

HOGARTH'S "PROGRESSES": A DETAILED ANALYSIS

by

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ABSTRACT

In this study, two of William Hogarth's graphic series, "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress," are examined in detail. In order to carry out this examination, Hogarth's original prints were closely studied, and an exhaustive study was made of the literature pertaining to these two series, as well as of the literature pertaining to Eighteenth Century English art and life in Eighteenth Century England.

It was found that "A Harlot's Progress," which first appeared in 1732, tells the story of a young woman from the time she arrives in London to the time she dies. In Plate 1, the series' central character, Miss Hackabout, has just arrived in the British capital, and seems to have just been approached by a person said to be "Mother" Needham, the proprietress of a fashionable London bagnio, who is no doubt taking advantage of Miss Hackabout's naivete. In the second scene, Miss Hackabout is apparently the mistress of a well-to-do gentleman; when we see her, she is diverting the latter's attention while another man leaves her room. The third plate shows Miss Hackabout in a room in a disreputable neighborhood; she now appears to be a common prostitute. Some men are seen entering her room; one of these is said

to be Sir John Gonson, a magistrate noted for his vigorous apprehension of "women of the night." Plate 4 shows Miss Hackabout confined in a house of correction; she is apparently being threatened with punishment if she does not beat the hemp that is in front of her. In the next scene Miss Hackabout is either gravely ill, or else has just passed away, and in the sixth and final plate the figure of Miss Hackabout is not one of those depicted, as her body lies in a coffin seen in the center of the print.

Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," which first appeared in 1735, commences with a scene in which Tom Rakewell, the series' main character, is attempting to "buy off" a young lady named Sarah Young whom he has wronged; while he does this, the inheritance left him by his father is being calculated. The second scene indicates that Tom is now residing in a fine house, and has adopted the ways of the "upper class," and in Plate 3 Tom is seen carousing in a tavern. In the next print, Tom is in the process of being arrested (probably for debt) while on his way to St. James' Palace in a sedan chair; however, Sarah Young has happened along at this moment, and she is offering her own money to help Tom. The fifth plate shows Tom marrying an older woman, most likely for her money, and the next plate shows him in a gambling house presumably after he has just lost a substantial sum. In the seventh scene Tom is shown confined

in the Fleet Prison, a prison to which debtors were sent. And in the eighth and last plate, Tom is mentally unbalanced, as he is confined in Bethlehem hospital (otherwise known as Bedlam); in addition, there is a possibility that when we see him he is dying.

It was also noted that while the incidents and details in "A Rake's Progress" and "A Harlot's Progress" must be examined if these series are to be fully understood and appreciated, both series are much more than "interesting stories." And it was further observed that, while both illustrate the moral precept that a departure from virtue is a descent from happiness, "Hogarth the Moralist" is overshadowed by "Hogarth the Social Commentator" and "Hogarth the Satirist."

PREFACE

Two hundred years ago, when discussing the works of William Hogarth, Horace Walpole remarked "unfortunately, some circumstances, that were temporary, will be lost to posterity, the fate of all comic authors; and if ever an author wanted a commentary that none of his beauties might be lost, it is Hogarth" ¹ That some "circumstances" were indeed "temporary" is borne out by the fact that while today's average viewer is able to understand the story depicted in a series such as "A Harlot's Progress," he will not realize the significance of many of the details and incidents Hogarth included in the six plates. For example, few viewers would be familiar with the story connected with the "Pastoral Letter" depicted in Plate 3, and few could explain why the woman in the left foreground of Plate 6 holds a sprig of rosemary in her hand. This being the case, some form of "commentary" does indeed appear necessary if Hogarth's works are to be fully understood and appreciated by those who view them.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to analyze in detail two of Hogarth's graphic series, "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress." However, it is hoped that the discussion which follows will be considered more

than a simple description of each scene, as an attempt has been made to supplement the descriptive text concerning each plate with relevant explanatory material and commentary, and not only to suggest possible sources of the various details and incidents with which the viewer is confronted, but also to suggest possible sources of each series and of the individual plates each series contains.

To accomplish this, the body of literature concerning Hogarth and the two series being discussed was extensively explored; many of the artist's original drawings, paintings, and prints were examined (the two "Progresses" were examined in minute detail); and numerous references concerned with Eighteenth Century British life, art, and various other related topics were consulted.

It is therefore hoped that a meaningful contribution, however small, has been made to the body of knowledge concerning Hogarth's works, and that increased understanding and appreciation of "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" will come about as a result.

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PART I

A HARLOT'S PROGRESS

INTRODUCTION TO "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

On March 8, 1732, the following advertisement appeared in the Daily Post:

The Six Prints from Copper Plates, representing a Harlot's Progress, are now Printing off and will be ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers, on Monday the 10 Day of April next. N. B. Particular care will be taken, that the Impressions shall be good. Subscriptions will be taken in, till the 3d day of April next, and not afterwards; and the Publick may be assured, that no more will be printed off than shall be Subscribed for within that Time.¹

The prints described in this advertisement are, of course, those contained in William Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress." This series presumably appeared on or about the date specified by the artist,² and, according to Dobson, its success "seems to have been instantaneous."³

For the sum of one guinea,⁴ the subscriber received a set of six prints which depicted the adventures of a young woman from the time she arrived in London to the time she died not too many years later.⁵ This series was the first of those Hogarth produced which dealt with what the artist called "modern moral subjects."⁶ Vertue suggests that this series came about as a result of Hogarth's painting a single picture, apparently the one from which the third plate was produced. According to this source, Hogarth

"began a small picture of a common harlot, supposed to dwell in drewry lane. just riseing about noon out of bed, and at breakfast. a bunter waiting on her."⁷ Many of the artist's visitors were pleased by the young lady's "desabillé"⁸ and her "pretty Countenance and air,"⁹ and they "advised him to make another. to it as a pair. which he did. then other thoughts encreas'd and multiplyd by his fruitful invention. till he made six. different subjects which he painted so naturally . . . that it drew every body to see them"10 Regardless of whether or not this account has any basis in fact,¹¹ it does constitute an interesting story.

Major, on the other hand, asserts that "it seems undeniable that he [Hogarth] owed his earliest fame, as a Moral and Dramatic Painter, to a hint taken from the noblest of moral works, the Spectator!"¹² This source states that the following passage (from an essay by Steele that appeared in The Spectator) inspired "A Harlot's Progress":

It must not be Thought a Digression from my intended Speculation, to talk of Bawds in a Discourse upon Wenches; for a Woman of the Town is not thoroughly and properly such, without having gone through the Education of one of these Houses: But the compassionate Case of very many is, that they are taken into such Hands without any the least Suspicion, previous Temptation, or Admonition to what Place they are going. The last Week I went to an Inn in the City, to enquire for some Provisions which were sent by a Waggon out of the Country; and as I waited in one of the Boxes till the Chamberlain had looked over his Parcels, I heard an old and a young Voice repeating the Questions and Responses of the Church Catechism. I thought it no

Breach of good Manners to peep at a Crevice, and look in at People so well employed; but who should I see there but the most artful Procuress in the Town, examining a most beautiful Country-Girl, who had come up in the same Waggon with my Things, Whether she was well educated, could forbear playing the Wanton with Servants and idle Fellows, of which this Town, says she, is too full: At the same Time, Whether she knew enough of Breeding; as that if a Squire or a Gentleman, or one that was her Betters, should give her a civil Salute, she could curtsie and be humble nevertheless. Her innocent forsooths, yes's, and 't please you's, and she would do her Endeavour, moved the good old Lady to take her out of the Hands of a Country Bumkin her brother, and hire her for her own maid. I stay'd till I saw them all marched out to take Coach; the Brother loaded with a great Cheese, he prevailed upon her to take for her Civilities to Sister.¹³

Then, too, it must not be overlooked that Hogarth no doubt noticed references to prostitutes and other "low types" in the literature and newspapers of the time. Indeed, the series may have come about as a result of his reading an item such as this one from the Grub-street Journal of August 6, 1730, in which we are informed that authorities had taken into custody:

the famous Kate Hackabout (whose brother was lately hang'd at Tyburn) a woman noted in and about the Hundreds of Drury, for being a very termagant, and a terror, not only to the civil part of the neighbourhood, by her frequent fighting, noise, and swearing in the streets in the night time, but also to other women of her own profession, who presume to pay or pick up men in her district, which is half one side of the way in Bridges-street.¹⁴

Another example of this type of item which Hogarth may have seen, and one which seems to have particular relevance to Plate 4 of this series, is found in the Grub-street Journal

of September 14, 1730:

One Mary Moffat, a woman of great note in the hundreds of Drury, who about a fortnight ago was committed to hard labour in Tothill Fields, Bridewell, by nine justices, brought his Majesty's writ of habeas corpus, and was carried before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief-Justice Raymond, expecting to have been either bailed or discharged; but her commitment appearing to be legal, his lordship thought fit to remand her back again to her former place of confinement, where she is now beating hemp in a gown very richly laced with silver.¹⁵

And we must not forget Kurz's assertion that a connection exists between "A Harlot's Progress" and certain Italian moral tales. Kurz tells us that:

the moral tale told in pictures was known in Italy a century or more before Hogarth's time. Indeed, it was the sad story of the courtesan and the miserable end of the youth who frequents harlots which were the theme par excellence of these earlier narratives, and . . . Hogarth drew inspiration from some of the still extant versions.¹⁶

Thus, seeing an example of the above, or perhaps even noting a reference to "low-life" in some broadside or seeing a picture depicting such a scene, may have given Hogarth the idea of doing "A Harlot's Progress." For a person of Hogarth's imagination, the slightest reference to such a topic would have been enough to have suggested such a series.

It is apparent, therefore, that more than one suggestion can be put forth as to what the stimulus was that prompted Hogarth to create "A Harlot's Progress." Of course, such theorizing would not be necessary had the artist made a definite statement regarding this matter in his writings.

Unfortunately, while he does offer some general comments as to why he started to paint "modern moral subjects," these comments are of a very general nature; not only is "A Harlot's Progress" not specifically mentioned, but his comments mention no specific item or incident, and they do not rule out any of the above-mentioned suggestions as being the stimulus in question. Hogarth states:

I then married, and commenced painter of small Conversation pieces, from twelve to fifteen inches high. This having novelty, succeeded for a few years. But though it gave somewhat more scope to the fancy, was still but a less kind of drudgery; and as I could not bring myself to act like some of my bretheren, and make it a sort of manufactory, to be carried on by the help of back-ground and drapery painters, it was not sufficiently profitable to pay the expenses my family required. I therefore turned my thoughts to . . . painting and engraving modern moral subjects¹⁷

The artist continues:

The reasons which induced me to adopt this mode of designing were, that I thought both writers and painters had, in the historical style, totally overlooked that intermediate species of subjects, which may be placed between the sublime and grotesque¹⁸

He further asserts:

I therefore wished to compose pictures on canvas, similar to representations on the stage; and further hope that they will be tried by the same test, and criticized by the same criterion. Let it be observed, that I mean to speak only of those scenes where the human species are actors, and these I think have not often been delineated in a way of which they are worthy and capable.¹⁹

Thus it is impossible to state exactly what it was that triggered the creation of "A Harlot's Progress,"

and until further information is discovered on this topic the question will have to remain unresolved.

At this point, therefore, the focus of this paper will shift to a study of the individual plates that make up this series. This discussion will be found in the following six chapters, with each chapter being devoted to the study of one scene.

CHAPTER I

PLATE I OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

An examination of Plate 1 shows that Hogarth has commenced this series with a scene in which an older woman is speaking to a woman much younger than herself. This action is apparently taking place in the yard of an inn, as the scene contains not only a building bearing signs associated with such establishments, but also a wagon and various items of baggage. Thus, when one realizes the fate that is in store for the younger of the two women, the similarity between this scene and the one described by Steele in the Spectator (and quoted earlier in this paper)¹ becomes obvious. However, while the possibility exists that Steele's essay did inspire this scene, this relationship is still very much open to question.²

The younger of the two women in Plate 1 is the central character of this series. A trunk in the right foreground of this scene³ has on its lid the letters "M H"; Plate 3 includes a note written "To Md. Hackabout"; Plate 5 has the letters "M H" written on the roof of the room in which this scene takes place; and the name "M. Hackabout" is inscribed on the coffin-plate in Scene 6. Thus there is

no doubt that the young lady's last name is Hackabout. In view of this person's profession, the name is indeed an apt one, as "hack" means a carriage for hire, and "about" implies movement from one place to another. The name Hackabout occurs in an item in the Grub-street Journal of August 6, 1730,⁴ and it is therefore possible that there may be a connection between this news item and the artist's choice of a surname for the main character in this series. The same surname, only this time preceded by the Christian name "Jane," is also found in a chap-book which appeared in 1730 entitled Fortune's Fickle Distribution: In Three Parts Containing, First, The Life and Death of Moll Flanders, Secondly the Life of Jane Hackabout, her Governess, Thirdly, The Life of James McFaul, Moll Flander's Lancashire Husband.⁵ This "Hackabout" had engaged in various nefarious activities, one of which was harlotry; thus we here have another possible source not only of a name, but of the series itself.⁶

However, regardless of the source of our Miss Hackabout's surname,⁷ we are at least certain that this was the name she was given by her creator. The same cannot be said for her Christian name, however, since the closest Hogarth comes to imparting this name to the viewer is to provide us with the letters "M" and "Md."⁸ Miss Hackabout has been referred to as "Kate,"⁹ but this is obviously in error in

view of the above.¹⁰ The name "Mary," and its variant "Moll" have also been suggested.¹¹ The latter suggestion as a name for Miss Hackabout is an interesting one; the term "moll" means both "a female companion of a criminal or vagrant"¹² and a "prostitute,"¹³ and Miss Hackabout was both during her short lifetime. And as Defoe's novel Moll Flanders appears to have been popular with the reading public,¹⁴ it is possible that Hogarth might have given Miss Hackabout the name of Defoe's heroine.¹⁵ It is also of interest to note that the association of the name "Moll" with Miss Hackabout is not an occurrence of recent origin, since on April 24, 1732, a pamphlet appeared which purported to be "the tale of the noted Moll Hackabout, in Hudibrastick Verse, containing her whole Life; which is a key to the Six Prints lately publish'd by Mr. Hogarth"¹⁶ On the other hand, in spite of the fact Hogarth could have given this name to Miss Hackabout, it should be pointed out that the above-mentioned account does not appear to have been written with either the help or approval of Hogarth himself, and thus the fact it gives the name "Moll" does not mean this was the name intended; furthermore, while the artist may have named Miss Hackabout after Moll Flanders, such an assumption is pure conjecture. Then, too, while the term "moll" carries with it today the aforementioned denotations which make the name "Moll" most appropriate for Miss Hack-

about, this term does not appear to have been one which was listed in dictionaries during the Eighteenth Century;¹⁷ thus, unless the term was a slang expression which the compilers of the aforementioned dictionaries did not include, it would seem that the term was not in use at the time "A Harlot's Progress" was conceived, in which case it could not be argued that Miss Hackabout's name was probably "Moll" because the name so aptly suited her character. Therefore, while it is quite possible that Miss Hackabout was called "Mary" or "Moll,"¹⁸ the possibility still remains that Hogarth intended the "M" in "M. Hackabout" to stand for a name other than either of those given above.

Miss Hackabout is described by Ireland as being "in attire, neat,--plain,--unadorned; . . . in the bloom of youth" ¹⁹ She is dressed in the attire of a country girl, and she carries a small bag, or bundle, on her right arm. A pair of scissors and a pincushion hang at her waist, she wears a long apron, and she has a rose in full bloom on the bosom of her dress (this latter possibly an allusion to, as Ireland phrased it above, her "bloom of youth"). She seems to have a certain "healthy look" about her, while at the same time her features suggest a degree of "pertness," and are not at all unpleasant to look at. Her eyes are cast downward, and she does not appear to be the least bit forward in manner.

To judge by the trunk and other luggage in the foreground of the picture, and the wagon we can see in the middle distance, our heroine appears to have just arrived at her destination. This destination was the city of London, as an address tag on one of the items of luggage contains the words "For my Lofing Cosen in Tams Stret in London." Although we are not told why Miss Hackabout has journeyed to London, she seems to have brought a fair amount of luggage with her as if she intended to stay in the city, so we might assume she intends to obtain a job here. However, as Clerk points out:

the neatness of her attire, the modest simplicity of her manners, her native innocence, the bloom of youth, all concure to give an interest to her person, and render her an easy prey to the wiles of the wretch who is addressing her.²⁰

For the woman speaking to Miss Hackabout, and who, according to Clerk "is apparently hiring her as a domestic . . . ,"²¹ is said to be the notorious Mother (Elizabeth) Needham, the "proprietress of a fashionable bagnio in Park Place, near St. James Street."²² The procuresses and bawds of Eighteenth-Century London appear to have been fairly numerous--and well known. We know, for example, that a Mrs. Douglas had an establishment in Covent Garden; a Mrs. Goadly was located in Berwick Street; a Mrs. Theresa Berkeley had a house in Bloomsbury; and a Mrs. Potter had a place in Albion Terrace, Chelsea; however, Mother Needham

had the advantage of being located close to St. James's Palace.²³ We find that the press referred to her as "noted" or "famous,"²⁴ and that Pope mentioned her in Book One of the "Dunciad":

"God save King Cibber!" mounts in every note.
Familiar Whites, "God save King Colly!" cries;
"God save King Colly!" Drury-lane replies:
To Needham's quick the voice triumphal rode,
But pious Needham dropt the name of God;
Back to the Devil the last echoes roll,
And "Coll!" each Butcher roars at Hockley-hole.²⁵

We are also told that it was her constant prayer that she might "get enough by her profession to leave it off in time, and make her peace with God."²⁶ However, such was not to be the case, as we can see from items contained in the Grub-street Journal. For example, the edition of this paper published on March 25, 1731, contains the following:

Yesterday, at the quarter-sessions for the city and liberties of Westminster, the infamous Mother Needham, who has been reported to have been dead for some time, to screen her from several prosecutions, was brought from The Gatehouse, and pleaded not guilty to an indictment found against her for keeping a lewd and disorderly house; but, for want of sureties, was remanded back to prison.²⁷

We are then told, in the April 29, 1731 edition of the Grub-street Journal, that:

the noted Mother Needham, convicted for keeping a disorderly house in Park Place, St. James's, was fined One Shilling, to stand twice in the pillory, and fined sureties for her good behavior for three years.²⁸

This was followed by the following account in the May 6, 1731 edition of the same paper:

Yesterday the noted Mother Needham stood in the pillory in Park Place, near St. James's-street, and was roughly handled by the populace. She was so very ill that she lay along, [and] .²⁹ . it is thought she will die in a day or two.

And in the May 7, 1731 edition of the Grub-street Journal we are told that:

yesterday morning died Mother Needham. She declared in her last words, that what most affected her was the terror of standing in the pillory tomorrow in New Palace-yard, having been so ungratefully used by the populace on Wednesday.³⁰

Thus we can see that Mother Needham did not live to achieve her aim. It is also of interest to note that the attire in which Hogarth has dressed her in Plate 1 appears to be of a much richer quality than that worn by Miss Hackabout; furthermore, her right hand holds a glove and an object which is probably a fan, and she is also seen to have a watch. Numerous beauty patches are to be found on her face;³¹ these might be used in part to conceal the effects of smallpox.

Close to Mother Needham, in the foreground of the picture, we can see the various items of luggage referred to earlier.³² The trunk is definitely Miss Hackabout's,³³ and, although the barrel shown behind the trunk might not belong to our heroine, it appears as if the other items, or at least the majority of them, are probably hers. The box in the foreground, as well as being securely tied with a rope, has what appears to be an address tag on it, but

unfortunately what is written on the tag cannot be read. What is possibly the most interesting item in the group, however, is a basket containing a goose; the goose's neck hangs limply over the side of the basket, and tied around it is the previously-mentioned address tag bearing the words "For my Lofing Cosen in Teme Stret in London."³⁴ This goose might possibly be meant to hint at Miss Hackabout's guilelessness,³⁵ or to imply her fate,³⁶ and Kurz asserts that "the goose is, no doubt, a near relation of the chicken"³⁷ found in the second scene of an Italian moral tale entitled "Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana."³⁸

Behind the luggage we can see two men standing in the doorway of the inn. One of these gentlemen carries a cane, and is observing what is taking place in the innyard. Rouquet states that this person was a "grand séducteur de campagnardes,"³⁹ and other sources associate this figure with Colonel Francis Charteris (or "Chartres"), who had died shortly before "A Harlot's Progress" was printed.⁴⁰ Thus Rouquet's description might be apt, for an epitaph written for Charteris reads:

Here continueth to rot
The body of Francis Chartres,
Who with an inflexible constancy,
And inimitable uniformity of life,
 Persisted,
In spite of age and infirmities,
In the practice of every human vice,
Excepting prodigality and hypocrisy:
His insatiable avarice exempted him from the first,
His matchless impudence from the second.

Nor was he more singular in the undeviating pravity
 Of his manners
 Than successful in accumulating wealth.
 For, without trade or profession,
 Without trust of public money,
 And without bribe-worthy service,
 He acquired, or more properly created,
 A ministerial estate.
 He was the only person of his time,
 Who could cheat without the mask of honesty,
 Retain his primeval meanness
 When possess'd of ten thousand a year,
 And having daily deserved the gibbet for what he did,
 Was at last condemn'd to it for what he could not do.
 Oh indignant reader!
 Think not his life useless to mankind!
 Providence conniv'd at his execrable designs,
 To give to after-ages
 A conspicuous proof and example,
 Of how small estimation is exorbitant wealth
 In the sight of God,
 By his bestowing it on the most unworthy of
 All mortals.⁴¹

An explanatory note attached to Pope's "Moral Essays" referred to Charteris, who was by birth a gentleman,⁴² as being "a man infamous for all manner of vices,"⁴³ and stated that:

when he was an ensign in the army, he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat; he was next banished Brussels, and drummed out of Ghent, on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming tables, he took to lending of money at exorbitant interest and on great penalties, accumulating premiums, interest, and capital into a new capital, and seizing to a minute when the payments became due; in a word, by constant attention to the vices, wants and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. His house was a perpetual bawdy-house.⁴⁴

Indeed, it was his association with members of the opposite sex that led to his infamy, for his greatest fame was as a "seducer or rapist of women."⁴⁵ We are told that on one

occasion a woman's rumor that her sister was in Charteris' house was sufficient to cause a mob to congregate and clamor for the sister's release; this woman then apparently came out of the house and told the mob she did not want to be released!⁴⁶ We are also told that Charteris projected a charity school for his natural children, and drew up plans for alms houses for women who claimed he had ruined them.⁴⁷

On one occasion, Charteris was accused of raping a woman he had met in a country lane near Edinburgh; for this he was condemned to death, but before the sentence was carried out he was pardoned by George I.⁴⁸ Then, in 1730, he was again accused of rape, this time by a servant girl who claimed she had been decoyed to his house by a woman. Once again he was condemned to death, but his friends, who included his son-in-law, the Earl of Wemyss, and Robert Walpole, rallied around him; the case was referred to the Privy Council, and he was pardoned by George II.⁴⁹ However, according to Sala, he was compelled to pay a sizable settlement to Ann Bond, the young lady in question;⁵⁰ we are also told that:

the sheriffs of London, and the high bailiff of Westminster, had, moreover, made a seizure of his rich goods and chattels, immediately after his conviction. He had to compound with them for the restitution of his effects, and this cost him nearly nine thousand pounds. The profligate old miser had to sell his South Sea stock, to raise the amount; a fact which the newspapers of the day record with much exultation.⁵¹

About this incident, it is also of interest to note that Francis Hackabout, the brother of the Kate Hackabout mentioned earlier,⁵² was sentenced to hang at the same time and in the same place as Charteris was sentenced.⁵³ Furthermore, the same issue of the Grub-street Journal that carried the aforementioned item concerning Kate Hackabout⁵⁴ presented, in the next column, an item about Charteris and his wife, who, according to this account, had become "perfectly reconciled to each other";⁵⁵ he was said to have "cashiered his trusty Jack and others of his evil agents . . . ,"⁵⁶ and it was stated that the two were "to be presented to their majesties"⁵⁷ Paulson suggests that "this ironic juxtaposition may have inspired Hogarth to bring the two [Miss Hackabout and Charteris] together in his print."⁵⁸ And it was also in 1730 that a pamphlet appeared entitled Some Authentick Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Ch-----s, Rape-Master-general of Great Britain by an Impartial Hand which contained much interesting but possibly overcolored information about his exploits;⁵⁹ thus Colonel Charteris even had a pamphlet written about him!

Charteris' method of seduction seems to have been to put agents in innyards to spot girls newly arrived from the country, and to employ the girl who was obtained in this fashion as a servant in his house.⁶⁰ Wilenski asserts that Mother Needham was one of the people Charteris

employed to obtain young women.⁶¹ Whether or not such was the case (in Plate 1, it might perhaps be thought that the woman was not acting on the man's behalf, since if she were one would not expect to see the latter included in the scene) the two seem to have been linked in the mind of the ordinary Londoner; in a tract published in 1732 entitled Don Francisco's Descent into the Infernal Regions, an Interlude, Needham proposes in hell to marry Colonel Charteris, and the latter is appalled at the idea!⁶²

Two years after his last rape trial, in 1732, Colonel Charteris passed away,⁶³ no doubt to the relief of many. It must not be thought, however, that the general populace allowed him to be peacefully laid to rest. Indeed, they most certainly did not, for they attacked the hearse carrying his body, pelted it with garbage, tried to tear the corpse out of the coffin, and, as a final gesture, threw dog and cat carcasses into his tomb.⁶⁴

The other gentleman standing in the doorway to the inn, according to one source, is "John Gourlay a Pimp, whom he [Charteris] always kept about his person."⁶⁵ Another reference asserts that this person is "John Gover, a pimp in his [Charteris'] employ; or Anthony Henley."⁶⁶ It would appear to be quite likely that either Gourlay or Gover was the "trusty Jack" referred to in the previously-mentioned item concerning Colonel Charteris which was contained in

the Grub-street Journal of August 6, 1730.⁶⁷

The inn depicted in Plate 1 appears to be rather run-down; portions of the exterior facing have fallen away, leaving the underlying bricks exposed. Close to the inn's door there is a sign which has on it a picture of a bell, leading us to believe that the inn might be called the "Bell Inn."⁶⁸ Beside this sign, above the doorway to the inn, we note another sign made up of numerous light and dark squares arranged in a checkerboard pattern. Although only the lower portion of the sign is visible in the print, there are seven squares (three light and four dark) in the bottom horizontal row. According to Lichtenberg, a sign with a checkerboard pattern is one which is displayed by places selling strong spirits. The Warren family, whose coat-of-arms contained a checkerboard pattern, had the exclusive right to distribute licences to such retailers, and it was customary, for the convenience of the tax collector, for establishments selling strong spirits to display a sign having such a pattern so that they could be recognized from a distance.⁶⁹

Across from the inn a woman⁷⁰ is seen hanging what appears to be a pair of stockings over the railing of a second story balcony.⁷¹ Two inverted pots have been placed in the balcony's railing; Lichtenberg identified these as chamber pots.⁷² Between two posts which extend above this railing a clothesline has been strung, and three items are

presently hanging on the line. The pronounced sag of the clothesline does nothing to allay the feeling that the area in which Miss Hackabout now finds herself is not one of London's better districts.

The wagon referred to earlier in this paper⁷³ is found at the far left of this scene. Something has been written on the side of this conveyance, but since only a portion of the wagon can be seen, we are not shown the writing in its entirety. However, from the "B.R." shown on the first line, the "York" shown on the second, and the "gon" given on the third, we are led to understand that the wagon is a "York wagon" that has come down from Yorkshire. That Miss Hackabout has apparently travelled from Yorkshire in such a conveyance suggests she could not afford to travel by coach, for if she could have afforded the stagecoach fare she would probably have used this method of transportation. This is no doubt also true for the two female passengers we see sitting in the wagon and looking out.⁷⁴ Travel by wagon was the cheapest form of travel, and also the slowest.⁷⁵ Passengers sat or lay among the goods the wagon was carrying, and the wagoner either rode or walked beside his team. The journey from the north would have taken many days,⁷⁶ and, according to George, would have cost about a shilling a day, or, in terms of milage, approximately a halfpenny a mile.⁷⁷

Near the wagon is a gentleman astride a horse. By his attire we recognize this person as being a clergyman.⁷⁸ On the assumption that Miss Hackabout would probably not have made the journey to London unaccompanied by a male escort, it is possible that this clergyman has come from Yorkshire with our heroine. And perhaps, as Rouquet suggests, Miss Hackabout "fût la fille du prêtre . . . ,"⁷⁹ although such a relationship, while entirely possible, might not necessarily be the case.⁸⁰ The gaunt-faced cleric appears oblivious to what is occurring around him, as he is intent on reading a letter he holds addressed "To the Right Reverend Father in God." As the clergyman is now in London, it seems probable that the letter is meant for the bishop of London, who at that time was Edmund Gibson;⁸¹ indeed, the fourth state of this plate shows the word "London" written below the words "Father in God."⁸² And while the cleric reads the letter, his horse is busy eating, knocking over a stack of containers in the process. These containers are shown "frozen" in time and space,⁸³ and the fact they are falling might be an allusion to Miss Hackabout's "fall," which begins in this scene.⁸⁴

CHAPTER II

PLATE II OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

When Plate 2 is examined, it becomes apparent that the Miss Hackabout portrayed in this scene is a changed person from the one Hogarth depicted in Plate 1; as Townsend asserts, "she is no longer the raw country girl."¹ Indeed, her dress is made of a rich material, she wears beauty patches on her face, her right arm is extended in what might be termed a "ladylike" fashion, the general pose she has assumed suggests an assertiveness not visible in the previous plate, and the expression on her face is not one that would likely have been associated with the young lady in Plate 1.

It would seem that our heroine is now the mistress of the gentleman shown sitting on a chair and holding a cup and saucer in his right hand. This person (who, to judge by his dress, is obviously a person of means), is identified by Rouquet as being of Jewish descent,² and other commentators, when referring to the nationality of Miss Hackabout's provider, also assert he is a member of this race.³ No commentator states the reason why he makes this assumption, but the facial features of this gentleman appear to

differ somewhat from those of the gentlemen in Plate 1; furthermore, the features of the former are such that they might be considered "Jewish."⁴ The only items in the series which might in any way be associated with the Jewish race are pictures found in this scene and the following plate, and the "Jew's bread" found in Plate 5. While it might perhaps be debated whether anything contained in these pictures can be taken as indicating that Miss Hackabout's provider was of Jewish descent, it appears quite likely there is a connection between this gentleman and the Jew's bread. Such a possibility in no way furnishes conclusive proof that this person is, to use Cook's words, a "disciple of Moses,"⁵ but it does make the assumption more attractive. Thus, when all factors are considered, it seems reasonable to assume that Miss Hackabout's provider was probably of Jewish descent.

That this gentleman appears to be a member of the Jewish race is a detail worth noting. The Jewish people had been expelled from England in 1290,⁶ and not re-admitted until Cromwell's time.⁷ Thus the Jewish colony in England was small;⁸ in the middle of the Eighteenth Century it was said not to have exceeded seven or eight thousand families.⁹ When speaking of the Jewish population in England at this time, Quennell asserts that:

the poorer sort retained their traditional habits-- a Jewish pedlar tramping from place to place was among the very few wearers of a beard that the average Englishman had yet seen; but the merchant whom

Moll exploits and deludes . . . has assumed the embroidered coat, ruffled shirt and crisply curled wig of a metropolitan man of the world. He cuts, nevertheless, a slightly exotic figure--for Hogarth's audience he was, indeed, something of a rarity¹⁰

What, therefore, might have prompted Hogarth to give Miss Hackabout a Jewish provider?¹¹ This idea may have been suggested to the artist by a work which appeared in 1700 entitled Letters on Several Occasions and which contained a "Letter to Madame -----, Kept by a Jew in Covent Garden."¹² It might also be suggested that having our heroine's provider come from a racial stock other than Anglo-Saxon adds variety to the scene, and thus increases the plate's interest. And it is also possible that, if Hogarth did not think too highly of people of the Jewish race,¹³ he may have made this gentleman a Jew in order to poke fun at a member of this race, and to show such a person in an unfavorable light. For not only does the action taking place behind this gentleman's back¹⁴ make him look rather foolish (since he is apparently supporting, in fine fashion, a woman who is seeing other men), but he is indulging in the practice of keeping a woman as a mistress--a practice which, although not uncommon, and perhaps even spoken of with a "knowing wink," was possibly considered basically immoral by the majority of the middle class.

As mentioned earlier, Miss Hackabout's provider is sitting on a chair, and holding a cup and saucer in his

right hand; tucked under his left arm we can see his three-cornered hat. However, as we see him in this scene, he is not, as we might expect, smiling amiably while he exchanges pleasantries with his mistress; on the contrary, he has a rather startled, surprised look on his face, as Miss Hackabout has just kicked over the table at which he sits. The china on the table is sent flying;¹⁵ some has already been broken on the floor, and a teapot and some other chinaware is shown suspended in space much as the falling containers were shown frozen in space in the previous scene.

And why has our heroine kicked over the gracefully-carved table? This action was no mere accident, but a planned incident calculated to prevent the occurrence of a very "embarrassing" situation, for behind Miss Hackabout's provider we see a gentleman who is in the process of tiptoeing towards the door of Miss Hackabout's room. From the state of this gentleman's dress, it would appear logical to assume that he and our heroine were involved in an "amorous interlude" when Miss Hackabout's provider arrived unexpectedly to visit his mistress. The first visitor, who seems younger than the other gentleman in the room, may have hidden in our heroine's bed (which is seen at the right-hand side of the picture)¹⁶ until he had an opportunity to make good his escape, which he is now doing with the aid of Miss Hackabout's diversion.¹⁷ From the expression on his

face, his pose, and the fact he is tip-toeing in his stocking feet, we gather that, as one might expect, he is being very careful to make his exit without being detected. Miss Hackabout's maid, who is dressed in the conventional maid's costume of the day, is standing by the doorway holding the door open for him; she also holds his shoes in her right hand.¹⁸

In the lower right-hand corner of this scene, a little Negro servant, dressed in a costume that includes a plumed turban, is shown carrying a kettle which presumably contains more water for the tea; this little fellow, as one might expect, seems startled by the action that has taken place. Across from him, close to the lower left-hand corner of the picture, a monkey is scampering across the floor, taking with it an item which Cook identifies as a head-dress.¹⁹ The monkey also seems to have been startled, and, as Antal points out, its face somewhat resembles that of our heroine's provider.²⁰ The negro servant and the monkey indicate that our heroine is living in a rather elegant fashion; as Keatinge and Perry state, in the first half of the Eighteenth Century "it was a sign of luxury to own a monkey or parrot, but those who could afford it bought a negro boy slave to attend them dressed in bright clothes."²¹

Miss Hackabout's "toilette-table" (as it is termed by Cook²²) is found in the lower left-hand corner of the

picture. Among the items found thereon is a mask, which implies that Miss Hackabout attended the masquerades, which, according to Cook, were "a very fashionable amusement."²³

On the wall of Miss Hackabout's room are four pictures, the two largest of which depict scenes from the Old Testament. The picture on the wall above our heroine's maid²⁴ is taken from the Book of Jonah:

And the Lord God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief. So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd.

But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered.

And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a vehement east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die, and said, It is better for me to die than to live.²⁵

Hogarth may perhaps have intended to suggest that²⁶ Miss Hackabout would soon be like Jonah, who was protected but is now suffering; she would no longer be "protected" by her Jewish provider, but would be reduced to living in a far less pleasant fashion than she is now doing.

The second large picture seems to have been derived from two separate verses from the Second Book of Samuel.

