrous bracketing of the classical painting with paintings of fighting cocks.

The most complex reference in the print surrounds the musician at the left. If Londoners did not recognize the harpsichordist as Georg Friedrich Handel—the traditional identification of the figure—they would have certainly have understood the pointlessness of hosting an accomplished performer whose playing is lost in hubbub. The long list that hangs from the back of the musician's chair is "A List of rich Presents Signor Farinelli the Italian Singer

Condescended to Accept from ye English Nobility & Gentry for one Nights Performance in the Opera Artaxerses" including gold and diamond accessories and Tom Rakewell's somewhat pedestrian gift of cash. Appended to the list is a print showing a woman crying out "One G-d, one Farinelli" in a blasphemous excess of admiration for the extremely popular counter-tenor. Hogarth has also ironically cast famous castrato singers as ravishers against Sabines, played by no-longer-virginal sopranos in the dramatis personae for *The Rape of the Sabines* score which sits open on the harpsichord. This clash of player and role, like the din of hunting horn with harpsichord, and the mismatch of game-cocks with classicism is played out in the contrast between this print and the next. For while in this print the would-be gentleman strains to be what he is not, in the next he falls to the lowest form of what he is.



*O Vanity of Youthfull Blood,
So by Misuse to poison Good!
Woman, form'd for Social Love,
Fairest Gift of Powers above!
Source of every Houshold Blessing,
All Charms in Innocence possessing:
But turn'd to Vice, all Plagues above,
Foe to thy Being, Foe to Love!
Guest Divine to outward Viewing,
Abler Minister of Ruin!
And Thou, no less of Gift divine,
Sweet Poison of Misused Wine!
With Freedom led to every Part,
And secret Chamber of y^e Heart;
Dost Thou thy friendly Host betray,
And Shew thy riotous Gang y^e way,
To enter in with covert Treason,
O'erthrow the drowsy Guard of Reason,
To ransack the abandon'd Place,
And revel there with wild Excess?*

19
A Rake's Progress, Plate 3, 1735
Paulson number 134
Etching and engraving, 12 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.10

If Rakewell's day in the sun begins in company of men who would sell themselves to him in the previous image, it ends in an evening of female prostitutes in this image. It is set at an inn where the evening's entertainment has left the mirror broken and all of

the pictures of Roman emperors on the wall defaced except that of Nero, the most profligate. Gin and wine bottles and fruit used for punch are strewn across the table, and the only other male guest fondles a young woman heedless of another behind them who is intent on burning the world with her candle. Tom Rakewell is drunk in the arms of a young woman who distracts him with her charms while she deprives him of his pocket watch, which she hands behind him to an accomplice.

The entertainment this evening, apart from the company of prostitutes who drink and spit, is provid-

ed by the two musicians at the back corner and the tattered woman singing "The Black Joke" at the door. The next act is prepared by the man who brings in a candle and a platter, for the performance of the "posture woman" who disrobes in the foreground, whose art is to stand on the platter while contorting herself in a series of postures. Hogarth suggests that the libidinous excesses of this performance parallel the monetary excesses of Rakewell's operatic adventure of the previous print; both are simple squanderings.



20

A Rake's Progress, Plate 4, 1735

Paulson number 135

Etching and engraving, 12 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.11

The young prodigal has soon spent his inheritance and, when he ventures into the street, is placed under arrest for debt. Tom's sedan chair, like those in the background, had been destined for St. James Palace where he would attend a royal levee. Like the hangers-on who vied for his attention in plate 2, he had hoped to strive for preferment. Sarah Young, his deserted lover of the first print of the series, has been making her living in London sewing, to judge from

her dropped box of ribbons and ruffs. In an ironic reversal of the first scene, she holds back the bailiff and offers her own money for Tom's use.

The urchins at lower right suggest that the young rake has been ruined by gambling. Two boot-blacks throw dice, one has already lost his shirt, belt, and shoes to the other and seems to wager the tools of his meager trade. Behind them two boys play at cards while a third signals to one of them the cards his opponent holds. Behind these another lad picks the hapless rake's pocket.

Paulson notes the action of Sarah Young in rescuing the faithless Tom as being comparable to Maria in Lillo's *The London Merchant, or The History of George Barnwell*, who helps conceal her beloved's embezzlement and eventually joins him in his prison

*O Vanity of youthfull Blood,
So by Misuse to poison Good!
Reason awakes, & views unbar'd
The sacred Gates he watch'd to guard;
Approaching views the Harpy Law,
And Poverty with icy Paw
Ready to seize the poor Remains
That Vice hath left of all his Gains.
Cold Penitence, lame After-Thought,
With Fears, Despair, & Horrors fraught,
Call back his guilty Peasures dead,
Whom he hath wrong'd, & whom betray'd.*

cell before his execution.¹ He also associates her fortuitously saving him with the otherwise odd detail of the lamplighter who spills oil above Tom's head. This accidental anointing may be related to tropes like Marlowe's *Faustus* when the ever-less-godly Faustus is given a last chance: "I see an Angel houer ore thy head,/ And with a violl full of precious grace./ Offers to powre the same into thy soule,/ Then call for mercie and auoyd dispaire."²

¹ Paulson, *Life*, vol. 2, 391, note to p. 24.

² Lines 320-23 of the 1604 "A-text;" lines 1835-38 of the 1616 "B-text." An authoritative source for both of these texts is Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus 1604-1616*, ed. W. W. Greg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 276-77.



New to y^e School of hard Mishap,
 Driven from y^e Ease of Fortune's Lap,
 What Shames will Nature not embrace,
 T'avoid less Shame of lean Distress?
 Gold can the Charms of youth bestow,
 And mask Deformity with Shew;
 Gold can avert y^e Sting of Shame,
 In Winter's Arms create a Flame,
 Can couple Youth with hoary Age,
 And make Antipathies engage.

21

A Rake's Progress, Plate 5, 1735

Paulson number 136

Etching and engraving, 12 ⁷/₁₆ x 15 ³/₈ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.12

Rather than taking his example from Sarah Young's thrift and charity, the rake seems to have latched onto the notion of getting money from women and so has agreed to marry the one-eyed old woman who stands with him at the altar, while Sarah, her child, and her

battling mother are barred entrance to the church when then try to halt the banns. The church was clearly recognizable to contemporaries as Marylebone Old Church and was popular for clandestine weddings.¹ Consequently, what would be a cause for celebration becomes a tawdry farce, with the groom eyeing the servant rather than his bride, the bride unable to see him at all as he stands on her blind side, and the wedding chapel falling to ruin.

The irony of a wedding at which guests are kept out, a ceremony which is kept secret rather than celebrated, is a parallel to the cobwebbed poor box and

general state of disrepair of the church—all show a disregard of religious observances. For Hogarth some observances, both civil and religious are both vital to the common weal (as he apparently believed flogging was) and happy occasions as well; there are more instances of it in his longest moral subject, *Industry and Idleness*. However, when what should by rights be a public event is kept under cover, as here, it signals something deeply amiss.

¹ Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 1, 166.



22

A Rake's Progress, Plate 6, 1735

Paulson number 137

Etching and engraving, 12 7/16 x 15 1/4 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.15

Supplied with a new income, Rakewell quickly loses it again by gambling. In his exertions upon losing he

has upset his chair, lost his wig, and alarmed the player on his right and a dog, as he gesticulates wildly at heaven. The fire at the top of the back wall of the room above the rake's raised hand recalls the woman setting fire to the map of the world in the third print of the series, as if the fire set then had grown and is finally about to consume Rakewell.

The other denizens of the gambling den seem little concerned with either the fire or the loser. At

*Gold, Thou bright Son of Phoebus, Source
Of Universal Intercourse;
Of weeping Virtue Sweet Redress,
And blessing Those who live to bless;
Yet oft behold this Sacred Trust
The Fool of Avaritious Lust,
No longer Bond of Humankind,
But Bane of every virtuous Mind.*

*What Chaos such Misuse attends!
Friendship Stoops to prey on Friends;
Health, that gives Relish to Delight,
Is wasted with y^e Wasting Night:
Doubt & Mistrust are thrown on Heaven,
And all its Power to Chance is given.
Sad Purchase, of repentant Tears,
Of needless Quarrels, endless Fears,
Of Hopes of Moments, Pangs of Years!
Sad Purchase, of a tortur'd Mind,
To an imprison'd Body join'd!*

the right a gambler who apparently makes his stakes as a highwayman, judging by the pistol and mask in his pocket, sits glumly by the fire as a lad serves him gin. Behind him another loser huddles while the winners share their stakes, suggesting they had been in collusion. At the left a lord borrows money to gamble with, while the watch rushes in to warn of the spreading fire.



23

A Rake's Progress, Plate 7, 1735

Paulson number 138

Etching and engraving, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 15 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.14

Having avoided the debtors' prison once by the intercession of Sarah Young and again by his marriage to the wealthy one-eyed woman, Tom Rakewell at last

succumbs to his fate. He sits melancholy as his one-eyed wife berates him and Sarah Young faints, while his child cries for her mother. His turnkey has come in to demand "garnish money," and the surly ale-delivery boy wants payment as well.

Rakewell's only attempt to earn money has been to write a play, which has been returned to him with the note saying "Sr. I have read your Play & find it will not doe Yrs J. R..h" The signature suggests the name of John Rich, the successful actor and producer

*Happy the Man, whose constant Thought
(Tho' in the School of Hardship taught,)
Can send Remembrance back to fetch
Treasures from Life's earliest Stretch:
Who Self-approving can review
Scenes of past Virtues that Shine thro'
The Gloom of Age, & cast a Ray,
To glid the Evening of his Day!*

*Not so the Guilty Wretch confin'd:
No Pleasures meet his roving Mind,
No Blessings fetch'd from early Youth,
But broken Faith, & wrested Truth,
Talents idle, & unus'd,
And every Gift of Heaven abus'd,—
In Seas of Sad Reflection lost,
From Horrors still to Horrors tost,
Reason the Vessel leaves to Steer,
And Gives the Helm to mad Despair.*

of *The Beggar's Opera*. The remnants of other vain schemes of escape are arrayed around the cell: the new "Scheme for paying ye Debts of ye Nation" which falls from the pocket of the bearded man who supports Sarah, the wings on top of the bed's canopy, and the alchemical furnace in the background for turning base metal to gold. Rakewell's own escape will not be to pay his debts, fly from them, nor transmute lead into gold, but to descend into insanity.



24

A Rake's Progress, Plate 8, 1735

Paulson number 139

Etching and engraving, 12 7/16 x 15 1/2 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.15

Rakewell's story ends with him among the other inmates of an insane asylum, Bethlehem hospital, from which derives the word "bedlam." Among an array of patients who think themselves king, pope, saint, and astronomer, Rakewell lies distracted and manacled on

the floor, maddened by his excesses, a victim of his own deluded idea that he could become what he was not. He is attended by the grieving and faithful Sarah.

Rakewell, who had begun with an insatiable appetite to take in all the diversions London had to offer, ends up becoming one himself, tittered at by the two young women who have come to tour the hospital. Bedlam served as a diversion to London audiences from 1676 until nearly a century later.¹ Like the laughing audience in the subscription ticket, they find only comedy when tragedy is set before them, in the lives of both Rakewell and Sarah. If the subscription ticket provided the prologue to Hogarth's tragedy, John

*Madness, Thou Chaos of y^e Brain,
What art? That Pleasure giv'st, and Pain?
Tyranny of Fancy's Reign!
Mechanic Fancy; that can build
Vast Labarynth, & Mazes wild,
With Rule disjointed, Shapeless Measure,
Fill'd with Horror, fill'd with Pleasure!
Shapes of Horror, that wou'd even
Cast Doubt of Mercy upon Heaven.
Shapes of Pleasure, that but Seen
Wou'd split the Shaking Sides of Spleen.*

*O Vanity of Age! here see
The Stamp of Heaven effac'd by Thee—
The headstrong Course of Youth thus run,
What Comfort from this darling Son!
His rattling Chains with Terror hear,
Behold Death grappling with Despair;
See Him by Thee to Ruin Sold,
And curse thy self, & curse thy Gold.*

Hoadly's verse supplies the epilogue. Interestingly, it gives the final caution not to would-be rakes, but to their parents using the rake's example to warn them against vanity; "See Him by Thee to Ruin Sold,/ And curse thy self, & curse thy Gold."

¹ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978), 44-45.



25

Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn, 1738

Paulson number 156

Etching and engraving, 17 ³/₄ x 22 ¹/₄ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.38

As he had in *Southwark Fair*, Hogarth uses the large scale of the print and unity of place and time to produce a work which returns again and again to a central theme. The place of this print is a barn in which a troupe of actresses prepares to give its final performance before being forced from the boards by the newly restrictive theater licensing act. The central theme is the ironic distance between the actresses and the roles they play.

It is a relatively affectionate satire, filled more with irony than bitterness, and like the satire of Pope it harks back to classical antecedents, ironically comparing them to modern examples to show how far short the moderns fall. The satire here lies to a great extent in the conflict between the backstage activity of the actresses as opposed to the classical roles they play. For instance Hogarth places the actress dressing as the chaste Diana in a provocative pose gazing directly out at the viewer, and places Jove's thunder-

bolt by a saltbox, which will be rattled to simulate thunder. He pictures divine Juno declaiming with her eyes turned toward heaven but with her skirt hiked up so that her stocking can be mended. Winged Cupid is sent by mighty Apollo to fetch stockings from a cloud while a kitten plays Apollo's harp.

Christina Kiaer, in an article that explores the representation of femininity in this print, contrasts Hogarth's mild satire with Pope's more idealized and Swift's more brutish depictions of women.¹ She points out that the practice of putting females in male roles was common in Hogarth's time and mentions the possibility that Charlotte Charke, a female strolling player infamous for wearing men's clothing on and off the stage, may be portrayed in the group at the lower left. In view of Hogarth's acquaintance with the Cibbers, who are alluded to repeatedly in his prints, it is interesting to note that Charlotte Charke was Colley's daughter and Theophilus's sister and often appeared in plays written by Henry Fielding. As a strolling player, her livelihood would have been immediately stricken by the Act Against the Strolling Players referred to in the handbill on the bed at lower right which identifies the performance as "Being the last time of Acting Before ye Act Commences."

The act attempted to bring the growth of the theaters under control by allowing performances only at theaters licensed by the Lord Chamberlain or by Royal Patent. The government was interested in putting an end to the satires by such playwrights as Fielding. Robert Walpole, prime minister at the time and often the target of the satire, is said to have been so aggrieved during a performance in which an actor referred to him and an excise bill that he "immediately corrected the Comedian with his own Hands very severely."² The act passed in 1737 had brought a halt to much unlicensed theater. One actor dressed as a Harpy uses a piece of paper with the words "The Act Against the Strolling Players" as a placemat to protect a crown from a pot of pabulum being fed to a screaming child. It is tempting to associate the whining child with Walpole, the Harpy-shaped actor as representing playwrights like Fielding, and the crown with George II, whose person would be protected from calumny by the act.

¹ Christina H. Kiaer, "Professional Femininity in Hogarth's *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn*," *Art History* 16 (June 1993): 239-65.

² Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage 1729-1747: A Critical Introduction* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 1.



26

The Enraged Musician, 1741

Paulson number 158

Etching and engraving, 14 1/8 x 16 3/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.30

The entertainment of this scene in which a finely dressed violinist is driven to distraction by the hubbub outside his window derives in part from his scandalized reaction to the noise, and in part from the pleasure we as viewers take in sorting out all of the contributors to his frustration: the woman at the left singing the ballad she sells while her baby bawls, the oboe player, the pretty milkmaid crying her wares, the boy with the toy drum, the paver pounding cobbles down into the street, the dustman who shouts and rings his bell, the sow gelder wearing the traditional horseshoe sash, the fish seller, and the knife grinder, who is barked at by a stray dog. Even on the rooftops, the noise continues where a sweep emerges from a chimney and two cats fight. The flag attached to the steeple in the background implies that the church bells are adding their voices to the tumult to call attention to a day of public celebration.

The detail of the advertisement for *The Beggar's Opera* affixed to the wall beside the musician's window is the print's obvious reference to the theater of Londoners. The amazing popularity of John Gay's play *The Beggar's Opera* would no doubt have occasioned the same frustration on the part of the musician as the cacophony outside his window. Hogarth's prints in general have a strong affinity to Gay's opera in that both take their subjects from the life of contemporary London rather than foreign times and places, both often deal with the lower classes of society and in doing so both are at odds with contemporary notions of high art, as well as being far more popular than more serious entertainments. Like many of Hogarth's works, this subject inspired a theatrical entertainment, George Colman's *Ut Pictura Poesis! or, The Enraged Musician*, which culminates in a tableaux vivant composed on stage to imitate the print.

However, there had been a tradition in London of civic pride and acknowledgment of the cries of street merchants since the previous century. At the beginning of the seventeenth century several composers including Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625) had written choral works based on the cries in London. Georg Friedrich Handel (1685–1759), a contemporary

of Hogarth, thought enough of one street cry to have preserved it in his notes now at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. 'London street-criers' calls were memorialized in several sets of prints as well, starting at the beginning of the seventeenth century and developing in sophistication through the century to culminate with a set designed by Marcellus Laroon (also known as Marcellus Lauron). His sets of prints of the cries of London were first published in 1687 and republished six more times, the last in 1760. It seems quite likely that Hogarth was familiar with these prints, because although his figures are quite different from Laroon's, both include a sow gelder, ballad singer, chimney sweep, fish seller, milk maid, oboe player, and knife grinder in their surveys of trades.² This interest in the cries along with the posted advertisement may identify the din of the streets as the real "beggar's opera."

¹ Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 263, p. 93. The text referring to the cry of a match seller is reprinted in Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 258.

² Laroon's prints are illustrated in Sean Shesgreen, *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990) and in *The Cries of London: The Collection in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, intro. Richard Luckett (Burton Salmon, Leeds: Old Hall Press, 1994).