The first of these tells of the killing of Uzzah:

And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it.

And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.²⁷

The second verse appears to be the following:

And as the ark of the Lord came into the City of David, Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart.²⁸

Hogarth may have wanted us to equate the figures of Michal and David with Miss Hackabout and her provider respectively, perhaps to suggest that just as David triumphantly and joyfully entered the "City of David," so did our heroine's provider possibly enter his mistress's room with much the same feelings, and perhaps also to suggest that, just as Michal despises David, so does Miss Hackabout not hold her provider in too high esteem. Furthermore, the killing of Uzzah would seem to refer to punishment being handed out, possibly to Miss Hackabout.²⁹ Thus, if we consider the three incidents depicting Jonah, Uzzah, and David and Michal from right to left,³⁰ we find that we are possibly being told that Miss Hackabout does not think too highly of her provider, that she is going to be punished for something she has done, and that she will soon find herself without her provider's support and in rather unpleasant circumstances; thus Hogarth may have intended these two pictures to give a sequential account of this period of Miss Hackabout's life.

The two smaller pictures each contain one person

only. In the copy of this series that was printed for Giles King (which seems to have been authorized by Hogarth),³¹ one picture was labelled "Woolston," and the other "Clarke";³² thus it seems possible these pictures in Hogarth's Plate 2 were intended to be portraits of gentlemen that had these surnames.³³ It appears as if the name "Woolston" would refer to Thomas Woolston, who is described by one source as being an "enthusiast and freethinker,"³⁴ and that the name "Clarke" probably refers to Samuel Clark, the divine.³⁵ It is possible that portraits of these two men appear in this scene because they were both considered to be "freethinkers."³⁶

CHAPTER III

PLATE III OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

An examination of Plate 3 shows us that once again Miss Hackabout's life has undergone a change. Perhaps because of the "indiscretion" that was noted in the previous scene, or possibly because of not only this incident but of others as well, our heroine has, in Ireland's words, "fallen from her high estate."¹ Apparently cast aside by her Jewish provider, she is no longer living in high fashion, but in very dreary quarters; indeed, when describing her living quarters, Cook sees fit to refer to "the deplorable appearance of every object in this wretched receptacle"² When we see our heroine she is sitting on the edge of her bed having seemingly just arisen.³ The quality of the attire worn by Miss Hackabout seems out of place in such dingy surroundings; therefore it might possibly be assumed that what she is wearing is left over from the days when she was living in quite different circumstances. In her left hand she holds a watch whose hands indicate 11:45.⁴ Cook asserts that this timepiece was "doubtless stolen from a gallant, as pilfering is supposed to be a branch of the business of a prostitute, and is considered as a principal

source of her support";⁵ this does appear a likely possibility, and the owner of the watch may even have been the gentleman whose wig is seen hanging against the back bed curtain. From the position of her face, and the expression on it, it might perhaps be the case that, as Lichtenberg suggests, "her head [is] in a listening attitude. Evidently the watch is a repeater and is striking the hour."⁶ Or she might even be daydreaming, perhaps about what she will do with the money she will receive for the watch.⁷ The fact that the watch is turned so that we can see its face is also worthy of mention; since the timepiece indicates the hour is 11:45, perhaps Hogarth wishes to suggest that just as the morning is almost over, so is Miss Hackabout's time running out.⁸

Attending our heroine is a woman described by Paulson as being a servant.⁹ In contrast to the maid seen in Plate 2, this woman is not only portly, but she wears a ragged skirt and has a disfigured face.¹⁰ When we see her she is in the process of preparing "a slovenly dish of tea . . . ,"¹¹ pouring the contents of a receptacle held in her right hand into the teapot held in her left. That the container in this woman's right hand is not a kettle suggests that such an item is not available for use; such a lack would seem likely to be due to a very unfavorable financial situation, and would therefore be another indica-

tion of how far our heroine has fallen since we saw her in the previous scene.¹²

In the center foreground there is a small, round table which, as it lacks the grace and elegance of the table being kicked over in the previous plate, contrasts noticeably with it. On this table we can see Miss Hackabout's breakfast; presumably the person holding the teapot is not eating at this time, as only one cup and saucer is in evidence. Among the other items on the table¹³ are a knife (apparently rather carelessly placed on the tabletop, or else accidentally nudged, as its blade hangs over the edge of the table), a small bowl, a loaf of bread, and some butter¹⁴ resting on a piece of paper on which are the words "Pastoral Letter to." The latter would appear to be one of the pastoral letters written by the then bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, who was referred to earlier.¹⁵ Gibson, by both his writings and his actions, resolutely opposed the evils of the day,¹⁶ including the previously-mentioned masquerades.¹⁷ Thus the butter's being on the pastoral letter might be meant to indicate the opinion of Gibson held by Miss Hackabout and/or the woman making the tea; there is even a possibility it might be specifically intended to show our heroine's opinion of Gibson's opposition to the masquerades, as it seems likely she was attending them when we saw her in Plate 2,¹⁸ and that she is still attending them when we

see her in this scene.¹⁹ Then, too, this detail might illustrate what were perhaps Hogarth's own feelings concerning Gibson and some of his ideas, or, what is also possible, the artist may have included it because poking fun at some of Gibson's writings was something which was being done at the time.²⁰ And it is even possible that Hogarth's friendship with Bishop Hoadly of Winchester led to this feature's inclusion, as Hoadly and Gibson have been described as being "opponents."²¹

Coming through the doorway on the right-hand side of the picture, and unobserved by the other two figures in the scene, is a group of at least four people.²² The person leading this group, who seems to be advancing very slowly as he takes notice of Miss Hackabout's room, is described by Rouquet as being "un commissaire qui se distinguoit extrêmement par son zèle pour la persécution des filles de joye, & la suppression des mauvais lieux,"²³ and is said to be Sir John Gonson;²⁴ indeed, it seems possible that the figure in the print was a close likeness of the aforementioned gentleman.²⁵ Gonson was a London magistrate who died in 1756.²⁶ According to Quennell, during the years 1730 and 1731 he undertook:

a series of extraordinary minor legal operations . . . against "night houses," "night cellars" and similar disorderly houses, "whereby several Persons who kept the same" were "brought to condign Punishment, and others fled from their Habitations to

avoid the like Fate." Sir John's campaign was enthusiastically approved of by his fellow citizens. He soon earned a high reputation as the "harlot-hunting magistrate," the terror of bawds and prostitutes, from obscure courts in the eastern slums, where Moll Hervey, alias Mackeig, and Elizabeth Allen, alias "Fighting Bess," and myriads of their kind, until Sir John's advent had held almost undisputed sway, to Mother Needham's expensive establishment in Park Place, off St. James Street. Drunken pickpockets and aristocratic lechers found his abrupt descents equally objectionable.²⁷

The other gentlemen in the group would seem to be bailiffs.²⁸ They carry staves,²⁹ one of which seems to have something on the top of it,³⁰ and one of the men holds what Paulson states is "a long cane, used for inflicting stripes."³¹ As Gonson appears to have been zealous in his apprehension of women of easy virtue, he has possibly come to arrest Miss Hackabout for her activities as a prostitute. On the other hand, Lichtenberg associates this group's visit with the watch our heroine is holding, and asserts "evidently the watch is a small item of booty from last night, and the loser has perhaps complained to the authorities."³² Upon consideration, however, it might appear as if the former situation is perhaps the most likely.

Miss Hackabout's bed should be mentioned at this point, as it exhibits some interesting features. In contrast to the bed depicted in the previous plate, this one has a rather dilapidated appearance, since a portion of the fabric around the top of the bed is loose and is dangling down. Another feature of this particular bed is that the

curtain behind the woman holding the teapot has been knotted. In this knot Ireland can see a face,³³ and when commenting on this assertion Lichtenberg states that:

it certainly is not out of keeping with Hogarth's Character as poet and artist to give the knot in a curtain around the altar of Venus Pandemos the form of a miserable face which, with averted eyes, weeps for the sacrifices which are offered up there.³⁴

While Hogarth may possibly have meant the folds in the knot to resemble a face, for the reason Lichtenberg suggests or for some other, such an occurrence is perhaps not very likely. And perhaps even less likely is Cook's assertion that the knot represents, "in some degree, the head of an owl, and was perhaps intended as the symbol of the wisdom of an old woman."³⁵ It might also be suggested that the knot is to be likened to a "Gordian Knot," and that Hogarth is implying that it will be difficult for Miss Hackabout to escape suffering the consequences of her actions, but here again this is perhaps rather unlikely.

Above the heads of the two ladies in the scene, and resting on the top part of our heroine's bed in such a way that one of its corners is jutting out into space, is a box labelled "James Dalton his Wigg box." Dalton was a highwayman who was famous for his boldness. About this person, Paulson states that:

As a boy he rode to his father's execution sitting between his legs; his adventures extended from locking the Bloomsbury watch into their own watch house

to seizing a ship on which he was being transported; he even attempted to rob the Queen, but stopped the wrong coach.³⁶

Thus it appears that Miss Hackabout is associating with criminals, which is perhaps not surprising for a person in her position.³⁷ The "Jane Hackabout" referred to earlier in this paper³⁸ became the mistress of "Whitney the Highwayman";³⁹ perhaps this was the source from which Hogarth obtained the idea of associating our heroine with a highwayman. And it might also be suggested that the wig box atop the bed is perhaps intended as a parody of the crown that was to be found on the beds of nobility.

In the lower right-hand corner of the scene is a table on which can be seen a chipped punch bowl with a ladle resting against its inside edge and a piece of what appears to be peel dangling over its side;⁴⁰ leaning against this bowl is a triangularly-shaped piece of mirror; and by these two items are to be found a comb, a pot of pomatum, a covered dish,⁴¹ another container, a pewter measure for spirits, and an upturned spirit glass that has no foot.⁴² This table also has an open drawer, and in this drawer is the previously-mentioned letter addressed "To Md. Hackabout."⁴³ Beside this table on the floor are what appear to be various "receptacles," possibly mugs and measures.⁴⁴ The one closest to the viewer is on its side, and the tall one next to it (identified by Paulson as being a "pewter measure"⁴⁵)

has written on it "[John? James?] Dea[?] in Drury Lane."

This inscription was probably introduced to suggest to the viewer that Miss Hackabout was living on or near Drury Lane, which, according to Townsend, "was at that time a pleasure-quarter, where prostitutes and brothels flourished."⁴⁶

By the edge of Miss Hackabout's skirt is a cat, which, as well as suggesting that the room required its services (which might well be imagined), might also be intended to make reference to certain aspects of our heroine's character or personality.⁴⁷ Near the cat, in the lower left-hand corner of the picture, is a chair⁴⁸ from which a jacket is hanging. On the seat of this chair is a bottle into which a candle has been placed, and a bowl said by Clerk to be an "earthenware-basin."⁴⁹

Above the chair can be seen two windows, both of which appear to have some glass missing. On the ledge of one is a small container said by Paulson to be an ointment pot,⁵⁰ and on the ledge of the other are two items identified as medicine bottles.⁵¹ If this identification is correct,⁵² she is possibly now suffering from the disease which seems to have taken her life.⁵³

On the wall behind the chair there is a small round picture or plaque containing a half-length representation of a human figure. This figure seems to have a halo around its head, and Ireland suggests that it is a portrait of the

Virgin Mary.⁵⁴ This assumption might perhaps be questioned, however, since it appears quite possible the figure is that of a man.⁵⁵ Above this figure is a picture (probably a print) labelled "Capt. Mackheath," Macheath being the hero of John Gay's The Beggar's Opera,⁵⁶ which was first produced in 1728.⁵⁷ Beside Macheath's picture is another picture (also probably a print) which is labelled "Dr. Sacheveral S.T.P.,"⁵⁸ Henry Sacheverell being a notorious Tory divine who died in 1724.⁵⁹ Paulson suggests that the portraits of Macheath and Sacheverell "illustrate her [Miss Hackabout's] false ideals."⁶⁰ And in the upper left-hand corner of this plate there is one more picture (also probably a print) which, unlike the others, depicts a biblical scene. This picture is after Titian's "The Sacrifice of Isaac,"⁶¹ and illustrates the following well-known verses from the Book of Genesis:

And they came to the place which God had told them of; and Abraham built an Altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood.

And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.

And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I.

And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me.⁶²

It seems possible that this picture was meant to be associated with our heroine's impending arrest by Gonson. Kurz asserts that "the Angel arresting Abraham's arm may possibly symbolize the action of the law, in preventing the harlot from sinning further."⁶³ And it is also possible that Hogarth meant us to associate Abraham with Gonson, and Isaac with our heroine, and that he was suggesting Miss Hackabout should be shown mercy.

CHAPTER IV

PLATE IV OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

Once again the locale of our story has changed, for our heroine, as a result of the action which was presumably about to take place in the previous scene, or as a result of a subsequent arrest, is now in a house of correction. This institution might be, as Paulson asserts, "Bridewell Prison, the House of Correction in Tothill Fields, Westminster, for prostitutes, bawds, cardsharps, and the like,"¹ or it might be the institution on Bridge Street, Blackfriars, referred to by Mayhew and Binny as the "City Bridewell."² When we see Miss Hackabout, she is beating hemp while wearing a very expensive-appearing gown. Although such expensive gowns were not common in houses of correction,³ they were not completely unknown there,⁴ and Hogarth may have been inspired to do Plate 4 by a newspaper account of such an occurrence.⁵ As to why our heroine is wearing a gown of this quality, Sala asks if she might have put on a fine dress "in order to captivate the . . . justices . . ." before whom she would appear.⁶ Then, too, she may just simply have wanted to "look her best," or, if her being in prison results from an arrest that took place after the one that seemed imminent

in the previous scene, this gown may have been the one in which she was dressed at the time.

The hemp our heroine is beating rests on a "bench" which seems to be nothing more than a piece of a log from which the bark may have been removed. Miss Hackabout stands behind this loosely holding a wooden mallet in her hands; from the expression on her face, she is finding her present situation a very trying one. On her right is the warder, or labour-master. In his left hand he holds, in a very threatening fashion, a cane, or "rattan," of the type carried by one of the gentlemen depicted in the previous scene,⁷ and with his right hand he seems to be pointing to a piece of wood to which is attached a chain that has a ring on the end of it, which was a device used for the punishment of inmates.⁸ By the angry expression on his face, as well as by the gestures mentioned above, this "savage taskmaster" (as Ireland terms him),⁹ appears to be telling our heroine to work harder, and to be threatening her with punishment if she does not. And there is little wonder that he might be endeavouring to make Miss Hackabout work harder, for he sold the beaten hemp to a merchant, keeping the money that remained after the prisoners' food had been paid for.¹⁰

Behind our heroine is a one-eyed woman who might, as Lichtenberg suggests, be the labour-master's wife,¹¹ or who might simply be another inmate of the house of correc-

tion. This person seems to be holding on to portions of our heroine's attire,¹² and, according to Paulson, is "jeering at her [Miss Hackabout's] finery."¹³ And at this point it should also be noted that Kurz, when mentioning the story of Jane Hackabout referred to earlier,¹⁴ states that:

Jane Hackabout . . . was "seized for a nightwalker and taken to Bridewell, where she soon made away with her Cloathes and what she had and then was turned out." Hogarth lets us witness something of what is said here: the jailer's wife, a leer-ing, one-eyed hag, has taken hold of the girl's lace bonnet strings, to compare them with an inimitable gesture to her own ragged 'fichu'. One can see that all the other dainty garments will soon have gone the same way Perhaps . . . [Miss Hackabout's] lace is being sacrificed so that she may escape [being punished with the block and chain]¹⁵

Also in the same portion of the picture as Miss Hackabout, the labour-master, and the one-eyed woman is another figure, this one largely hidden from view. This figure, which is behind the one-eyed woman, is that of a man who is being punished in the stocks. And it will be noted that on the stocks is written "Better to Work than Stand thus."

Beside the four people referred to in the above paragraph,¹⁶ there are eight other people in this scene.¹⁷ In the center of the picture is a gentleman wearing a rather fancy coat; behind him there is a hat (probably his own) hanging on the wall, and by his "workbench" is a torn card which appears to be the eight of diamonds.¹⁸ The card is

his; it was possibly torn in a fit of anger or disgust, and is likely intended to indicate that this person is a gambler.¹⁹ Beside him is a female who seems younger than the other people in the scene,²⁰ and by her is a person who, in contrast to the other two people so far described in this paragraph (both of whom are in the process of beating the hemp that is in front of them), is bending over and resting her mallet on her hemp. Next to her is a woman who has her mallet raised; beside her is a woman with her mallet resting on her shoulder who is possibly of Negroid ancestry;²¹ and alongside her a portion of another figure can be seen.²² Behind this group of six figures is a whipping post with the words "The Wages of Idleness" written upon it, and on the wall behind these figures a petticoat²³ and another article (perhaps also an item of attire) are hanging.

The other two figures in this scene are in the lower right-hand corner of the picture. One of these women is the person with the damaged nose whom we first saw in the previous plate. She has one foot²⁴ on her "workbench," and is putting on her garter; she also seems to be laughing at Miss Hackabout's being threatened by the labour-master.²⁵ The woman beside her, according to Paulson, is "destroying vermin in her clothes" ²⁶ And it is of interest to note that neither of these two women has any hemp on her "workbench," while the other "benches" that are visible in

this picture all have hemp on them.

On the wall, above these two women, is a basket containing what appears to be hemp. If this area of the picture is further examined, a shutter will be found upon which has been drawn (no doubt by a prisoner) a crude figure hanging from a gallows. This figure is identified (by the letters "Sr J G" written above it) as Sir John Gonson, the leader of the group of men depicted in Plate 3.²⁷ Behind the shutter²⁸ is some material²⁹ that has been hung over a beam, and covering the building is a roof whose holes³⁰ indicate that not much emphasis was placed on keeping the building in a good state of repair.³¹

CHAPTER V

PLATE V OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

Once more the locale of our story has changed, and our heroine is now in a room that is even less appealing than the one depicted in Plate 3. Examination of the roof of this room¹ indicates that it, or at least a good portion thereof, is actually the roof of the house in which Miss Hackabout's room is contained; thus, when it is considered that large areas of plaster are missing from the room's walls, that a wad of cloth seems to be plugging a hole in one wall, and that the door to this room is a very basic affair made even less elegant by the application of crude patches, it is obvious that this room is a "miserable garret" in the truest sense of the term. Probably at least four years have gone by since the action shown in the fourth scene took place, and have definitely gone by since the occurrence of the action depicted in Plate 3, as our heroine is now shown as being the mother of a boy who appears to be between four and eight years of age.² This young fellow, who is wearing a coat with sleeves that seem too long for him,³ is kneeling on one knee in front of the fireplace.⁴ His attention is taken up by a length of wire or cord⁵

being used to suspend a piece of meat⁶ in the fireplace; he is either playing with this material, or else doing something pertaining to the actual cooking of the meat.⁷

In the chair beside this young lad is his mother, Miss Hackabout. This is not, however, a healthy Miss Hackabout, such as was seen in the first plate of this series, but a Miss Hackabout who appears to be just the opposite; indeed, she seems to be either expiring,⁸ or perhaps even to have just passed away,⁹ a victim (as will become apparent) of venereal disease. Her head is tilted back, her eyes are closed, her mouth is slightly open, and her whole body seems, at first glance, to be slouched back in her chair as if she has neither the strength nor the desire to sit in a more upright position; this latter might be a difficult point to prove, however, since our heroine is, as Paulson observes, "wrapped up in 'sweating' blankets,"¹⁰ and her face is the only part of her person not so covered. On her right is the woman with the disfigured nose whom we have seen in the previous two plates. This person has her left arm around Miss Hackabout, either as a gesture of companionship, comfort, or protection, or to help support our heroine in her chair.

Close to this woman are two gentlemen, one quite lean, and the other of a rather stocky build. Rouquet asserts that these are "deux medecins ou plutôt deux empiriques, fameux dans ce tems-la pur la guérison des maladies

vénériennes"11 Nichols asserts that "the lean Doctor is Misaubin . . . ,"12 and the other gentleman is "Dr. Rock, or Dr. Ward."13 Ireland also states that the thin figure is Misaubin,14 and Paulson believes that this figure "is probably intended for Dr. Jean Misaubin"15 Foster tells us that "the likeness of Misaubin was so striking that he was recognized by all . . . ,"16 and whether or not this statement is correct there does seem to be a resemblance between the figure shown in this plate and the figure in an engraving made by Pond, in 1739, of a caricature Watteau had made of Misaubin.17 This gentleman had been born in France, and "graduated M.D. at the university of Cahors on 7 July 1687. He settled in London, and became a licentiate of the College of Physicians on 25 June 1719;"18 however, according to Dudden, "though he had been licensed by the College of Physicians, he was regarded by the faculty as an 'illiterate empiric'; and his broken speech, odd foreign manners, and boundless arrogance excited general derision."19 At the same time, there is a possibility that he might perhaps also have been polite, witty, elegant, and erudite.20 He left no published works behind him when he passed away on April 20, 1734.21 In Tom Jones, Fielding states "the learned Dr. Misaubin used to say, that the proper direction to him was 'To Dr. Misaubin, in the World'; intimating that there were few people in it to whom his

great reputation was not known."²² Misaubin seems to have owed his reputation to a "Little Pill" he had created which was advertised as a cure for practically every type of disorder,²³ venereal disease included.²⁴ This pill, to once again quote Dudden, "was eagerly swallowed by the credulous multitude, [and] brought him a generous income."²⁵ Misaubin and his pill are mentioned in the following lines written during the Eighteenth Century:

Should I perchance be fashionably ill,
I'd send for Misaubin, and take his pill.
I should abhor, though in utmost need,
Arbuthnot, Hollins, Wigan, Lee or Mead;
But if I found that I grew worse and worse,
I'd turn off Misaubin and take a nurse.²⁶

Misaubin was caricatured by Fielding in his play The Mock Doctor, or the Dumb Lady Cured,²⁷ first staged on June 23, 1732,²⁸ and Paulson is of the opinion that the room depicted in Plate 3 of "Marriage à la Mode" is "the house, or 'museum' of Dr. Misaubin, 96 St. Martin's Lane, Westminster"²⁹

As for the identity of the second gentleman in Plate 5 of "A Harlot's Progress," Baum³⁰ and Townsend³¹ both are of the opinion that the person represented is Dr. Ward, a well-known quack³² who made a fortune from practicing medicine before he died in 1761.³³ It is perhaps more likely, however, that Paulson³⁴ and Foster³⁵ are correct in believing that the second gentleman in this scene is not Dr. Ward, but Dr. Rock. Although Dr. Ward's pill was first made known in England in 1731-1732,³⁶ it appears that the gentleman

himself did not arrive in London until 1733;³⁷ furthermore, Ward is said to have had a portwine birthmark on his face,³⁸ and the figure in question does not appear to have any such mark. Then, too, in the third state of this print the name "Dr Rock" appears on the sheet of paper seen in the lower right-hand portion of this picture,³⁹ and while this need not necessarily mean that one of the gentlemen is this person, the possibility exists that Hogarth included the name so that the gentleman in question could be positively identified.⁴⁰ Dr. Rock was a quack doctor, who, like Misaubin, was well-known for his treatment of venereal disease;⁴¹ he had concocted a pill advertised as "The Famous, Anti-Venereal, Grand, Specifick Pill."⁴² He died in November of 1777 at the age of 87,⁴³ and was thus about 42 years of age when this series appeared. Goldsmith, in his The Citizen of the World, asserts:

I formerly acquainted thee . . . with the excellence of the English in the art of healing. The Chinese boast their skill in pulses, the Siamese their botanical knowledge, but the English advertising physicians alone, of being the great restorers of health, the dispensers of youth, and the ensurers of longevity.

.

. . . I must present you, inadequate as my abilities are to the subject, with some account of those personages who lead in this honorable profession.

The first upon the list of glory, is doctor Richard Rock, F.U.N. This great man is short of stature, is fat, and waddles as he walks. He always wears a white three tail'd wig, nicely combed and frizzed upon each cheek. Sometimes he carries a cane,

but a hat never; it is indeed very remarkable, that this extraordinary personage should never wear an hat, but so it is, he never wears an hat. He is usually drawn at the top of his own bills, sitting in his arm chair, holding a little bottle between his finger and thumb, and surrounded with rotten teeth, nippers, pills, packets, and gally-pots. No man can promise fairer nor better than he; for, as he observes, "Be your disorder never so far gone, be under no uneasiness, make yourself quite easy, I can cure you."⁴⁴

And Hogarth also mentions Dr. Rock in his "The March to Finchley," and in the "Morning" print from his series "The Four Times of the Day." In the first of these, a sign bearing the name "Dr Rock" is being regarded by a soldier who is grimacing in pain while he urinates against a wall, and in the second a sign with "Dr Rock's" written on it is being held by a gentleman (perhaps intended for Dr. Rock himself) who seems to be attempting to arouse the interest of the people around him.

The figure identified as Dr. Misaubin holds a small container in his right hand, and his stockier counterpart holds a cane in his right hand, and a small container of some sort in his left. The two gentlemen appear to be carrying on a heated discussion, and since the leaner of the two figures is either touching, or pointing towards, the container he is holding, the topic being so hotly discussed would seem to have some connection with the contents of their respective containers; thus they are probably arguing about the treatment of Miss Hackabout's malady, and the

merits of the nostrums that are no doubt to be found in the aforementioned containers. The figure identified as Misau-bin has just stood up, apparently doing so quite suddenly, as the chair upon which he was sitting appears to be in the process of tipping over.⁴⁵ The woman beside Miss Hackabout has her right arm outstretched, and her right hand is in a vertical position with its fingers spread apart; furthermore, her face bears an expression of anger, or of mixed surprise and anger. Thus she is either irate about the way the doctors have treated our heroine's disease, and is telling them she wants no more of their ministering; very annoyed about their arguing, and wants them to stop; or is both startled and annoyed by what the thin gentleman has done,⁴⁶ and is putting out her arm in an attempt to stop the aforementioned chair from tipping over completely.

In the lower left-hand corner a woman is seen going through a trunk. This trunk is the one with our heroine's initials on its lid that is seen in Plate 1.⁴⁷ As for the identity of the woman, and the reason for her rummaging through the trunk, Cook states this person is "the nurse,"⁴⁸ and is taking the opportunity "of plundering her [Miss Hackabout's] trunk of the few poor remains of grandeur";⁴⁹ Paulson, on the other hand, believes she is a woman "who has come to prepare the corpse . . . ,"⁵⁰ and who "is going through the trunk in an effort to find some decent grave

clothes . . . ,"⁵¹ while Lichtenberg describes this person as "perhaps formerly a sort of chaperone to the girl, or else a relation of hers . . . , or what is most likely, her present landlady to whom something is probably owing for rent and expenses,"⁵² and states she is "securing possession of the girl's [Miss Hackabout's] little all, or at least she is reckoning it up, for the sake of her peace of mind."⁵³ Then, too, she could even be our heroine's bawd.

On the floor beside this person, and apparently removed from the trunk, are a pair of Miss Hackabout's shoes, the witch's hat seen in Plate 3,⁵⁴ and a mask with a fan put through its eyeholes.⁵⁵ A dress can be seen hanging down over the side of the trunk,⁵⁶ and hanging over the trunk's lid are two strips of cloth, both perhaps belonging to this gown. A small, dark shape can be seen sticking up above the trunk. While this could be the tip of something leaning against the lid, or even the tip of something being held in the woman's hand, it is perhaps more likely that it is the hasp on the lid of the trunk.⁵⁷

On the wall, between the door and the left-hand edge of the picture, two candles⁵⁸ are seen hanging up, and above these, close to the corner of the door, is the "Jew's bread" referred to earlier.⁵⁹ One source describes this as "a dry tasteless biscuit perforated with many holes, and formerly given away in great quantities at the Feast of the Pass-

over."⁶⁰ This source goes on to state that it was "generally used only as a fly trap, and hung up as such against the wall I have frequently met with [it] . . . in mean houses."⁶¹

Our heroine's bed is seen in the background of this scene, and it appears to be in much better condition than the bed noted in Plate 3.⁶² It is also of interest to note that one of the curtains across the end of this bed has been partially pulled to one side. It is perhaps not likely that Miss Hackabout would have been either taken or helped from her bed through this egress, as it is at the end of the bed, and not the side; perhaps the blanket in which Miss Hackabout is wrapped came from on the bed, and the opening in the curtains was made when the blanket was obtained.⁶³

In the upper right-hand corner of the picture is a clothesline on which various items are hanging; among these are a pair of gloves, a pair of stockings, and an article which is probably a nightgown.⁶⁴ And among the miscellaneous vessels on the mantelpiece behind Miss Hackabout, one of which seems to be a chipped mug or stein, can be seen some medicine bottles,⁶⁵ and hanging above the mantelpiece is a bladder-shaped item which is possibly associated with a form of treatment of the sick which Lichtenberg terms "the vomit and lavage method."⁶⁶ Hanging beside the fireplace, slightly below the level of the mantelpiece, is a four-

sided object said by Cook to be a gridiron,⁶⁷ and by Lichtenberg to be a mirror,⁶⁸ and hanging below this is a bellows.

In the center of the floor is the overturned table mentioned elsewhere;⁶⁹ as a result of this table's having been knocked over, an ink bottle (with a quill pen still contained in its upper portion) lies broken on the floor, as does a bowl. Ink from the bottle has spilled out onto the floor, and the contents of the bowl are on the floor also. A spoon is seen lying close to the pieces of the bowl, and there is a possibility that this vessel contained soup or a thin gruel that had been made for Miss Hackabout. Also on the floor, only in the lower right-hand corner of the picture, are a pile of coal and an item identified by Paulson as a "bedpan . . . covered with a plate engraved with the name of the owner . . .";⁷⁰ on the plate the words "B Cook at the [?]" can be distinguished. To the right of this can be seen a small coal shovel, and a round, drum-like, probably two-handled⁷¹ object which is perhaps the receptacle in which Miss Hackabout normally would keep her coal. On top of the latter are a pipe; a bowl⁷² that is either filled so full that some of its contents have come over its rim, or else covered over with a cloth of some kind;⁷³ and an item which may or may not be what Lichtenberg says it is--a "Dutch spittoon (Quispedorje)."⁷⁴

Also on the above-mentioned drum-like object is the paper that had Dr. Rock's name added to it.⁷⁵ On this paper are some small objects which Ireland states are pills.⁷⁶ Close examination suggests, however, that such an identification can be questioned, and that these items are probably not pills, but teeth, a suggestion put forth by both Paulson⁷⁷ and Townsend.⁷⁸ Such being the case, it would appear that these teeth would be our heroine's; they were probably loosened by the element mercury, which was used during this time for treating syphilis.⁷⁹ A few feet away from these items, on the floor beside the spoon and the broken bowl,⁸⁰ is some paper on which the words "PRACTICAL SCHEME" and "ANODYNE" can be made out.⁸¹ Below this last word is a drawing of what is probably a necklace,⁸² as the reference here is to an anodyne necklace. A typical advertisement for one of these necklaces claims it is a cure "for Children's Teeth, Fits, Fevers, Convulsions, & c. and the great Specific Remedy for the Secret Disease."⁸³ Thus it is possible that such a necklace was being used to treat our heroine's son,⁸⁴ or was perhaps being used by Miss Hackabout as treatment for her venereal disease.

CHAPTER VI

PLATE VI OF "A HARLOT'S PROGRESS"

With Plate 6, Hogarth finishes his account of a harlot's progress. Unlike the other scenes in this series, however, the figure of Miss Hackabout cannot be seen, for she has now passed away, and her body is hidden by the coffin in which she has been placed. The date of our heroine's death, and her age at the time of her demise, are given by a plate on the coffin's lid that reads "M. Hackabout Died Sepr 2d 1731 aged 23."¹

The room depicted in this plate resembles that shown in the third plate in that it is not in a good state of repair; the window is broken,² the walls are cracking in various places, and the roof is not in very good condition. And while its general appearance makes it somewhat akin to the room shown in the previous plate, these two rooms do not seem to be the same; thus the room might belong to a person who had been a friend of our heroine's, or perhaps to the undertaker in charge of our heroine's funeral arrangements.³ On the rear wall of this room can be seen a set of armorial bearings for the deceased which Stephens describes as "azure, parti per chevron, sable, three fossets [faucets], in which

three spigots are inserted, all proper."⁴ Also hanging on the back wall is a hat that is either the one that was worn by our heroine in the first plate, or one similar to it; thus Hogarth has introduced into this plate an object that reminds the viewer of Miss Hackabout's days of innocence.⁵

Our heroine's coffin (which is raised up off the floor by what might be two small tables, one under either end) is in the middle of the room. Thirteen people are grouped around the coffin;⁶ Miss Hackabout's son⁷ sits in front of it on what is probably a box,⁸ two people are on one side of it near the left-hand side of the picture, and the remaining ten are arranged along the back of the room and the wall that is seen on the right-hand side of the picture.⁹ The boy is his mother's chief mourner.¹⁰ He has a black cape over his shoulders, and wears a wide-brimmed black hat. The latter is edged with lace, and has on it a strip, or strips, of black material. This material seems to be wrapped around the crown of the hat; it is also tied into a knot on the hat's brim, and it hangs down from this to a point below the boy's shoulder. And, while describing this boy, it should be mentioned that in this scene he is happily playing with the peg-top he is holding.¹¹

On the floor, close to Miss Hackabout's son, is a plate on which can be seen some sprigs of yew; it also appears as if a sprig of the same material is lying on the lid

of the coffin, and in front of the aforementioned boy. According to Paulson, yew was found at a funeral because it was "thought to prevent infection."¹² In the lower left-hand corner of this scene there is a woman who is sitting next to a man. Some sources identify the former as Elizabeth Adams,¹³ but this identification should perhaps be considered rather doubtful.¹⁴ When we see this woman she has her left arm under the right arm of the male sitting next to her, and is holding a sprig of rosemary in her left hand (Paulson states that, like yew, rosemary was thought to ward off infection¹⁵). The gentleman referred to in the previous sentence can be seen by his attire to be a clergyman; furthermore, he has been identified in one of the unauthorized versions of this series as being "the famous Couple-beggar in the Fleet, a wretch who there screens himself from the Justice due to his Villanies, and daily repeats them."¹⁶ Thus this person is said to be one of the infamous "Fleet Chaplains" or "Fleet Parsons." George describes these clergymen as follows:

Fleet parsons were a class of clergy, peculiar to the years from about 1666 to 1754, that reached the lowest depths of degradation. Two things made this possible. One, the fact that marriages without bans or licence, performed anywhere, at any time, were valid, though against the canons. In 1666 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners took steps to prevent the controllable and removable clergy from performing such marriages. But among the debtors in Fleet Prison and its Rules (extending nearly a mile outside it), there were many derelict and dissolute parsons who saw their opportunity. First, in the

prison chapel and then outside; in taverns or gin-shops or anywhere, in a room fitted up for the purpose, they performed these marriages, competitively employing touts called 'plyers'. Fees were of course the sole object. The result was the encouragement of every abuse connected with marriage--seduction, marriage as a drunken frolic, pretended marriages. Entries in the Fleet Registers could--at a price--be antedated, inserted, or removed. Women were decoyed, stripped of their fortune and deserted. Men also could be ruined¹⁷

Thus the "Fleet Chaplains" could not be considered to be very upstanding members of their profession. Whether or not he is one of the above, the clergyman in Plate 6 is holding a glass of what is perhaps brandy in his left hand; he is not paying attention to this glass, however, as its contents are spilling into the piece of cloth¹⁸ on his lap. His hat, which has on it the same black material as the hat the boy is wearing,¹⁹ is being held by his companion. Possibly she is attempting to shield from the others in the room what this clergyman is doing with his right hand, for there seems little doubt that he is, as Townsend so delicately phrases it, engaged in "an amorous occupation, his fingers making tentative explorations among his neighbour's petticoats."²⁰ Knowing this, the appropriateness of the expressions on the faces of these two people becomes apparent.

On the left-hand side of this picture is an item which appears to be a screen of some sort; the purpose of this would seem to be to isolate the area in which Miss Hackabout's funeral is taking place from the remaining por-

tion of the room. The woman with the disfigured nose (the one who has appeared in the previous three plates) is standing next to this. The expression on her face suggests that she has been greatly moved by Miss Hackabout's death, and it seems as if she is now perhaps engrossed in her own thoughts, even although she might be in the process of carrying out some other activity. The coffin lid is lying crosswise on the main part of the coffin, and this woman's right hand is around the neck of a bottle that is on the coffin lid and that presumably contains an alcoholic beverage. Her left hand is either holding onto a dish or tray that is resting, or partly resting, on the lid of the coffin, or else her hand is on the edge of the coffin lid and her thumb is over the edge of the tray. On the tray is a glass which appears about two-thirds full; thus this person may have just set the bottle back down on the coffin lid after filling the glass.

Leaning over the lower half of the coffin lid is a woman²¹ who is looking into the coffin at Miss Hackabout, possibly regarding our heroine as a "memento mori." Sitting by the back wall are two figures dressed in black, or, as Clerk phrases it, "habited in all the pride of funeral woe" ²² These two have their heads close together. One of them is clasping her hands together, and seems to be raising her eyes upward, while the other is holding a glass

to her lips with her left hand and touching the other woman's arm with her right. The two women thus appear to be discussing, in either an earnest or mocking manner, some item of sad news, and to be accompanying this discussion with exaggerated gestures. And in the corner, standing and looking at her reflection in a mirror, is a woman who seems to be tying her bonnet.

Between this woman and the one who is looking into the coffin are two figures who are standing together. One is apparently weeping, and is wiping her eye with a handkerchief held in her left hand. Her other hand is held out towards her companion, who in turn holds the former's index and middle fingers, one in each hand. It has been suggested that this action centers around a ring,²³ but this seems unlikely, as the position of the hands does not seem to be one that would normally be arrived at if a ring were being put on or shown. Then, too, although there is a bump on the middle finger of the hand being examined, this perhaps looks more like a swollen knuckle, or another bump on the skin, than a ring. Thus it seems likely that an examination is taking place of one, or both, of the fingers being held; perhaps the aforementioned bump is being looked at, or perhaps there is a bump, cut, or diseased area that cannot be seen (by the person looking at Plate 6) on one or both of the aforementioned digits.²⁴

In the lower right-hand corner of the scene is an upside-down glass and a bottle of "NANTS" (brandy²⁵). Sitting on a chair beside this bottle is a woman identified as Mother Bentley, a procuress who was a well-known character in London.²⁶ The apparent age of this person suggests she is perhaps more likely a procuress than a prostitute, and whether or not she is Mother Bentley or another such person the possibility exists that she was Miss Hackabout's bawd. This would perhaps explain this person's impassioned lamentation; if she is not genuinely sorry that our heroine has died, she is putting on a very good show.²⁷

Beside this woman is a small, round table, and on it are some gloves and an item identified by Lichtenberg as a glove stretcher.²⁸ A man and a woman are standing between this table and the window mentioned earlier.²⁹ The gentleman is looking longingly at his companion, and at the same time making advances to her by either putting on, or taking off, the glove that covers her right hand (and a good portion of her arm), with it perhaps being more likely he is putting the glove on;³⁰ while he is doing this, the woman is stealing a handkerchief from his pocket. Clerk suggests this gentleman is the undertaker,³¹ and Stephens asserts he is "the mercer or undertaker who supplied the funeral"³²

Thus, with the scene described above, Hogarth con-

cluded his story. He had now depicted the life of a harlot; in his next series, he would depict the life of a rake.

PART II

A RAKE'S PROGRESS

INTRODUCTION TO "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

No doubt encouraged by the success of his "A Harlot's Progress,"¹ Hogarth began work on another series, this one with a male as its central figure. This series was the second of the "Progresses," for it was Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress." He may have commenced work on sketches for this series not too long after the first "Progress" had appeared,² or later in the same year, as a painting sometimes called "The Marriage Contract," and which contains elements found in Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress,"³ was possibly painted in 1732.⁴ In any case, the London Journal of December 22, 1733, contained the following advertisement:

Mr. Hogarth being now engraving nine Copper-plates from Pictures of his own Painting, one of which represents the Humours of a Fair; the other eight, The Progress of a Rake; [offers] the Prints by Subscription on the following Terms: Each Subscription to be one Guinea and a half; half a Guinea to be paid at the Time of subscribing, for which a receipt will be given on a new etched Print, describing a pleased audience at a Theatre; and the other Payment of one Guinea on Delivery of all the Prints when finished, which will be with all convenient Speed, and the Time publickly advertised. The Fair being already finished, will be delivered to the Subscribers on sight of the Receipt, on the 1st Day of January next, if required; or it may be subscribed for alone at 5s. The whole Payment to be paid at the Time of Subscribing. Subscriptions will be taken in at Mr. Hogarth's the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields, where the pictures are to be seen.⁵

More than two months later, on November 2, 1734, the following advertisement appeared in the same paper:

Mr. Hogarth hereby gives Notice, That having found it necessary to introduce several additional Characters in his Paintings of the Rake's Progress, he could not get the Prints ready to deliver to his Subscribers at Michaelmas [Sept. 29] last (as he proposed.) But all the Pictures being now entirely finished, may be seen at his House, the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields, where Subscriptions are taken; and the Prints being in great Forwardness, will be finished, with all possible Speed, and the Time of Delivery advertised.⁶

Thus Paulson is perhaps correct in stating that the paintings were not completed until the middle of 1734,⁷ although, as Kunzle asserts, Hogarth may only have made a few minor additions, and touched up a few details, during this period,⁸ with the real reason for the delay in producing these prints being that the artist was waiting for the "Engraver's Copyright Act" to come into effect.⁹ That this may have been the case is suggested by the following, which appeared almost six months later, on May 10, 1735:

N.B. Mr. Hogarth was, and is oblig'd to defer the Publication and Delivery of the above said Prints till the 25th of June next, in order to secure his Property, pursuant to an Act lately passed both Houses of Parliament, now waiting for the Royal Assent, to secure all new invented Prints that shall be published after the 24th of June next, from being copied without consent of the Proprietor, and thereby preventing a scandalous and unjust Custom (hitherto practised with Impunity) of making and vending base Copies of original Prints, to the manifest Discouragement of the Arts of Painting and Engraving.¹⁰

The subscription to "A Rake's Progress" seems to have been closed on June 23, 1735, as a portion of an advertisement in the London Evening Post of June 3, 1735, states:

The Nine Prints, from the Paintings of Mr. Hogarth, one representing a Fair, and the others a Rake's Progress, are now printing off, and will be ready to be delivered on the 25th instant. Subscriptions will be taken at Mr. Hogarth's, the Golden Head, in Leicester-fields, till the 23'd of June, and no longer, at half a guinea to be paid on subscribing, and half a guinea more on delivery of the Prints at the time above mentioned; after which the price will be two guineas, according to the Proposal.¹¹

The prints themselves almost all bear the date June 25, 1735, which was the date the "Engraver's Copyright Act" went into effect.¹² They seem to have appeared on or about this date, since in an advertisement in the London Daily Post of June 30 the series is referred to as having been "just publish'd."¹³

Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress" contains eight prints¹⁴ that chronicle events in the life of a young man who squanders his inheritance while pursuing an intemperate mode of life. Hogarth was not the first to tell the story of a rake; even before the start of the Seventeenth Century, in 1592, the essential traits of such a tale had appeared in Greene's Groatsworth of Witte, Bought with a Million of Repentance, Describing the Follie of Youth, the Falsehood of Makeshift Flatterers, the Miserie of the Negligent and Mischiefes of Deceiving Courtizans. Written before His Death and Published at His Dying Request.¹⁵ Kurz has produced

evidence to show that not only the progress of a harlot but also "the rake's progress [was found] in Italian engravings almost a century anterior to Hogarth's,"¹⁶ and asserts that Hogarth drew inspiration for his "A Rake's Progress" from the foregoing series.¹⁷ Gombrich refers to the Tabula Cebetis¹⁸ (a work dating back to the classical period that was a popular moral tract in England, and that is described by Gombrich as being "a dialogue purporting to describe a vast panoramic painting of human life in allegorical terms"¹⁹), and suggests that possibly "the prestige of the classical picture may really have encouraged Hogarth . . .";²⁰ the artist may have been familiar with a written version of this work,²¹ or even with one of the attempts to reconstruct the philosophic picture.²² Furthermore, the gossip of the day may have contained stories about actual English rakes, and Hogarth may have reasoned that a series depicting the progress of a rake would be a logical follow-up to his series dealing with a harlot.

Thus more than one possible source can be suggested for "A Rake's Progress."²³ At this point, therefore, the focus of this paper will be directed towards an examination of the plates that make up this series, with one plate being discussed in each of the following eight chapters.

CHAPTER VII

PLATE I OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

O Vanity of Age, untoward,
Ever Spleeny, ever froward!
Why those Bolts, & Massy Chains,
Squint Suspitions, jealous Pains?
Why, thy toilsome Journey o'er,
Lay'st thou in an useless Store?
Hope along with Time is flown,
Nor canst thou reap ye. 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 yt. friendly Ease,
That social Converse, homefelt Peace,
Familiar Duty without Dread,
Instruction from Example bred,
That youthful Mind with Freedom mend,
And with ye. Father mix the Friend?¹

An examination of the first plate of "A Rake's Progress" shows that the action depicted in this scene is taking place in a room which, although not in the same terrible state of repair as the room shown in Plate 5 of "A Harlot's Progress,"² has nevertheless not been well-maintained, as numerous cracks are visible in its ceiling and walls. This room (which is said by Sala to be a "parlour,"³ and by Bakewell to be a storeroom that has always been "kept close lock'd . . ." ⁴), contains seven people: a man standing on a ladder; an old woman with a load of sticks; a man taking some money from a small sack filled with coins; two women

(one of them crying, the other with an expression of anger on her face) standing near the room's doorway; a young gentleman holding some coins in his left hand; and a man kneeling on one knee and holding in his hands what appears to be a tape measure.

The aforementioned person on the ladder⁵ is in the process of tacking⁶ black cloth to the molding that runs along the top of one of the room's walls,⁷ which suggests that someone formerly associated with this room has recently passed away. At the particular moment in time in which we see the man on the ladder, he appears to have just broken a portion of the wooden molding. As the two broken pieces of wood come away from the area they had originally occupied, a small hole is exposed in the wall, and some coins⁸ are seen falling⁹ from this hole.¹⁰ Further examination of this area of the print shows that directly below the falling coins there is a picture of a man sitting at a table, engrossed in using a set of scales; in front of him are some stacks of coins and some small sacks which no doubt contain some more of his riches. On his head this man is wearing a cap which is trimmed with what appears to be fur. This same cap¹¹ can be seen on the mantelpiece that is found in the left-hand portion of this plate, which suggests that the owner of this cap is the person depicted in the picture on the wall. Furthermore, since this person's picture is hanging in this

room, there seems little doubt that this room was his, and as he is not one of the seven people in this scene, it is logical to assume that he is the person referred to earlier who has recently died.¹² In addition, since the picture on the wall is no doubt intended to give us some insight into this person's character, it would appear that he was extremely fond of money. Therefore, he was probably the person who hid the aforementioned coins behind the wall molding,¹³ and he more than likely did not have the cracks in the ceiling and walls of this room¹⁴ seen to because he was too penurious to do so. One is thus inclined to agree with Stephens when he asserts that this room "had been occupied by a miser."¹⁵

In the lower left-hand corner of this print is a memorandum book in which is written "Memodms: 1721 May 3d. My Son Tom Came from Oxford 4th. Dined. at the French Ordinary 5th. of June--Put of my bad Shilling--."¹⁶ There is little doubt that this book had belonged to the deceased person mentioned in the preceding paragraph; thus, the young man with the coins in his hand,¹⁷ who is the central character in this scene, can be assumed to be the miser's son, Tom. Although Tom's surname is not given in this plate, evidence found in Plate 2 points to this name being "Rakewell"¹⁸--a name which is, as Moore suggests, "as suitable to the father as to the son, though in an entirely

different way . . . ,"¹⁹ since the elder Rakewell's main concern was "raking in" money, and the younger Rakewell, as will be seen, became a "rake."²⁰

Tom Rakewell appears to be between 17 and 23 years of age.²¹ When we see him, his eyes are open wide, his mouth is slightly open, and Ireland, no doubt because of Tom's expression, states the young man is "marked with that easy, unmeaning vacancy of face, which speaks him formed by nature for a DUPE."²² While the expression on Tom's face does seem somewhat vacant, which might be taken as indicating he is no "mental giant," or that he is perhaps somewhat naive, the look on his face might also be the result of his being in the process of asking the younger of the two women standing by the door to accept the money he is holding out towards her²⁴ in his left hand.²⁵ And while Tom is doing this, he is also holding the right edge of his coat back with his right hand for the convenience of the person kneeling beside him on one knee.²⁶ This person, who is wearing a cap, is ". . . [taking] the length of the young man's breeches . . . ,"²⁷ and thus, as Felton points out, seems to be the tailor who "has the mourning to make."²⁸

The aforementioned young woman to whom young Rakewell is offering the money warrants further mention at this point as she appears again in various other plates in this series.²⁹ This young lady,³⁰ who is attired in a simple

dress, a cap,³¹ and an apron, is stooping over slightly, and resting her left elbow on the back of a chair seen in the lower right-hand portion of the print. When we see her she is crying and holding a handkerchief up to her face with her left hand. And her right hand is not empty, since she is holding a ring between her thumb and index finger. The second woman standing near the open door³² is said to be the mother of the one who is crying.³³ This person is wearing a bonnet, a dress made from a patterned material, and an apron. The bottom portion of her apron is cast over her left arm, and lying in the portion of her apron that is between her arm and her waist are some letters, on one of which can be read the words "Dearest Life . . . & marry you . . . ," and on another "To Mrs Sarah Young in Oxford."³⁴ And when we see her, she is looking towards young Rakewell; an expression of extreme anger is on her face, and her right hand (three fingers of which have rings on them) is clenched in anger. Her left hand is under the younger woman's right arm, and appears to be gesturing toward the latter's lower abdomen, which seems to bulge suspiciously. This young woman appears to have a daughter when we see her in Plate 7; thus, when everything is considered, there seems little doubt that, as Bakewell asserts, "[she] is with child"³⁵ And it therefore appears that the two women, Sarah Young and her mother,³⁶ have come from Oxford³⁷ to

see Tom Rakewell, the apparent father of the unborn child. Young Tom seems to have earlier proposed marriage to the young lady,³⁸ and the ring held by her probably, as Stephens suggests, was given to her by young Rakewell as a gift.³⁹ But when we see the young man, he appears to be offering the young woman money in place of marriage; in Ireland's words, "he violates every former protestation, refuses her marriage, and attempts by a bribe to get a release from his obligation."⁴⁰ Thus the irate expression on the face of the young lady's mother is understandable, as her daughter is not only pregnant, but is being refused marriage by the person responsible for her condition.

Behind Tom Rakewell is the person who is taking some money out of a coin-filled sack.⁴¹ This man, who is termed an "appraiser" by Gilpin,⁴² is said by Sala to be a steward,⁴³ and by an unnamed source to be an undertaker.⁴⁴ Paulson asserts he is a steward or a lawyer,⁴⁵ Townsend⁴⁶ and Stephens⁴⁷ state he is a lawyer, and Ireland asserts most emphatically that:

It has been generally said that this is an appraiser and undertaker; let not these venerable dealers in dust any longer suffer the disgrace of so unjust an insinuation: that the artist intended to delineate a lawyer, is clearly intimated by his old, uncurled tie-wig, and the baize bag [presumably what is seen between his right arm and his body, with its drawstring over his right forearm]. We cannot mistake these obtrusive ensigns of the CRAFT, or MYSTERY, or PROFESSION, of which this hoary villain is a member.⁴⁸

Whatever the case, it appears that this person, who has a quill pen clenched between his teeth, and who has what appears to be a large wart on his forehead, is "examining documents and making an inventory of the miser's property" ⁴⁹ His right arm is partially resting on a table, ⁵⁰ and in front of him, under a quill pen that is sitting in an inkwell, are two documents, both of which bear the phrase "An Inventory of" These two documents are lying one on top of the other, and the bottom one, which is much longer than the other, curls down and touches a pile of documents that is lying on the floor; among these documents are ones labelled "Mortgages," "Lease & Release," "India Bonds," "Fines & Recoverys," and "This Indenture." And by this pile of documents, in front of this aforementioned table, is an open chest containing "plate and bags of coin . . . ,"⁵¹ with one bag of coins being labelled "1000," another "2000," and the third "3000." A ferocious-looking cat, ⁵² its feet on a closed book lying on the floor, is standing on its hind legs with its front legs resting on the top edge of one of the sides of this chest. This animal appears to be quite guant, and Bakewell is quite possibly correct in asserting it is a "half-starv'd Cat searching for Victuals."⁵³

By the room's fireplace can be seen the old woman with the load of sticks.⁵⁴ This person, who seems to have a deformed back, is bending down to put the sticks in the

fireplace. Ireland asserts that "the grate . . . has no marks of even a remaining cinder,"⁵⁵ and it seems that the aforementioned cap seen on the mantelpiece,⁵⁶ and a coat seen hanging up in the left-hand portion of this print, were possibly used by the miser for warmth; he no doubt used these items⁵⁷ in place of a fire in order to save money. And on the aforementioned mantelpiece, there are, as well as the cap, some items described by Stephens as being "a flat candlestick with a spike to hold the candle, and a piece of candle stuck in a save-all,"⁵⁸ while the miser's spectacles hang on a nail or a hook that has been put into the mantelpiece.⁵⁹

In the lower right-hand corner of this print is the chair upon which Sarah Young is leaning.⁶⁰ On the seat of this chair is a bolt of black cloth, the end of which hangs down over the chair's edge. In the first and second states of this plate a draper's bill is seen with this cloth,⁶¹ and on this bill can be seen the words "London Bought of Wm. Tothall Wollen Draper in Covent Garden." William Tothall was not only an actual person, but also a good friend of Hogarth's,⁶² and is supposedly one of the figures in the artist's "A Chorus of Singers."⁶³

In the upper right-hand corner of this print, above the doorway to the room, can be seen "a Sconce for one candle,"⁶⁴ and on either side of this "hang two boards on

which respectively are painted escutcheons of arms, intended for those of the deceased; the bearings are, sable, three hand vices, proper; the motto is 'Beware'."⁶⁵ In the other upper-corner of this print there can be seen a cupboard with its door open. A padlock hangs beside the cupboard on a U-shaped "staple," suggesting that this cupboard was kept padlocked,⁶⁶ and inside the cupboard can be seen "a disused spit and smoking jack"⁶⁷ Below this cupboard is a closet with its door open, and among the items seen therein are some wigs hanging on the wall near the top of the closet, and a cracked jug and a bowl on a shelf beneath the wigs. Beneath these there appears to be another wig,⁶⁸ two swords (which possibly "may be considered as trophies of his [the miser's] youthful prowess . . . ,"⁶⁹ or, as Sala suggests, "kept for fear of robbers"⁷⁰), and what seems to be a boot;⁷¹ on the floor is a box containing some boots, and either behind this, or in the back portion of it, is either this box's lid or another box. And beside the closet can be seen a crutch and a walking stick which had no doubt been the property of Tom's father.⁷²

In the lower left-hand corner of the print can be seen a closed book lying on the floor, and the aforementioned box on which is found the initials "P G";⁷³ according to Paulson, this box contains "a large lantern with broken glass and a 'hanging-bar' for a kitchen grate, a spade,

and other objects"74 A short distance away from this box, a pair of shoes is lying on the floor. And as mentioned earlier,⁷⁵ the memorandum book found in this area in the first and second states of this print has been moved to a different place in the third state, and in this latter state⁷⁶ the area formerly occupied by the memorandum book is taken up by a Bible. The cover of this Bible is in very poor condition, since not only is it almost completely apart, but a sole-shaped piece has been cut out of the cover, and, in the third state,⁷⁷ this piece of the Bible's cover has been used to resole one of the shoes that is mentioned above. And it should also be noted that, in the third state of this print, Hogarth added another box behind the one that bears the initials; unlike the latter, however, the additional box has a lid on it.⁷⁸

Thus, in Plate 1, Hogarth prepares the way for the plates that follow. Young Rakewell is introduced into the series, and, in addition, the viewer not only learns the nature of Tom's relationship with Sarah Young, but also learns that Tom's father (a miserly individual who apparently hated to part not only with his money but with his possessions as well) has recently passed away, leaving what seems to be a considerable estate.

CHAPTER VIII

PLATE II OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

Prosperity, (with Horlot'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 fetters 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 Lyaeus, 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.¹

Examination of the third or fourth states of Plate 2 of this series² suggests that a few years have gone by since the action depicted in Plate 1 took place.³ It also seems quite possible that Bakewell is correct when he states Tom Rakewell "having settled his affairs in the Country, . . . [has taken] a fine house in London . . . ,"⁴ since his residence does appear to be quite substantial, and since, to judge from the way of life Tom has adopted, he would probably want to live in London, Eighteenth-Century England's "only 'great city'"⁵ Our hero has decided "to assume the character and manners of what he thinks an accomplished gentleman."⁶ Plate 2 shows him at his morning

levee,⁷ dressed in "slippers, stockings, dressing-coat, and nightcap . . . ,"⁸ and surrounded by a group of people of diverse talents who are described by Paulson as being "rapacious hangers-on."⁹ In his right hand Rakewell holds a letter which has written on it "Sr. the Capt. is a Man of Honour, his Sword may Serve you yrs. Wm. Stab." Tom is looking to his left and possibly speaking to the man in question, who has presumably brought Rakewell the letter. The "Captain" is a rather surly-looking individual who is wearing his lace-trimmed, three-cornered hat pushed forward on his head; his right hand grasps the hilt of his sword, and he is pressing his left hand on his breast, perhaps, as Stephens suggests, as a profession of "devotion to his [Tom's] service"¹⁰ Near him is a man who is blowing a horn. Since this type of horn was "used for calling hounds to the chase,"¹¹ its inclusion in this scene is probably intended to suggest that Tom took part in this activity. And in the lower right-hand corner of the picture, in front and slightly to the left of Rakewell, is the aforementioned figure of the jockey who is holding the engraved cup that has on it the figure of the horse and rider, and the words "Won at Epsom" and "Silly Tom."¹² Thus, as mentioned earlier, Rakewell also seems to be the owner of a racehorse.¹³

To the right of Rakewell, and slightly behind him, a man can be seen who is holding in his right hand a paper on

which is written "Garden plan," and on which can also be seen a plan for a garden.¹⁴ Although one source asks "Is that Mr. Kent . . . thrusting the plan of a garden upon . . . Tom?,"¹⁵ this person is generally said to be not William Kent but another person associated with Lord Burlington,¹⁶ Charles Bridgeman.¹⁷ Bridgeman, a celebrated landscape gardener who died in 1738,¹⁸ was gardener to George I and George II.¹⁹ He began the replanning of Kensington Gardens for Queen Caroline, designed the park at Stowe, and advised Pope on the layout of his pleasure grounds at Twickenham.²⁰ In addition, he was responsible for the introduction of the haha into English landscape gardening.²¹ When we see him, he has apparently brought a garden plan for Rakewell to view. When it is recalled that Hogarth, to use Quennell's words, considered Lord Burlington to be "the arch-priest of false taste,"²² the significance of the inclusion of a member of Burlington's "group" becomes apparent. Not too far away from Bridgeman, partially blocking Bridgeman's figure from view, can be seen a rather effeminate gentleman holding a small violin in his left hand and a violin bow in his right. This person, who seems to have just taken a very "dainty" step forward in such a fashion that his right leg is directly in line with his left leg (or perhaps even to the left of his left leg), is said by one source to be "Mr. Essex, the dancing-master . . . [who was] well known at the

time . . .";²³ Stephens, however, asserts he is a "French dancing master,"²⁴ as does Paulson.²⁵ As mentioned earlier,²⁶ Hogarth was strongly prejudiced against people who were not British; therefore, if Hogarth intended this figure to represent a person of French ancestry, this figure, like the figure of Bridgeman, assumes additional significance.

Another figure that is partly obscured by the dancing master is a man standing with his arms folded across his chest. This man has two quarter-staffs which he supports by bracing them in the crook of his left arm.²⁷ This person is said to be "Figg, the noted prize-fighter, quarter-staff, and backsword player of his day"²⁸ James Figg was the pugilistic champion of England for 15 years, beginning in 1719.²⁹ His most famous fight was on June 6, 1727, when he fought Ned Sutton.³⁰ According to Paulson:

the fight consisted of three divisions: back-sword play, a fistfight, and a cudgel match. The winner had to excel in all three, which Figg did. During his lifetime the "Father of the Ring" was better known as a cudgel and backsword player . . . ; Jack Broughton later developed the subtleties of fisticuffs.³¹

According to Godfrey, Figg was:

the Atlas of the Sword; and may he remain the gladiating statue! In him strength, resolution, and unparalleled judgement, conspired to form a matchless master. There was a majesty shone in his countenance, and blazed in all his actions, beyond all I ever saw. His right leg bold and firm; and his left, which could hardly ever be disturbed, gave him the surprising advantage already proved, and stuck his adversary with despair and panic. He had that peculiar way of

stepping in I spoke of, in a parry; he knew his arm, and its just time of moving; put a firm faith in that, and never let his adversary escape his parry. He was just as much a greater master than any other I ever saw, as he was a greater judge of time and measure.³²

A rather interesting story concerning this person is related by yet another source. This source was informed by Figg that:

he [Figg] had not bought a shirt for more than twenty years, but had sold some dozens. It was his method, when he fought in his amphitheatre (his Stage bearing that superb title), to send round to a select number of his scholars, to borrow a shirt for the ensuing combat, and seldom failed of half a dozen of superfine Holland from his prime pupils (most of the young nobility and gentry made it a part of their education to march under his warlike banner). This champion was generally conqueror, though his shirt seldom failed of gaining a cut from his enemy, and sometimes his flesh, though I think he never received any dangerous wound. Most of his scholars were at every battle, and were sure to exult at their great master's victories, every person supposing he saw the wounds his shirt received. Mr. Figg took his opportunity to inform his lenders of linen of the chasms their shirts received, with a promise to send them home. But, said the ingenious courageous Figg, I seldom receive any other answer than D-mn you, keep it!³³

Standing close to Figg (who, as a matter of interest, died in 1734³⁴) is a person who is holding in his right hand a sword that appears to be tipped. This man is standing in what is perhaps commonly regarded as the "classic" fencer's stance, with his sword held out in front of him not quite parallel with the floor, his body turned so that it does not form a ninety degree angle with his right arm but approaches

a position parallel to it, his left arm behind him with its elbow bent so that his left hand is above the level of his shoulder, his right foot in front of his left, and his left foot at an approximate ninety degree angle with his right. This person is said to be a fencing master named Dubois.³⁵ Dubois apparently met his death at the hands of an Irishman who also bore the name Dubois;³⁶ The Daily Post of May 11, 1734, states:

Yesterday between 2 and 3 in the afternoon, a duel was fought in Mary-le-bone fields between Mr. Dubois a Frenchman, and Mr. Dubois an Irishman, both fencing masters, the former of whom was run through the body; but walked a considerable way from the place; and is now under the hands of an able surgeon, who has great hopes of his recovery.³⁷

Less than two weeks after this, the Grub-street Journal of May 23, 1734, informed its readers that "yesterday morning died Mr. Dubois, of a wound he received in a duel."³⁸ As Dubois was a Frenchman, the inclusion of this particular person might possibly be due to Hogarth's aforementioned prejudice against those people who were not British.³⁹

On the wall behind the eight people described above can be seen three pictures. The two outside pictures are both smaller than the one in the middle, and each depicts a cock. Presumably these are "the cocks he [Tom] fights at Newmarket . . .";⁴⁰ if so, this is another activity in which he participates.⁴¹ The large picture between the two smaller ones depicts the judgment of Paris, and was no doubt a work

that had been imported from the continent. At the time when Hogarth produced "A Rake's Progress," the "art market" was flooded by foreign pictures⁴² described by Quennell as being "generally very bad pictures--alleged Italian 'Old Masters' of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, often in extremely poor condition and obscured by a coating of varnish and dirt."⁴³ Hogarth not only realized that the quality of these works was generally low,⁴⁴ but also thought that they "perverted the taste of his contemporaries";⁴⁵ therefore, Hogarth would not think too highly of Rakewell's large picture.

The wall on which the above-mentioned pictures hang is broken by an arched egress, which leads to "an antechamber, lighted by two windows."⁴⁶ In this antechamber can be seen six figures--five men and one woman. Five of these people are identified by Bakewell as being "a Poet, with an Epistle to him [Rakewell]; his Perukemaker, Taylor, Hatter, and Milliner."⁴⁷ One of the figures holds the aforementioned "Epistle to Rake . . . ,"⁴⁸ and would thus appear to be a poet.⁴⁹ Standing near this person is a man with a box under his arm; this figure is possibly the one Bakewell suggests is a "Perukemaker," but apart from the fact this person is wearing a wig there is no indication he is associated with wigs in any way. Near him stands a person with a coat over his arm, and there seems little reason to doubt that

this is a "Taylor"⁵⁰ who has brought Tom a new coat. Bakewell probably identified one of these figures as a "Hatter" because the person next to the "Taylor" is holding a hat in his right hand, but since this figure is possibly talking to the young lady who is in this group, and since he holds his hat in front of him at face level as if he has just removed it from his head, Bakewell's identification of this person could perhaps be questioned. The last person identified by Bakewell⁵¹--the "Milliner"--is said by Paulson to "probably [be] a milliner . . . ,"⁵² and, indeed, this identification could be correct. However, when this young lady is compared with the figure of Sarah Young in Plate 4, it will be noted that both carry boxes.⁵³ Therefore, might the young lady in the second plate be Sarah Young, as one source suggests?⁵⁴ Kunzle, while not believing that the figure in Plate 2 is Sarah Young,⁵⁵ wonders whether it occurred to Hogarth that the former might be mistaken for the latter.⁵⁶ Upon consideration of these two questions, it might perhaps be suggested that there is a definite possibility the young woman in the second plate is Sarah Young. Indeed, there would appear little reason to include in this plate a figure that could be mistaken for Sarah unless this figure was actually intended to be the aforementioned person; in addition, the appearance of Sarah in the background of Plate 2 would be of benefit to the story line of this series, as this

person's inclusion in the second plate would serve as a "transition" between her appearances in Plates 1 and 4, and make the circumstances surrounding her appearance in the latter plate appear more believable.

At this point, the only one of 15 people found in this scene⁵⁷ that has not so far been discussed is the person seated at the harpsichord⁵⁸ in the lower left-hand corner of this print. Although this man, whose face is not shown, has been said to be Handel,⁵⁹ Wheatley asserts this is unlikely,⁶⁰ and Ireland suggests that this figure "does not seem to be the delineation of any particular person, but generally a professor of music."⁶¹ Paulson makes the following comments:

The musician at the harpsichord may . . . be intended for Handel himself, who was famous in his younger days for performances on the harpsichord in fashionable drawing rooms At this time Handel was fighting for survival against the rival company at the King's Theatre directed by Niccola Porpora, but while the inscriptions surrounding him could contain an ironic reference to the setbacks he was suffering, they are more likely an attempt to generalize Handel and Porpora into one figure.⁶²

The harpsichordist has his left hand on the keyboard of the harpsichord, and his right hand is turning a page of the music book that is on the rest in front of him. On one page of this book can be read the words "The Rape of the Sabines, a New Opera."⁶³ On the other page is a list of "Performers" which, with Paulson's identification of these people⁶⁴ added to clarify it, reads as follows:

Romulos	Sen: Far____li.	[Farinelli]
1 Ravisher	Sen: Sen____no.	[Senesino]
2 Ravisher	Sen: Car____ne.	[Carestini]
3 Ravisher	Sen: Coz____n.	[Senora Cuzzoni]
Sabine Women	Senra. Str____dr	[Strada]
	Senra. Ne____gr	[Negri]
	Senra. Ber____le	[Bertolle]

In commenting on the above, Paulson asserts that:

Carestini and Strada were Handel's singers, the others having deserted him for Porpora; Farinelli was Porpora's recent discovery. Hogarth's imaginary opera plays upon the irony of eunuchs as "ravishers" (rapists and causes of rapture) and of notoriously loose sopranos as Sabine "virgins." Cuzzoni figures as a ravisher because of his great popularity⁶⁵

Hanging down behind the chair on which the harpsichordist sits, with its bottom portion resting on the floor behind the chair, is a scroll of paper on which is the aforementioned list of people who gave gifts to Farinelli.⁶⁶ This list reads as follows:

A List of the rich Presents Signor Farinelli the Italian Singer Condescended to Accept of ye English Nobility & Gentry for one Nights Performance in the Opera Artaxerses--A pair of Diamond Knee Buckles Presented by _____ A Diamond Ring by _____ A Bank Note enclosed in a Rich Gold Case by _____ A Gold Snuff box Chace'd with the Story of Orpheus Charming ye Brutes by T: Rakewell Esq: 100⁷ 20[0⁷?] 100[⁷?]

Under the end of the above scroll of paper is the aforementioned title page that bears the words "A Poem dedicated to T. Rakewell Esq."⁶⁷ Also on this page can be seen a seated man on a pedestal (looking like "an antique divinity"⁶⁸), and an altar before this person's feet on which two hearts are burning; in addition, "many ladies are offering burning hearts to the person on the pedestal"⁶⁹

These women are exclaiming "One G_d one Farinelli." Thus the man on the pedestal is Farinelli--the person who is mentioned in the music book on the harpsichord, and who is the recipient of the gifts mentioned on the scroll of paper.⁷⁰ Ireland asserts that the offering of hearts and the cries of "One God one Farinelli" intimates "the violent rage of the fashionable world for the most frivolous of all amusements, the Italian opera."⁷¹ It is also of interest to note that the cry of "One God one Farinelli" is "said to have been uttered by a lady at a public entertainment to express her rapture at Farinelli's singing . . . ,"⁷² and that this lady was possibly Lady Rich, a well-known patroness of operas.⁷³

Thus Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress" leaves no doubt in the mind of the viewer that Tom Rakewell has adopted the ways of Eighteenth-Century English society. And from the discussion of this plate, it might be deduced that Hogarth would think that by following the tastes and dictates of "society," young Rakewell was being led astray.