27

Marriage à la Mode, Plate 1, 1745

Paulson number 228

Engraving and etching by G. Scotin, 13 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 17 ¹/₂ in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.16

The title for this work derives originally from John Dryden's play *Marriage-à-la Mode* that was first performed in 1672. Dryden's play, still considered one of his best, is set at a court in a completely fictitious Sicily. The play supports two alternating plots that are almost independent of each other. In the comic plot, the intrigues and jealousies revolve around the baroque love-lives of two pairs of inconstant lovers, one married, the other betrothed. Parallel to their witty exchanges, disguises, and revelations are serious disquisitions on true love, secrets of state, and reclamations of birthright which are delivered by the honest lovers, recently brought to court, who eventually supplant the usurper king. These relationships do not parallel those of Hogarth's series completely, for as Dryden is at pains to point out in his epilogue, his lovers never quite get around to breaking their vows or troths, and virtue triumphs in the end. Likewise

Dryden's play does not impose the dire conclusion that Hogarth does to his *Marriage à la Mode*.

Hogarth's set of prints, in their turn, also gave rise to plays, bringing the series of influences back to the London stage in a full-circle and returning to the comic as well in George Coleman and David Garrick's *The Clandestine Marriage*.¹

The association of the phrase "à la mode" with sophisticated lovemaking was current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A flourishing trade in crib-books for the socially impaired provided its public with the advantages of sophistication without the necessity of wit. Among the most fully foliated of these was *The New Academy of Complements*, which, in addition to models of complements and samples of letters, claimed to provide "An Exact Collection Of the Newest and Choicest Songs a la Mode, Both Amorous and Jovial." The insertion of the French phrase, "à la mode," is undoubtedly intended to testify to the sophistication of the tome. However, the wholesale borrowing of French phrases as a means of tarding up English had been fully satirized in Dryden's *Marriage-à-la Mode* and its comic successors. It is the same sort of thoughtless admiration of foreign borrowings that Hogarth finds lamentable in opera.

In the first print of the set, a prosperous merchant of the city and a gouty earl arrange a marriage between their two children. Lord Squanderfield indicates his family tree which springs from William Duke of Normandy, while the merchant oversees the funds that are his daughter's dowry, agreed to in the marriage settlement that he holds in his hand. Outside, a building project that has come to a halt will be reinvigorated by the funds supplied by the dowry, the overweening plan of the project amazes the lawyer who holds it by the window. The young couple show no interest whatever in one another. The future earl, who wears a beauty mark beneath his ear, admires himself in a mirror, while his betrothed plays glumly with her wedding ring. Counselor Silvertongue, one of the lawyers brought in to oversee the deal, comforts her as he sharpens his pen. His ulterior motives become apparent in later prints.

The room itself bears witness to the ostentatious pride of Lord Squanderfield whose coronet is overused as a decorative motif, even having been branded on one of the two sad-looking dogs, linked cruelly together like the young couple. Hogarth often used the decorations of rooms to comment upon and present analogies to the plot, especially when he had the opportunity to portray rooms with elaborate decoration. In this series, portraying as it does the high life, he makes such full use of the ostentatious decoration that fills the unhappy couple's lives that the decoration functions almost as a Greek chorus throughout the series, reflecting the characters of the occupants. Here the earl's own portrait is the single largest decoration, attesting to his pride. Martyrdoms, falls, and murders in other paintings provide an ominous note to what should be a happy occasion.

¹For a chart of the currents of influence between *The Clandestine Marriage* and *Marriage à la Mode*, see Helmut E. Gerber, "The Clandestine Marriage and Its Hogarthian Associations," *Modern Language Notes* 62 (1957): 267-71.



28

Marriage à la Mode, Plate 2, 1745

Paulson number 229

Engraving and etching by B. Baron, 14 x 17 5/8 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.17

In Dryden's *Marriage-à-la Mode*. Melantha, Dryden's young bride-to-be describes their independence to her fiancé, saying "we will never make visits together, nor see a play, but always apart. You shall be every day at the king's *levée*, and I at the queen's; and we will never meet but in the drawing-room" (act 2, sc. 1, lines 72-74). Hogarth's couple is in the situation Melantha aspires to, apparently having spent the night pursuing different diversions.

The couple's home has been the scene of a card party indicated by the cards and book, *Hoyle on Whist*, on the floor. The spent candles and exhausted expression of all in the scene indicate that the entertainment had gone on all night. However, the young husband carries a woman's cap in his pocket, sniffed at suspiciously by the lap dog, suggesting that he has used the distraction of the party to pursue a dalliance with another woman. His distress at being reunited with his wife is palpable. The couple's bookkeeper despairs of them, bringing away one bill paid and a stack unpaid.

Paulson points out that the gulf of fireplace that separates the newlyweds here reflects their growing estrangement.¹ In the first plate of the series the young husband had amused himself with his own reflection

while his bride moped; here the young wife seems satisfied, while her husband seems disappointed. This pattern of alternation between the two equally culpable parties is continued throughout this series.

The details of the scene betray the remarkable lack of taste of the couple, which runs to the overly ornate exemplified by the odd clock above the young man and mantelpiece freighted with bric-a-brac. However, the juxtaposition in the far room, which places paintings of saints next to one so salacious it must be covered with a curtain in polite company, betrays hypocrisy.

¹ Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 1, 270.



29

Marriage à la Mode, Plate 3, 1745

Paulson number 2301

Engraving and etching by B. Baron, 13 7/8 x 17 1/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.18

The young husband, along with two women, has come to visit a purveyor of cures for syphilis. The far-too-young woman is usually identified as his current mistress, their connection hinted at in the relationship of his legs to her. The other woman is identified either as another of the young husband's lovers, or as the bawd of the younger woman. All interpretations agree that the young husband holds out a pillbox given him by the doctor, an ineffectual cure

for his venereal disease. He playfully threatens violence. His light-heartedness is completely out of keeping with the situation, however, as real violence seems to be offered by the older woman who glares at him as she unfolds a pocketknife. It may be that his tendency to violent threats leads ultimately to his undoing in plate five.

The identification of the doctor here is not based on a physical similarity. Rather, Paulson identifies the setting as "the house, or 'museum,' of Dr. Misaubin, 96 St. Martin's Lane, Westminster."¹ Misaubin was a famous purveyor of curative pills for syphilis (and is identified as one of the doctors in the fifth plate of *A Harlot's Progress*). The complex machines at lower left are presumably those described in the volume that lies open next to them, one for setting dislocated

shoulders, the other for pulling corks, and both invented by Mr. Pill and presented at the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris. The machines, along with the retorts and alembics in the next room betray the pseudoscience purveyed here by the doctor who cleans his glasses and squints speculatively at the scene. Among his exhibits is a skull perforated by the effects of syphilis, perhaps a previous customer.

Hogarth's decision to place this confrontation in a cabinet of curiosities (yet another type of show Londoners could attend in his time) reflects his interest in transforming the everyday shows of London into moral spectacles.

¹Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 1, 271.



30

Marriage à la Mode, Plate 4, 1745

Paulson number 231

Engraving and etching by S. Ravenet, 13 ⁷/₈ x 17 ⁵/₈ in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.19

Her errant husband absent, the modish wife takes on the accouterments of sophistication without regard to their eventual effect. At this, her morning levee, she is attended by musicians and friends while being served chocolate. However, her interest in music seems to be only a cover for her other affairs. While the rest of her guests listen to (or are bored to sleep by) the

music, she trades an assignation note with Lawyer Silvertongue, who had appeared in the first plate and whose portrait now appears in a prominent place on her wall. The solicitor indicates the scene of a masquerade on the screen behind him as the place of their assignation and hands her a note reading "1st Door," "2nd Door," "3rd Door" showing their meeting place. The decorations of the room have a decidedly venerable cast to them. Paintings on the wall depict the rapes of Ganymede and Io and Lot's drunken debauchery with his daughters, while a platter—in a box of pieces just acquired at auction—shows the rape of Leda. By Silvertongue is a copy of Crébillon's prurient novel *Sopha*,¹ all debauched products of foreign nations

credulously taken up by Britons too eager to seem sophisticated. A servant chuckles over the horned figure of Actaeon, signifying the cuckoldry imminent.

A pamphlet from earlier in the century lamenting the decay of wit in England levels criticism at both card-playing assemblies like that pictured in the second print of this set and at masquerades, as occasions where "*Avarice*, and *Lust*, are the two Capital Inducements" that bring participants together.²

¹ Claude-Prospere Jolyot de Crebillon (fils) (1707–1777). *The Sofa, A Moral Tale*.

² C. R., *Danger of Masquerades*, 13–14.



31
Marriage à la Mode, Plate 5, 1745

Paulson number 232

Engraving and etching by R. F. Ravenet, 15 ⁵/₁₆ x 17 ⁵/₈ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase, 66.8.20

Having interrupted the tryst between Silvertongue and his wife, the young husband draws his sword, only to

be run through by his rival. As he expires, the landlord bursts into the room along with the watchman, and Silvertongue hastily departs through the window. The young wife ineffectually kneels and pleads with her husband as he dies. The masks and costumes strewn about testify that the time is after the masquerade, while the paper which reads "The Bagnio" with a Turk's head between the words identifies the place as one of the trysting spots of the town.