CHAPTER IX

PLATE III OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

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 Household 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 ye. Heart;
Dost Thou thy friendly Host betray,
And Shew thy riotous Gang ye. 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?¹

In Plate 3 of "A Rake's Progress," we see Tom Rakewell "engaged in one of his midnight festivities: forgetful of the past, and negligent of the future, he riots in the present."² The scene is generally considered to be set in a London establishment called the "Rose Tavern,"³ since this plate contains a figure of a man holding a metal platter on which is written "John Bonvine at the Rose Tavern Drury Lane."⁴ Tom's watch indicates that the time is three o'clock--undoubtedly 3 A.M. rather than 3 P.M., to judge by the type of activity that is depicted, and the lighted

candles seen in the room. Tom is described by Bakewell as "being very drunk (as express'd in his Face and Posture)

. . . ,"⁵ and Lichtenberg asserts that:

of the six senses he brought with him, hardly a single one remains, and the traces of those not yet completely departed are not worthy of mention. His clothes hang loosely around him and on him The . . . [right] stocking has already reached the lowest point and with the least jerk the . . . [left] will follow its example, and then no doubt the master himself will follow suit.⁶

Tom does indeed appear to be under the influence of alcohol, and his right hand holds a glass which presumably contains such a beverage. Tom is seated ("sprawling" might perhaps be a more descriptive word) on a chair;⁷ his right foot rests on the floor, while his other foot is either braced against the edge of a table that can be seen in the center of this print,⁸ or else in mid-air as a result of Tom's being in the process of throwing his left leg over the knees of the young lady sitting close to him, and around whom he has probably placed his left arm.⁹ Tom wears a hat, and, as Stephens suggests, "seems to be singing"¹⁰ He is also wearing a sword, but appears to have missed the mark when attempting to put the sword into its scabbard. On the floor beside him can be seen a battered watchman's lantern, and a staff which has on it the arms of the City of London.¹¹ The location of Tom's sword, combined with the inclusion in this print of the lantern and staff, led Stephens to assume that "the Rake has drawn his sword with the fight with the

watchman, and afterwards returned the weapon to his belt, but in doing this he missed the scabbard and thrust the blade through the pendant part of the belt."¹²

The aforementioned young lady sitting next to Tom, and around whom Tom likely has his left arm, is probably a prostitute--a statement which in all likelihood can be made about all the women depicted in this scene.¹³ The particular person, who in the third state¹⁴ of this print has had her cap replaced by what is possibly a man's hat, has her left arm across Rakewell's chest, and her left hand under his shirt. However, as well as keeping our hero "entertained," this young lady has managed to steal his watch,¹⁵ and is passing it to another woman¹⁶ who is seen behind Tom leaning on a chair that seems to have a broken back.¹⁷ Behind this person is a young Negro woman wearing a cap. She appears to be looking to her left, is smiling broadly, and has a bent finger¹⁸ held up to her mouth;¹⁹ perhaps the theft of Tom's watch has brought about this smiling, finger-in-the-mouth pose,²⁰ or perhaps it was brought about by what is happening in general.

On the right-hand side of this print there is an open doorway, and through this doorway can be seen some stairs; a person carrying a tray²¹ is seen descending these stairs. Another male figure is seen in the doorway itself. This person has a grinning, wide-eyed look on his face, caused no

doubt by what he sees before him. This person, who is holding the metal platter mentioned earlier,²² and who is also holding a candle, has been identified as "Leather Coat,"²³ a porter at the Rose Tavern who was famous for the strength of his ribs; for a pot of beer, he would lie in the road and let a carriage wheel run over him.²⁴ Stephens asserts that this person is taking away the platter he is carrying,²⁵ while Paulson asserts he is entering the room;²⁶ although it is possible that "Leather Coat" is leaving the room with the platter, and has turned around to view something that is taking place in the room, it is perhaps more likely that Paulson's suggestion is correct. On "Leather Coat's" right, separated by the open door, can be seen a man playing a harp and another playing a trumpet,²⁷ while on his left is a young woman wearing a ragged dress and apron. This young woman holds in her right hand a piece of paper on which is written "Black Ioke,"²⁸ and as her mouth is open wide it is generally assumed she is singing;²⁹ Stephens identifies her as being a "street ballad singer"³⁰ Her left forearm is thrust inside her clothing, and while it might perhaps be wondered if this might account for the bulging of her attire in the region of her abdomen, it has been suggested that she is "far advanced in pregnancy"³¹

Near the lower right-hand corner of this plate there is a young woman sitting on a chair, her right leg crossed

over her left. This person is not fully dressed, and one item of her attire hangs over the back of the chair on which she is sitting, while "her stays and outer robes lie on the floor near her feet."³² She is wearing a necklace, and has beauty patches on her face.³³ The stocking she wears on her left leg has a small hole in it, suggesting it has seen use before, and a coronet that is embroidered on this stocking implies that it had previously belonged to a countess.³⁴ When we see the young woman who is being described,³⁵ her right hand rests on her right leg,³⁶ and the index finger of her left hand seems to be inside her right shoe between the shoe and her foot. From her pose, the fact she is not completely dressed, and the clothes seen piled by her, it becomes apparent that this woman is either "dressing herself,"³⁷ as Stephens asserts, or "undressing,"³⁸ as Ireland believes. This person is said to be a "posture woman" who performs on the platter "Leather Coat" is carrying;³⁹ this platter is put on the table, and the "posture woman" perches naked upon it, whirling and assuming various "postures."⁴⁰ Thus, as it appears as if "Leather Coat" is entering the room rather than leaving it,⁴¹ it might be assumed that the "posture woman" is getting ready to "perform,"⁴² and would therefore be in the process of undressing rather than putting her clothing on.⁴³

Behind the posture woman there is a woman seated at

the aforementioned table⁴⁴ who is wearing a patterned shawl or cape; she grasps a wine bottle with her left hand, and holds a glass in her right hand. Beside her is another woman who is wearing what is possibly a hooded outer cloak. This person is attempting to drink from a punch bowl, but, probably because she is "very tipsy . . . ,"⁴⁵ she is spilling the liquid it contains. Next to her is a woman wearing a cap on her head, and a necklace around her neck. This person's right hand appears clenched, she has an angry expression on her face, and she is gesturing threateningly with what is either a knife⁴⁶ or a razor⁴⁷ that she holds in her left hand. While she is doing this, she is being squirted by another woman seated at the table who is squirting an alcoholic beverage out of her mouth;⁴⁸ this latter person holds a bottle on the table in front of her, and, like the person she is squirting, she wears a cap and a necklace.⁴⁹ Between these two women can be seen a woman who is sitting on a chair and a man who is standing beside her. The man is touching the woman's neck with his left hand, while the woman's left arm is behind the man's neck; in the process of putting her arm in this position, the woman has knocked off her companion's wig, and it can be seen behind the man's head, braced there by this woman's arm. Behind this couple, a woman is holding above her head a candle-holder that has a lighted candle in it; she does this in order to set fire

to a map of the world that is on the wall.⁵⁰ This person must be standing on something (possibly a chair) while she is setting fire⁵¹ to this wall-map, which bears the title "TOTUS MUNDUS."

The room in which the above-mentioned action is taking place appears to have taken a considerable beating in the course of the night's revelry. A mirror, located on the wall next to the map of the world, has been broken.⁵² Also on the same wall as these two items, as well as on the other wall of this room that is shown in this scene, are "Titian's portraits of the Roman emperors. These, placed out of their natural order, are [labelled] 'AUGUSTUS,' 'NERO,' 'TITUS,' 'OTHO,' 'VITELIUS,' and 'VESPATIANUS.' The heads of all but the most depraved of them, Nero, have been cut out."⁵³ In the first and second states of this plate,⁵⁴ another portrait of the same type is seen in the upper left-hand corner of the print.⁵⁵ Like most of the other portraits, this one has been mutilated. However, unlike all the others, this one has no name on its frame; therefore, as a picture of a head seen on the floor by Rakewell's chair⁵⁶ bears the name "JULIUS," it might be assumed that this head belongs in this particular picture. In the third state of this plate,⁵⁷ although the head labelled "JULIUS" is still seen on the floor, the portrait from which it was taken now contains the figure of a fat man, and on its frame is the name "PONTAC." There

was, at the time "A Rake's Progress" was produced, a French eating-house in London called "Pontac's."⁵⁸ Wheatley's account of this establishment is quite interesting, as it states that:

Pontack's eating-house in Abchurch Lane was the most expensive and esteemed resort of the fashionable world from the Restoration to about the year 1780. Misson, the French refugee, did not greatly esteem our mode of living, but he made an exception in the case of Pontack's. He says in his "Travels," "Those who would dine at one or two guineas per head are handsomely accommodated at our famous Pontack's." The place was noted for its wine, and Swift (Journal to Stella) says: "Pontack told us, although his wine was so good, he sold it cheaper than others; he took but seven shillings a flask. Are not these pretty rates?"

A tract entitled "The Metamorphoses of the Town or a view of the Present Fashion" (1730), shows the position of Pontack's as the chief resort of extravagant epicures. Among the items in the Bill-of-fare of a guinea ordinary figure "a ragout of fatted snails," and "chickens not two hours from the shell."

The site of this ordinary was occupied before the Great Fire by the White Bear, but on the rebuilding a Frenchman, described by Evelyn as M. Pontack, the son of the President of Bordeaux, owner of a district whence are imported to England some of the most esteemed claret, was encouraged to establish a tavern with all the novelties of French cookery. Pontack was somewhat of a character, well read in philosophy, but chiefly of the rabbins, exceedingly addicted to cabalistic fancies and "an eternal babbler." He set up as his sign the portrait of his distinguished father. Pontack's portrait is introduced in the third plate of the "Rake's Progress" as having been put up in place of that of Julius Caesar.

In the early years of the Royal Society the Fellows dined at Pontack's, and this shows that the philosopher's at that day had a taste for good living. Mrs. Susannah Austin, who kept the Pontack's Head in Hogarth's day, married William Pepys, banker in Lombard Street, at St. Clement's Church on January 15, 1736.⁵⁹

Other suggestions of wild merrymaking (in addition to the mutilated portraits and broken mirror) are found on the table and the floor. Among the items seen on the table are bottles and glasses; one of the latter is lying on its side, its contents spilled on the table, and near it there seems to be another glass that is broken.⁶⁰ On the floor near Rakewell is a broken glass and a pillbox with its contents spilled on the floor.⁶¹ And on the floor in the right-hand corner of the print, along with a drinking glass that is lying on its side, are some other objects described by Stephens as being "the waste of a meal, cut lemons, plates, forks, the body and legs of a fowl, a broken walking-stick, and a deep bowl, part of the contents of which, the vessel being upset, flows over the food."⁶²

Thus, to paraphrase Ireland's comment that appeared at the first of this chapter,⁶³ Tom Rakewell is indeed "rioting in the present." And as a final comment on this revelry, it might be appropriate to mention Ireland's assertion that:

so different are the manners of the year 1792, from those of 1734, that I much question whether a similar exhibition is now to be seen in any tavern of the metropolis. That we are less licentious than our predecessors, I dare not affirm; but we are certainly more delicate in the pursuit of our pleasures.⁶⁴

CHAPTER X

PLATE IV OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

O Vanity of youthful 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 Pleasures dead,
Whom he hath wrong'd, & whom betray'd.¹

Examination of the first state of Plate 4² shows that the action depicted in this plate, unlike that shown in the previous three plates, takes place out-of-doors. This scene takes place on a corner of St. James' Street, Westminster,³ since in the background, beneath a cloudy sky,⁴ conveyances are seen arriving at St. James' Palace.⁵ A clock on the palace wall indicates that the hour is twenty minutes to two, and "the light, as the shadows of the houses slope from the west, shows that it is afternoon."⁶ In addition, a figure at the left of this plate, who is seen with his hands in a muff,⁷ wears a leek in his hat,⁸ which suggests that this is "the first of March . . . the anniversary of St. David."⁹ This date was also Queen Caroline's birthday,¹⁰ and Wheatley asserts that "the fact that it was the

anniversary of St. David is only an incident; the really important event connected with March 1 then was that it was Queen Caroline's birthday and therefore a Court day."¹¹ This would account for the appearance of the conveyances at the gate of St. James' Palace.

In the foreground of this print can be seen a sedan chair¹² which has stopped moving. The person who carries the front portion of the chair is bending over, still holding onto the chair's poles, while his companion at the rear of the chair (who, like the person on the left of the picture, wears a leek in his hat) holds up the top of the sedan chair's body while its occupant emerges. This occupant is none other than Tom Rakewell--a very well-dressed Tom Rakewell, it must be added, who, along with other items of fine attire, wears a "richly bedizened coat"¹³ From the position of Tom's hands, and the expression on his face, he appears to be surprised or shocked as he gets out of the sedan chair.¹⁴ It might be expected that Tom would register some emotion, since his sedan chair has apparently been stopped by the two men seen beside the person holding the chair poles, and one of these men has grabbed either Tom's lapel or his shoulder with his left hand, and is holding out a paper marked "Arrest" with his right hand. These men are identified as bailiffs.¹⁵ Both wear kerchiefs around their necks, and both carry what appear to be staffs with knobs

on their top ends; in addition, the one standing furthest away from Rakewell (who holds the sedan chair's door) has a patch on his forehead, and seems to have a lump on the side of his face.¹⁶

Thus it appears that Tom was headed for St. James' Palace¹⁷ when his sedan chair¹⁸ was stopped by the bailiffs so they could arrest him.¹⁹ However, Sarah Young²⁰ was apparently "passing by" as this was taking place, and she is seen in this plate holding the right arm of the paper-holding bailiff with her left hand while she holds out a small bag with her right.²¹ The sack presumably contains money, and there seems little doubt that Sarah is offering her own money in order to help Rakewell. Behind Sarah can be seen a small dog, its rear feet presumably on the roadway and its front feet on the sidewalk, and behind this dog is one of the "objects" that Wheatley seems to have believed "marked the edge of the pavement in most of the London streets" ²²

In the lower right-hand corner of this plate can be seen a small figure identified by Stephens as "a ragged shoe-black, a boy carrying his brushes in a basket which, with a stool, hangs on his arm";²³ this young lad, taking advantage of the situation, "pilfers the Rake's gold-headed cane" ²⁴ And near the upper right-hand corner of the print can be seen a man standing on a ladder placed against

a lamp-post. He is "replenishing the lamp with oil . . ." ²⁵ by pouring oil from a container held by his left hand into a receptacle held by his right. He has an amused look on his face, and is probably looking down at the activity taking place below him, with the result that oil is spilling over the side of the receptacle ²⁶ into which it is being poured.

And before proceeding to a discussion of the third state of this plate, it should be mentioned that in the lower left-hand corner of this print, one of the pieces of material of which the sidewalk is composed appears to have been dislodged. ²⁷ Mention should also be made of the two signs found in this scene. One of these is attached to a building seen on the left-hand side of this print; ²⁸ perhaps this sign ²⁹ marks the location of a tavern. And behind the man on the ladder is a sign on which is written "HODS[ON?] SADLE[R?]," and which is surmounted by a figure of a horse. ³⁰

If the third state of Plate 4 is examined, and compared to the unaltered version of the first state of this plate, it will be noted that the sky has been changed and lightning has been added, a group of boys has been included in the lower right-hand corner of the picture (the cane-stealing incident has been eliminated), and the window on the left side of the sedan chair ³¹ has its curtain only partially drawn across it; in addition, the sign on the left-hand side of the print now is labelled "WHITES," an object

with "BLACKS" written on it is seen near the group of boys, and the sidewalk has been changed.³²

As the sky in the third state appears darker than the sky in the first, and as a jagged streak of lightning flashes down out of the sky, this state might perhaps be said to contain a greater sense of drama than the first. On the print, the tip of the flash of lightning appears to be close to the building bearing the sign "WHITES." Perhaps this was purposely done to draw the viewer's attention to this establishment, which was a "notorious gambling house" ³³ Concerning "White's," Wheatley states:

Clubs were established at most of the coffee-houses and taverns, but these were only given accommodation, and the houses where they were held continued to be free to the public who paid their fees. The clubs often moved from house to house, but the club at White's became so important that in the course of time it drove out the public altogether and retained the house for itself, becoming a proprietary club. This occurred in 1755, twenty years after the publication of the 'Rake's Progress'³⁴

Bourke, writing in 1892, states that:

When at the end of the seventeenth century a company of gentlemen founded the club at White's by drawing up a few simple rules to regulate their private meetings at the Chocolate-House, there were few clubs in existence, and none that have survived to the present day. Clubs then, were either assemblies of men bound together by strong political feeling like the October; small groups of philosophers and rhetoricians who met to discuss abstract theories of ethics like the Rota; or bands of choice spirits, such as those whose very questionable doings found a historian in Ned Ward of the London Spy. Club life as we know it, began with the establishment of White's nearly two centuries ago³⁵

Regarding the actual history of "White's," Wheatley (writing in 1909), states that:

White's Chocolate-House was opened in 1693 by Francis White at a house on the site of Boodle's Club (No. 38 St. James's Street). Francis White removed the Chocolate-House in 1697 to the site of the present Arthur's Club (69 and 70) on the opposite side of the street. About this time the Old Club was founded. White died in 1711, and his widow succeeded him as proprietress. John Arthur succeeded Madam White as proprietor in 1725.

On April 28, 1733, White's at four o'clock in the morning was entirely destroyed by fire, with two houses adjoining

The King and Prince of Wales came from St. James's Palace, and stayed about an hour encouraging the firemen and people to work at the engines. The King ordered twenty guineas among the firemen and others, and five guineas to the guard. The Prince ordered the firemen to receive ten guineas.

White's was always the headquarters of gaming, and [according to Swift in his Essay on Modern Education] Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, in the time of his ministry never passed the house "without bestowing a curse upon that famous academy, as the bane of half the English nobility"

After the fire the Club and Chocolate-House were removed to Gaunt's Coffee-House on the west side of the street and two doors from the end of the street and Cleveland Row

In 1736 the Club was removed to the premises rebuilt on the site of the present Arthur's Club. Robert Arthur succeeded John Arthur as proprietor.³⁶

In a publication that appeared in 1753, reference is made to "the Club at White's being a select company above stairs,

where no person of what rank soever is admitted without first being proposed by one of the Club."³⁷ Bourke states this is the last mention of the Chocolate House he found, and he adds "there is little doubt that the Chocolate-House was extinguished on the removal of the Clubs [Old and New] to the present building in 1755."³⁸

The name "BLACKS," which appears near the lower right-hand corner of the print,³⁹ was said by an unidentified source to have been included to emphasize the distinction between the gambling that took place at "White's" and the gambling that is being done by some of the boys in the group seen in the lower right-hand corner of the print.⁴⁰ This group of boys,⁴¹ which seems to be on a second "layer" of sidewalk that Hogarth has added to the original sidewalk seen in the first state of this plate, was possibly included by Hogarth to add additional interest to the scene; furthermore, the fact that some of the boys are gambling, combined with the inclusion of "White's" in this state, might possibly be meant to indicate that Tom Rakewell has squandered his fortune gambling. At the rear of this group a young lad wearing a hat is stealing Rakewell's handkerchief. A second boy (seen at the extreme right of the print) is playing cards with the lad across from him; he holds his cards with his left hand, and with his right "appears about to play a knave"⁴² This boy wears a broad belt across his

shoulder, and on his head he wears a full-bottomed wig.⁴³ In the extreme lower right-hand corner of this print is a "shoeblack's basket with a brush, pot, and stick . . ."⁴⁴ which is said by Paulson to belong to this boy.⁴⁵ His opponent, who holds one card in his right hand, and his other cards in his left,⁴⁶ wears what Stephens describes as "an old felt cap which is tied with a string about his head . . . ,"⁴⁷ and between this string and the hat is a paper on which can be seen the words "Your Vote & Interest--Liberty"; this figure also has a horn stuck in his belt, which suggests he is "one of those who sold newspapers about the streets of London, and were called 'Mercuries'"⁴⁸ A fourth boy sits behind the aforementioned lad with the horn in his belt; he looks at the latter's cards and holds up two fingers as a signal to the cardplayer wearing the wig. A fifth lad "is making a cast of dice from a box"⁴⁹ held in his right hand, while with his left hand he seems to be gesturing to a basket in front of him which contains "a blacking pot, stick, brush, and rag."⁵⁰ This figure, who thus appears to be a bootblack, "is naked, except for a pair of very short trousers and a ragged night-cap [or "stocking-cap"] . . . ,"⁵¹ and a six-pointed star is either tattooed or painted on the right side of his body.⁵² As he holds up the "dice box," he looks toward a sixth boy sitting crosslegged on his left. This figure "has his beaked cap

turned sideways [or backwards] over his white peruke or bushy hair . . . ,"⁵³ and has between his knees a jacket, a belt or strap, and what is probably a brush.⁵⁴ While the above-mentioned jacket may be one the person holding it has taken off (as Stephens suggests⁵⁵), it appears far more likely that he has won the jacket, and probably also the other items as well, from the boy with the star on his body.⁵⁶

The sixth lad is leaning away from this boy (the one with the star on his body), but at the same time he is looking towards him, while with his left hand he seems to be reaching down and to his left, as if he is getting ready to stop the dice being thrown by the other boy from rolling out of reach.⁵⁷ It might also be noted that alongside the boy with the jacket between his knees are some small items which Stephens asserts "look like three thimbles and, if they are such, were probably intended for use in gambling."⁵⁸ And while all this is going on, a seventh young lad is sitting on the edge of the added "layer" of sidewalk,⁵⁹ his feet presumably on the sidewalk's lower level; he is smoking a pipe and reading a paper called "THE FARTHING POST," which according to Paulson was "a piratical paper that vended gossip and news at a low cost by evading the stamp tax."⁶⁰ To the right of this boy is a small container called a "noggin,"⁶¹ as well as an inverted spirit glass, which suggests that one of the boys in this group (perhaps the boy reading

the paper), is an unlicensed seller of spirits.

Thus, in this plate, the viewer is shown how Tom Rakewell is presumably saved from prison by Sarah Young. According to Ireland, in this scene Sarah Young "generously offers her purse for the liberation of . . . worthless [Tom Rakewell] This releases the captured beau, and displays a strong instance of female affection; which, being once planted in the bosom, is rarely eradicated by the coldest neglect, or the harshest cruelty."⁶²

CHAPTER XI

PLATE V OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

New to ye. School of hard Mishap,
Driven from ye. 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 ye. Sting of Shame,
In Winter's Arms create a Flame,
Can couple Youth with hoary Age,
And make Antipathies engage.¹

Examination of the third state of Plate 5 of "A Rake's Progress"² reveals that this scene is taking place in a church. An inscription appearing in the church which reads "The Church of St Mary le Bone was Beautified in the Year 1725 Tho Sice Tho Horn Church Wardens" identifies the building in which this scene is taking place at Marylebone Old Church. On the right-hand side of this print, a rather short clergyman³ wearing a pair of glasses appears to be performing a service from a book he is holding. One page of this book is headed by the words "OF MATRIMONY," which leaves no doubt as to what is taking place. When we see the minister,⁴ he seems to have glanced up from the book in front of him, and is either looking upwards or else looking at the bride. This woman is shorter than the groom, seems to have lost her left eye, and probably has a deformed back;⁵

she wears beauty spots on her face, and appears to be older than the man she is marrying.⁶ She is described by Stephens as being "magnificently dressed,"⁷ and in her left hand she holds a fan and what is probably the glove from her right hand.⁸ Her right hand is being held by the right hand of the groom, who is none other than Tom Rakewell. Bakewell suggests that Tom has found himself "in very bad Circumstances, his Estate and Credit being gone,"⁹ so "he marries a rich . . . Widow" ¹⁰ The groom holds a ring in his left hand,¹¹ and is either in the process of putting this ring on his bride's finger or else will do so momentarily.¹² Rakewell holds his head high, and looks very much the suave, young, man-about-town.¹³ He has what is possibly a smug, self-satisfied expression on his face, and he is looking down and to his right. While it is possible that the Rake is meant to be looking at his bride's hand, it is also possible that Tom is meant to be looking at the person who is behind his bride.¹⁴ This person is a young woman¹⁵ who is probably kneeling while she "adjusts the sash or the 'panier'" ¹⁶ of the bride's dress. And while she is doing this, a young boy (said by Townsend to be a charity-boy¹⁷), who is seen crouching down on one knee beside the bride, is in the process of moving a kneeling pad. This young lad has a tear in his coat, and most of the remainder of his attire appears the worse for wear; Townsend suggests that his

"ragged appearance . . . reflects on his guardians."¹⁸

In the upper left-hand portion of this plate there is a balcony, and in this balcony there is a man¹⁹ with his left forearm (and possibly also his right) resting on the ledge that runs along the top of the front of this balcony. This person's head is not erect, but appears virtually horizontal, and it seems likely that he is meant to be looking down at what is going on below him. For below the balcony can be seen not only a young woman holding a child in her arms, but also two other women who are fighting. The woman with the child is almost undoubtedly Sarah Young,²⁰ and the woman closest to her is most likely her mother.²¹ The latter's left hand, which is clenched into a fist, is held up in the air, and her right hand is up against the face of the third woman, and seems to be either trying to grab hold of it, push it, or scratch it. This third woman's left forearm appears to be against the side of Sarah's mother's body, and her left hand is possibly gripping Sarah's left arm, while her right hand is raised in the air, and holds some keys.²² Ireland identifies this person as being a "pew-opener,"²³ as does Paulson.²⁴ The former source suggests that Sarah Young, "accompanied by her child and mother, . . . [is] endeavouring to enter the church, and forbid the banns,"²⁵ but is being opposed by the "pew-opener,"²⁶ while Stephens asserts that:

[Sarah Young's mother] seems, in order to stop the ceremony or otherwise assail the man, to have attended the wedding of her daughter's seducer. Sarah Young, in order to reproach Rakewell, accompanies her mother, bearing the little one. The zealous pew opener, endeavouring to drive the young woman and her infant from the church, was assailed by the mother"²⁷

While it is perhaps possible that Sarah Young might wish to "forbid the banns," or that she might want to "reproach Rakewell," it is perhaps even more likely, to judge from what has been seen of Sarah in previous plates, that she does not want to do either of these things; quite possibly she is at the church at the insistence of her mother, who wants to "stop the ceremony or otherwise assail" Rakewell, or, if Sarah herself wished to be present at Tom Rakewell's wedding, this was perhaps due to her interest in Rakewell, or to the hope that when Tom saw her with their child, he would take some interest in the latter.²⁸

The church in which the wedding ceremony is taking place does not appear to be in a very good state of repair; not only are cracks seen in its walls, but portions of the material with which these walls are surfaced have come off, and in some areas the underlying bricks are exposed.²⁹ This is of interest in view of the aforementioned inscription³⁰ which reads "This Church of St Mary le Bone was Beautified in the Year 1725 Tho Sice Tho Horn Church Wardens."³¹ As mentioned earlier,³² this church is Marylebone Old Church, which, according to Nichols and Steevens, at the time this

plate was produced "was considered at such a distance from London as to become the usual resort of those who, like our Hero, wished to be privately married."³³ This church was originally constructed in the year 1400,³⁴ and Wheatley, writing in the early Twentieth Century, points out that when "A Rake's Progress" appeared:

the church was then nearing the end of its days, for in 1741 it was pulled down and the old church now in High Street, Marylebone, was built on its site. The Bishop of London of the day gave orders that all the old tablets should be fixed as nearly as possible in their former places, and the inscription on the front of the gallery pews [the one quoted above] in the picture [Plate 5] is still to be seen.

The great Francis Bacon was married in Hogarth's church in 1606, and Sheridan was married to Miss Linley in the still standing church in 1773.³⁵

In the lower left-hand portion of this print can be seen what appears to be a box pew. On this pew (and also on the right-hand side of this print), can be seen what Paulson terms "evergreens . . . appropriate to the perennial quality of the [bride's] . . . lust and (as Hoadly suggests in his verses) the wintry marriage this one will be."³⁶ On the side of the pew is a box identified as "THE POORS BOX"; a cobweb extends from the side of the pew to the outside edge of this box, blocking this receptacle's opening, which suggests that the box was infrequently used. In front of the pew are two dogs, one sitting on a stool,³⁷ and the other with its two front feet on the stool, and its hind feet on the floor of the church. A kneeling pad is seen on the

floor beside the stool. Stephens suggests that the dog sitting on the stool is being "rather fiercely wooed . . ." ³⁸ by the other dog, and Paulson points out that "the two dogs . . . offer a parallel to the human situation; like the old woman, the courted dog has only one eye." ³⁹ Written on the pew itself is the inscription "THESE PEWES VNSCRVD: AND: TAN: IN. SVNDE[R] IN. STONE: THERS: GRAVEN: WHAT: IS: VNDER TO. WIT: A: VALT: FOR: BVRIAL: THERE: IS WHICH: EDWARD: FORSET: MADE: FOR: HIM: AND: HIS." Nichols and Steevens assert that such an inscription at one time actually existed, ⁴⁰ and they further state that:

part of these words, in raised letters, at present [at the time the work quoted was written] form a panel in the wainscot at the end of the right-hand gallery, as the church is entered from the street. --No heir of the Forset family appearing, their vault has been claimed and used by his Grace the Duke of Portland, as lord of the manor. ⁴¹

In the background of this scene there is a round-headed window. ⁴² Below this is an item on the wall that Stephens describes as "a small sculptured monument"; ⁴³ it seems possible that this depicts four kneeling figures (two children and two adults), and perhaps also an object of some sort. ⁴⁴ Nichols and Steevens identify this as "the mural monument of the Taylors, composed of lead gilt over" ⁴⁵ Near this is the church's pulpit. The cloth on this pulpit bears the letters "IHS," ⁴⁶ with these being contained inside a circle that has lines radiating from it, and Paulson points

out that "the encircled 'IHS' . . . makes a mock halo behind the [bride's] . . . head"47 Concerning the pulpit, Stephens asserts:

the back of the pulpit is continued upwards to support the sounding board; on it are smear-like marks, one a vaguely-defined circular patch; the other, which is below the former, having the shape of the head and shoulders of a man. It is probable that these marks were produced--the former by the clergyman's custom to hang his hat on a nail while he preached; the latter by his resting against the back of the pulpit48

Hanging on the wall seen on the right-hand side of this print is an item that has features that cannot be clearly distinguished; Stephens describes this as "a cartouche, enclosing an escutcheon, with an inscription which is not legible; over this is a knight's helmet, having for its crest a demi lion rampant (?); at the sides are two cherubim, at the bottom is a third cherub."49 Below this, in what appears to be a frame, is the Creed, but the surface on which the Creed is written has either rotted, or been torn away, so that only a small portion of the first part of the Creed can still be seen.⁵⁰ Beside this, also possibly in a frame (or a portion thereof), can be seen a tablet⁵¹ bearing the numbers VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X, and various other marks which, although they cannot be read, are no doubt intended to represent writing. Thus this would appear to be a tablet on which is written the last five Commandments. What is of interest about this tablet is that three of these Command-

ments, all of which deal with duties to one's neighbour, have literally been broken, as a crack runs diagonally across the tablet.⁵²

Thus, in Plate 5 of "A Rake's Progress," it appears as if Tom Rakewell is resorting to a "marriage of convenience" in order to overcome financial difficulties.⁵³

CHAPTER XII

PLATE VI OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

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 ye. 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!¹

When Plate 6 of "A Rake's Progress" is examined,² it will be noted that the action being depicted in this scene is taking place in a gambling house. In the foreground of this print is a snarling (or barking) dog that wears a collar on which can be seen "Covent Gar[den]," which would perhaps suggest that the gambling establishment depicted in this scene was located in Covent Garden. However, Hogarth also appears to have had White's³ in mind, since both smoke and flames are seen where the wall in the background of the print meets the ceiling, and smoke is seen through a doorway

located on the left-hand side of the plate.⁴ Of the seventeen figures depicted in Plate 6, only three appear to notice the fire. One of these figures is just entering the room. This person carries a lantern in his left hand and a staff in his right, and is identified as a watchman.⁵ He holds the lantern high (no doubt to cast as much light as possible on the area in the room in which he sees the flames), and seems to be pointing to the fire or the smoke with his staff; in addition, his mouth is open, and he may be crying out the alarm "Fire!" in an attempt to warn the people in the room. A second person, this one standing with his back to the viewer, points to the flames with his right hand, and beside him a third figure, apparently a "croupier,"⁶ who holds a "money rake"⁷ in his left hand and a "candlestick with a very long stem"⁸ in his right, has turned his head and is looking up at the fire; the position of the former's left hand, combined with the way its fingers are spread apart, and also the angle at which the latter figure holds the "money rake," suggest that both these men are "startled" by what they see.⁹

Tom Rakewell is seen in the foreground of this print, kneeling on his left knee; on the floor beside him is an overturned chair¹⁰ that he probably knocked over when he rose up from sitting on it. Both his hands are clenched into fists, his right hand is held high in the air, and his

wig (which he may have pulled off his head, or knocked off accidentally, or else which has fallen off on its own accord) lies on the floor below his left hand.¹¹ Tom looks upward, a fearsome, almost irrational look in his eyes; in addition, his mouth is open in such a fashion that his teeth are bared. Thus it would appear that Rakewell has just been subjected to an extremely upsetting experience, since when we see him he appears overcome by what Stephens suggests is "rage and despair"¹² And it seems logical to assume that the loss of a great sum of money was the "upsetting experience" the Rake¹³ has just undergone.

On the right-hand side of the print, sitting on a chair in front of a fireplace, is a man who "wears long horseman's boots with spurs, and a large riding coat; a hat is under his arm; he sits with one knee crossing its fellow and clasped by his locked fingers."¹⁴ In this person's coat pocket can be seen a pistol, and another item identified by Townsend as a "black mask."¹⁵ This person would appear to be a highwayman,¹⁶ and when we see him, his mouth is drawn down at the corners, and he seems to be looking down and to his right out of the corners of his eyes. Beside him is a young boy holding a small tray on which there is a glass.¹⁷ This lad is looking at the highwayman, and has his mouth open as if he is yelling at him, but the highwayman does not appear to notice the boy. Ireland states the highwayman

"is a losing gamester . . . absorbed in reflection . . . ,"¹⁸ while Paulson asserts that he is "melancholy at having gambled away his loot (he is so preoccupied that he ignores the boy who has brought him a drink) Or he eavesdrops so he can later rob the winner."¹⁹ Beside the boy is a fireplace covered by a screen, and on the wall above the fireplace is "a sconce, with a single lighted candle in it . . .";²⁰ also on the wall above the fireplace is a paper on which is written "R. Justian Card Maker to his Maj[esty] . . . royal Family." And behind the young lad with the glass is a man who appears to be leaning partly against the "frame" that goes around the fireplace and partly against the wall by the fireplace. This person has his hat pulled down over his forehead. His right hand is clenched into a fist; his left hand is up to his mouth, and he is possibly pulling his lower lip or, in Kunzle's words, "gnawing neurotically at his fingers."²¹

In the lower left-hand portion of this print there is a table covered with a ragged cloth,²² and on this cloth is a candle-holder with a lighted candle in it. Seated at this table is an elderly man wearing glasses who is writing something in a book with a quill pen. Ireland, writing in the late Eighteenth Century, states that this figure "is said to be old Manners, brother to the late Duke of Rutland's father . . . ,"²³ and describes this figure as the person "to whom

the old Duke of Devonshire lost the great estate of Leicester Abbey";²⁴ he further asserts that "Manners was the only person of his time who had amassed a considerable fortune by the profession of gamester."²⁵ In the book he holds can be seen the words "Lent to Ld. Cogg 500[?]," and it seems likely that the "splendidly dressed gentleman"²⁶ leaning across the table, his right hand on the table near the candleholder is Lord Cogg.²⁷

Seated to the left of the gentleman tentatively identified as Lord Cogg is a man whose right arm rests on the top edge of what seems to be the back of a chair.²⁸ Although this person appears to be seated at the table seen in the center of this print, he is not looking towards this table. He is perhaps supposed to be looking at the gentleman with his index finger extended, or at something not visible to the viewer because it is outside the bounds of the picture; on the other hand, it is perhaps more likely his position has come about as a result of the entrance of the watchman,²⁹ and he is perhaps supposed to be looking at this person, or is in the process of turning to look at him. Also seated at the table is a person dressed in black who, like the above-mentioned gentleman, is not facing the table. This figure is said by Ireland to be "a person in mourning . . . ,"³⁰ and by Kurz to be "a cleric"³¹ Whichever is the case, the man would appear to have just lost some

money, and to be reacting by going through some exaggerated gestures and bodily motions, since when we see him he has his left foot in the air, his body appears to be somewhat twisted and leaning to one side, his head is bent forward, and he is pulling at his hat with both his hands. And also seated at the table is another figure who, unlike the person in black, appears to be a winner, as he sits with his left forearm on the table, and his left hand on the many coins found thereon as if he is going to gather this money towards him.

Standing near the above-mentioned seated figure are two men, one of whom is dropping some coins into the cupped hands of the other. At first glance, it would appear as if this person is paying off a gambling debt, but from the expressions on their faces it appears that they are possibly, in Cook's words, "two collusive associates, dividing the booty of the evening."³² On the other side of the room, near a hat and what is possibly a cloak hanging in the corner of the room seen in the left-hand portion of this plate, are three figures, one of whom appears very angry. This person is wigless, and holds a sword in his left hand. This sword is not held in the usual fashion, however, as it is pointing downward and being held about half way along its blade; in addition, the hilt of the sword is higher than the head of the man holding it. Thus, it seems quite possible

that the person holding the sword is attempting to use it as a club, with the object of this man's ire being the cowering figure seen in the center of this print. This latter person is being helped, however, by a richly-dressed man who stands in front of the person holding the sword. This person,³³ by physical means, and probably also by speaking to the sword-wielding figure,³⁴ attempts to prevent the person in the center of the print from being injured.³⁵

Thus, in Plate 6 of "A Rake's Progress," the Rake seems to have lost a large sum of money. Kurz asserts that this money has been lost "in a gambling hell . . . where . . . a fire is just breaking out, to make it an almost perfect effigy of another place";³⁶ quite likely Tom Rakewell might be tempted to think he is in "another place" at the moment the viewer sees him in Plate 6.

CHAPTER XIII

PLATE VII OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

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 gild 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.¹

An examination of Plate 7 of "A Rake's Progress"² shows that the scene depicted in this plate takes place in a prison. In the lower left-hand corner of this print is a scroll on which is written "Being a New Scheme for paying ye Debts of ye. Nation by T: L: now a prisoner in the Fleet,"³ which suggests that the prison is the Fleet Prison, which was a prison for debtors.⁴ One source describes this prison as "an historic London prison, formerly situated on the east side of Farringdon street, and deriving its name from the Fleet stream."⁵ The Fleet Prison became prominent:

from being used as a place of reception for persons committed by the Star Chamber, and, afterwards, for debtors, and persons imprisoned for contempt of court by the court of chancery. It was burnt down in the great fire of 1666; rebuilt, destroyed in the Gordon riots of 1780 and again rebuilt in 1781-82. In pursuance of an act of 1842 by which the Marshalsea, Fleet and Queen's Bench prisons were consolidated under the name of Queen's prison, it was finally closed, and in 1844 sold to the corporation of the City and pulled down. The head of the prison was termed "the warden," who was appointed by patent. It became a frequent practice of the holder of the patent to "farm out" the prison to the highest bidder. It was this custom which made the Fleet prison long notorious for the cruelties inflicted on prisoners. The liberties or rules of the Fleet were the limits within which particular prisoners were allowed to reside outside the prison walls subject to certain conditions.⁶

Tom Rakewell is seen sitting on a chair⁷ in the lower right-hand portion of this print. Stephens describes Tom as being "helpless, bewildered, and despairing . . .";⁸ indeed, both the expression on his face, and the gesture he is making with his hands, suggest that Tom is quite dejected and overcome by a feeling of hopelessness.⁹ On a table¹⁰ beside Tom are some sheets of paper that have been rolled up and tied with cord, and on one of these sheets is printed "Act 4." Also on the table is a sheet of paper on which is written "Sr. I have read your Play & find it will not do yrs. J. R..h." Thus it appears that, in an attempt to obtain some money, Tom wrote a play that was subsequently rejected by John Rich, the manager of the Covent Garden Theatre.¹¹ Standing beside Rakewell is a surly-looking young lad wearing a ragged outer garment. His left hand holds a

mug of beer that he is resting on the table, and he extends his right hand palm upward; thus, it appears the boy is demanding payment before he parts with the beer he has brought. Behind the Rake's chair stands a man who, because of a large key he carries, can be identified as "a turnkey of the Fleet."¹² This person holds a book with his left hand in which is written "Garnish money," and his right index finger seems to be pointing to an entry written in this book. As he is looking downward, and as he seems to be speaking, it appears that he is asking Rakewell for "garnish money." In addition, Tom's one-eyed wife stands to the right of him; anger shows on her face,¹³ her fists are clenched,¹⁴ her mouth is open, and there seems little doubt that she is unleashing a tirade of invective¹⁵ that is directed toward her husband. Thus, while the rejection of the play would by itself be enough to put Tom in his present mood, the actions of the three people referred to above would no doubt have contributed towards his feeling of despair.¹⁶

Another group of figures is seen in the left-hand portion of this plate. The central figure in this group is Sarah Young, who has apparently fainted, and who is being helped by the three adults standing beside her. A woman who is possibly Sarah's mother¹⁷ holds Sarah's left hand with her right, and seems about to slap Sarah's palm with her left hand in an attempt to revive her. Another woman, this

one younger than the one mentioned above, seems to be supporting Sarah¹⁸ with her right hand while holding a bottle of what is probably "smelling salts" under Sarah's nose with her left. Sarah's right arm is being held by a man with a beard who has "a long, very ill-combed wig over his own hair . . . ,"¹⁹ and who wears what Stephens states is a "dressing gown"²⁰ that appears much the worse for wear. This person seems to be providing more physical support for Sarah than the two women, since he not only gives her support by putting his right arm under hers, but he has also raised up his right leg and is supporting her with the upper portion of this leg. This person is the "T.L." who wrote the aforementioned "New Scheme for Paying ye Debts of ye. Nation";²¹ he has apparently just dropped this scroll, the paper under it,²² and probably the scroll on the floor²³ as well. He also seems to be about to drop another scroll on which can be made out the word "Debts," which Paulson suggests is "a memory of the South Sea Company."²⁴ And, as well as the aforementioned three adults, one other figure is seen near the limp figure of Sarah Young. This figure is that of her young daughter,²⁵ who is seen looking up at her mother; her mouth is open wide, and, as it seems likely there are tears under her eyes, it would appear that she might be crying because her mother has fainted.²⁶

In the background of this scene, either sitting or

kneeling on one knee beside what appears to be a furnace, is a man wearing a cap,²⁷ a long outer garment, and glasses. In his right hand he holds what is possibly a receptacle of some sort, and in his left hand he has a pair of tongs which he holds in the flames that can be seen in the furnace. Sitting atop this furnace is a device Stephens describes as "a still,"²⁸ and this source suggests that the man wearing the cap is "occupied in attending to the furnace of . . . [this] still" ²⁹ While this could possibly be the case, it is perhaps more likely that, whether or not the device atop the furnace is a distilling apparatus or a device of another type, this person is intended to be holding with the tongs a small item, or piece of material, that he is heating in the flames.³⁰

Behind the above-mentioned man is a bed,³¹ and resting on the top of this bed is a large pair of birdlike wings³² which appear to have been intended as a means of enabling a man to fly. It seems possible that these wings are the property of the man seated by the furnace.³³ In the background of this scene there is also a brick chimney³⁴ which has a vertical chimney pipe coming out of it; another section of pipe joins the vertical piece at an angle, and the uppermost portion of the former goes through the grating that covers a window found near the ceiling of the cell. Also going through this grating is a long cylindrical object

said by Paulson to be a telescope,³⁵ but by Lichtenberg to be "probably . . . a rough, solid cylinder with which to push open or close the heavy window shutters."³⁶ And beneath the window is a shelf on which can be seen three receptacles³⁷ (they might possibly be "crucibles," as Stephens suggests³⁸), and two books, one of which does not sit properly on the shelf, and the other of which has a piece of paper (on which is written the word "Philosophical") stuck between its pages.

In the lower right-hand corner of this print can be seen "a large bundle, with a gridiron tied to it."³⁹ Bakewell suggests that these are "ready to be carried off for his [Tom's] Fees, & c.,"⁴⁰ while Cook states that they have been "brought here for his [Tom's] use in this degraded station"⁴¹ And in the lower left-hand portion of this plate⁴² are an overturned stool and some items of feminine attire, the latter probably belonging to Sarah Young.

CHAPTER XIV

PLATE VIII OF "A RAKE'S PROGRESS"

Madness, Thou Chaos of ye. Brain,
What art? That Pleasure giv'st, and Pain?
Tyranny of Fancy's Reign!
Mechanic Fancy; that can build
Vast Labarynths, & 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.¹

An examination of the second state of Plate 8 of "A Rake's Progress"² suggests that the action depicted in this scene is taking place in an institution for the mentally disturbed. This institution is probably "Bedlam," as Bakewell suggests.³ The name "Bedlam" was the popular name for Bethlehem hospital, which was "the first English lunatic asylum."⁴ According to one source:

It was originally founded by Simon FitzMary, sheriff of London, in 1247, as a priory for the sisters and bretheren of the order of the Star of Bethlehem. It had as one of its special objects the housing and entertainment of the bishop and canons of St. Mary of Bethlehem, the mother church, on their visits to

England. Its first site was in Bishopsgate street. It is not certain when lunatics were first received in Bedlam, but it is mentioned as a hospital in 1330 and some were there in 1403. In 1547 it was handed over by Henry VIII with all its revenues to the City of London as a hospital for lunatics. With the exception of one such asylum in Granada, Sp., the Bethlehem hospital was the first in Europe. It became famous and afterward infamous for the brutal ill-treatment meted out to the insane.⁵

Bedlam escaped the Great Fire of London, but as it had become quite dilapidated and inadequate for its purpose, a new hospital was built in Moorfields; this building was completed in July of 1676.⁶ In 1815, the hospital was moved to St. George's Fields.⁷

Tom Rakewell is seen in the foreground of this print, and is obviously an inmate of the aforementioned institution. Bakewell suggests that "the Reflection on his past extravagant Life, and the wretched Circumstances he was left in, in the last Plate, together with the repeated Aggravations of his Wife, and his Want of common Necessaries, quite overpower'd his Reason"⁸ Tom sits on the floor, supporting himself with his right arm and seemingly scratching his head⁹ with his left hand.¹⁰ He wears no clothing except for a pair of breeches that cover the lower portion of his torso and his thighs,¹¹ and on his chest is a black patch which, as Townsend suggests, "could indicate an unsuccessful attempt to take his own life."¹² Kneeling behind Tom, her right hand resting lightly on Tom's right forearm, is Sarah Young.¹³ Sarah is crying, and with her left hand she holds

a handkerchief to her left eye. Standing beside Sarah is a man whose left hand is on Tom's left shoulder, and whose right hand seems to be above Sarah's head as if this person is in the process of moving this hand;¹⁴ his head is bent down, and he may be looking at his right hand or at the area toward which he is perhaps moving this hand. In the second state of this plate¹⁵ this person has light hair (or a light-colored wig), and under his outer garment he wears an item of apparel that is open part of the way down its front, but in this plate's third state¹⁶ his hair (or his wig) has been darkened, and "he is given clerical bands instead of the open collar."¹⁷ And near this person, on Tom's left, is another man who is either sitting or kneeling on the floor, and whose left hand is beside (perhaps even touching) a shackle that is around Tom's right ankle.¹⁸ Paulson suggests that this person is "an attendant [who] is fastening manacles on his [Tom's] ankles,"¹⁹ and Antal states that Tom "is [being] put into chains by an attendant to prevent his committing suicide."²⁰ Kurz, on the other hand, states that the attendant "is unlocking the fetters . . . ,"²¹ and Kunzle asserts that the idea "Rakewell is being put into chains to prevent his attempting suicide again"²² is "an old and recently repeated misconception"²³ Consideration of these opposing views suggests that the latter interpretation is perhaps correct. Not only is the attendant's pose perhaps

more suggestive of his being about to take off the shackle on Tom's right leg rather than having just put it on, but a restraining device might perhaps no longer be considered necessary, since it appears quite likely that Kurz is correct in asserting that "Tom Rakewell is here actually dying"24

At the left-hand side of this print can be seen a cell with the number "54" written above its doorway. The door of this cell is open, and inside the cell can be seen a man with a very "wild" expression on his face. This person appears naked except for something that seems to cover his lower abdomen.²⁵ On the floor of this cell is a stone "bench," or "bed," or "block"²⁶ with straw lying on top of it. The position of the cell's occupant in relation to this stone block is somewhat difficult to ascertain. Both of this person's elbows are bent; his left elbow is either touching, or else almost touching, the straw that is on top of the stone block, and his right elbow is perhaps not quite touching the straw. His hands are clasped together under his chin,²⁷ and the greater portion of one of his legs can be seen above the level of the straw. Since a cross²⁸ and three pictures labelled respectively "[St.?] [C]lemen[t],"²⁹ "St Athanatius,"³⁰ and "St Lawrance"³¹ are found in this man's cell, Paulson is probably correct in terming him "a religious fanatic,"³² and it is possible that when we see

him he is praying. Thus it might perhaps be thought that this person's right leg is hidden behind the stone "block," and that he is kneeling on his right knee, having just raised his left leg up from a kneeling position because he is in a highly aroused emotional state. However, while there is perhaps a slight possibility this is the correct interpretation of this pose, it is perhaps more likely that he is intended to be, as Stephens suggests, "reclining on a couch of stone covered with straw" ³³

The above-mentioned person ³⁴ is not the only man occupying a cell. In the center portion of this print is another cell, this one labelled "55." Like cell 54, this cell is open, ³⁵ and the occupant of the cell can be seen. This person sits on a pile of straw that is either inside a low wooden "retaining wall" or on top of a raised platform, and the only item that he seems to be wearing is a crown that Stephens states is made from straw. ³⁶ In his left hand he holds a piece of wood which seems to serve him as a sceptre. His eyes appear to be open wide. Kunzle states that "[the] King beams at his sceptre . . . ,"³⁷ while Stephens states that his face expresses "a lunatic's ideal of a mighty pride."³⁸ And it should also be pointed out that this person, in Stephen's words, "appears to be making water."³⁹

Standing near the door to cell 54 are two women. These two are visitors who have come to view the inmates of

Bedlam, for, according to Wilenski, "in Hogarth's day . . . Bedlam was open to the public, who went to giggle and titter at the inmates and talk to them and take obscene delight in their obscenities."⁴⁰ One of the aforementioned women stands behind the other with her left hand on the latter's left arm. She is either looking (or attempting to look) at the person in cell 55, or else looking at the woman with whom she is standing.⁴¹ And although she is perhaps in the process of speaking to the latter person, this could be debated, as could the suggestion her left index finger is pointing towards the man wearing the crown. The second female visitor stands with her left arm bent so that her forearm is in front of her body. Her right hand holds up a fan in such a position that it would block her view of the occupant of cell 55, and her head is turned slightly to her left. Thus she has either seen, or is being told about, the occupant of cell 55, and the position of her fan probably is a result of her modesty or her distaste for what she has seen or is being told, or else indicates she is feigning the foregoing.⁴² The position of her head is perhaps also due to this, although if the other woman is talking, the woman with the fan might perhaps have turned her head slightly so as to be facing more in the direction of the speaker.⁴³

Behind these two women is another cell, this one labelled "50." Unlike the two cells mentioned thus far, the

door to this cell is closed. Near this cell (on the extreme right-hand side of the print) can be seen some bars which appear to extend from the ceiling to the floor, and which also seem to divide the room depicted in this plate. On the other side of these bars to the two female visitors described above can be seen two figures, and near them is another cell which, like cell 50, has its door closed.

As mentioned earlier,⁴⁴ the door to cell 55 is open, and standing behind this open door is a man who is writing on the wall.⁴⁵ On this wall is a diagram showing the earth divided by lines of latitude and longitude⁴⁶ (it also appears as if the earth is attached to a chain that begins at, or near, the edge of the doorway to cell 54⁴⁷); a picture of a ship; a crescent moon; a "mortar with a bomb discharged from it . . .";⁴⁸ the letters "L E"; the word "Longitude"; and other diagrams. Paulson asserts that the man using the wall for a writing surface is calculating longitude,⁴⁹ and the "mortar with a bomb discharged from it" is said by another source to be an allusion to "[William] Whiston's proposed method of discovering the Longitude by the firing of bombs."⁵⁰ The letters "L E," according to Paulson, "may stand for the dramatist Nathaniel Lee . . . who went mad in 1684 and was confined in Bedlam till 1689."⁵¹

In addition to the figures that have already been described, there are five others that have not as yet been

mentioned, two of which are seen near the center portion of this print. One of the latter holds what appears to be a roll of paper in his left hand. He holds one end of this up to his left eye, and appears to be using the roll as a telescope.⁵² Near this person is a figure Stephens describes as "a crazy tailor in a dishevelled dressing gown, wearing straw under his hat instead of a wig, having strips of cloth, or patterns sewn on to the front of his hat, and, while squatting tailor fashion on the floor, playing with a tape measure"53

The remaining three figures are all found in the right-hand portion of this print. One of these is a man who stands beside a staircase playing a violin. He holds the violin with his right hand, the bow is held in his left hand,⁵⁴ and he wears a full wig on top of which is a book of music.⁵⁵ At the extreme right of this print is a figure who is sitting on the stairs wearing a pointed "cap"⁵⁶ on his head, and who is dressed in what appears to be a loose-fitting garment of some kind. His arms appear to be folded across his chest with his left hand under his right sleeve and his right hand under his left sleeve. Held between his right arm and his body is a "wooden triple cross."⁵⁷ Stephens asserts that this person "imagines himself a Pope . . .";⁵⁸ in addition, this figure's mouth is open wide, and this source asserts that "he is speaking aloud, and supposed to be saying a

mass."⁵⁹ The remaining figure in this scene, like the one mentioned above, is also sitting on the stairs. He wears a coat, breeches, stockings,⁶⁰ and shoes; in addition, he has a band of straw around his neck,⁶¹ and has what Paulson identifies as "a picture of a woman"⁶² hanging around his neck. His hands are clasped in front of him, and he has, in the words of one source, "a lugubrious expression on his countenance."⁶³ This person is said by Paulson to be a "melancholy lover."⁶⁴ That the disturbed mental state that caused this person to be sent to Bethlehem hospital was caused by the love of a woman is suggested not only by the picture hanging around his neck, but also by the name "Charming Betty Careless"⁶⁵ that is seen on the staircase's hand-rail; presumably this man was responsible for the writing, or carving, of this name.

At the foot of the stairs, standing with its hind legs on the floor and its front legs on the first step, is a dog⁶⁶ which seems to be barking at one of the men sitting on the stairs. On the left of this dog is a newel post on which are the letters "S H" (with the "S" reversed) contained within a figure that is perhaps supposed to represent a church;⁶⁷ also on this post, directly below the foregoing, is a faint mark which Stephens states "looks like 'Æ'."⁶⁸

Thus, with a scene that takes place within the walls of Bedlam, Hogarth's story ends. The artist had now

depicted, for his own generation and for the generations that were to follow, not only the story of an Eighteenth Century English harlot, but also the story of an Eighteenth Century English rake.

PART III

FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF HOGARTH'S "PROGRESSES"

CHAPTER XV

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" contain a wealth of incident and detail, and it is easy to understand why these two series are still intriguing viewers almost 250 years after they first appeared. However, while a comprehensive examination of the details and incidents found in "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" is necessary if these two series are to be understood and appreciated to their fullest extent, it would be an underestimation of both if they were considered to be merely "interesting stories." For even although Hogarth (as was mentioned earlier¹) asserted he "turned . . . [his] thoughts to . . . painting and engraving modern moral subjects . . . " because painting small conversation pieces "was not sufficiently profitable to pay the expenses . . . [his] family required," the artist, when producing his two "Progresses," did much more than produce a pair of "graphic potboilers."

It will be noted that, in the above statement, Hogarth uses the term "modern moral subjects." Hogarth's contemporary and friend, Henry Fielding, stated in the

Champion:

I esteem the ingenious Mr. Hogarth as one of the most useful satirists any age hath produced. In his excellent works we see the delusive scene exposed with all the force of humour, and on casting your eyes on another picture, you behold the dreadful and fatal consequence. I almost dare to affirm that those two works of his, which he calls the Rake's and the Harlot's Progress, are calculated more to serve the cause of virtue, and the preservation of mankind than all the folios of morality which have ever been written.²

Then, too, the Reverend John Trusler, writing shortly after Hogarth's death, says of "A Harlot's Progress":

In this age, when wickedness is in search to entrap the unwary; and man, that artful deceiver, racking his invention for wiles to delude the innocent, and rob them of their virtues; it is more particularly necessary to warn the rising generation of the impending danger; lay before the female world the perils they are exposed to; open to their view a sight of that wretchedness that will, inevitably, be the consequence of their misconduct: and, by a timely admonition, prevent, if possible, the inevitable misfortunes attendant on a life of prostitution, brought on by falling, perhaps, in an unguarded moment. This was the design of HOGARTH, in the history of the harlot . . . ; in the prosecution of which, he has minutely pictured out the most material scenes of her life, from the time of her fall from virtue to the hour of her death; a history full of such interesting circumstances as must certainly give the unthinking maid a sense of her danger, and alarm her, lest she also becomes a prey to man.³

Trusler then proceeds to use "A Harlot's Progress" (and also "A Rake's Progress") as the basis for what is, in essence, a sermon on morality; note the following passage taken from the final portion of his remarks concerning "A Harlot's Progress":

From this distressful story let me warn my female readers of the lurking danger that threatens them. As there is no greater Christian virtue than Chastity, none more pleasing to God or more agreeable to man, it is the interest of every young lady to be particularly attentive to it: it is not that I imagine them ill-inclined in their disposition; but it is their natural easiness of temper, and then too favorable opinion of the world, that exposes them to the perils I have mentioned. Men, however they may detest the loss of virtue in the women, are continually laying snares to rob them of it; and the women, who are no proof against the attacks of the men, too often fall their victim [A] woman by losing her reputation, loses every friend she has, exposes herself to the derision of the world, and becomes the object of contempt; no person of credit will ever be seen in her company; she does not partake of the comforts of society; nor does she reap one blessing that is even common to her sex: while others are enjoying the sweets of happiness, she is completely miserable: jeered by the world, and pointed at by all her acquaintance, she wastes her days in scorn and reproach, lives a burden to herself, a disgrace to her sex, and a nuisance to the neighbourhood⁴

And Antal, writing almost 200 years after Trusler, states that "the outstanding specimens of his [Hogarth's] art, the cycles, would not exist and are unthinkable divested of moral teaching."⁵

However, while both "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" do enforce "the simple moral lesson that a deviation from virtue is a departure from happiness,"⁶ it might perhaps be said that in these two series "Hogarth the Moralist" is overshadowed by "Hogarth the Satirist" and "Hogarth the Social-Commentator."⁷

In the case of "A Harlot's Progress," the viewer is inclined to regret that death claimed Miss Hackabout at such

an early age. Had Hogarth's heroine come to London for the express purpose of becoming a "woman of the night," the viewer's feelings towards Miss Hackabout would be different. However, it appears likely that the naive, trusting country girl seen in Plate 1 was unknowingly lured into a situation from which she was unable to escape. Therefore, her "deviation from virtue" (and her death, which was apparently a direct result of her way of life) might be thought of as having been caused by society, and Miss Hackabout might be thought of as being society's victim. Thus the feeling is created that Hogarth deplored the existence of conditions such as those that led to his heroine's downfall. And while society per se cannot really be blamed for Tom Rakewell's misfortunes, as Tom himself was the initiator of the actions that led to the scene in Bethlehem hospital, the vivid portrayal of various aspects of Eighteenth Century English society continually reminds the viewer of the society of which the Rake was a part.

Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress," in which the Rake (in Paulson's words) is "surrounded by rapacious hangers-on . . ."⁸ of diverse talents, can be taken as a satire on British "high-society." In addition, the fact Tom is collecting a type of art Hogarth had little use for suggests the artist did not think very highly of this class's artistic and aesthetic sensibilities, as does the inclusion in

this scene of a landscape gardener who was associated with Lord Burlington.⁹ And the artist's opinion of a person who would adopt the ways of the aforementioned segment of society is indicated by Hogarth's naming Rakewell's horse "Silly Tom." Hogarth also shows the viewer, in Plates 3 and 6 of "A Rake's Progress" (the "Tavern Scene" and the "Gambling Scene") that a "man-about-town" did not devote all his time to "refined" pursuits such as viewing works of art.

Plate 6 of "A Harlot's Progress" presents a vivid illustration of human callousness; Miss Hackabout lies in her coffin, yet the majority of people in the scene show no indication they are sorry she has died. And the effect is heightened by the conduct of the two men depicted in this plate, both of whom seem to place their amorous pursuits above propriety. Miserliness is graphically depicted in Plate 1 of "A Rake's Progress," and the person in the same scene who is taking money out of a coin-filled sack personifies avarice and dishonesty. The medical profession is satirized by the two doctors seen in Plate 5 of "A Harlot's Progress," and residents of the British Isles who were not of British racial stock are ridiculed in Plate 2 of "A Harlot's Progress," since in this scene Miss Hackabout's provider is made to look foolish. The letter from John Rich found in Plate 7 of "A Rake's Progress" is possibly intended as a gibe directed at the aforementioned person; Hogarth,

in his "Masquerades and Operas" of 1723/4,¹⁰ and his "A Just View of the British Stage" of 1724,¹¹ shows himself to be a fighter "for serious drama against the public's penchant for the pantomimes produced by Rich."¹² And science theorists are satirized in Plate 8 of "A Rake's Progress," as are economic theorists in Plate 7 of the same series. Hogarth, who according to Antal was a "good, rationally minded [member] . . . of the Established Church, anti-Catholic and anti-Wesleyan,"¹³ satirizes the Roman Catholic Church and religious fanaticism in Plate 8 of "A Rake's Progress." The clergy are not depicted in a very favourable light in "A Harlot's Progress"; the minister depicted in Plate 6 of this series is engaged in an activity unbecoming a member of his profession, and the clergyman in the first plate (who, it might be assumed, would be strongly opposed to a young woman's becoming a prostitute) is either too naive in the ways of the world to realize the plans Mother Needham has for Miss Hackabout, or else is too engrossed with his own affairs when he should be giving some thought to the well-being of the aforementioned young lady. And the presence of the piece of butter on the Pastoral Letter in Plate 3 of "A Harlot's Progress" requires no further comment.

The presence of a coat of arms in Miss Hackabout's funeral scene is possibly intended to satirize ostentatious funerals. And by indicating (in the second and third plates

of "A Harlot's Progress") that Miss Hackabout attends the masquerades, Hogarth associates the masquerades with licentious behavior; he had earlier satirized the immoral nature of the masquerades in his "Masquerade Ticket" of 1727.¹⁴ Some of the consequences of gambling are shown, or at least hinted at, in the sixth plate of "A Rake's Progress," and the changes made in the second state of Plate 4 of this series satirizes this activity.

Plates 1 and 2 of "A Harlot's Progress" illustrate how much a person (in this case Miss Hackabout) can change in a relatively short period of time; these two plates show a change in both appearance and manner. The appearance of Tom Rakewell's wife in Plate 5 of "A Rake's Progress" might also be mentioned, as the appearance of this person might be pointed to as an example of feminine vanity.

The second and fifth scenes in Miss Hackabout's story are of interest because they illustrate two different types of living accommodation, with the former scene taking place in a fashionable, well-kept room, and the latter scene occurring in a room that is obviously just the opposite. And in the fourth plate of this series (the plate in which Miss Hackabout is being threatened by a warder while confined in a house of correction), it seems likely that Hogarth "is protesting . . . against the obscene cruelties that were practised in the [house of correction] . . . ,"¹⁵ as Wilenski

asserts.

As a final note in this chapter, mention must be made of the third state of Plate 8 of "A Rake's Progress." For it was in this print that Hogarth added the drawing of a reverse side of a half-penny to a wall of Bedlam. Thus, in this scene is found the figure of Britannia, with the date "1763" written below it, which suggests that as Hogarth approached the end of his years, he either began to feel that England deserved to be confined to an institution such as Bedlam, or else he felt that England was Bedlam itself.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" both contain a wealth of incident and detail. This being the case, there can be little argument with Horace Walpole's aforementioned assertion that "if ever an author wanted a commentary that none of his beauties might be lost, it is Hogarth" ¹ In addition, the previous discussion has also made it apparent that, while the aforementioned incidents and details are of interest in themselves, and while they must be carefully examined if the two series are to be fully understood and appreciated, "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress" do not exist on this level alone.

Wilenski asserts that Hogarth "asks us to read his pictures from corner to corner, inch by inch, because the sum of the parts in his pictures is intended to contribute to their product" ² If this study has facilitated the "reading" of "A Harlot's Progress" and "A Rake's Progress," and if it has contributed to the understanding of the significance of what has been read, then its purpose has been achieved.

PLATES



I. Plate I of "A Harlot's Progress" (Fourth State)



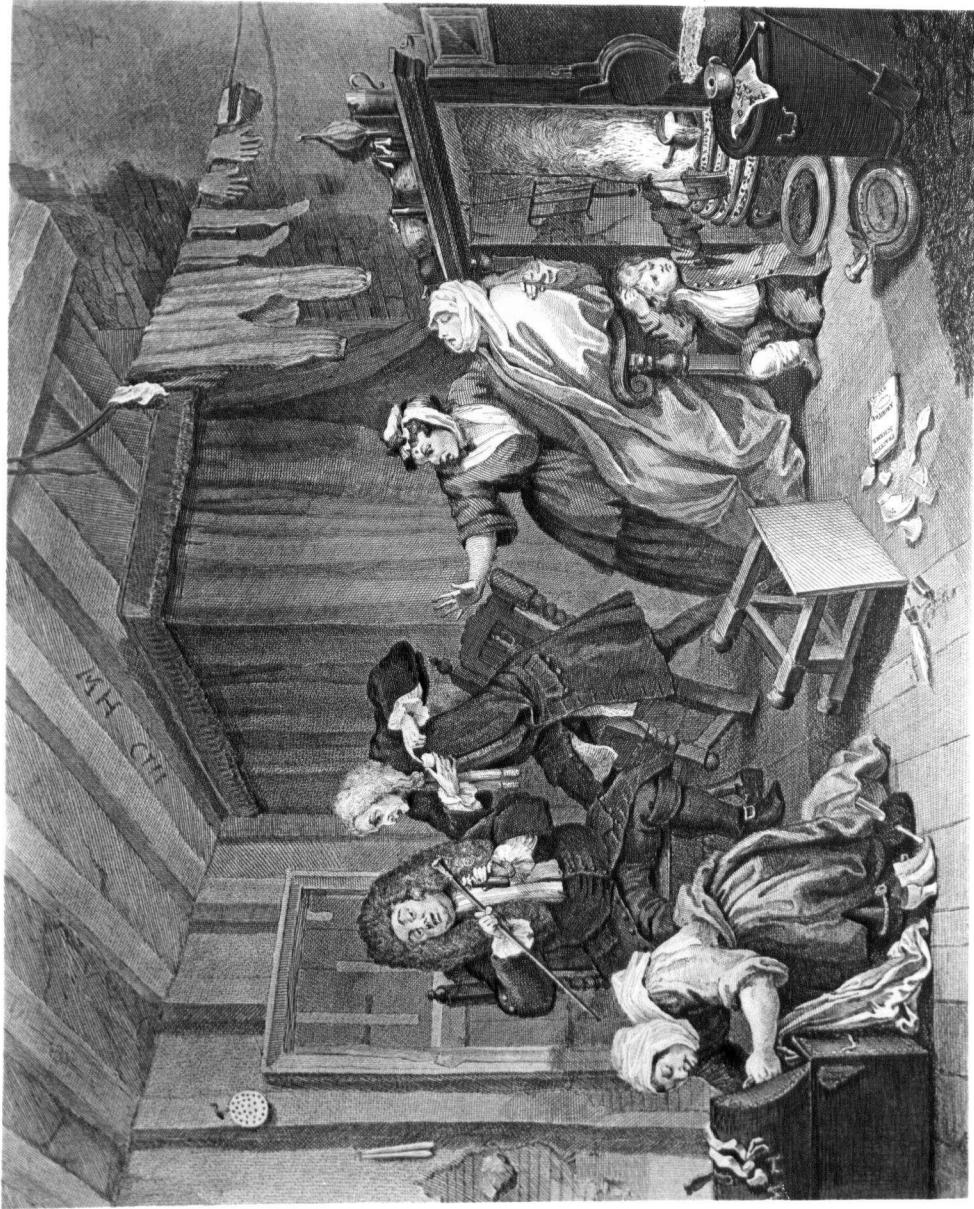
II. Plate 2 of "A Harlot's Progress" (Fourth State)



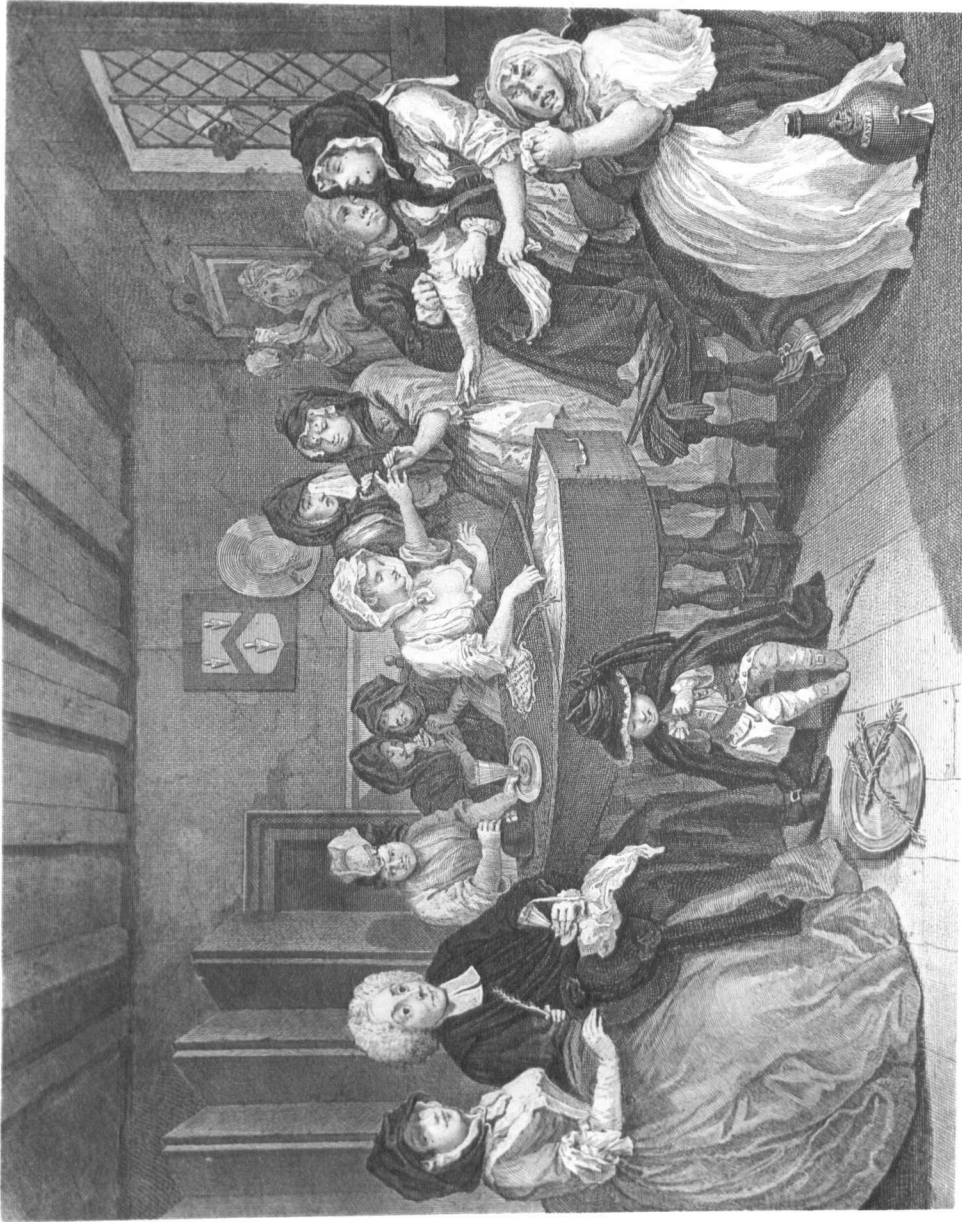
III. Plate 3 of "A Harlot's Progress" (Third State)



IV. Plate 4 of "A Harlot's Progress" (Third State)



V. Plate 5 of "A Harlot's Progress" (Third State)



VI. Plate 6 of "A Harlot's Progress" (Third State)

[illegible]

VII. Plate I of "A Rake's Progress" (Third State)

[illegible]

VIII. Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress" (Fourth State)



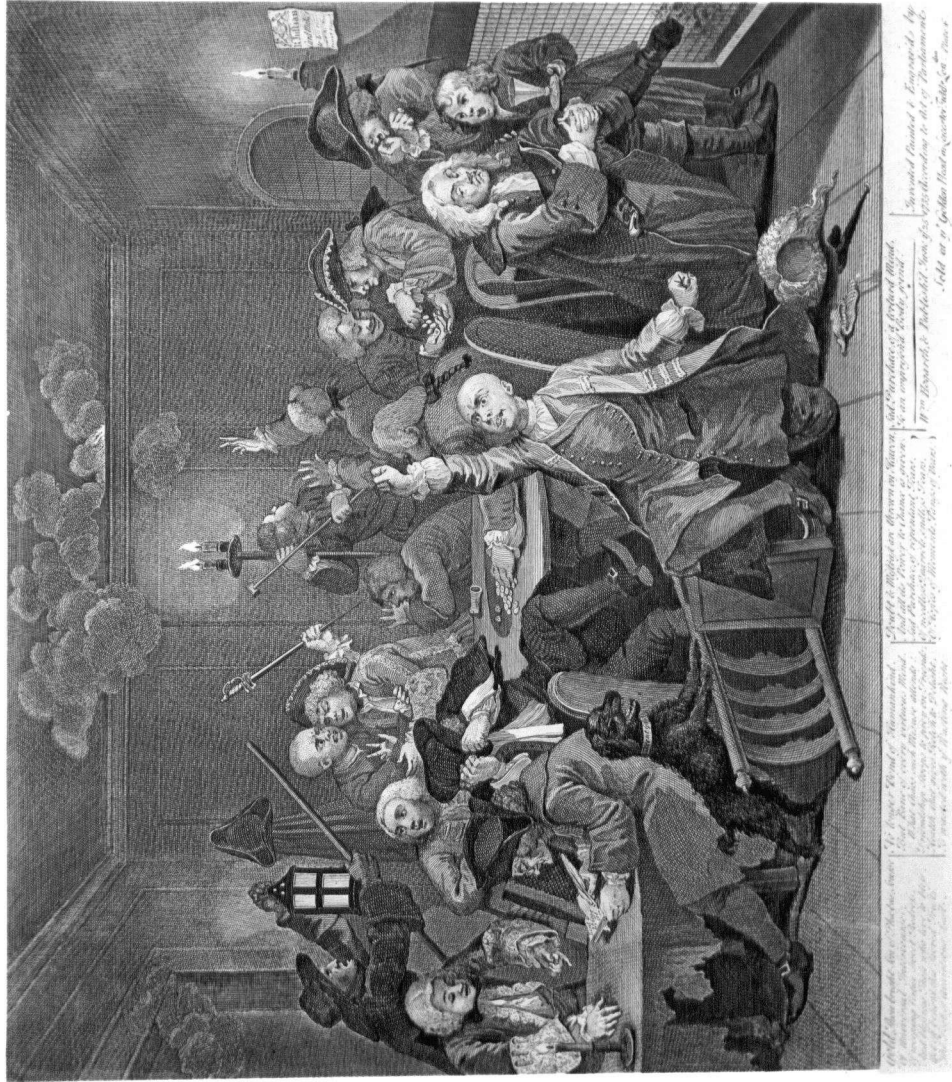
A family of five, including a father, mother, and three children, are shown in a state of extreme poverty and despair. The father is lying on the ground, surrounded by a large, ornate, and cluttered room. The room is filled with various objects, including a large clock, a harp, a table with a broken chair, and a large, ornate bed. The man is holding a broken bottle and a piece of food. The scene is a stark contrast to the opulence of the room, symbolizing the fall of a rake.