The decorations of this room are incongruously

ludicrous in comparison to the horrible scene, with a tapestry of the judgment of Solomon obscured by a portrait of a harlot whose lower half is supplied with legs from the Roman soldier behind. However, though the bull in the painting of St. Luke is uncharacteristically amusing, the saint himself, patron of painters who was vouchsafed a vision of the virgin and child as a model for a painting, seems a horrified recorder of this modern apparition.



32

Marriage à la Mode, Plate 6, 1745

Paulson number 235

Engraving and etching by G. Scotin, 13 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 17 ⁹/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.21

Her dowry evaporated and her husband dead, Lady Squanderfield has been obliged to return to her father's house which, though it bears such marks of the merchant's success as his fur-trimmed alderman's cloak hanging on the wall and the silver on the table, has an exceptionally meager fare set out for a meal. The young wife has learned about the death of her lover on the gallows from the handbill which carries his last words. She no doubt requested the bottle of laudanum

to ease her mental pangs and has died from an overdose; the bottle lies empty on the floor. In the background the servant who brought the laudanum is struck by an apothecary for having let his mistress consume the whole bottle, while in the hallway, a doctor, identifiable by his cane and wig, departs, his skill to no avail. Her father is aggrieved but removes her wedding ring lest it be buried with her. As her daughter is held up by her nursemaid for a last embrace, we see that she bears her father's beauty mark on her cheek. Her only other legacy from her father is the brace on her leg, possibly caused by congenital syphilis.

It is possible to divide this set into pairs of prints: the arrangement of the marriage and the loveless pair, the husband's infidelity and the wife's mod-

ishness, the husband's death and the wife's. Hogarth has a penchant for symmetrical pairs like this such as his *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* and *Before and After*. However, if considered as a dramatic plot, the structure of the work takes on a more theatrical shape. Hogarth's dramatic plan in this series is more complex than his earlier series.

Here as in his next series, *Industry and Idleness*, he follows two characters. The dramatic plan which knits the two stories together, however, is quite similar in both series; Hogarth shows them together in the beginning of the set, then follows each of them individually in alternating prints, before bringing them briefly together for the climactic scene, then closing the series by showing the final consequences.



33
Garrick in the Character of Richard III, 1746
 Paulson number 165
 Etching and engraving, 15 ³/₁₆ x 19 ¹⁵/₁₆ in.
 Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.32

David Garrick was one of the people through whom Hogarth was closely associated with the theater. Hogarth painted and then reproduced as a print Garrick's very successful portrayal of the title role in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Garrick was then at the beginning of his acting career; the advertisements for his performance claimed he was a gentleman "who never appear'd on any stage" and while this is a falsehood, since Garrick played in a provincial production under a pseudonym, it is still remarkable how this role catapulted the unknown wine merchant and playwright into the realm of the most celebrated actors of his time.

A contemporary biographer describes the scene Hogarth captures in his print, particularly noting Garrick's ability to pull his audience into the fancies of the play:

Everything he described was almost reality; the spectator thought he heard the hum of either army from camp to camp.—When he started from his dream, he was a spectacle of horror: He called out in a manly tone,

'Give me another horse;'

He paused, and with a countenance of dismay, advanced, crying out in a tone of distress,

'Bind up my wounds,'

and then falling on his knees, said in a most piteous accent,

'Have mercy heaven.'

In all this, the audience saw the exact imitation of *nature*.¹

The distinction that Garrick achieved was in employing a style upon the stage that seemed more natural to his contemporary audiences than was common in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Garrick and Hogarth had a long and, to judge by Garrick's letters, cordial relationship, because although Garrick defends himself against charges of neglecting to visit Hogarth for too long in one, in others he is at pains to act as intermediary between Hogarth and those whom Hogarth's works had

offended. In one case, in fact, Garrick's mediation seems to have brought about reconciliation. It was Garrick, too, whom Jane Hogarth called upon to write Hogarth's epitaph, a task which he found burdensome, but fulfilled with the help of criticism from no less a consultant than Samuel Johnson.²

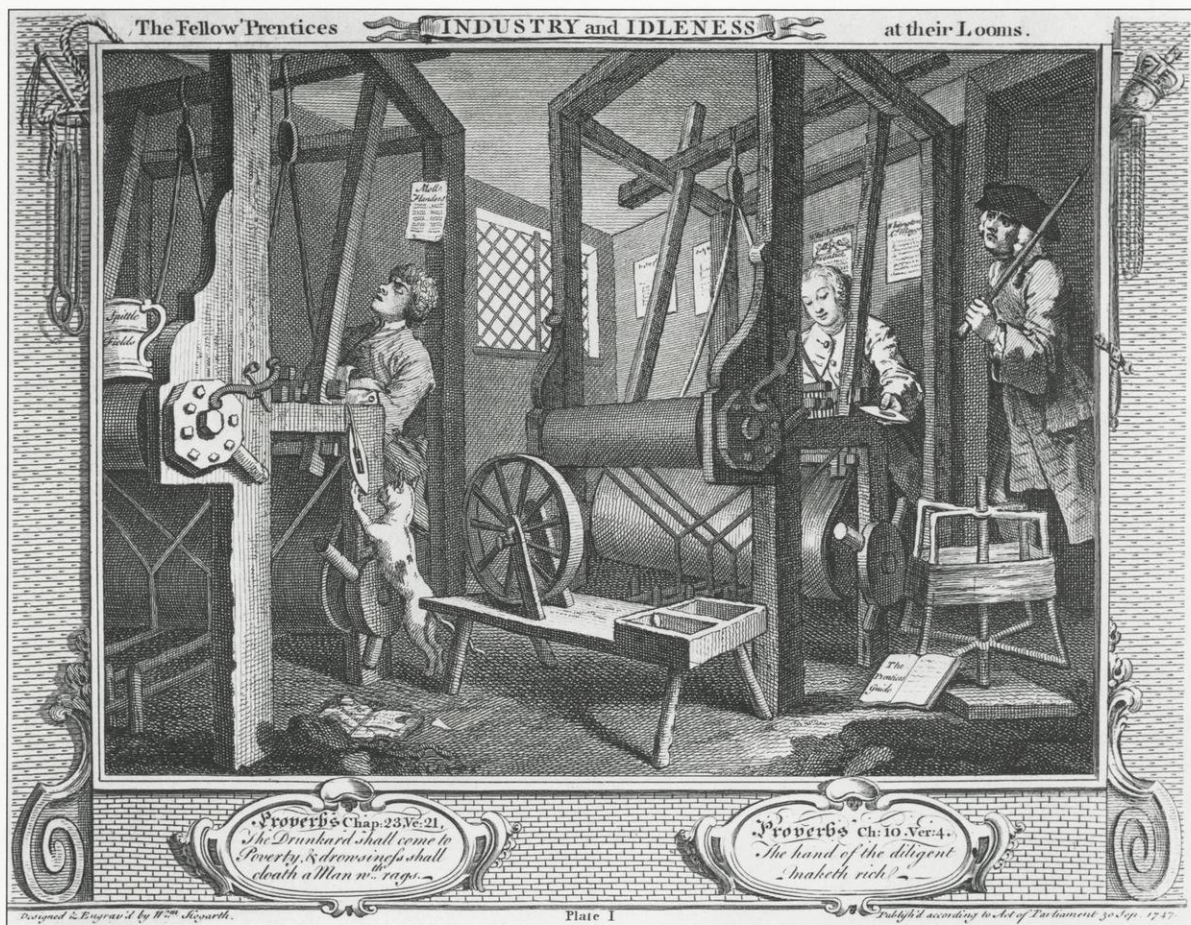
Michael Wilson has traced Garrick's career to uncover the continuing sophistication of London audiences in appreciating actors' styles: "Garrick's 'revolution' in acting brought a new authority to the actors' art of nonverbal expression with a careful appeal to the growing visual literacy of the audience."³

Like Garrick, Hogarth makes close use of his audiences' visual literacy, using not only the actors' apparatus of expression and gesture but also making specific reference to the London environs and entertainments. So Hogarth may have seen Garrick as a fellow observer and translator of the mundane of the London street into art. In addition, Garrick's initial success was with his performance of Shakespeare, whom Hogarth championed as an alternative to the silly shows he had satirized in *A Just View of the British Stage*.

¹ Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London: J. Wright, 1801), 23–24.

² *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), vol. 2, letter no. 283, vol. 3, letter nos. 666, 671.

³ Michael S. Wilson, "Garrick, Iconic Acting and the Ideologies of Theatrical Portraiture," *Word & Image* 6, no. 4 (October–December 1990): 369.



Proverbs Chap: 23, Ve: 21,
*The Drunkard shall come to
Poverty, & drowsiness shall
cloath a Man wth rags."*

Proverbs Ch: 10, Ver: 4.
*The hand of the diligent
maketh rich.*

34

*The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms, Plate 1, from
the series Industry and Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 168

Etching and engraving, 10 ³/₁₆ x 15 ⁹/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.44

This set of prints follows the careers of two characters from their common origin working as apprentices at the looms. The life of one follows a steady upward course; the other's goes as steadily downward. The apprentices, unsubtly named Goodchild and Idle, share the first print which contrasts their work as 'prentices and foreshadows the process of the rest of the prints. Goodchild works at his loom while Idle sleeps. The accouterments that surround the apprentices' looms also help to differentiate their characters. Goodchild

works with a neat row of ballads including one with the story of Dick Whittington who rises from obscurity to the post of Lord Mayor, a premonition of Goodchild's eventual achievement. The ballad tacked to Idle's loom is of Moll Flanders, a less promising tale, and it accords with his having a beer stein balanced on his loom. While Goodchild's *The Prentice's Guide* is propped against his full reel, Idle's battered and neglected guide lies discarded beside his empty reel.

As Paulson has noted, the general plan for the crossing paths of the two apprentices may have been suggested by *Eastward Ho!* cowritten the century before by Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston. In this first plate, the apprentices appear within the confines of their workroom, but Hogarth quickly brings them out into London, where their lives play into the events of the city. The function of this seems less to develop the apprentices' characters,

which can't really be said to change much from this first image Hogarth gives of them, than to tell their story in the argot of London, using sights familiar to Hogarth's audience. Not coincidentally, this confers meaning on those civic events so that each is overlaid with a connotation drawn from its meaning within London's culture, which is reinforced by biblical quotations along the bottom of the print.

In this set of prints Hogarth supplies the fullest titles and admonitory quotations of any of the modern moral subjects and frames each print with symbols of a life ill-spent on one side, manacles and iron chains, and well-spent on the other, the Lord Mayor of London's sword and gold chain and a royal crown. All this is in keeping with his reason for making the prints simply and heavily engraved for inexpensive production; he intended the prints for the use of apprentices and their masters.



Psalm CXIX Ver: 97.
O! How I love thy Law it is my
meditation all the day.

35
*The Industrious' Prentice, performing the Duty of a
Christian, Plate 2 from the series Industry and
Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 169

Etching and engraving, 10 ³/₁₆ x 13 ³/₈ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.45

After the first plate, the series splits into two with each pair of plates showing the contrasts in the lives of the two apprentices as they act out the characteristics shown in the first plate of the set. Plates 2 and 3 reflect the two apprentices' attitudes toward religion.

Here Goodchild goes to church, while in the next Idle hangs around in the churchyard.

Goodchild shares a hymnal with his future betrothed (who is also the daughter of the owner of the mill). Clearly the "Duty of a Christian" referred to in the title of the print is not intended to be understood as entirely unpleasant. Here, as elsewhere in the series, Hogarth places humorous incidents which distinguish individuals from the Londoners who throng through this series of prints. For example, the woman sitting to the left in the print, who reads from her hymnal through her glasses and wears a large set of keys at her belt—a sign that she is in charge of a prosperous household—is one such character; another

is the man slouched in the box beside Goodchild whose mouth is open, like everyone's in the print, though he seems to be snoring rather than singing.

To set up the contrast, Hogarth takes his audience just outside in the churchyard, where Idle and his cronies gamble while the congregation goes in to services. Idle attempts to steal from the pot, by covering part with his hat as a beadle prepares to rout them from their play. Like the beadle who leans into the workroom in the first print, he is both witness and scourge to Idle, just as the daughter of his master is witness and reward of Goodchild's merit.



Proverbs CH: XIX. Ve: 29.
Judgments are prepar'd for Scorners,
& Stripes for the back of Fools.

36

The Idle 'Prentice, at Play in the Church Yard, Plate 3
from the series *Industry and Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 170

Etching and engraving, 10 ¹/₆ x 13 ⁷/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.46



Matthew CHAP: XXV. Vc: 21.
Well done thou good and faithfull
Servant, thou hast been faithfull
over a few things, I will make thee
Ruler over many things.

Designed & Engraved by W. Hogarth.

Published according to an Act of Parliament, Jan. 30. 1737.

37
*The Industrious Prentice, a Favorite, and entrusted
by his Master, Plate 4 from the series Industry and
Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 171

Etching and engraving, 9 15/16 x 13 5/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.47

The two apprentices, released from the terms of their indentures, are placed in a wider world extending beyond the narrow compass of church and workroom. Goodchild comes into a position of authority in his master's mill. His relation to those about him is cor-

dial, and his demeanor is modest, in spite of his master's familiar hand on his shoulder as he introduces Goodchild to the porter who wears the badge of the City of London.

Meanwhile, Idle is obliged to go to sea, having broken the terms of his indenture (which floats beside the boat) and been turned out by his master. While Goodchild is the pride of his master, who has entrusted him with his daybook, purse, and keys, Idle is the sorrow of his grieving mother who accompanies him out to his ship. Idle expresses his scorn for her sorrow as well as his shipmates making a cuckold's sign, while one of his shipmates gestures toward a ship in the distance as well as indicating the gallows on shore nearer

Matthew CHAP: XXV. Vc: 21.

*Well done thou good and faithfull
Servant, thou hast been faithfull
over a few things, I will make thee
Ruler over many things.*

at hand, a foreshadowing of Idle's fate.

In the precursor to Hogarth's series, the play *Eastward Ho!*, a collaboration between George Chapman, John Marston, and Ben Jonson, the main plot involves two apprentices, the upright Golding and the spendthrift Quicksilver. The scene in which Quicksilver is washed ashore after his attempted escape to sea takes place at Cuckold's Haven, on the very point which appears in Hogarth's print.

Cuckold's Haven takes its name from the annual ceremony conducted by the butchers of London when one of their number fastens a pair of cow horns to a pole at this spot to commemorate the cuckolding of a miller by King John.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE turn'd away, and sent to Sea.



Proverbs CHAP. X. Ve. 1.
*A Foolish Son is the heaviness of
his Mother.*

Design'd & Engrav'd by W. Hogarth

Published according to Act of Parliament, Sep. 30. 1724.

Proverbs CHAP. X. Ve. 1.
*A Foolish Son is the heaviness of
his Mother.*

38
*The Idle 'Prentice turn'd away, and sent to Sea, Plate
5 from the series Industry and Idleness, 1747*
Paulson number 172
Etching and engraving, 10 x 15 ⁵/₁₆ in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.48



Proverbs CH: XII. Ver: 4.
The Virtuous Woman is a
Crown to her Husband.

39
The Industrious 'Prentice out of his Time, & Married to his Master's Daughter, Plate 6 from the series Industry and Idleness, 1747

Paulson number 173

Etching and engraving, 10 x 15 1/4 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.49

This pair of prints contrasts the love lives of the two apprentices. All are welcome at Goodchild's postnuptial breakfast, where a throng of street musicians has gathered to celebrate the marriage, in one of the street ceremonies that Hogarth often portrays in his works. Butchers at the far left of the throng, recognizable by their aprons and the sharpening steel at the waist of the one at the left, as well as the bones and cleavers

they use to make their rough music, contend with another group of musicians who salute the marriage with drums and a cello. At the lower left a legless beggar sings an appropriate ballad for the occasion, "Jesse or the Happy Pair," which he hopes to sell to the couple. At right the leftovers from the wedding feast of the night before are given away to the poor. Goodchild's name is joined with that of his employer on the sign advertising their business "Goodchild and West."

By contrast Idle, having come back from the sea, inhabits the lowest sort of living accommodation. The locks and planks that wedge the door shut and Idle's manifest fright at the sound of the cat coming down the chimney betray his fear of detection, implying as clearly as the pistols on the floor and assortment of booty laid out on the bed that he has taken up a life of

crime. The contrast here is not just between the success and marriage state of Goodchild and the poverty and whoring of Idle. In addition the two are contrasted in their relationship to the public of London, in that Goodchild, on his way to becoming famous, handles his position with aplomb, while Idle, becoming infamous, fears he will be discovered.

Goodchild's progress, from being his master's apprentice to becoming his son-in-law, is paralleled by Hogarth's who married the daughter of Sir James Thornhill, who was among Hogarth's chief mentors as an artist. There is also a continuing similarity of the plot of Hogarth's tale and the story of *Eastward Ho!* where the model apprentice Golden leads his master's daughter down the aisle, while Quicksilver leads his master's maidservant down the garden path.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE return'd from Sea, & in a Garret with a common Prostitute.

Leviticus CHAP: XXVI. Ve: 36.
The Sound of a Shaken Leaf
shall Chace him.