IV. Plate 3 of "A Rake's Progress" (Third State)



X. Plate 4 of "A Rake's Progress" (Third State)

[illegible]



XII. Plate 6 of "A Rake's Progress" (Third State)



*Having the Blessings on him, I must
 See on the Road to Ruin, I must
 See and I must see him, I must
 See and I must see him, I must
 See and I must see him, I must*

*She, who appears in person
 As a poor creature, that, I must
 The given of, I must see him, I must
 To tell the Evening of his Day*

*Let to the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must*

*Let to the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must*

*Let to the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must*

*Let to the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must
 To the guilty Rake, and I must*

XIII. Plate 7 of "A Rake's Progress" (Fourth State)



<p><i>Rejoice, those chains of Error, That the Sould Prisoner bind And keep him from a glorious Freedom, from a glorious Saviour, from a glorious God, who will not let Liberty, & Liberty</i></p>	<p><i>With such discontent, Reproach, Mourne, And with weere add with Plaine: A hope of weere, that would even let Death of the very upon Heaven.</i></p>	<p><i>Anger of Pleasure, that but even Rend, that the making, doing, plea- sures of the heart, here be The Anger of weere, and that the</i></p>	<p><i>The headstrong young with thus run, be That would even this darling, be In nothing change with weere, here Rejoice with weere, and with Reproach.</i></p>	<p><i>And with this weere, and with this gold, And with this weere, and with this gold, And with this weere, and with this gold, And with this weere, and with this gold.</i></p>
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Retouch'd by the Author 1766

XIV. Plate 8 of "A Rake's Progress" (Third State)

FOOTNOTES

Preface

¹Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists, ed. R. Wornum (rev. ed.; London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), III, p. 4.

Part I: Introduction

¹Daily Post (London), March 8, 1732, quoted in Ronald Paulson, Hogarth's Graphic Works (rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), I, p. 141. The same advertisement, or one much like it, also appeared in the Daily Journal (Peter Quennell, Hogarth's Progress [London: Collins, 1955] p. 91). And as one of the surviving subscription tickets produced for this series bears the date March 8, 1731, the subscription appears to have been in progress for some time before the advertisement appeared (Paulson, I, p. 140).

²Paulson, I, p. 141. John Nichols, writing in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, dates this series no earlier than 1733 (John Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks [3d ed. rev.; London: John Nichols, 1785], p. 188). The available evidence, however, suggests that Nichols was mistaken in this regard.

³Austin Dobson, William Hogarth (rev. ed.; London: William Heinemann, 1907), p. 38.

⁴Quennell, p. 91. This amount was paid in two installments, with one payment being made when the subscription was taken out, and the other half when the prints were ready (Ibid.).

⁵Prior to issuing the prints, Hogarth completed paintings of the six scenes. These are generally considered to have been completed in September of 1731, as this date appears on the Harlot's coffin in the last scene. The paintings were purchased in 1745 by W. Beckford for 14

guineas each, and were unfortunately destroyed by fire at Fonthill Abbey ten years later (R. B. Beckett, Hogarth ["English Master Painters"; Boston: Boston Book and Art Shop, 1955], p. 10).

It should also be mentioned that Hogarth apparently originally intended to have help in producing the etched and engraved plates from which his series was printed. However, the Country Journal; or, the Craftsman of January 29, 1732 contained the following announcement: "The AUTHOR of the Six COPPER PLATES, representing a Harlot's Progress; being disappointed of the Assistance he proposed, is obliged to engrave them all himself, which will retard the Delivery of the Prints to the Subscribers about Two Months" (Country Journal; or, the Craftsman [London], January 29, 1732, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 141).

⁶William Hogarth, "Anecdotes of Hogarth, Written by Himself," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius, and Criticisms of His Works, Selected from Walpole, Gilpin, J. Ireland, Lamb, Phillips, and Others. To Which Are Added a Catalogue of His Prints; Account of Their Variations, and Principal Copies; Lists of Paintings, Drawings and Etc., ed. J. B. Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), p. 8.

⁷George Vertue, "Vertue Note Books: Volume Three," Walpole Society, XXII (1934), p. 58.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Some authorities have stated that they think the account might be correct. Waterhouse states it "smacks of the truth and is so true to our other knowledge of Hogarth's character that it is difficult to disbelieve" (Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in Britain: 1530-1790 ["The Pelican History of Art"; London: Penguin Books, 1953], p. 129), and Antal asserts that he can "well believe that Vertue's account is true: it certainly has a true ring and suggests to me precisely the way in which Hogarth's creative process might have unfolded itself" (F. Antal, "The Moral Purpose of Hogarth's Art," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV [1952], p. 176).

If the account is correct, it might have been the

case that the figures in the background of Plate 3 of "A Harlot's Progress" were not included in the original painting, for while these figures make a definite contribution to the six-print series, there would appear to be little justification for their inclusion in a work meant to be seen alone.

¹²John Major, "Introductory Essay," in J. Trusler, Hogarth Moralized, ed. John Major (London: Henry Washburn, 1841), p. viii.

¹³The Spectator (London), Jan. 4, 1712, quoted in G. Smith (ed.), The Spectator ("Everyman's Library"; London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1958), II, pp. 293-94. The fact that this essay appeared approximately twenty years before "A Harlot's Progress" was published does not increase one's confidence in Major's statement.

¹⁴Grub-street Journal (London), August 6, 1730, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 143.

¹⁵Grub-street Journal (London), September 14, 1730, quoted in John Ireland and John Nichols, Hogarth's Works: With Life and Anecdotal Descriptions of His Pictures (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1873), I, p. 112.

¹⁶Hilde Kurz, "Italian Models of Hogarth's Picture Stories," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV (1952), p. 136. It should perhaps be pointed out, however, that the Italian series function at a much lower level than does "A Harlot's Progress"; to quote Kurz, "these earlier serials remained within the convention of folktales" (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, the Italian series utilize both pictures and words, and if the text is separated from the illustrations, the former is found to furnish a much clearer account than the latter.

¹⁷Hogarth, "Anecdotes . . .," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . ., ed. Nichols, p. 8.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Part I: Chapter I

¹Above, pp. 3-4.

²It might be mentioned that Moore thinks it doubtful Hogarth obtained material for Plate 1 from Steele's essay (R. Moore, Hogarth's Literary Relationships [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948], p. 11).

³This trunk is also seen in Miss Hackabout's room in Plate 5.

⁴Above, p. 4.

⁵G. A. Aitken, "Introduction," in Daniel Defoe, Moll Flanders, ed. G. A. Aitken ("Everyman's Library"; London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1963), p. vi. The chap-book is, according to Kurz, "a plagiarism of Defoe's Moll Flanders . . ." (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 149). The second part of the book is devoted to "Jane Hackabout", Moll's governess. The governess invented by the author of the chap-book appears to be the same type of person as was the governess in Defoe's original, but in Defoe's work the governess is never referred to by name.

⁶It should be pointed out that while Jane Hackabout had been a prostitute, she does differ from the central character in Hogarth's series; for example, while the former was pregnant when she arrived in London, the Miss Hackabout we find in Plate 1 of "A Harlot's Progress" does not appear to be in such a condition. Thus, if the chap-book did prompt Hogarth to create "A Harlot's Progress," the latter cannot be considered a plagiarism of the former.

⁷Of course, the possibility remains that the artist conceived the name himself. However, in view of the fact the name does seem to have been in use during the early Eighteenth Century, it would seem possible Hogarth might have noticed it.

⁸The "d" of the "Md." is written above the line in the same fashion as the "t" of "Capt." is written on the picture of "Capt. Mackheath" that is found in the same scene. Although the "d" is at first not overly clear to the viewer, close examination leaves little doubt that the letter is a "d" and not something else.

⁹J. Hannay, J. Trusler, and E. Roberts, The Complete Works of William Hogarth, in a Series of One Hundred and Fifty Steel Engravings from the Original Pictures (London: William MacKenzie, n. d.), III, p. 106.

¹⁰The name "Kate," while it does indicate an apparent lack of knowledge of the prints on the part of the writer, might perhaps have been taken from the previously-mentioned item in the Grub-street Journal (above, p. 4).

¹¹Dobson calls Miss Hackabout "Mary" (Dobson, p. 34); Townsend calls her "Moll" (Patricia Townsend, Hogarth: Pictur'd Morals [London: Historical Arts, 1967], n. p.); and Paulson uses both names when referring to the young lady (Paulson, I, pp. 145-46).

¹²Clarence L. Barnhart (ed.), Thorndike-Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 508.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴The first edition of this work appeared in January of 1722, and by the end of that year two subsequent editions had been published (Aitken, "Introduction," in Defoe, Moll Flanders, ed. Aitken, p. v).

¹⁵And indeed, although the incidents in the life of Miss Hackabout that are depicted by Hogarth give no indication that her adventures were as varied as those of Moll Flanders (who, after being "born in Newgate, . . . was twelve years a whore, five times a wife . . . , twelve years a thief, eight years a transported felon in Virginia, at last grew rich, lived honest, and died a penitent" [Defoe, n. p.]), it is possible that there may be a connection between Defoe's work and the creation of "A Harlot's Progress."

¹⁶Moore, pp. 31-32.

¹⁷The term "Moll" was not found in either Sheridan's dictionary (Thomas Sheridan, A General Dictionary of the English Language. One Main Object of Which, Is, To Establish a Plain and Permanent Standard of Pronunciation. To Which Is Prefixed a Rhetorical Grammar [London: J. Dodsley, C. Dilly and J. Wilkie, 1780], II, n. p.), the dictionary compiled by Bailey (N. Bailey, A Universal Etymological English Dictionary [17 ed.; London: T. Osborne et al., 1757], n. p.), the one compiled by Phillips (Edward Phillips, The New World of Words: or, a Universal English

Dictionary [London: R. Bentley, J. Phillips, H. Rhodes, and J. Taylor, 1969], n.p.), Entick's dictionary (John Entick, Entick's New Spelling Dictionary [London: C. Dilly, 1789], p. 243), or in Johnson's work (Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words Are Deduced from the Originals, and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers. To Which are Prefixed, a History of the Language, and an English Grammar [7 ed.; London: J. Rivington et al., 1785], n.p.).

¹⁸In the middle of the Eighteenth Century, almost twenty percent of the female children in England were baptized with the name "Mary" (E. Withycombe, The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names [2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], p. 201).

It will also be recalled that in Plate 3 our heroine is referred to as "Md. Hackabout" (above, p. 8). While the two letters in "Md." might be the first and last letters of her Christian name (in which case her name might be Magnild, Malfrid, Marid, Marigold, Maud, Meliad, Meraud, Mildred, or Moridd [F. Loughhead, Dictionary of Given Names with Their Origins and Meanings (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1934), pp. 294-313]), it is perhaps more likely that the "Md." is an abbreviation of "Madam."

¹⁹John Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1884), p. 60.

²⁰Thomas Clerk, The Works of William Hogarth, (Including the "Analysis of Beauty") Elucidated by Descriptions, Critical, Moral, and Historical; Founded on the Most Approved Authorities. To Which Is Prefixed Some Account of His Life (London: R. Scholey, 1821), I, p. 62.

²¹Ibid. It is entirely possible that this woman did tell Miss Hackabout that she wanted to hire her as a domestic. Apparently ladies who needed servants might meet incoming wagons in an attempt to hire girls from the country (M. D. George, Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire [London: The Penguin Press, 1967], p. 51); thus the woman speaking to Miss Hackabout may have used this method of hiring girls. However, the position of the older woman's right hand suggests that she wanted to have as good a look as possible at Miss Hackabout's face, and that she is possibly far more interested in the young lady's appearance than she would have been had she not had other ideas in mind for Miss Hackabout.

²²Paulson, I, p. 144.

²³Quennell, p. 84.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Alexander Pope, "Dunciad," in The Best of Pope, ed. G. Sherburn (New York: The Ronald Press, 1940), p. 295. Fielding also mentions Mother Needham, as we can see by the following quotation from the epilogue in "Pasquin" (Henry Fielding, Pasquin ["The Works of Henry Fielding," Vol. XII, Pt. 2; New York: Eighteenth Century Club, 1902], p. 195):

"The play, once done, the epilogue, by rule,
Should come and turn it all to ridicule;
Should tell the ladies that the tragic bards,
Who prate of Virtue and her vast rewards,
Are all in jest, and only fools should heed 'em;
For all wise women flock to Mother Needham.
This is the method epilogues pursue,
But we to-night in everything are new.
Our author then, in jest throughout the play,
Now begs a serious word or two to say."

²⁶Townsend, n.p.

²⁷Grub-street Journal (London), March 25, 1731, quoted in Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , pp. 189-190.

²⁸Grub-street Journal (London), April 29, 1731, quoted in Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 190.

²⁹Grub-street Journal (London), May 6, 1731, quoted in Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 190.

³⁰Grub-street Journal (London), May 7, 1731, quoted in Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 190.

³¹In the fourth state of this plate, Mother Needham is shown as having fewer beauty patches than she had in earlier states (Paulson, I, p. 143). However, the suggestion regarding their use would still appear to hold true.

At the same time as he made the above change,

Hogarth made other rather extensive changes in the figure of Mother Needham, but these changes do not alter her overall appearance or pose.

(It should also be pointed out that whenever a specific state of a plate is mentioned in this study, the numerical designation of the state was determined by reference to Paulson's analysis as contained in his Hogarth's Graphic Works, Vol. I.)

³²Above, p. 12.

³³Above, p. 8.

³⁴Above, p. 12.

³⁵Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 149.

³⁶Paulson, I, p. 143.

³⁷Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 149.

³⁸Ibid., p. 146. This series (by C. Castagna, and possibly engraved by G. Piccini [Ibid.]) seems to have been produced in the middle of the Seventeenth Century (Ibid.). An artistically inferior version, with the scenes reversed, was published by G. Longhi between 1655 and 1658 (Ibid.). This tale is one of the Italian "moral-tale[s] told in pictures" referred to earlier (above, p. 5).

³⁹Jean Rouquet, Lettres de Monsieur * * à un de ses Amis à Paris pour Lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth (London: R. Dodsley, 1746), p. 5.

⁴⁰Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁴¹John Arbuthnot, "Epitaph," Gentleman's Magazine, II (1732), p. 718, quoted in G. Lichtenberg, Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings, trans. Innes Herdan and Gustav Herdan (London: Cresset Press, 1966), p. 11.

The above-mentioned Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings will be referred to throughout this study. This work was written by a German, Georg Lichtenberg, Professor of Physics at the University of Göttingen (Innes Herdan and Gustav Herdan, "Introduction," in Lichtenberg, Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings, trans.

Innes Herdan and Gustav Herdan, p. XI), who visited England in 1770-1771 and 1774-1775 (Ibid., p. XIII). His comments on Hogarth's works first appeared between 1784 and 1786 in the Göttinger Taschenkalender (Ibid., p. IX). This series was so successful that an enlarged and revised version was published separately in installments between 1794 and 1799 (Ibid.). It is the latter version that is the source of the translated edition referred to in this study (Ibid.). Lichtenberg's work is a valuable source of information; however, while it was being written Lichtenberg had in front of him copies of Hogarth's works made by the German engraver E. Riepenhausen (Ibid., p. XIII), and it might be wondered if some of his comments would have been different had he been looking at the original prints.

⁴²Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁴³Alexander Pope, Moral Essays ("The Works of Alexander Pope Esq. With His Last Corrections, Additions, and Improvements: Together with the Commentary and Notes of His Editor," Vol. III; London: A. Millar et al., 1766), p. 276.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸R. H. Wilenski, English Painting (3d ed. rev.; London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1954), p. 80.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰G. Sala, William Hogarth: Painter, Engraver, and Philosopher. Essays on the Man, the Work, and the Time (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866), p. 163.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Above, p. 4.

⁵³Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁵⁴Above, p. 4.

⁵⁵Grub-street Journal (London), August 6, 1730, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁵⁹Quennell, p. 94.

⁶⁰Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁶¹Wilenski, p. 80.

⁶²Paulson, I, p. 144.

⁶³Lichtenberg, p. 12.

⁶⁴Wilenski, p. 80.

⁶⁵Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . ., p. 189.

⁶⁶J. B. Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . ., ed. Nichols, p. 181.

⁶⁷Above, p. 18.

⁶⁸There apparently was an inn of that name on Wood Street (Ireland and Nichols, Hogarth's Works: With Life and Anecdotal Descriptions of His Pictures, p. 102).

⁶⁹Lichtenberg, pp. 8-9. It might be pointed out that the board on which checkers is played today, and on which it was played in the Eighteenth Century, had eight squares along each side, not seven (T. Wiswell, "Draughts," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, VII [1960], p. 623); the same is true of both today's chessboard and the chessboard of two hundred years ago (H. Golombek, "Chess," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, V [1960], p. 427).

⁷⁰While this person could be a girl, her overall appearance seems to suggest she is a person of more mature years.

⁷¹Here again it is impossible to state definitely that this is the case, for although this appears the most likely explanation others could be suggested; for example, the person in question could simply be leaning on the railing and looking down. Lichtenberg states that this person

"is holding either a pair of boots or a pair of stiff stockings which seem to have a generous admixture of water" (Lichtenberg, p. 9). While she might be holding the two items as opposed to hanging them over the railing, the latter would seem to be a more likely possibility; and as for the items of wearing apparel being boots rather than stockings, the overall appearance of these objects seems to suggest that they are stockings and not boots, although here again this could be debated.

⁷²Lichtenberg, p. 9.

⁷³Above, p. 12.

⁷⁴The two female passengers mentioned are the only ones that one can definitely see in the wagon. A shape seen in the interior of the conveyance might indicate the presence of another passenger, but this shape could also indicate something other than a person's head. And while the shape seen beside one of the above-mentioned female passengers at first glance appears to be a portion of a person's body, close examination shows that the shape must indicate something else, as no head can be seen to go with this shape.

⁷⁵George, p. 5.

⁷⁶The occupants would have spent their nights in the wagon, or in an out-house or barn; according to George, "the humblest class of traveller was seldom admitted to the inns where the wagon put up, and could seldom afford the cost" (Ibid.).

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸That this person is a clergyman, and that he might also be said to be approximately under the three items of laundry mentioned earlier (above, pp. 20-21), suggests an interesting possibility, as does the fact the figure associated with Colonel Charteris is standing under a sign showing a checkerboard pattern having seven squares in its bottom horizontal row (above, p. 20). For Hogarth may have shown three items on the clothesline (rather than four or five) as an allusion to the Holy Trinity, in order to indicate that the clergyman was indeed a very righteous person; furthermore, Hogarth may have meant the seven squares in the bottom row of the checkerboard pattern to suggest the "Seven Deadly Sins" to the viewer, and thereby impress upon him the type of person the man standing in the doorway was. Upon consideration, however, it would seem that while such allusions are possible, to treat these two configurations of elements

as such is probably to read into them more than the artist intended. (Regarding the seven squares in each horizontal row of the aforementioned checkerboard pattern, it should be noted that a similar sign is found in Hogarth's "Beer Street" print, which appeared in 1751 [Paulson, I, p. 206]. In the latter sign, the vertical rows in the checkerboard pattern contain seven squares [unfortunately, the number of squares in the horizontal rows cannot be accurately determined]. In this same print, on a post that supports a sign for a tavern, another checkerboard pattern can be seen. This pattern, which would quite possibly be painted on all four sides of this post, has seven squares in each of its vertical rows.)

⁷⁹Rouquet, p. 4. An interesting situation exists regarding Rouquet's comments on Hogarth's works. Rouquet appears to have been an acquaintance of Hogarth's; for example, in a letter to Hogarth written in Paris on March 22, 1753, Rouquet refers to all that he has to tell the artist when they meet (Letter from Jean Rouquet to William Hogarth, March 22, 1753, quoted in John La Farge and Austin Dobson, The Works of William Hogarth, Including the Analysis of Beauty and Five Day's Peregrination [Philadelphia: George Barrie and Son, 1900], III, p. 16), and continues:

"First, I hope you are in perfect health; and the next news I want to hear is, when your book [The Analysis of Beauty] is to be published. I have raised some expectations about it amongst artists and virtuosi here, and hope to have the first that shall come over, that I may boast of your friendship by being the first usher of a performance which, I am sure, will make many people wish they were acquainted with you."

We are also told by Nichols (Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , pp. 103-105), that Rouquet's publication was:

"certainly suggested by Hogarth, and drawn up at his immediate request. I receive this information from undoubted authority. Some of the circumstances explanatory of the plates, he communicated; the rest he left to be supplied by Rouquet his near neighbour [Rouquet] was liberally paid by Hogarth, for having cloathed his sentiments and illustrations in a foreign dress The entire performance, however, in my opinion, exhibits very strong marks of the vivacious compiler's taste, country, and prejudices. Indeed many passages must have been insert-

ed without the privity of his employer, who had no skill in the French language This epistle bears also internal evidence to the suggestions Rouquet received from Hogarth.

.

I am authorized to add, thar [sic] Hogarth, not long before his death, had determined, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of his customers, to have this work enlarged and rendered into English, with the addition of ample comments on all his performances undescribed by Rouquet."

Thus, while Rouquet's work would appear to have some authority behind it, his statements should not necessarily be regarded as accurate.

⁸⁰If this gentleman had journeyed from the north with Miss Hackabout, he might simply have been the local parson; he may have decided to journey to London, and Miss Hackabout may have made the journey at the same time so that she would have the benefit of a trustworthy male guardian. Ireland states that the young lady "may possibly be daughter . . ." to the clergyman (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 60), while Wheatley (H. B. Wheatley, Hogarth's London: Pictures of Manners of the Eighteenth Century [London: Constable and Co., 1909], p. 273), on the other hand, asserts that:

"It is scarcely possible that Hogarth intended the poor clergyman on his half-starved horse to be the girl's father. If he had been such, he could not have allowed his daughter to fall into the hands of the brazen procuress"

So here again we have a problem of interpretation that remains open to debate. However, it might perhaps be suggested that a series in which a young woman became a prostitute, and died at an early age, might possibly have more impact on the viewer if the young lady in question had been raised in a Christian household than it would have if the young woman had not been raised in such an environment. Then, too, we are told by a Frenchman who travelled in England during the reign of George III that vicars' daughters "'furnished' most of the 'houses' and streets in London . . ." (___ Grosley, quoted in A. Parreaux, Daily Life in England in the Reign of George III, trans. C. Congreve [London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969], p. 135). This statement, although it should not be taken literally, might perhaps present, or be an exaggeration of, a commonly-held opinion of the time. If such were the case, Hogarth would have had an additional

reason for making the clergyman our heroine's father.

⁸¹Edmund Gibson was born in 1669 and died in 1748 (George Perry, "Gibson, Edmund," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, VII [1964], p. 1153). He became bishop of London in 1720, and remained bishop of this diocese until his death. Gibson was a prolific writer, and one of his works was the authoritative Codex Juris Ecclesiae Anglicanae; or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubrics, and Articles of the Church of England Digested under Their Proper Heads, with a Commentary Historical and Judicial (Ibid., p. 1154). He was, for a long period of time, on intimate terms with Sir Robert Walpole, even serving as Walpole's chief advisor in ecclesiastical matters, and contemporary notices picture him as a patron of learned men (Ibid.).

⁸²Paulson, I, p. 143. Examination of the early states of this scene shows that some lines of shadow, and some writing, were removed from the master plate before it was used to print the first state. Close scrutiny of this state (by means of enlarged photographs) suggests that the writing that was removed (a faint, blurry outline of which is still visible in the early states) was probably also the word "London."

And why would Hogarth first want this word included in the scene, then decide to remove it, and finally, at a later date, replace it? Late in 1744, Hogarth announced the "Second Impression, of the Harlot's Progress of the Original Plates, at One Guinea each Sett" (London Evening Post, Dec. 29, 1744, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 143). It seems likely that it was at this time Hogarth added a Latin cross to the plate below the actual scene (Paulson, I, p. 143). A state Paulson refers to as "State 2" (Ibid.), contains a Latin cross, but does not show the word "London"; thus it is possible that the plates to which Hogarth referred in the preceding announcement did not contain the aforementioned word in the letter the clergyman is holding. Therefore, the word "London" may not have been added to the plate until after the year 1744, which raises the possibility it was not added until after Edmund Gibson died in 1748 (above, p. 179). And if such were the case, it would seem that Hogarth removed the word in order to avoid making a direct reference to the aforementioned bishop of London.

⁸³Hogarth uses this same technique in the second plate of this series.

⁸⁴Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 150.

Part I: Chapter II

¹Townsend, n.p.

²Rouquet, p. 5.

³Rouquet was not the first to give the heroine of the series a Jewish provider. For example, copies of these plates put out by Thomas and John Bowles (which presumably appeared before the end of April, 1732 [Paulson, I, p. 142]), had below them explanatory verses, and in the verse explaining Plate 2 this person is said to be of the Jewish race (Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 198).

⁴Indeed, Quennell refers to this person's "Sephardic profile" (Quennell, p. 95).

⁵T. Cook (ed.), Anecdotes of the Celebrated William Hogarth, with an Explanatory Description of His Works (London: John Stockdale, 1813), p. 269.

⁶G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria ("Pelican Books"; Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 46.

⁷Ibid., p. 410.

⁸Quennell, p. 95.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ireland states that this person "has been said to be a portrait, but of whom, I never could get any information" (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 64), and Moore is of the opinion that the gentleman was "probably a real person" (Moore, p. 26). In the absence of definite proof, however, such an assertion must remain conjectural.

¹²Paulson, I, p. 145.

¹³Antal states that "in accordance with the patriotic sentiments of his class and somewhat in contrast to the

more internationally-minded aristocracy, Hogarth was strongly prejudiced against all foreigners . . ." (F. Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962], p. 3). Thus it is conceivable the artist may have been prejudiced against members of the Jewish race living in England.

¹⁴This action is described later in this chapter (above, p. 26).

¹⁵This scene is much like a picture that illustrated "The Taming of the Shrew" in Nicholas Rowe's edition of Shakespeare works, which appeared in 1709 (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 105). In this illustration, in which the "suspended action" technique is seen, the anonymous illustrator shows Petruccio overturning a table and scattering the dishes that were upon it, while Catherine and two others look on with expressions of surprise or fright on their faces (Ibid., pl. 36a). Since at the time Hogarth's series appeared Rowe's edition was the edition of Shakespeare (F. Antal, "Hogarth and His Borrowings," The Art Bulletin, XXIX [March, 1947], p. 41), it is quite possible Hogarth was familiar with it. Therefore, as Paulson suggests (Paulson, I, p. 145), certain elements in the second plate of "A Harlot's Progress" may have been derived from the aforementioned illustration.

¹⁶This appears to be the only place in the room where this gentleman could have hidden and from where he could have tip-toed unobserved to his present position.

¹⁷From the position of Miss Hackabout's right hand and fingers, she may have signalled her first visitor when to begin making his escape.

¹⁸It is of interest to note that, in the sixth scene of the previously-mentioned Italian moral tale entitled "Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana" (above, p. 15), the courtesan is being greeted by a well-dressed Polish gentleman (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 150), while at the back of the room another man slips through a curtain that is held open by a maid (Ibid.). Thus Hogarth could conceivably have obtained the basic idea for Plate 2 from this scene.

And before we terminate the discussion of the maid and the young gentleman for whom she is holding open the door, it might be mentioned that the latter has his sword and cane tucked under his left arm. It would seem to be the

former item which gave Quennell the idea that he was a fencing master (Quennell, p. 94), an assumption which is also put forth by Townsend (Townsend, n.p.). This suggestion would seem to be erroneous, as we are told by Ashton that, in Queen Anne's time, "every gentleman carried a sword . . ." (John Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne: Taken from Original Sources [London: Chatto and Windus, 1919], p. 118), and that "with a beau, his sword, as every other part of his dress, received his special attention, and he was very seldom without it, except when dancing" (Ibid.). Furthermore, Keatinge and Perry state that, in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century, "the practice of wearing swords fell into disuse . . ." (M. W. Keatinge and D. G. Perry, Life and Progress Histories, Vol. IV: Britain in the Eighteenth Century [London: A. and C. Black Ltd., 1949], p. 253). Thus, at the time "A Harlot's Progress" appeared, it would seem that a gentleman would not have to be a fencing master to carry a sword.

And regarding canes, Ashton tells us that they were "equal, at least, in importance to the sword" (Ashton, p. 120).

¹⁹Cook (ed.), p. 268.

²⁰Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 132. In Plate 4 of Hogarth's "Industry and Idleness" series published in 1747 (Paulson, I, p. 194), the expressions of the man and the dog in the lower left-hand corner appear somewhat similar, and in his "The Gate of Calais, or the Roast Beef of Old England" published in 1749 (Ibid., p. 202), there is a resemblance between the grinning women and the ray-fish in the foreground of the picture. Thus Hogarth may have intentionally shown similarities of appearance between human beings and animals, and in Plate 2 of "A Harlot's Progress" he may have wanted to suggest that Miss Hackabout's provider was closely akin to the animal scampering across the floor. This would be in keeping with the previously-mentioned suggestion of anti-Jewish prejudice on Hogarth's part (above, p. 181).

²¹Keatinge and Perry, p. 254. It might also be noted that, in the previously-mentioned sixth scene of "Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana" (above, p. 181), the Polish gentleman is being attended by two black pages, one of whom has a monkey on his shoulder (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 150).

²²Cook (ed.), p. 269.

²³Ibid. Cook asserts that Miss Hackabout's mask "may further be understood to signify that those who have deviated from the paths of virtue, are frequently constrained to cover infidelities with at least a figurative mask" (Ibid.). While the mask might possibly be taken as signifying this, and while other interpretations might be suggested, it cannot be established with any degree of certainty that Hogarth intended the mask to imply anything other than that our heroine had attended the masquerades.

Regarding the masquerades themselves, these became fashionable under Heydegger in the early part of the Eighteenth Century (W. C. Sydney, England and the English in the Eighteenth Century: Chapters in the Social History of the Times [2d ed.; Edinburgh: John Grant, n.d.], I, p. 144). Sydney further asserts (Ibid., p. 145) that:

"masquerades were productive of an infinitely greater amount of evil than good.

'The midnight orgy and the mazy dance,
The smile of beauty and the flush of wine,
For fops, fools, gamesters, knaves, and lords
combine;
Each to his humor--Comus all allows:
Champagne, dice, music, or your neighbour's
spouse.'

The episcopal bench inveighed against their vices and follies. The poets and essayists lashed them. The grand jury of Middlesex at last presented those that were held at the King's Theatre, 'conceiving the same to be a wicked and unlawful design to carry on gaming, chances by way of lottery, and other impious and illegal practices.' Notwithstanding all this, masquerades appear from the newspapers and published correspondence of this period to have held their ground"

Masquerades were much patronized by the court (Perry, The Dictionary of National Biography, VII, p. 1154). According to Hughes (T. Hughes, "Costume," Johnson's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age, ed. A. Turberville [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933], I, p. 403), they fell into disrepute with "polite company" early in the 1780's.

²⁴An interesting feature of this picture is that a portion of this picture's frame has been cut away to accom-

modate the molding around the doorway to our heroine's room. Is this supposed to represent an actual picture that has had its frame altered in this fashion? Or are we supposed to believe that the picture frame is intact, and merely hidden by a doorway which has been recessed into the room? And there is even the possibility that, as Lichtenberg states, this picture "may even be woven into the tapestry" (Lichtenberg, p. 23). While two of these possibilities should ideally be discarded in favor of the most likely suggestion, none of the above-mentioned solutions appears to be unquestionably more likely than any other. Thus, this question should perhaps not be pursued further until additional evidence comes to light.