40

*The Idle 'Prentice, return'd from Sea, & in a Garret
with a common Prostitute, Plate 7 from the series
Industry and Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 174

Etching and engraving, 10 1/8 x 13 7/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.50



Proverbs CH: IV. Ver: 7, 8.
*With all thy getting get understanding.
 Exalt her, & she shall promote thee: she
 shall bring thee to honour, when
 thou dost Embrace her.*

41
*The Industrious 'Prentice, grown rich and Sheriff of
 London, Plate 8 from the series Industry and Idleness,*
 1747

Paulson number 175

Etching and engraving, 10 x 13 ⁵/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
 66.8.51

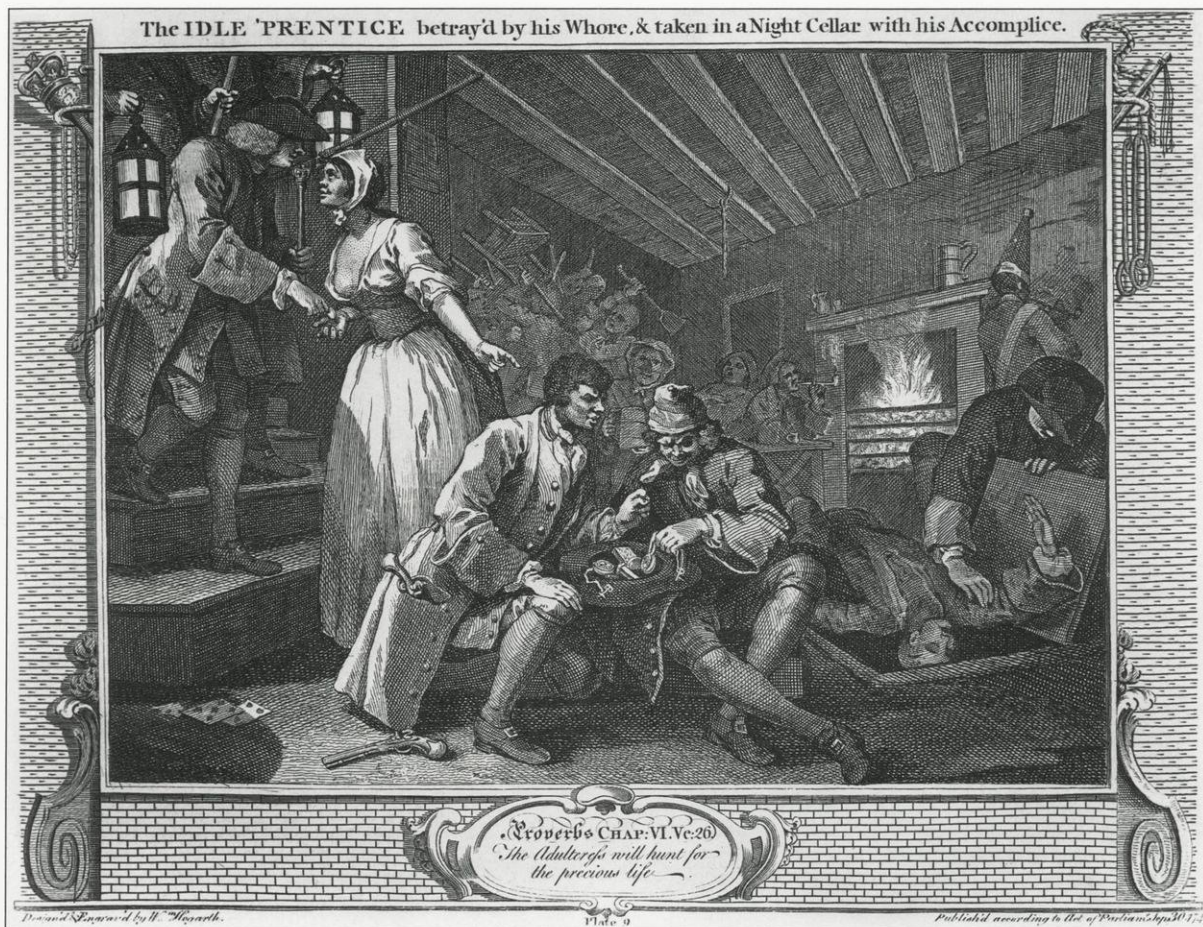
As in *Eastward Ho!*, the diligent apprentice is rewarded with greater and greater honors, while the dissolute apprentice falls into the hands of the law. Hogarth pictures Goodchild feted at a banquet to celebrate his new office of sheriff of London. The other guests take up much of the foreground, and the guests

of honor, Goodchild and his wife, are seated at the head of the table under the portrait of George II, who symbolically presides over Goodchild's new authority. State celebrations had never before Hogarth been subject to a treatment quite like this, where the person being honored was so overshadowed by the hubbub and comedy of the crowd and where diners consumed their meals with great vigor, while petitioners were held at bay by a beadle whose staff was sturdy enough to be more than merely ceremonial.

Meanwhile, as it were, in another part of town, the magistrate and his men literally throw light upon Idle's nefarious affairs, coming to a tavern where Idle shows his loot (less the earrings which the prostitute admires in plate 7) to the same one-eyed, stripe-hat-

ted accomplice with whom he gambled in the graveyard in plate three of this series, who is now, perhaps, his fence. Idle's prostitute takes a coin and points to him, while a body is dropped down a trap door and a melee takes place in the background.

Again Hogarth is at pains to differentiate the two situations for every sense. Goodchild's banquet hall is entertained by musicians, while Idle's cellar is disrupted by a fight. And while a beadle carefully considers the application of a member of the crowd drawn by the scent of a free meal, Idle's prostitute betrays him for a coin at the entrance to the undoubtedly noisome cellar.



Proverbs CHAP: VI. Ve: 26.
The Adulteress will hunt for
the precious life.

42

The Idle 'Prentice betrayed by his Whore and taken in a Night Cellar with his Accomplice, Plate 9 from the series Industry and Idleness, 1747

Paulson number 176

Etching and engraving, 10 ¹/₈ x 13 ⁵/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.52



Psalm IX. Ver: 16.
The Wicked is snar'd in the
work of his own hands.

Leviticus CH: XIX. Ve: 15.
Thou shalt do no unrighteous-
ness in Judgment.

Plate 10.

Published according to Act of Parliament in 1734.

Psalm IX. Ver: 16

*The Wicked is snar'd in the
work of his own hands.*

Leviticus CH: XIX. Ve: 15.

*Thou shalt do no unrighteous-
ness in Judgment.*

43

*The Industrious Prentice Alderman of London, the
Idle one brought before him & impeach'd by his
Accomplice, Plate 10 from the series Industry and
Idleness, 1747*

Paulson number 177

Etching and engraving, 10 x 13¹/₄ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.53

The reunion of the two apprentices is the high point of the story in both *Industry and Idleness* and in *Eastward Ho!* In both the good apprentice is made a judge over the bad apprentice in a plot twist at once dramatic and reinforcing the place of civic authority. Having one apprentice judge the other both recognizes the authority and is a test of the impartiality of that judge. At this point Hogarth's moral intention departs from the comedic work of Jonson, Marston, and Chapman. In the last part of the play *Golden works* to reconcile all the characters: the just are rewarded and

the unjust are reformed mostly through his efforts. Hogarth's satire is more strict in its response to moral laxity: Goodchild is rewarded, but his judgment over Idle is death. This greater emphasis on the serious consequences of bad behavior is in line with dramatic criticisms of the time which often found even the best authors too forgiving. Of course, in a series specifically intended for the edification of the young, this dramatic hyperbole is more apt than in a comedy intended to bring people into the theater.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



44

The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn, Plate II from the series Industry and Idleness, 1747

Paulson number 178

Etching and engraving, 10 1/8 x 15 3/4 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase, 66.8.54

In the final episodes of the stories of the two apprentices, both are lost in the London crowds which celebrate their elevations, Goodchild's to Lord Mayor of London and Idle's to the gallows to hang.

Idle, whose face and bearing have been much altered by his imprisonment and impending death, is carried to the gallows on the same cart that carries his coffin and a Methodist preacher who seems to harangue him unmercifully. Executions were a further expression of the importance of public spectacle in Hogarth's London. Huge crowds witnessed these executions at Tyburn where the triple gallows pic-

tured here stood. The grandstands built to support them and the carts carrying food, drink, and companies of onlookers are all likely to have been quite as they appear in this print. By placing it in the context of Idle's execution, Hogarth makes a moral point of the Londoners' very irreverence, making the vast and tawdry scene a veritable purgatory through which the condemned man travels on his last journey. Appropriately, skeletons like that appearing in *The Reward of Cruelty* frame the print. The Ordinary of Newgate Prison rides in the carriage preceding Idle's cart, framed by its window in the same way that the Marshal of the City is framed in Goodchild's carriage in the final print of the series.

The scene surrounding the ornate coach that carries Goodchild to his new office of Lord Mayor of London is only slightly more merry and less chaotic than the one which surrounds Idle's final journey. However, it takes place in London's most prosperous district and is the annual opportunity for the trades to

Proverbs CHAP: I. Vers: 27, 28.

When fear cometh as desolation, and their destruction cometh as a Whirlwind; when distress cometh upon them. Then they shall call upon God, but he will not answer.

celebrate the fellow from their ranks who has become Lord Mayor. The companies who follow Goodchild bearing their almost-armorial banners are overseen by the king himself, who stands on a balcony at the right of the print. In the previous century these had often been quite elaborate affairs with a complexity of decoration and iconography that approached royal public celebrations. Like the significant honorific "Lord" bestowed upon the mayor, the celebrations of the Lord Mayor's day were rituals which recognized the contribution that the untitled people of London made to its greatness.

This final pair of prints pulls back from Idle and Goodchild in the same way that the eighth print of the series does. The viewer is no longer given the intimate view of the characters caught at some telling moment. Instead, in a remarkable shift of point of view, the audience is left at a vantage point in the middle of the throng placed in the position from which most Londoners would witness these city rites.

The INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE Lord-Mayor of London.