²⁵Jonah 4: 6-8.

²⁶It is of interest to note that the previously-mentioned Italian moral tale "Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana" (above, p. 15) contains, in Kurz's words, "the idea that the pictures adorning a room should expatiate on the scene enacted in it . . ." (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 151).

²⁷II Samuel 6: 6-7. In the picture, Uzzah is shown being killed by a mitred priest, who stabs him in the back. Paulson states that "the picture is a memory of Laguerre's headpiece for 2nd Samuel, engraved by C. Dupuis, in the 'Vinegar Bible' (Baskett, 1717), in which Thornhill's work also appeared" (Paulson, I, p. 323). (Sir James Thornhill was Hogarth's father-in-law.)

²⁸II Samuel 6: 16.

²⁹Paulson asserts that both of the large pictures in Plate 2 "imply the stern Old Testament justice that Moll can expect from the Jew when he discovers her duplicity" (Paulson, I, p. 145).

³⁰To consider them in this order in the print would be to consider them from left to right in the original, providing this print is a reversal of the original (which it might possibly be); thus, since we read from left to right, we are possibly considering them in the order in which they were meant to be examined.

³¹Paulson, I, p. 145.

³²Ibid.

³³Nichols suggests the one picture is of Henry Fox and not of a person named Woolston (Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . ., ed. Nichols, p. 182). While this might be the case, Nichols does not state the source of his information; therefore, since we do have some basis for assuming this person was named Woolston, we should perhaps consider this to be a more likely possibility than the suggestion proposed by Nichols.

Another source infers that at one point Hogarth had labelled one of the pictures "Woolston," but that he subsequently removed the name from the plate (John Nichols and George Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes, a Chronological Catalogue, and Commentary [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808], II, p. 99). The veracity of this statement might perhaps be questioned, however, as it would appear there is a possibility this assertion was made not on the basis of actual examination of such a print, but on hearsay evidence (Paulson, I, p. 145).

³⁴Alexander Gordon, "Woolston, Thomas," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XXI (1964), p. 908. Woolston was born in 1670, and died in 1733 (Ibid.). According to Gordon, "he bore the repute of a sound scholar, a good preacher, a charitable and estimable man" (Ibid.). He was a prolific writer, two of his works being The Old Apology for . . . the Christian Religion Revived, which came out in 1705, and The Exact Fitness of the Time in which Christ Was Manifested, published in 1722. In 1725 he published A Moderator between an Infidel and an Apostate, and two supplements to this work; in these he carried allegory to the length of questioning the virgin birth of Christ and the historic reality of the resurrection (he had earlier adopted the idea of interpreting the scriptures as allegory from Origen). The government indicted him for blasphemy, but did not proceed with the case. In 1726 his A Defence of the Miracle of the Thundering Legion appeared; this is said to be a remarkable "tour de force." Between 1727 and 1729 he published six "Discourses" (Ibid., pp. 908-910). After the publication of the fourth, the government resumed prosecution against him (Ibid., p. 910). He was found guilty on four counts, and sentenced to a fine and a year's imprisonment. Gordon states that "he purchased the liberty of the rules of the king's bench, and there remained till his death, being unable to pay the fine . . ." (Ibid.).

³⁵Leslie Stephen, "Clarke, Samuel," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, IV (1964), p. 443. Clarke was born in 1675, and died in 1729. He obtained a B.A. in 1695, and his D.D. degree in, or slightly after, 1709. After the death of Locke in 1704, he was generally regarded as the first of English metaphysicians (Ibid.). Stephen asserts that "his à priori philosophy was entirely opposed to the spirit of Locke's teaching, and he rejected the sceptical conclusions of Locke's disciples" (Ibid.). Clarke was the founder of the so-called "intellectual" school, which "deduced the moral law from a logical necessity" (Ibid.). Stephen states that, according to Clarke, "it is . . . as absurd to deny that I should do to my neighbor as he should do to me as to assert that, though two and three are equal to five, five is not equal to two and three" (Ibid.). His theological doctrine resulted in his becoming involved in controversies with many thinkers of opposite schools. Orthodox divines condemned him "for preaching a disguised deism, while the deists condemned him for retaining orthodox phraseology and an historical element of belief" (Ibid.).

Among his numerous published works are Paraphrases on the Four Gospels, published in 1701-1702; The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, which appeared in 1712; and Seventeen Sermons, published in 1724 (Ibid., p. 446). It was after the publication of the second of these works that he was^o accused of Arianism; Stephen tells us that the general tendency of this work was "clearly in that direction" (Ibid., p. 444).

³⁶Paulson, I, p. 145.

Part I: Chapter III

¹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 65.

²Cook (ed.), p. 271.

³The similarities between Plate 3 and the scene which Vertue suggests led to the creation of this series (above, p. 3) will become apparent as this plate is described.

⁴The view through the doorway at the right of the picture seems to show that it is light outside, thus placing the time as being close to noon rather than almost midnight.

⁵Cook (ed.), p. 270.

⁶Lichtenberg, p. 28.

⁷Of course, there is the possibility she was given the watch, and that she is daydreaming about the events of the previous evening.

⁸It does not seem likely that Hogarth would show us the face of the watch for the sole purpose of telling us that our heroine was not arising until noon; there seems no reason why Hogarth should wish to stress this point, particularly since it might be surmised that this scene is taking place during the day (above, p. 186), and since it might perhaps also be surmised that Miss Hackabout has just arisen.

⁹Paulson, I, p. 146. Nichols terms this person a "maid" (Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . ., ed. Nichols, p. 183), and Townsend calls her a "bunter charwoman" (Townsend, n.p.), probably taking the term "bunter" from Vertue's account (above, p. 3). Lichtenberg states she is "evidently the president of the establishment" (Lichtenberg, p. 29), a situation which, although possible, is perhaps not likely.

¹⁰The tip of her nose appears to be missing. It also appears virtually impossible that this woman is the same person who is holding the door open in Plate 2.

¹¹Quennell, p. 96.

¹²Felton, a commentator who lived in the Eighteenth Century, includes the lack of a kettle in his list of "instances of her [Miss Hackabout's] poverty" (Felton, An Explanation of Several of Mr. Hogarth's Prints [London: Felton, 1785], p. 6).

¹³A factor contributing towards the room's disorderly appearance is the cloth item (possibly an article of wearing apparel) hanging over one of this table's rungs.

¹⁴Paulson, I, p. 146. Although this item perhaps appears difficult to identify, there seems little reason to doubt it is butter.

¹⁵Above, p. 22.

¹⁶Perry, The Dictionary of National Biography, VII, p. 1154.

¹⁷Above, p. 28. Perry states that "Gibson remonstrated privately with the king, and procured a petition signed by several bishops for the abandonment of these entertainments [masquerades]" (Perry, The Dictionary of National Biography, VII, p. 1154).

¹⁸As mentioned earlier, a mask is seen on her dressing table (above, p. 28).

¹⁹A witch's hat is hanging on the wall; if she were not still attending the masquerades there would be little reason for its being there. Below the hat is what appears to be a broom, or a portion thereof. This might be a part of her costume, or it could be an article used to satisfy flagellants (Townsend, n.p.).

And it might perhaps be wondered if Hogarth's placing a witch's costume in our heroine's possession might be intended as a comment on Miss Hackabout during this period of her life.

²⁰According to Paulson, Gibson's "Pastoral Letters directed against the Deists were the object of much satiric wit" (Paulson, I, p. 146).

²¹Paulson, I, p. 305. Before terminating discussion of the pastoral letter and the butter sitting on top of it, reference should be made to Rouquet's commentary. For Rouquet asserts that this pastoral letter was one which "un grand prélat adressa dans ce tems-là à son diocèse, & dont plusieurs exemplaires eurent le malheur d'être renvoyés à l'épicier" (Rouquet, p. 8). And Ireland and Nichols state the above-mentioned feature of this plate "intimates that the writings of grave prelates were sometimes to be found in chandler's shops . . ." (Ireland and Nichols, Hogarth's Works: With Life and Anecdotal Descriptions of His Pictures, p. 110).

²²It is not clear whether or not the faint shadow seen in the doorway is meant to be another man.

And while discussing this area of the picture, it should be mentioned that, since sky is visible in the upper portion of the doorway, our heroine's room is possibly (as might be expected) on one of the upper floors.

²³Rouquet, p. 8.

²⁴Paulson, I, p. 146.

²⁵This possibility is suggested in an anecdote mentioned by Nichols and Steevens (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., I, p. 56). This source states that:

"At a Board of Treasury, . . . a copy of it [the third plate of 'A Harlot's Progress'] was shewn by one of the Lords, as containing, among other excellences, a striking likeness of Sir John Gonson. It gave universal satisfaction; from the Treasury each Lord repaired to the print-shop for a copy of it"

²⁶Paulson, I, p. 146.

²⁷Quennell, p. 82. Quennell also states that the papers followed his efforts daily (Ibid.). Gonson was also mentioned in the literature of his day, and in a poem written by T. Gilbert (T. Gilbert, "A View of the Town," quoted in Clerk, I, p. 71), the following lines are found:

"Though laws severe, to punish crimes, were made,
What honest man is of these laws afraid?
All felons against judges will exclaim,
As harlots tremble at a Gonson's name."

²⁸Paulson, I, p. 146.

²⁹If we assume that each bailiff would have one staff, then the faint shadow in the doorway would probably be another person (above, p. 188).

³⁰Thus it is possible that the term "staff," when applied to this item, is a misnomer.

³¹Paulson, I, p. 146.

³²Lichtenberg, p. 29. Kurz would also appear to be in agreement with Lichtenberg's suggestion (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 152).

³³John Ireland, quoted in Lichtenberg, p. 37.

³⁴Lichtenberg, p. 37.

³⁵Cook (ed.), p. 271.

³⁶Paulson, I, p. 146. On May 11, 1730, Dalton was executed at Tyburn for highway robbery (Ibid.).

³⁷One source suggests that Gonson and his group entered Miss Hackabout's room because they were looking for Dalton (Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, III, p. 110).

³⁸Above, p. 9.

³⁹Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 152.

⁴⁰Thus it would seem possible that the bowl had been used recently, perhaps the previous evening.

⁴¹In the third state of this plate this is changed to a gin bottle (Paulson, I, p. 146).

⁴²In general, Paulson's identification of these objects (Ibid.) has been followed.

⁴³Above, p. 8.

⁴⁴There also seems to be a tobacco pipe and a piece of a pipe on the floor in the same area.

⁴⁵Paulson, I, p. 146.

⁴⁶Townsend, n.p.

⁴⁷Cook, for example, suggests that it might "intimate the wantonness" of Miss Hackabout (Cook [ed.], p. 271).

⁴⁸The seat portion of this chair looks like it might be made from a fibrous material, and Stephens suggests that the chair is "rush-bottomed" (F. G. Stephens, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Div. I: Political and Personal Satires, Vol. III, Pt. I [London: Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1877], p. 41). It is also of interest to note that the tops of the two front legs of this chair are above the level of the seat.

⁴⁹Clerk, I, p. 70.

⁵⁰Paulson, I, p. 146.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Clerk refers to "the phials and boxes of nostrums, that are deposited in the window" (Clerk, I, p. 70), and Cook makes references to the "phials and pill-boxes in the window" (Cook [ed.], p. 270).

⁵³Clerk states that "though her countenance still exhibits a few traces of that beauty which in that first print attracted our nature, it is bloated and marked with disease" (Clerk, I, p. 70). Examination of the face of our heroine suggests that Clerk is probably mistaken.

⁵⁴Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 65.

⁵⁵Indeed, it might perhaps even be suggested that the odds favor the figure's being masculine rather than feminine.

⁵⁶Martin S. Day, History of English Literature ("College Course Guides"; Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), p. 87. Macheath is the leader of a gang of highwaymen. He is betrayed by his father-in-law, Jeremy Peachum (an apparently respectable gentleman who is in reality the gang's "fence," and who is an informer to the law when it serves his interests), and imprisoned. He escapes, is recaptured, tried, and sentenced to death. However, Macheath is reprieved, and on his release he promises his wife, Polly (who had remained faithful to him although he had made love to many women), that he will be true to her (Ibid.).

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 86.

⁵⁸The letters "S.T.P." stand for "Sanctae Theologiae Professor" (Lichtenberg, p. 33).

⁵⁹Paulson, I, p. 146. Sacheverell was born on or about 1674 (William Hunt, "Sacheverell, Henry," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XVII [1964], p. 569). He attended Oxford, and was awarded B.A., M.A., B.D., and D.D. degrees. In both the sermons and the pamphlets that he wrote, he advocated "the high-church and tory cause, and violently abused dissenters, low churchmen, latitudinarians, and whigs" (Ibid.). As a result of remarks made in two sermons he preached in 1709 (and which were published in the same year), he was impeached. His case, which was made a trial of strength between the whigs and the tories, was heard in Westminster Hall. The feeling of the country was strongly on Sacheverell's side, and excitement about the case reached a high pitch (Ibid., p. 570). He was praised in sermons, and on the second day of his trial rioting broke out. On March 20, 1710, he was declared guilty by a vote of 69 to 52. According to Hunt (Ibid., p. 571):

"Sentence was given on the 23rd. It was merely that he should be suspended from preaching for three years; he was left at liberty to perform other clerical functions, and to accept preferment during that period. His two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Such a sentence was felt to be a triumph for him and the high-church and tory party, and the news of it was received with extraordinary enthusiasm throughout the kingdom"

During the trial he had been presented to the living of Selattyn in Shropshire, and the journey that he made to this place about three months later, and his subsequent journey back, are likened by Hunt to "royal progresses" (Ibid.); for example, at Shrewsbury the principal gentry and some fifty thousand people assembled to meet him (Ibid.).

In the general election of November, 1710, the tories gained an overwhelming victory over the whigs. Hunt (Ibid.) states that:

"it was recognized at the time that the transference of power from the whigs to the tories was largely due to the ill-judged impeachment of Sacheverell. Much, however, as they owed to him, the leading tories disliked and despised him"

In 1713 the queen presented him to the rich living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. He died on June 5, 1724 (Ibid.).

Sacheverell seems to have had a "fine presence" (Ibid., p. 572), and to have dressed well; he also appears to have been bold, insolent, passionate, and vain. And, to once again quote Hunt (Ibid.):

"his failings stand in a strong light, because the whigs, instead of treating him and his utterances with the contempt they deserved, forced him to appear as the champion of the church's cause, a part which, both by mind and character, he was utterly unfitted to play even respectably, yet the eager scrutiny of his enemies could find little of importance to allege against his conduct"

⁶⁰Paulson, I, p. 146.

⁶¹The most noticeable change occurs in the figure of Abraham. In Titian's work, Abraham's right hand holds the blade and is raised, while his left hand holds Isaac; in

Hogarth's picture, these functions are reversed (it should not be thought, however, that Hogarth's "Sacrifice of Isaac" is a reversal of Titian's, since in both pictures the angel is in the upper left-hand corner, and Isaac and the altar in the lower right).

⁶²Genesis 22: 9-12.

⁶³Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 152.

Part I: Chapter IV

¹Paulson, I, p. 147.

²H. Mayhew and J. Binny, The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life (2d ed.; London: Frank Cass and Co., 1968), p. 362. Sala would seem to be of the opinion Miss Hackabout was sent here, rather than to the institution in Tothill Fields (Sala, p. 144). It should perhaps be pointed out that houses of correction were called "Bridewells," this name being taken from the former royal palace of Bridewell in which the first house of correction was founded in the Sixteenth Century (L. W. Fox, The English Prison and Borstal Systems [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952], p. 24).

³Townsend, n.p.

⁴Above, p. 5.

⁵The similarity between this scene and the previously-quoted newspaper passage concerning Mary Moffat (above, p. 5) will be noted. Yet another passage has come to light that may have suggested this scene to Hogarth. This account appears in a later edition of the Grub-street Journal (Grub-street Journal [London], November 28, 1730, quoted in Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 153), and states that:

"the notorious Moll Freeman, alias Tallboy . . . was committed to hard labour as an idle and disorderly person, by Sir John Gonson . . . [She] . . . was remanded back again to her former task of beating hemp . . . [Moll] . . . beats hemp one day in velvet, and another day in a gown richly trimmed with silver."

It should also be noted that Miss Hackabout is wearing an apron, and would thus appear to be concerned about protecting her dress. This apron is not a long utilitarian model such as she wore in Plate 1, but a smaller version which is much more "chic" in appearance.

⁶Sala, p. 145.

⁷Above, p. 35.

⁸Paulson, I, p. 147.

⁹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 67.

¹⁰Ibid. Consequently, the inmates worked from six in the morning until six at night (Ibid.).

¹¹Lichtenberg, p. 45.

¹²La Farge and Dobson (La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 20), state that this person is in the process of picking Miss Hackabout's pocket, but this appears doubtful.

¹³Paulson, I, p. 147.

¹⁴Above, p. 9.

¹⁵Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 153.

¹⁶It is of interest to note that this group appears to be standing on a raised portion of the floor. One edge of this area can be seen by the block of wood that has the chain attached to it, and another edge seems to be located by the dog which is found in the lower center portion of this plate. As a result of this area's being raised, the dog (which does not seem to be standing up) has its lower portion blocked from view.

¹⁷It might be wondered if the appearance of twelve figures in this scene is a chance occurrence, or whether Hogarth had some as yet undiscovered reason for including in this picture an even dozen people. (Although it is tempting to assume there is a connection between this "twelve" and the "twelve" in the "quarter-to-twelve" shown in the watch in the previous plate [above, p. 32], it is perhaps not too likely Hogarth intended such a connection to be made.)

¹⁸It does not seem likely that the numerical value of the card, or the location of the tear across it (dividing it so that there are three diamonds on one portion and five on the other), were intended by Hogarth to be allusions.

¹⁹Although Hogarth could have intended the diamonds on the card to be associated with real diamonds, with the torn card thereby suggesting that the gambler's dreams of wealth have been shattered, this does not appear too likely; indeed, since a diamond is probably one of the easiest suit symbols to put on a printing plate, and also probably one of the better suit symbols as far as clarity of reproduction is concerned, these factors may account for the card's belonging to the diamond suit.

²⁰This would seem to be the figure that Ireland states "appears scarcely in her teens" (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 68).

²¹Ireland terms this person a "black woman" (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 68). While this person's skin does seem darker than the skin of the other people in the picture, so does her cap, and there seems to be a possibility that her skin might be shown as being dark because she is in a shadow. Her features might perhaps be taken as being more suggestive of a Negro than a Caucasian, but this is possibly open to debate. Therefore, while this person is possibly of Negroid ancestry, it cannot be stated definitely that she is of this racial stock.

²²This is an arm that is raised in the air and holding a mallet. The person to whom this arm belongs would appear to be a female.

²³La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 20.

²⁴She is wearing a very ornate pair of shoes; it might be wondered if these had originally belonged to Miss Hackabout.

²⁵Kurz, when speaking about the Italian moral tale "Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana" (above, p. 15), states that this person's posture "recalls the 'crafty maid's' rude gesture exacerbating her mistress's distress in scene VIII . . . where the courtesan is forced to sell her fine things" (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 153).

²⁶Paulson, I, p. 147.

²⁷Above, p. 34.

²⁸At first glance the shutter appears to be set in the rear wall of the building, and to be closed. Further examination, however, shows that it is more likely an open shutter that is not set into the rear wall, but attached to the side wall.

²⁹This material is difficult to identify; hemp would appear to be a likely possibility.

³⁰These holes were eliminated in the third state of this print (Paulson, I, p. 147). (At the same time, Hogarth also altered the wall behind Miss Hackabout and the gentleman in the fancy coat. All other changes are of a minor nature.)

³¹Mention should also be made of the gable that is partially visible in this scene, since at least a portion of it is not filled in.

Part I: Chapter V

¹It is on this roof that Miss Hackabout's initials appear (above, p. 8). After the "M H" some other printing can be seen; the first letter of this group is "C", but what follows this is not clear. And it might be mentioned that Nichols and Steevens assert that originally on the roof "a certain obscene word was more visible than it is at present" (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 101); they further state that Hogarth removed this word "before these Plates were delivered to the subscribers . . ." (Ibid).

²There seems little doubt that the boy is Miss Hackabout's son. The estimation of this young lad's age is made difficult by the fact that he is depicted in this scene as having a rather mature-looking face; furthermore, he is shown again in Plate 6, and here he appears younger than what he seems to be in Plate 5.

³His left sleeve seems either too long, or else ragged, with the latter being the least likely of the two possibilities.

⁴He also appears to be scratching his head, perhaps indicating that he has lice.

⁵Cook calls this a piece of string (Cook [ed.], p. 275).

⁶Townsend describes this as being a "scanty remnant of pork . . ." (Townsend, n.p.). At first glance it might appear as if the boy is looking at this piece of meat, but closer scrutiny indicates that this is not the case.

⁷Behind this piece of meat can be seen a pot that has been placed on the fire; this pot appears to be tilted (perhaps its position was accidentally disturbed by the action of the boy), and it is losing some of its contents. And on the floor beneath the meat, partly resting on the boy's coat, is what appears to be a platter; possibly some material from the fire has fallen onto this.

⁸Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁹F. Foster, "William Hogarth and the Doctors," Bulletin of the Medical Library Association XXXII (July, 1944), p. 357. When the possibility that she has just died is considered along with the possibility that we are seeing her before her death has occurred, the latter perhaps appears the most likely.

¹⁰Paulson, I, p. 148.

¹¹Rouquet, pp. 9-10.

¹²Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . . , ed. Nichols, p. 182.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 69.

¹⁵Paulson, I, p. 148.

¹⁶Foster, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, XXXII, p. 358.

¹⁷Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, pl. 36b.

¹⁸Norman Moore, "Misaubin, John," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XIII (1964), p. 498.

¹⁹F. H. Dudden, Henry Fielding: His Life, Works, and Times (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966), I, p. 113.

²⁰Ibid., p. 114.

²¹Moore, The Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 498.

²²Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling ("The Modern Library"; New York: Random House, 1950), p. 600.

²³Dudden, I, p. 113.

²⁴Paulson, I, p. 148.

²⁵Dudden, I, p. 114.

²⁶__ Bramston, quoted in Wheatley, p. 115.

²⁷Dudden, I, p. 113. To carry the jest still further, he dedicated this play to Misaubin, writing a dedication in which some of Misaubin's characteristics were "eulogized with pleasant irony" (Ibid., p. 114). He also refers to Misaubin's pill in this dedication, and states "Forgive me, sir, if I am not able to contain myself while I am talking of this invaluable remedy, to which so many owe their health, their pleasure, nay, the very preservation of their being" (Henry Fielding, The Mock Doctor, or the Dumb Lady Cured, quoted in Dudden, I, p. 114).

²⁸Dudden, I, p. 111.

²⁹Paulson, I, p. 271. The doctor in Plate 3 of "Marriage à la Mode" appears to be of a different build than the one said to be Misaubin in Plate 5 of "A Harlot's Progress." Paulson states that the latter is "a much leaner doctor than this one [in Plate 3 of "Marriage à la Mode"], whom Hogarth may have wished to generalize" (Ibid.).

³⁰Richard M. Baum, "Hogarth and Fielding as Social Critics," The Art Bulletin, XVI (March, 1934), p. 33.

³¹Townsend, n.p.

³²Baum, The Art Bulletin, XVI, p. 33.

³³Paulson, I, p. 174. The figure in the upper right-hand corner of Hogarth's "The Company of Undertakers" is said to be Dr. Ward (Ibid.).

³⁴Ibid., p. 148.

³⁵Foster, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, XXXII, p. 357.

³⁶Wheatley, p. 226.

³⁷Foster, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, XXXII, p. 357.

³⁸Paulson, I, p. 174. The person in the upper right-hand corner of "The Company of Undertakers" mentioned earlier (above, p. 198) has a birthmark on the left-hand side of his face.

³⁹Paulson, I, p. 147. While there is nothing written on this sheet of paper in the earlier states of this plate that Paulson has examined (Ibid.), Nichols and Steevens (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 101) assert that this piece of paper originally had a "gross" inscription written on it, and that this inscription, like the obscene word they say was originally written on the roof (above, p. 196), was removed "before these Plates were delivered to the subscribers . . ." (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 101).

⁴⁰Foster seems to base his assumption that the second gentleman is Dr. Rock (above, p. 49) on the three points mentioned in the main body of this paper (Foster, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, XXXII, pp. 357-58): Ward's apparent date of arrival in London; the absence of a birthmark on the figure's face; and the appearance of the name "Rock" on the piece of paper.

⁴¹Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁴²Country Journal; or, the Craftsman (London), February 24, 1733, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁴³Foster, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, XXXII, p. 358.

⁴⁴Oliver Goldsmith, The Citizen of the World: Or, Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London, to His Friends in the East (Dublin: The United Company of Booksellers, 1775), II, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁵This is another example of the use of "frozen action" such as was seen in Plate 1 (above, p. 22) and Plate 2 (above, p. 26).

⁴⁶It is also perhaps possible that, immediately prior to tipping the chair, this doctor knocked over the table seen lying on the floor.

⁴⁷Above, p. 14.

⁴⁸Cook (ed.), p. 275.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Lichtenberg, p. 59.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Above, p. 188.

⁵⁵Felton, p. 7. Felton states he is "at a loss to know why the fan is put through the eyes . . ." (Ibid.). Putting the fan through the mask's eyes may indicate nothing more than Hogarth thought Miss Hackabout would do something like this, perhaps for the sake of convenience; on the other hand, it might also be of symbolic significance, and could perhaps even refer to the two doctors' inability to cure Miss Hackabout.

⁵⁶The woman who is kneeling over the trunk is possibly holding on to the upper portion of this dress with her left hand.

⁵⁷The trunk, when viewed in Plate 1, seems to have such a hasp attached to the lid near its center. On the trunk in Plate 5, there appears to be an item attached to the trunk's lid which might be a portion of the hasp; the shape sticking up above the trunk's open lid seems to be attached to this. Admittedly, the hasp on the trunk in Plate 1 is "below" the base of the initials on the trunk, while in Plate 5 the hasp is "above" the "M H"; however, this could have been a mistake or an oversight on Hogarth's part, or he may have realized there was a discrepancy here, but wanted the initials to be "right-side-up" regardless.

⁵⁸Cook (ed.), p. 275.

⁵⁹Above, p. 24.

⁶⁰Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., I, p. 62.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Above, p. 35. Might this be because our heroine's activities have for some time been greatly reduced because of her disease, and that as a result the curtains on this bed have not been used as roughly as the curtains on the bed in Plate 3?

⁶³Of course, it is possible that Hogarth intended this opening in the curtains to be the one through which Miss Hackabout was taken, or helped, from her bed; he may have inadvertently placed this opening at the end of the bed rather than the side, or he may knowingly have placed the opening in this rather unlikely location in order to increase the contrast between the bed and the two women (our heroine and the woman beside her) so that more attention would be focused on Miss Hackabout.

⁶⁴Lichtenberg, p. 52.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 64.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Cook (ed.), p. 276.

⁶⁸Lichtenberg, p. 65.

⁶⁹Above, p. 200.

⁷⁰Paulson, I, p. 148. There appears to be a piece of cloth wrapped around the bedpan's handle.

⁷¹One handle can be seen, and it would appear likely there would be another opposite it.

⁷²There is perhaps a possibility that this item is a basket.

⁷³As for the suggestion that the assumption the bowl has some of its contents (or some other material) over its rim is a mistaken one brought about by the bowl's having a

jagged rim, close examination suggests that this possibility is perhaps not too likely.

⁷⁴Lichtenberg, p. 63. Kurz agrees with Lichtenberg that this is a spittoon (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 154).

⁷⁵Above, p. 50 .

⁷⁶Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 69.

⁷⁷Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁷⁸Townsend, n.p.

⁷⁹E. Clark and W. Harris, "Venereal Diseases," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, XXIII (1960), p. 42. It might also be pointed out that Dr. Rock had concocted a remedy for toothache "without drawing" (Paulson, I, p. 148); this and his "Anti-Venereal, Grand Specifick Pill" (above, p. 50) were often advertised in parallel columns. It is perhaps rather unlikely, however, that Hogarth intended the presence of the teeth on the sheet of paper bearing Rock's name to be an allusion to this gentleman's toothache remedy.

⁸⁰Above, p. 55.

⁸¹In the word "ANODYNE" the two "N's" are reversed.

⁸²Below this drawing are some marks which, although unreadable, are probably meant to stand for a word.

⁸³Country Journal; or, the Craftsman (London), December 2, 1732, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 148.

⁸⁴It is also of interest to note that Lichtenberg states anodyne necklaces were originally intended only for the use of children suffering from rickets, "about which the unfounded prejudice prevailed . . . that it is usually the fruit of tainted love" (Lichtenberg, p. 58); he further asserts that Miss Hackabout's son "may be suffering from rickets" (Ibid., p. 59), and that "from the boy's puny legs [as seen in Plate 6] we might almost conclude that the anodyne necklaces have not been of much use" (Ibid., p. 77).

And it might also be suggested that perhaps Miss Hackabout has passed venereal disease on to her son, and that an anodyne necklace was being used to treat this boy for congenital syphilis.

Part I: Chapter VI

¹Above, p. 166 .

²There seems to be an object in the hole in this window. Although it is not clear if this is meant to represent the object that caused some (or all) of the damage, or if it is supposed to represent material placed in this hole in an attempt to at least partially plug it up, the latter is perhaps the more likely possibility.

³Lichtenberg asserts it is either the latter or "a room on the ground floor of the house wherein our heroine died . . ." (Lichtenberg, p. 69).

⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 66. Needless to say, armorial bearings were not present at the funerals of people of our heroine's occupation.

Lichtenberg states that Hogarth "has drawn the three cocks [the spigots and faucets], probably with intention, in such a way that, seen from a distance, they could be taken for the three French lilies" (Lichtenberg, p. 78). Upon consideration however, although there is a slight resemblance when viewed from a distance, it seems doubtful that any such similarity was intended by Hogarth. It is perhaps possible that he drew the spigots and faucets the way he thought they would appear on a real set of armorial bearings, and that these items were chosen because of the symbolism that is suggested when our heroine's occupation is considered.

⁵Therefore, this plate contains items that remind the viewer of both Miss Hackabout's years spent as an innocent rural girl and of those in which she was a "woman of pleasure" in the city of London. The armorial bearings and the hat thus give us our heroine's story in "capsule" form.

⁶While it is perhaps possible Hogarth is here drawing a connection between "bad luck" and our heroine's life, or included 13 people because he thought this number would be appropriate for a scene of this type, it is also perhaps possible that he did not have a definite number of people in mind when he designed the scene.

⁷Above, p. 46.

⁸Kurz states that this is a "low stool" (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 154),

but examination of the portion of this item that is visible suggests this identification is incorrect.

⁹Antal suggests that "the impressive effect of 'The Harlot's Funeral', with the coffin in the middle of the room and mourners around it . . ." (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 238), may have been taken from an illustration in the 1711 edition of Fletcher's "The Tamer Tamed" (Ibid.).

¹⁰Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 72. Ireland further asserts that having a boy "as chief mourner, to attend his parent to the grave" (Ibid.) was a violation of "propriety and custom" (Ibid.).

¹¹Paulson, I, p. 149.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Nichols makes this identification (Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 194), as does Ireland (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 71). Ireland asserts this person "on the 10th of September, 1737, at the age of thirty, was executed for a robbery, which had been attended with circumstances that aggravated the crime" (Ibid.), while Stephens states she was "executed for robbery, Jan. 18, 1738" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 65).

¹⁴Nichols states that "the common print of her [Elizabeth Adams] will justify this assertion [that the woman in question is Elizabeth Adams]" (Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , p. 194), but Stephens asserts that although "there are portraits of this woman in which certain elements of a likeness to the harlot in question in Hogarth's design are distinguishable, they are, however, slight, and not peculiar" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 65). In addition, it is perhaps unlikely that Hogarth had any reason to include Elizabeth Adams in this series (Ibid.); therefore the identification of the figure in Plate 6 as this woman would appear to be open to question.

¹⁵Paulson, I, p. 149. It might perhaps be wondered, however, whether in Hogarth's time these were actually used at funerals to prevent infection, or whether, while they may perhaps have started out being used for this purpose, their use in Hogarth's time was thought of as being a custom to be followed rather than a health measure.

¹⁶Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . ., ed. Nichols, p. 185. Although this gentleman should not be positively identified on the basis of this information, consideration of all the factors involved suggests there is a definite possibility he is a "Fleet Chaplain." (It might also be pointed out that this person has also been identified as "Orator" Henley, one of the more notorious figures in London at this time [Paulson, I, p. 311]. However, most, if not all, of the disreputable parsons in Hogarth's works have been so identified [Ibid., p. 149].)

¹⁷George, p. 33.

¹⁸This is perhaps a handkerchief.

¹⁹Above, p. 58. Paulson asserts that what we see on these hats are "weepers" (Paulson, I, p. 149).

²⁰Townsend, n.p. Not every description of the activity indulged in by the clergyman is as delicately phrased as Townsend's. In one description that appeared in a poem that purported to be a key to "A Harlot's Progress," and which Moore quotes after first explaining that, in reproducing it, he was "allowing truth to triumph over taste, for it must be seen to be believed" (Moore, p. 33), the activity the parson was engaged in was described as follows (The Harlot's Progress: Or, the Humours of Drury Lane. In Six Cantos [London: S. Dickinson et al., 1732], n.p., quoted in Moore, p. 33):

"For he had got the prettiest Doxy,
And made his F____r do by Proxy,
What would become a nobler Part,
To do with Pleasure, and with Art . . .
He felt, she grin'd and leer'd, and he
Star'd, and he grin'd as well as she;
And lest the rest see this and that,
He laid a Cover on't--his Hat;
The deepest Thing Man has discover'd;
A Myst'ry deep, unfathomable,
As Bay of Biscay with a Cable;
And tho' the Pr____sts have hidden Springs,
They can't discover hidden things,
Without the Help of Revelation,
For Reason's Rules are now D_____on."

²¹It appears quite likely that this woman, and the others that will be described later, were all associated with the "line of work" that Miss Hackabout had pursued.

²²Clerk, I, p. 80.

²³Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 72.

²⁴Lichtenberg states that "the sufferer has warts on her fingers and, as is well known, the dead know better how to remove warts than the living. The [woman holding the other's fingers] . . . seems only to think of ways and means of bringing a wart between the fingers in contact with the corpse" (Lichtenberg, p. 72).

²⁵Paulson, I, p. 148.

²⁶Townsend, n.p.

²⁷There is also the possibility that, whether or not this person is our heroine's bawd, this figure is, as Kurz suggests (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 153), the same person that is seen going through the trunk in Plate 5 (above, p. 52). Although comparison of the faces in the two plates is difficult, there would appear to be possible similarities. Furthermore, the figure in Plate 6 is kicking up one of her feet, and as a result one of her shoes is visible. While this kick could be intended to indicate only the intensity of this person's lament, the shoe that is visible is possibly one of the shoes seen near the trunk in Plate 5 (above, p. 53), and Hogarth perhaps deliberately showed it (rather than keeping it hidden under the woman's dress) so that the viewer would have a reason to connect the two figures. Then, too, Kurz might perhaps be correct in stating that the above shoe does not fit the foot on which it is being worn (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 153), which might perhaps be intended to indicate that it did not originally belong to the woman who is wearing it.

²⁸Lichtenberg, p. 78.

²⁹Above, p. 57.

³⁰While it might be suggested that the gloves on the table are ones some of the women have taken off, and that the glove on the woman in question is being taken off and will be added to the ones on the table, this would not really offer a satisfactory explanation for the glove stretcher. Thus it is perhaps more likely that the gloves on the table are new gloves (which would explain the stretcher), and that the gentleman is putting a new glove on the woman's hand rather than taking it off. The gloves themselves are perhaps

ones that are to be given to some of the women depicted in this scene.