Proverbs CHAP: III. Ver: 10.
*Length of days is in her right hand, and
in her left hand Riches and Honour.*

45

The Industrious Prentice Lord Mayor of London,
Plate 12 from the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747

Paulson number 179

Etching and engraving, 10 ⁵/₁₆ x 15 ³/₄ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,

66.8.55



46

O the Roast Beef of Old England, or The Gate of Calais, 1748/9

Paulson number 180

Etching and engraving, 15 ⁵/₈ x 17 ⁵/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase, 66.8.33

The occasion for this print is Hogarth's visit to Calais, where he was apprehended on suspicion of being a spy. By Hogarth's own account, he was held in custody until "the wind changed for our coming away to England where I no sooner arrived but set about the Picture" Hogarth shows himself sketching at the left of this print, as an ominous hand and halberd approach him from behind. The gate to which he turns his attention had been erected by the British during their occupation of 1556 to 1558, and as Hogarth points out had "a fair appearance still of the arms of England upon it."²

Hogarth uses the occasion to cast barbs at the Catholic clergy in France, who are fat while their parishioners starve, and the Scotsman whom Hogarth identifies as having come to France with his Stuart faction after the failed rebellion. One undernourished

French soldier spills his thin ration of soup in his astonishment at seeing the beef being delivered to Madam Grandsire whom Paulson identifies as having run a hotel for the English at Calais.³ It is the roast beef that takes center stage in the composition, as well as being an important icon of nationalism for the print as well.

The print's theatrical connections extend both to its inception by Hogarth and to its reception by the public. The first part of the title, *O The Roast Beef of Old England*, is taken from a popular song of the day. A version appeared first in Henry Fielding's 1731 *Grub-Street Opera*, where it serves to contrast hearty English fare to stylish French cuisine; a cook laments: "I wish I had been born a cook in an age when there was some business for one, before we had learnt this French politeness and been taught to dress our meat by nations that have no meat to dress."⁴ A version of the song that adds four verses to Fielding's two and uses a different tune was published in 1740 by Richard Leveridge. This version eventually became the tune used for the British military mess call.⁵ The image of roast beef as hearty fare for hearty Britons continues through Hogarth's print which in turn inspired a close friend of Hogarth's, Theodosius Forrest, to write a

cantata "The Roast Beef of Old England" in 1759. Forrest was also a member of the "Sublime Society of Beefsteaks." Their motto "Beef and Liberty" hints at the nationalism of the group as well.

Hogarth was a founding member of the society along with Forrest's father, Ebenezer, in 1735. The society counted among its members a large number of theatrical people including Francis Hayman, who accompanied Hogarth on the trip to Calais and who had been active as a theatrical scene-painter into the 1740s.⁶ The business of members of the society was apparently devoted mostly to eating grilled fresh beef (their emblem was the gridiron used for grilling the beef) and to conversation. It was established around the custom of John Rich (the manager of the theater where *The Beggar's Opera* had premiered) and George Lambert, a theatrical machinist, to meet regularly in Rich's room at Covent Garden for conviviality including a hot steak. The group which eventually called itself "The Sublime Society of Beefsteaks" was comprised of actors, playwrights, and others (including Hogarth's brother-in-law, John Thornhill, who painted scenery). Its meetings were held at Covent Garden; when the theater burned in 1808, the Society continued in other quarters until 1867.⁷

Consequently, the print represents a meeting point of Hogarth's life-long interest in theater, his nationalism, and a piece of direct autobiography rare in his printed works.

¹ Hogarth, "Autobiographical Notes" in *The Analysis of Beauty*, 228.

² Ibid.

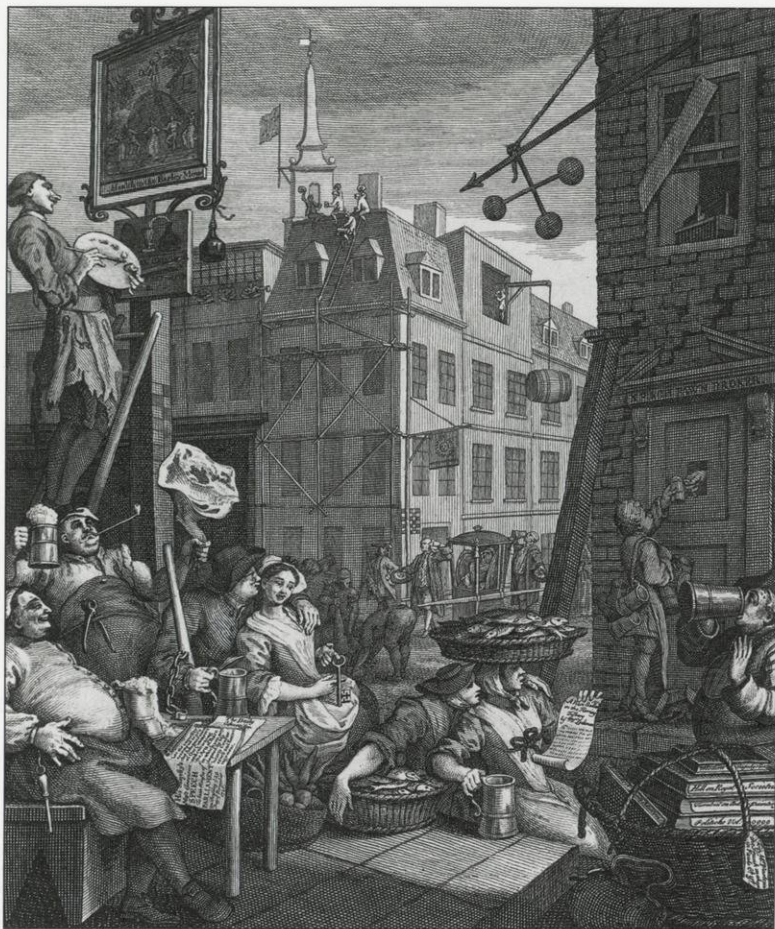
³ Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 1, 203.

⁴ Henry Fielding, *Grub-Street Opera*. ed. Edgar V. Roberts (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), act 3, sc. 3, lines 34-37.

⁵ Nicholas Dowell Ward, notes to the audio recording "The Roast Beef of Old England," *The Society of Colonial Wars in the District of Columbia Presents the Roast Beef of Old England* (Washington, D.C.: The Society, 1983), pressing number 830314 A&B.

⁶ Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 3, for his trip with Hogarth to Calais; 11-23, for Hayman's theatrical connections.

⁷ Walter Arnold, *The Life and Death of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks* (London: Bradbury, Evans, 1871), 1-5.



*Beer, happy Produce of our Isle
Can sinewy Strength impart,
And wearied with Fatigue and Toil
Can cheer each manly Heart.*

*Labour and Art upheld by Thee
Successfully advance,
We quaff Thy balmy Juice with Glee
And Water leave to France.*

*Genius of Health, thy grateful Taste
Rivals the Cup of Jove,
And warms each English generous Breast
With Liberty and Love.*

47
Beer Street from the pair *Beer Street and Gin Lane*
1750/1

Paulson number 185

Etching and engraving, 14 ¹/₈ x 11 ⁵/₁₆ in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.74

Taken as a pair these prints place the dangers of drinking gin in careful opposition to the advantages of drinking beer. The pawnbroker is rich on Gin Lane, and his is the only building which is in good repair. In the print he is shown buying the tools of a carpenter and a cook, providing them with money to buy gin at the price of their livelihood. However, the pawnbroker on Beer Street suffers from want of business; he can only afford a small mug in comparison with the huge flagons the other beer-drinkers wield and his building is dilapidated. Models of labor and industry, not to mention healthful corpulence, inhabit Beer Street, while Gin Lane is populated with the mad, the mur-

derous, and those at death's door.

However, the character on Beer Street painting the sign board seems to have no parallel on Gin Lane. The commentators on this print have universally seen the painter as a note of discord in the otherwise orderly environs. All comment on his thinness, and he has been interpreted as being a suitor of Madame Geneva (that is, a gin drinker), looking lovingly at the gin bottle which hangs from the signboard before him. He has been associated with a pair of prints by Brueghel: *The Fat Kitchen* and *The Thin Kitchen*. In the first of these prints a thin man is driven by a crowd of fat diners from a kitchen-cum-dining room with a well-stocked larder, while in the other a fat man attempts to escape a scant meal with a group of thin diners.

This figure may also refer to a long-standing debate on the relationship between show and sense in theater, a topic that Hogarth addresses in the beginning of his career and returns to again and again. The conflict between these two aspects of drama is

embodied by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones.

Ben Jonson is frequently held up as a representative of the best of English drama in Hogarth's prints. Jonson collaborated with architect Inigo Jones to create elaborate masques for the courts of King James I and King Charles I. Jonson wrote the scripts for these entertainments and Jones, a master technician, realized them on stage with breathtaking special effects. As the result of a quarrel between the two over precedence, Jonson wrote "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones," an argument in verse for the primacy of the literary elements of the masque over the scenic elements.¹ The lines bearing on this print occur near the middle, when the famously fat Jonson says of Jones, "I am too fat to envy him; he too lean/ To be worth envy. . . ." (lines 69-70) Later Jonson asks facetiously, ". . . Who can reflect/ On the new priming of thy old sign-posts,/ Reviving with fresh colours the pale ghosts/ Of thy dead standards . . . and not fall down before it. . ." (lines 86-91)



*Gin cursed Fiend, with Fury fraught,
Makes human Race a Prey;
It enters by a deadly Draught,
And steals our Life away.*

*Virtue and Truth, driv'n to Despair,
It's Rage compells to fly,
But cherishes, with hellish Care,
Theft, Murder, Perjury.*

*Damn'd Cup! that on the Vitals preys,
That liquid Fire contains
Which Madness to the Heart conveys,
And rolls it thro' the Veins.*

48

Gin Lane from the pair *Beer Street and Gin Lane*

1750/1

Paulson number 186

Etching and engraving, 14 ³/₁₆ x 12 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.75

Hogarth's lean painter is clearly repainting a sign, since the sign would originally have been painted in a place more convenient to the painter. The painter is also enamored of his own modest effort, as Jonson implies Jones was, and Hogarth places him in the midst of a crowd of Jonsonian girth whose good taste in literature is testified to by their reading the king's speech to parliament and a ballad by Lockman, a friend of Hogarth. They have spurned the books in the basket at right— modern tragedies and books by frauds of

the day—destined to be turned to pulp by the trunk maker.² An account from the early 1800s identifies the figure as Francis Hayman, a confederate of Hogarth who traveled with him on the ill-fated trip to Calais memorialized in *O The Roast Beef of Old England*. This identification may also support reading this passage of the print as a reference to Jonson's "Expostulation," because Hayman had been a scene painter early in his career, a humorous stroke that would have entertained those who understood the allusion.

¹ Ben Jonson, *Poems*, ed. Ian Donaldson (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 319, n. 34 offers a lucid outline of the quarrel between Jonson and Jones.

² For a full identification of the authors mentioned here, see Paulson, *Graphic Works*, vol. 1, 208.



*Behold the Villain's dire disgrace!
Not Death itself can end.
He finds no peaceful Burial-Place;
His breathless Corse, no friend.*

*Torn from the Root, that wicked Tongue,
Which daily swore and curst!
Those Eyeballs, from their Sockets wrung,
That glow'd with lawless Lust!*

*His Heart, expos'd to prying Eyes,
To Pity has no Claim:
But, dreadful! from his Bones shall rise,
His Monument of Shame.*

49

The Reward of Cruelty from the series *The Four Stages of Cruelty, 1751*

Paulson number 190

Etching and engraving, 14 x 11 3/4 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.79

In *The Reward of Cruelty* Hogarth makes the gruesome show of the anatomists a morality lesson, as he had with other well-known entertainments of London. This print is the finale of a series of four prints which trace the career of Tom Nero—a cruel young man who torments domestic pets as a child in the first print, beats a disabled horse in the second, and murders the serving girl who stole for him in the third. Hogarth justifies illustrating such grisly fare in these prints by arguing that “the most stony heart[s] were meant to be effected by them.”¹ He explains that the prints

... were done in hopes of preventing in some degree that cruel treatment of poor Animals which makes the streets of London more disagreeable to the human mind, than any thing what ever.²

It is striking that Hogarth identifies as most horrifying the spectacle of cruelty to animals, rather than the cruelty itself. That being the case, it is not surprising that the retribution to be visited upon the young anti-hero is as public as the cruelties he visited upon animals in the street. After his trial for murder and hanging, his body is used as the example in a dissection performed before a group of scholars. The lesson in dismemberment is overseen by an aloof professor and attended by an unsympathetic, even amused, gallery while his heart is cast away to be eaten by a dog. His skeleton will join those of James Field and Maclean, a boxer and highwayman respectively, whose skeletons point at each other from the alcoves at the sides of the print.

The sheer brutality of this set of prints as well as its relatively rough execution are both occasioned by the audience Hogarth intended to address with these prints. He allows that “Neither great correctness of drawing or fine Engraving were at all necessary but on the contrary would set the price of the . . . reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended.”³ However, Hogarth was aware that more sophisticated Londoners were equally capable of shocking cruelties, as he shows in the faces in the dissection room audience and in another print, *The Cockpit*.

¹ Hogarth, “Autobiographical Notes” in *The Analysis of Beauty*, 226.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*



50

The Cockpit, 1759

Paulson number 206

Etching and engraving, 12 1/2 x 15 1/8 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.82

Cockfighting, a popular sport of Hogarth's day, also afforded one of its cruelest spectacles, in which the cocks invariably fought to the death, after having their crests and wattles removed, and their wing feathers cut to sharp points. The bettors portrayed here are the most agitated of all the many audiences that Hogarth depicts. The blind nobleman (who has been identified as Lord Albemarle Bertie) who holds the center of the composition is a burlesque of Leonardo's *Last Supper*. In the tumult around him bets are made, scuffles break

out, onlookers are variously bemused, enraged, and oblivious. All provide Hogarth with another opportunity to catalog the various expressions of an audience, but in this case with a higher level of finish and a more telling incidental detail than in the subscription tickets.

This print pretends to be a ticket to a cockfight, which it refers to as the "Royal Sport" at the same time as it manifests many lapses of decorum that are hardly regal. If the point of Hogarth's *The Reward of Cruelty* had been to shock a lower-class audience into reforming their cruelty to animals, the point in this print is to coax a higher-class audience away from supporting cruelty, by revealing the chaos of the cockpit. The cockfight is far from being the "Royal Sport" or featuring the proud rooster depicted in the small cartouche at the bottom center of the print; the birds

are maimed and the spectators are similarly fallen from what anyone might consider the perfection of humankind.

Paulson points out that James Boswell visited the same cockpit and wrote of it four years after the publication of this print: "I looked round to see if any of the spectators pitied [the cocks] when mangled and torn in a most cruel manner, but I could not observe the smallest relenting sign in any countenance."¹ For Boswell, as for Hogarth, the horror of the spectacle lay less in the fight itself, than in the spectacle of base human nature that was brought to a fever pitch by the fight.

¹ Paulson, *Graphics*, 241.



51
Gulielmus Hogarth, 1748/9

Paulson number 181

Etching and engraving, 15 1/2 x 10 15/16 in.

On loan from Suzanne and Gerald Labiner

In this self-portrait Hogarth has contrived a scene which, though naturalistic, conveys a sense of the artist along with his aspirations. The scene is set as if in Hogarth's studio where a self-portrait engraved to look like an oval painting is surrounded by the accoutrements of his life—books, tools, and pet. However, as in his moral series, the elements are intended to convey a sense of the artist. The painter's palette at the right with its "Line of Beauty" (an artistic theory Hogarth would expand upon and publish in 1753)

overshadows the small engraver's burin directly below Hogarth, an indication of the relative importance the artist placed on these two art forms. Both these tools of his trade are laid out to indicate his mastery. Trump, one of a series of pug dogs owned by Hogarth, sits before the artist's image, an ironic glance at the armorial beasts sometimes used in more ostentatious portraits. Actually supporting Hogarth's image are three books placed along side the seriously meant representations of his tools, an indication of the importance of literary works to the artist. In the painting that was the model for this print the books are identifiable as Shakespeare, Swift, and Milton, perhaps too immodest a set of comparisons to be included in the print. Swift no doubt appears because of his reputation for biting satire, and Milton because of his strong moralism,

both of which are powerful motifs in Hogarth's prints. Shakespeare's name appears as an allusion to the drama of Hogarth's prints, most obvious in the various series.

This print appeared as a frontispiece for bound volumes of Hogarth's work, and it has a pleasant sense of an artist comfortable with his life and accomplishments. However, in 1765 the plate was reengraved to turn it into a satire of Charles Churchill. Churchill had viciously criticized Hogarth (while praising his work) after Hogarth's caricature of Wilkes. When this print was no longer available, the rather more disturbing *Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse* took its place in the front of collections of Hogarth's prints.



52

Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse, 1758

Paulson number 204

Etching and engraving, 14 1/2 x 13 7/16 in.

Elvehjem Museum of Art, University Fund purchase,
66.8.1

Hogarth's choice to show himself painting the muse of comedy may relate to his explanation that "my Picture was my Stage and men and women my actors,"¹ since the muse of comedy originally inspired playwrights. This work, which was used as the frontispiece to collections of prints bound by Hogarth (and by his wife after Hogarth's death), serves as the artist's own

assessment of his contribution to art. It replaced the print *Gulielmus Hogarth* when the plate for the latter was reused for a satire in reply to Charles Churchill. In contrast with his self-portrait of a decade earlier, Hogarth is not content to let this image of himself appear static amidst artistic accouterments; instead, he shows himself in the act of painting. Leaning against one leg of his easel is *The Analysis of Beauty*, which had been widely criticized and lampooned in many prints after its publication in 1753.

In this seventh and final state of the print, Hogarth has made several interesting alterations from the first states where he had depicted himself with a slight smile and the figure and its mask on the canvas

with indeterminate expressions. In this version Hogarth's expression is more grim, and the figure on the canvas has become tragic, while the mask has been turned into a horned and grinning satyr's face. Hogarth seems to despair here of being accepted as anything other than a satirist. Gone are references to Milton, Swift, and Shakespeare; his muse, alone on stage, is forced to wear the mask of satire, despite its melancholy, just as Hogarth himself aspiring to be respected as a painter must resort to printmaking for this, his final self-portrait.

¹William Hogarth, "Autobiographical Notes" in *The Analysis of Beauty*, 209.

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ISBN 0-932900-42-9