³¹Clerk, I, p. 80.

³²Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 66. A "mercier" is a "dealer in cloth" (Clarence L. Barnhart [ed.], Thorndike-Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary [Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955], p. 494).

Part II: Introduction

¹Above, p. 2.

²Kunzle suggests that he may have started making sketches soon after the end of May, 1732 (D. Kunzle, "Plagiaries-By-Memory of the Rake's Progress and the Genesis of Hogarth's Second Picture Story," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX [1966], p. 312). This same source also suggests that it is likely Hogarth was thinking about this series "probably soon after he had started work on the 'Harlot' . . ." (Ibid.).

³In "The Marriage Contract," the shape of the area in which the action is taking place is similar to that depicted in Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress"; furthermore, in both pictures there is a figure kneeling on one knee and holding a large bowl, and both scenes have figures in the small room or hallway shown at the left of each picture, with the figure on the extreme left of this group in "The Marriage Contract" being quite similar to the corresponding figure in "A Rake's Progress." (And it might be pointed out that a similarity also exists between "The Marriage Contract" and Plate 1 of Hogarth's series "Marriage à la Mode." The latter not only depicts a "marriage contract" scene, but, as in "The Marriage Contract," the "groom-to-be" is not paying any attention to his future bride.)

⁴Beckett states that this work is "possibly of 1732" (Beckett, p. 71).

⁵London Journal (London), December 22, 1733, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 154. This same advertisement also appeared in the Country Journal; or, the Craftsman, on December 29 of the same year (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 314). However, Hogarth seems to have accepted subscriptions before the above advertisements appeared, as two subscription tickets have come down to us

which have on them the dates December 12 and December 18 respectively (Ibid.).

The first print referred to in the quoted advertisement is Hogarth's "Southwark Fair." It appears likely that this print was available on or about the date mentioned in this advertisement, as the London Journal of January 19, 1734 (and also the issue of January 26 of the same year), contained an advertisement that stated in part "The Fair being already finished, [it] will be delivered at the time of subscribing" (London Journal [London], January 19, 1734, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 154). Dobson asserts that the print was not available until 1735 (Dobson, p. 241), but consideration of the available evidence seems to suggest that Dobson was probably mistaken in this regard. (There would appear to be no debate as to when the original painting of this subject was completed, as it is signed and dated 1733 [Paulson, I, p. 154].)

⁶London Journal (London), November 2, 1734, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 158.

⁷Paulson, I, p. 158.

⁸Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, pp. 315-16. The paintings are now in the Soane Museum, London. According to Dobson (Dobson, p. 201), the pictures were "sold by Hogarth on February 1745 for £184 16s. [They] belonged to Alderman Beckford; then to Col. Fullarton, who bought them at the Beckford sale for £682 10s Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Soane gave £598 10s for them in 1802."

⁹This act, which is sometimes referred to as "Hogarth's Act," received royal assent on May 15, 1735, and became law on June 25 of the same year (Paulson, I, p. 9). Although this act was not the result of the efforts of Hogarth alone (others, including Vertue, Isaac Ware, and Gerard Vandergucht, were also involved), Hogarth, in Paulson's words, "was the undisputed leader" (Ibid.). This act "forbade copies of an engraving without the designer's permission and imposed a fine . . . for every impression of a pirated copy found in a printseller's possession" (Ibid.). The copyright lasted for a period of fourteen years from the date on the print (Ibid.). Although there was a loophole (the fault of Hogarth's friend, William Huggins, who drew up the act [Dobson, p. 40]), the law appears to have been generally effective, particularly for Hogarth himself, for although Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress" was pirated even before it was published, the artist had relatively little

trouble with pirates thereafter (Paulson, I, p. 9), and apart from a few Dublin piracies (Dublin printsellers were beyond the reach of English law) unauthorized copies of Hogarth's prints virtually disappeared until the 1750's, when the copyrights began to run out (Ibid.).

After Hogarth's death the number of pirated copies of his works greatly increased (Ibid.), and it is of interest to note that, following a petition by his wife for help against the pirates, Parliament added a clause to the end of the amended copyright act (which was passed on June 29, 1767) giving her a further exclusive term of twenty years copyright effective from January 1 of 1767 (Ibid., p. 68).

¹⁰London Journal (London), May 10, 1735, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 158. Paulson states that the passage of so much time between the appearance of the advertisement in the November 2, 1734 issue of the London Journal (above, p. 67) and the appearance of the prints "was due partly to engraving difficulties and partly to the Engraver's Act . . ." (Paulson, I, p. 158).

¹¹London Evening Post (London), June 3, 1735, quoted in Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., I, p. 82. Hogarth appears to have changed the price he was asking for these prints, since the price quoted in this advertisement differs from that given in the advertisement that appeared in the London Journal of December 22, 1733 (above, p. 66).

It should also be pointed out that, although it might seem from the London Evening Post advertisement that Hogarth's "Southwark Fair" did not appear until the time "A Rake's Progress" was issued, this print, as mentioned earlier (above, p. 208), probably came out on or about January 1, 1734. Paulson (who does not believe that Hogarth held back "Southwark Fair" until "A Rake's Progress" appeared [Paulson, I, p. 154]), as well as mentioning the newspaper statements given previously (above, p. 208), suggests that if Hogarth had held back this print until the "Engraver's Copyright Act" came into effect, "he would have changed the date on 'Southwark Fair' from '1733' to June 25, 1735 Moreover, though 'Southwark Fair' was pirated, he never mentions it when he rebukes the pirates of the 'Rake'" (Paulson, I, p. 154).

¹²Above, p. 208. The first state of Plate 3 is dated June 24 (Paulson, I, p. 164), but the other states of this print are dated June 25 (Ibid.). It is of interest to note

that in an announcement appearing in the June 3, 1735, issue of the London Evening Post, Hogarth asserts that "several Printsellers who have of late made their chief Gain by unjustly pyrating the Inventions and Designs of ingenious Artists . . . [are] now prohibited such scandalous Practices from the 24th Day of June . . ." (London Evening Post [London], June 3, 1735, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 159); thus there is perhaps a possibility that Hogarth at one time thought the act took effect on, and not after, June 24.

¹³London Daily Post (London), June 30, 1735, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 159.

As mentioned earlier (above, pp. 208-209), pirated copies of this series appeared before the originals came out. An advertisement in the Daily Advertiser of June 3, 1735, which informed the reader there was "now printing, and in a few days will be publish'd, the Progress of a Rake, exemplified in the Adventures of Ramble Gripe, Esq.; Son and Heir of Sir Positive Gripe; curiously design'd and engrav'd by some of the best artists" (Daily Advertiser [London], June 3, 1735, quoted in Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, pp. 316-17), is of interest in this regard, as is a subsequent advertisement in the Whitehall Evening Post of June 21, 1735, that stated these prints were "just publish'd" and were selling for eight shillings (Whitehall Evening Post [London], June 21, 1735, quoted in Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 317). And Hogarth asserts, in his announcement that appeared in the June 3, 1735, issue of the London Evening Post (and which was referred to earlier [above, p. 210], that the printsellers who pirated his prints "in a clandestine Manner procured mean and necessitous Persons to come to Mr. William Hogarth's House, under Pretence of seeing his RAKE'S PROGRESS [as prospective subscribers], in order to pyrate the same . . ." (London Evening Post [London], June 3, 1735, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 159).

Shortly before his original "A Rake's Progress" was scheduled to appear, Hogarth (London Daily Post [London], June 16, 1735, quoted in Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., I, pp. 84-85) announced that:

"certain Printsellers intending not only to injure Mr. Hogarth in his property, but also to impose their base imitations of his Rake's Progress on the publick; he, in order to prevent such scandalous practices, and shew the Rake's Progress exactly (which the imitators by memory cannot pretend to), is obliged to

permit his original prints to be closely copied; and the said Copies will be published in a few days, and sold at 2s. each set, by Thomas Bakewell, print and mapseller, next Johnson's-court in Fleet-street, London. --N.B. The usual allowance will be made to Booksellers, Printsellers, and others, in Town and Country, who sell them again; and all persons may safely sell the same Copies without incurring any penalty for so doing, Mr. Hogarth having consented to the publication and sale thereof pursuant to the Act of Parliament."

These prints (which, although priced at two shillings in the above advertisement, are priced at two shillings and sixpence in an advertisement quoted by Kunzle [Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 317], and in another given by Paulson [Paulson, I, p. 159]), were advertised on July 26 "to be published in ten days without fail. One of the Engravers having been ill, has occasioned the publication to be delayed" (St. James' Evening Post [London], July 26, 1735, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 160), and were finally announced as published on August 11, 1735 (Paulson, I, p. 160). Bakewell's copies are of particular interest because they were accompanied by a double-column broadside explaining the prints (Paulson, I, p. 160); as the issuing of such a broadside was probably authorized by Hogarth, this explanation of the series might possibly be an accurate one.

¹⁴At the bottom of each print are some lines of verse written by Dr. John Hoadly. Hoadly, the son of Bishop Hoadly, the Bishop of Winchester (above, p. 34), was born in 1711 and died in 1776. During his lifetime he was a dramatist, clergyman, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester (Paulson, I, p. 160). It might be wondered if the popularity of the unauthorized verses written about his "A Harlot's Progress" prompted the artist to include verses with each scene of this series. While this may have been a factor in Hogarth's decision to include stanzas of verse, it must also be remembered that this was not the first time Hogarth had included such material in a print; in his "The South Sea Scheme," for example, which was published in 1721 (Ibid., p. 94), lines of verse are included.

And it should perhaps also be mentioned at this point that, in the preparation of the etched and engraved plates from which the series was printed, Hogarth appears to have been assisted, at least with Plate 2, by Louis Scotin. Scotin, or to be more precise, Louis Gérard Scotin the younger, was both the nephew and the pupil of the engraver Gérard Scotin, and was born in 1690. Arriving in London in

1733, he was a well-known engraver in this city by the year 1738, and was one of the people involved in the production of plates for Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode" (Ibid., p. 65). Regarding Scotin's connection with the plates for "A Rake's Progress," Paulson (Ibid., p. 158) asserts that:

"Scotin must have made the first etching, since the plate is unreversed from the painting, and the engraving (or finishing) of the plate. His signature appears on the first engraved state; it disappears, however, from the published state after Hogarth re-engraved one of the faces The other plates, reversed from the paintings, were probably etched by Hogarth and finished by Scotin, and then (characteristically) worked over by Hogarth."

¹⁵Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 155. It is of interest to note that, in Hogarth's own era, prior to the appearance of "A Rake's Progress," Fielding had written The Temple Beau, a comedy which was produced in 1730 ("Fielding, Henry," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, IX [1960], p. 223). This play has for its central character "a young scapegrace named Wilding" (Dudden, I, p. 46), who, although supposedly studying law, is in reality occupying his time with "dress and ladies" (Henry Fielding, The Temple Beau [1730], quoted in Dudden, I, p. 46).

¹⁶Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 146.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 136. It might also be mentioned that various cycles dealing with the "Prodigal Son" (described by Antal as being "the rake of the times" [Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 98]) were to be found during the Seventeenth Century (Antal, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 172). In the first half of this century the French etcher Callot, whose work (or at least a portion thereof) was known to Hogarth (Paulson, I, p. 130), produced a set of miniature prints illustrating this story (E. Bechtel, Jacques Callot [New York: George Braziller, 1955], p. 43). Thus it is possible that a Seventeenth-Century version of a story from the Bible was perhaps a factor which led Hogarth to create a series about a young man who "wasted his substance with riotous living" (St. Luke 15: 13).

¹⁸E. H. Gombrich, "A Classical Rake's Progress," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, (1952), pp. 254-56.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 255.

²⁰Ibid., p. 256.

²¹A portion of an Eighteenth-Century version of the Tabula Cebetis (The Emperor Marcus Antonius His Conversation with Himself . . . to Which Is Added the Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban, trans. Jeremy Collier [1701], p. 248, quoted in Gombrich, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 255) reads as follows:

"Do you see then, continues the Gentleman, how the Passage through this Gate, leads you into another Court upon an Ascent, and that there are several women dress'd like Wenches, standing at the Portal? I see them. I must tell you then, their quality is very Course, two of them are Lewdness and Luxury, and the other Flattery and Covetousness.

And what do they stand staring here for? To spy out those to whom Fortune has been any thing kind. And what then?

Then they appear mightily transported, make up to them with great Endearingness, and ply them strongly with Compliment and Flattery: They invite them to settle them in Satisfaction; and that without the least Intermission, or Incumbrance whatsoever. Now those who are gain'd to Libertinism with this Courtship, think themselves in a delicate way, and are strangely pleased with their choice at first. But after some time when they begin to recollect, they perceive the Entertainment was nothing but a Visionary Cheat; and instead of a Regale, they have been pray'd upon, and ill used.

Now when Men come to this pass, and have spent all that Fortune had furnish'd them with, they are forced to go to service to these Women; and here all manner of Affronts and scandalous Practises must be digested: They must bear with every thing, and boggle at nothing: They must Cheat, or betray their Trust, pick a Pocket, or rob a Church, as occasion serves. And when all these Tricks fail them, they are sent to the House of Correction.

And how are they handled? Dont you see, says he, a little Door opening into a narrow, dark place? I do; and several ugly, sluttish Women in Rags, are the Inhabitants. You are right. And to describe

them to you; she with the Whip in her Hand is called Discipline, she with the Head bending down to her knees is Grief, she that tears her Hair is Pain: But pray, said I, whatt ill-look'd Skeleton of a Fellow is that, with ne'er a Tatter to his Limbs, and that Woman too by him, that is Beauty enough to be his Sister?

You have guessed the Relation exactly, and to satisfy your Question the Man is complaining Sorrow and that Sister of his is Despair. To this Company the Rakes above mention'd are sent, where they are move'd and mortified sufficiently, and after they have gone through their Exercise in this Bridewell, they are committed to Gaol, where Unhappiness is their Keeper: and here they are fast for their Life-time, unless they happen to light upon Repentance."

²²One such work was done in 1670 by Romeyn de Hooghe (Gombrich, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 256); Gombrich asserts that some of the figures in this print "seem ready to step onto Hogarth's stage" (Ibid.).

²³In 1732, there appeared some pamphlets which were concerned with rakes (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 313). It is perhaps unlikely, however, that these were sources of Hogarth's series; indeed, as Moore suggests (Moore, p. 52), it is possible that these pamphlets were produced as a result of their authors' having heard that Hogarth was planning a series involving a rake (one of these pamphlets presents the progress of a rake by means of a ten-canto poem entitled The Progress of a Rake: or, the Templar's Exit, and Kunzle suggests that "the ten cantos of this poem, with its title stolen from Hogarth, should reflect opinion that Hogarth's second story was to contain this number of stages" [Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 313]).

Part II: Chapter VII

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 1 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²Above, p. 46.

³Sala, p. 189.

⁴Thomas Bakewell, An Explanation of the Eight Prints Of the Rake's Progress (London: Thomas Bakewell, 1735), n.p.

Concerning the above-mentioned broadside (Bakewell's An Explanation of the Eight Prints of the Rake's Progress), it should be pointed out that it was this explanation that was included with Bakewell's prints of "A Rake's Progress" (above, p. 211). As Bakewell's series was authorized by Hogarth (above, pp. 210-211), it seems quite possible that the information contained in Bakewell's explanation was obtained from Hogarth himself. However, there is no proof that such was the case. Therefore, while it is possible Bakewell's explanation might be reliable in all respects, the lack of definite proof that it is suggests that the information this explanation contains is not above question.

Thus, while Bakewell might perhaps be correct in asserting that the room depicted in the first plate of this series is a storeroom, the possibility still remains that the room was not used for storage purposes, and that the containers and documents now seen in this room have just recently been placed in it for the sake of convenience.

⁵Above, p. 70. Paulson states this person is a servant (Paulson, I, p. 161), while Stephens asserts he is "an undertaker's man" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105). Either suggestion is possible.

⁶This person has a hammer in his left hand (in the picture from which this print was copied this figure holds the hammer in his right hand, but since the print reverses the original picture this person here appears to be left-handed).

⁷The molding that runs along the top of the other wall that is visible in this plate has also had black cloth tacked to it, and a portion of this cloth is hanging down below the upper edge of a window located between the doorway (above, p. 71) and the wall against which the ladder (above, p. 71) is leaning. Quite likely this cloth was also hung by the person seen standing on the ladder (above, p. 71).

⁸Although these items cannot be clearly delineated because of their size, there is no doubt that they are coins (Bakewell refers to them collectively as "Money" [Bakewell, n.p.]).

⁹Here again Hogarth uses the "frozen action" technique he employed in "A Harlot's Progress" (above, p. 200).

¹⁰As there is no evidence suggesting otherwise, the discovery of this money seems to have been entirely accidental.

¹¹It does not seem likely that Hogarth would have shown, on the mantelpiece, a cap of the same type as is seen in the picture on the wall unless he intended the one to be considered a pictorial representation of the other.

¹²Above, p. 71.

¹³Above, p. 71.

¹⁴Above, p. 70.

¹⁵Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105.

¹⁶Below this notation is a line of what at first glance appears to be writing. When this line is examined, however, it is found to be merely a line made up of strokes which resemble letters, and which cannot be read. This is also true of the six lines of "writing" seen on the page opposite the one on which the quoted notation is written.

And it should be pointed out that, in the third state of this print (Paulson, I, p. 160), the memorandum book has been moved to a position close to the lower right-hand corner of the print. This book is smaller than its counterpart in the first state, it is not open "flat" (the book in the first state is), and the notation has been changed slightly to read "Memordums: 1721 May 3 my Son Tom came from Oxford 4th Dine at ye French Ordinary 5th Put off my Bad Shilling." (Stephens asserts that the first date in the above is "May 1" [Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 109], as does Paulson [Paulson, I, p. 160]. Close examination of this date, however, suggests that the date is probably "May 3," the same date that is given in the first state.)

¹⁷Above, p. 71.

¹⁸Examination of the third or fourth states (Paulson, I, p. 162) of Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress" shows that this scene is taking place in a person's residence, and that this residence no doubt belongs to the person who is wearing a nightcap. This person is also the central figure in the scene. Since this series tells the story of one man, it might be expected that the central figure in Plate 2 is the person whose story is being told. And as the same might be

said about the central character in Plate 1, it seems likely that the central figures in Plate 1 and Plate 2 are representations of the same person. (This is further suggested by the appearance, in Plate 2, of a jockey holding a cup which has engraved on it a picture of a horse and rider, the notation "Won at Epsom," and the name of the horse--"Silly Tom." It seems likely that the jockey has brought the cup here in order to present it to the owner, and since the jockey came to the residence of the person in the nightcap in order to do this, it would appear likely that the latter person owns the horse. Furthermore, as the name "Silly Tom" would probably refer in some way to someone who had some connection with this horse, and as this person would likely be the owner, it appears quite possible that the owner's name is Tom. And finally, it does not seem likely Hogarth would have called this person "Tom" unless he had meant him to be the "Tom" of Plate 1.)

Having thus established that the central figure in Plate 2 is almost undoubtedly the "Tom" of Plate 1, and since the former figure appears to be in his own residence, it seems likely that the man in the background of Plate 2 who is wearing a dark wig, and who is holding a piece of paper in his hand, has come to see Tom. The words "Epistle to Rake . . ." can be distinguished on the paper this person is holding, suggesting the possibility the first portion of Tom's surname begins with "Rake." Further examination of this plate reveals a piece of paper lying on the floor of the room close to Tom's right foot, and on this paper, which appears to be an engraved title page, is the notation "A Poem dedicated to T. Rakewell Esq." Thus, there seems little reason to doubt that the central character in this series is called "Tom Rakewell." (It might also be noted that this person's name appears again in this plate, this time on a list of people who gave gifts to an Italian singer.)

And while discussing the name of the central character in the series, mention should be made of the initials found on the box that is in the lower left-hand corner of all states of Plate 1. (Kunzle states that these initials "in Hogarth's painting, and in the third state of the engraving . . . are clearly marked . . ." [Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 319]; however, he also implies that these initials are not to be found in the first two states of Plate 1 [Ibid.], which, as Paulson points out [Paulson, I, p. 323], is incorrect). As this box almost undoubtedly was the property of the elder Rakewell, it would be expected that the second initial would be an "R." This is not the case, however, as the initials are "P G." Thus it appears likely that Hogarth may have originally intended

to give the miser a name other than "Rakewell" and which would fit the initials "P G." In this regard, it will be recalled that, in a plagiarized version of this series that appeared before Hogarth's own series was issued [above, p. 210], the miser was given the name "Positive Gripe"; could this be the name Hogarth had originally intended to call the miser?

¹⁹Moore, p. 50.

²⁰Thus, while the elder Rakewell appears to have made every effort to avoid spending any of his money, his son seems to have had no qualms about spending his inherited wealth. The idea of a miser having a son that did not follow his father's miserly ways was used by Pope in Of the Use of Riches, an Epistle to the Right Honorable Allen Lord Bathurst, dated 1732, but not published until January 15, 1733 (Earl Wasserman, Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960], p. 60). A portion of this work (Alexander Pope, Of the Use of Riches, an Epistle to the Right Honorable Allen Lord Bathurst [London: Lawton Gilliver, 1732], ll. 177-222, quoted in Wasserman, pp. 140-41) reads as follows:

"Old Cotta Sham'd his fortune, and his birth,
Yet was not Cotta void of wit and worth:
What tho' (the use of barb'rous Spits forgot)
His Kitchen vy'd in coolness with his Grot;
His Court with Nettles, Moat with Cresses stor'd,
With Soups unbought, and Sallads, blest his board.
If Cotta liv'd on Pulse, it was no more
Than Bramins, Saints, and Sages did before;
To cram the Rich, was prodigal expence,
And who would take the Poor from Providence?
Like some lone Chartreuse stands the good old Hall,
Silence without, and Fasts within the wall;
No rafter'd Roofs with Dances and Tabor sound,
No Noontide-bell invites the Country round;
Tenants with sighs the smoakless Tow'rs survey,
And turn th' unwilling Steeds another way,
Benighted wanderers, the Forest o'er,
Curse the sav'd Candle, and unopening Door:
While the gaunt Mastiff, growling at the Gate,
Affrights the Beggar whom he loves to eat.
Not so his Son, he mack'd this oversight,
And then mistook reverse of wrong for right:
For what to shun will no great knowledge need,
But what to follow is a task indeed.

What slaughter'd Hecatombs, what floods of wine,
 Fill the capacious Squire and deep Divine!
 Yet no mean motive this profusion draws,
 His Oxen perish in his Country's cause.
 'Tis the dear Prince (Sir John) that crowns thy cup,
 And Zeal for his great House that eats thee up.
 The woods recede around the naked seat,
 The sylvans groan--no matter--"for the Fleet."
 Next goes his wool--"to clothe our valiant bands":
 Last, for his country's love, he sells his lands.
 Bankrupt, at Court in vain he pleads his cause,
 His thankless Country leaves him to her Laws.

The Sense to value Riches, with the Art
 T'enjoy them, and the Virtue to impart,
 Not meanly, nor ambitiously persu'd
 Not sunk by sloth, nor raised by servitude;
 To balance Fortune by a just expence,
 Joyn with Oeconomy, Magnificence;
 With Splendor Charity, with Plenty Health;
 Oh teach us, Bathurst yet unspoil'd by wealth:
 That secret rare, between the extremes to move
 Of mad Good nature, and of mean Self-love."

²¹In the third state of this print (Paulson, I, p. 160), Rakewell's face has been reworked, and Paulson asserts it is "thinner and older . . ." (*Ibid.*). Townsend, when describing the third state of Plate I, suggests that he is 19 or 20 years old (Townsend, n.p.).

²²Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 75. Sala, however, states that he "discern[s] in poor young Tom's countenance the simplicity, the eagerness, and the carelessness of youth, as yet unmarred by the stamp of cynical sinfulness" (Sala, p. 193).

²³Above, pp. 70-71.

²⁴Rouquet (Rouquet, p. 15), suggests that the money is being offered to the other woman who is standing near the door (above, pp. 70-71). While it is quite conceivable Rakewell might offer this person the money, close examination of the print suggests that when we see him he is offering it to the younger woman.

²⁵He does not seem to be either pleading with her to accept the money or attempting to force it upon her, nor does he seem angry or upset.

²⁶Above, p. 71.

²⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105. This person's left hand, as well as holding the measure, is also holding a pair of scissors.

²⁸Felton, p. 13.

²⁹Although it is impossible to tell by her facial features that this is the person seen in the background of Plate 5, for example, there seems little doubt that it is indeed the young lady found in Plate 1 who appears in Plate 5 and throughout this series. There is a possibility she was introduced into "A Rake's Progress" at the suggestion of one of Hogarth's friends (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 229).

³⁰In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 160) her face has been reworked, and she looks older than the figure that appears in the earlier states; indeed, one source suggests that "the girl's face . . . [was] altered for the worse, from the appearance of a child of sixteen to a woman of thirty . . ." (Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . . , ed. Nichols, p. 190).

³¹In this plate's third state (Ibid.) a change is noticed in the cap this person is wearing. In the first two states her cap can be seen to be "bound with a black ribbon . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105), while in the third state this ribbon cannot be seen; this would appear to arise either as a result of this cap's being viewed from a different angle, or because in the third state she is wearing a different type of cap.

³²Above, pp. 70-71.

³³Cook (ed.), p. 43. There appears little doubt this assumption is correct. And it might also be noted that Bakewell asserts this person is young Rakewell's "Bedmaker" (Bakewell, n.p.).

³⁴From the previously-mentioned entry in the memorandum book (above, p. 72), it will be recalled that Tom also seems to have been at Oxford. (Perhaps he was going to university there [Paulson, I, pp. 161-162].)

³⁵Bakewell, n.p.

³⁶There is no doubt that the young lady is called "Sarah Young." While the aforementioned letter addressed to "Mrs Sarah Young" might at first be taken to suggest that this person's mother was "Sarah Young," this assumption might be questioned, since it would seem logical the letter would not appear in this scene unless it had been written by Tom, and if Tom had written this letter, it would have been written to the daughter and not the mother, in which case the younger woman's name would be "Sarah Young." This suspicion is confirmed in Plate 4, since in this plate a sewing box bearing the name "Sarah Young" is seen falling to the ground, and the person who has dropped it is definitely not the older of the two women seen in the first plate. (Thus, as there is virtually no possibility that the young lady in Plate 1 is married, it might be concluded that the term "Mrs" that appears on the aforementioned letter is misleading.)

³⁷The area in which the action depicted in this plate is taking place is not known, although Bakewell asserts that the miser "liv'd in the Country" (Ibid.).

³⁸There is little reason for the letter containing the words "marry you" to be found in this scene unless it was written by Tom.

³⁹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105.

⁴⁰Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 76. However, to judge by the impression that is formed of this young lady from her appearances in other plates, it seems highly unlikely that she would accept the money--the "Handful of Guineas," as Bakewell calls it (Bakewell, n.p.)--that is offered her.

⁴¹Above, p. 70. Although it seems most likely that this man is indeed taking money from the sack in front of him (La Farge and Dobson, p. 51), Sala does not believe this is the case, stating that he "believes in . . . [this person's] fidelity, and only think[s] him to be remonstrating on the folly of spending money at all" (Sala, p. 193). In all probability, however, Sala is incorrect in this regard.

⁴²W. Gilpin, An Essay on Prints (5th ed.; London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1802), p. 153.

⁴³Sala, p. 193.

⁴⁴Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 76.

⁴⁵Paulson, I, p. 162.

⁴⁶Townsend, n.p.

⁴⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105.

⁴⁸Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 76.

⁴⁹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 105.

⁵⁰His right elbow is off the table's edge.

⁵¹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 106.

⁵²Some of the shaded areas that appear on this animal in the first and second states of this plate have been darkened in the third state (Paulson, I, p. 161) so that in this state the cat seems to have some dark spots in its coat.

⁵³Bakewell, n.p. As this animal had in all probability belonged to the miser, its gaunt appearance is no doubt attributable to the miser's pennypinching ways.

⁵⁴Above, p. 70. She appears to be using either her apron or her skirt to help her carry her load.

⁵⁵Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 75. Bakewell asserts that "In the Grate are Bricks, to save Coals" (Bakewell, n.p.).

⁵⁶Above, p. 71.

⁵⁷As pointed out earlier (above, p. 71), the cap is being worn by the miser when we see him in the picture above the mantelpiece (above, p. 71). He is also shown as wearing a coat. The coat seen hanging up in the room, while it does not appear to be exactly the same as the one worn by the miser, was quite possibly intended to be the same coat.

⁵⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 106. Paulson informs his readers that the "save-all" was used "for the last stub of a candle" (Paulson, I, p. 161).

⁵⁹Ireland is of the opinion that what is seen here is just "a spectacle frame, without glasses . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 75). Unfortunately, it is impossible to definitely determine whether or not the frame contains lenses.

⁶⁰Above, p. 74.

⁶¹In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 160) this bill is not included.

⁶²Charles Mitchell (ed.), Hogarth's Peregrination (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. XVIII. Tothall was about the same age as Hogarth. His father, who was an apothecary, died young, and his mother placed him with an uncle who was a fishmonger. He hated the trade, however, and ran away (Ibid., p. XVII). According to Mitchell (Ibid., pp. XVII-XVIII), he:

"boarded a West-Indianman and remained at sea till he was about thirty. He made several voyages to Newfoundland, collected rare shells in the West Indies, and was once taken prisoner by the Spaniards who marched him up country with nothing but a woollen cap and a brown waistcoat for covering and a staff to support him Round about 1727 he returned to London and became shopman to a woollen-draper off Tavistock Court, Covent Garden. His master took to him and lent him money to open a side-line in haberdashery. One day an acquaintance in the West Indies sent him a present of a puncheon of rum which his master advised him to sell retail, lending him a cellar for the purpose. The sale was profitable, Tothall ordered fresh supplies and thus combined drapery with a flourishing trade as a rum and brandy merchant. When his master retired he sold Tothall his business, allowing him to pay for it out of profits. This probably happened early in 1732

Tothall . . . was a close friend of Hogarth, who once lodged with him By 1746 Tothall had made enough to resign his business to his shopman He retired to Dover where Hogarth sometimes went down to his house near the Rope Walk to spin a yarn with him. Resourceful as ever, he became a smuggler; but fortune turned against him when the boat he had fitted out foundered on passage to Belgium with a cargo of horses on board. Nevertheless, his luck was not yet quite out, for one day, while digging in the garden of the little cottage he finally took outside Dover, he turned up some rare fossils which, as his biographer observed, 'to a man of his taste was a singular treasure.' He died, this eager virtuoso and commercial man, in 1768, aged seventy"

⁶³Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 109. This print appeared in 1732 (Paulson, I, p. 149).

⁶⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 106.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 105-106.

⁶⁶When discussing this cupboard, it is of interest to note that the "staple" beside the cupboard seems to be located at too low a level to match up with the clasp seen on the cupboard door; these two would have to fit if the cupboard were to be padlocked. Furthermore, the door itself appears as if it might not be as wide as the width of the cupboard.

⁶⁷Paulson, I, p. 161. Bakewell asserts that these items "have been lock'd up many years, being of no Use to the old Man" (Bakewell, n.p.). Thus Hogarth's miser appears to have much in common with "Old Cotta" in Pope's Epistle to Bathurst, for in the portion of this work quoted earlier (above, p. 218), it will be recalled that Pope refers to "the use of barb'rous Spits forgot," not to mention "smoakless Tow'rs" and "the sav'd Candle"!

⁶⁸Stephens asserts there are "four old wigs" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 106) in this closet. Thus this item probably is a wig, as there would appear to be three wigs in the row at the top of the closet.

⁶⁹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 75.

⁷⁰Sala, p. 193.

⁷¹There seems to be another item next to the swords, but this item cannot at present be identified.

⁷²Felton states that "his [the miser's] remaining crutch is another instance of his savingness; for, having broke one, he makes a walking-stick serve in its stead, rather than purchase another" (Felton, p. 14), while Lichtenberg suggests that these items were "evidently designed for hemiplegia [paralysis of one side]" (Lichtenberg, p. 195). Unfortunately, it is impossible to state definitely whether either of the foregoing explanations, or some other, is correct.

⁷³Above, pp. 217-218.

⁷⁴Paulson, I, p. 161. It is of interest to note that, in the first and second states of this plate, on the section of floor located in this print to the right of the box being discussed, two entirely different sets of lines delineating the floorboards can be seen.

⁷⁵Above, p. 216.

⁷⁶Paulson, I, p. 161.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., II, pl. 139.

Part II: Chapter VIII

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 2 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735. In the fourth state of this print (Paulson, I, p. 162), the spelling of the word "Horlot's" is changed to "Harlot's."

²Paulson, I, p. 162. The final form of this plate warrants explanation. Unlike the other plates in "A Rake's Progress," this print is not the reverse of the painting. Furthermore, the first state of this print (Ibid.) is an unfinished proof in which the figures have not been "worked up" as much as they are seen to be in the third and fourth states (Ibid.), and in which the paper hanging over the back of the chair (above, p. 217), and the title page (above, p. 217), have not been included (these are also absent in the painting from which this print was taken). In the second state (Paulson, I, p. 162), everything has been "worked up" except the face of a man who is holding two quarter staves (this face is now completely blank); in addition, the aforementioned strip of paper and the title page are included, but these, and all the other documents in the picture, are blank. In the third and fourth states, the above-mentioned areas are completed, and the only differences in the scenes depicted in these two states are minor differences in shading.

³One source suggests "something more than a year--perhaps . . ." (Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, p. 82), while another asserts that "three years have elapsed . . ." (Cook [ed.], p. 44). The latter appears most likely.

⁴Bakewell, n.p. While the possibility exists that this action depicted in this plate is taking place at a country estate, consideration of the various factors involved suggests that this is perhaps unlikely.

⁵Trevelyan, p. 407.

⁶Cook (ed.), p. 44.

⁷Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 156. Kurz (Ibid.) suggests that Hogarth probably derived the idea of Rakewell's levee from a poem entitled The Rake or the Libertine's Religion, published in 1693. A portion of this poem (The Rake or the Libertine's Religion [R. Taylor, 1693], St. 4, quoted in Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 156) reads as follows:

"Jack Wildblood come my levie to attend,
Tom Ramble too--my Dear and Bosom Friend.
But see Ned Hopeful makes Approach,
More than half Crop-sick with last Night's Debauch:
Will Friendly comes, as sure a card as ever,
Took Bumpers off at Vintner's Bar.
Hah!--my two Twins of Chirck and Ripartee,
Are come from Will's to wait on me.
Welcome dear Rogues"

⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 117.

⁹Paulson, I, p. 162.

¹⁰Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 117. Stephens might be mistaken about this, however, for if this gesture is considered along with this figure's expression, and the angle at which he is tilting his sword (which is in the scabbard hanging at his waist), it is possible that the "Captain" is taking exception to something Rakewell is saying about him.

¹¹Paulson, I, p. 163. From the expression on the face of the man holding this horn, there appears to be little doubt that the horn is being blown; therefore, if Tom is in the process of speaking to the "Captain" when we see him here, he can either be heard above the sound of the horn, or else is pausing momentarily (while about to say something) because the horn is being blown.

¹²Above, p. 217. The jockey is dressed in his riding garb, and is kneeling on his left knee. The cup rests on his right knee, and is steadied by both of his hands; his right arm passes over the top of the cup, and the portion of the cup's top edge that is nearest to him seems to be pressed against, or at least to be quite close to, his right armpit. Furthermore, his left hand, as well as steadying the cup, also holds his whip.

¹³Above, p. 217.

¹⁴There is either another paper under this one, or else the paper the man is holding is folded in half. It also seems possible that this man is resting his right hand (and perhaps his left hand too) on the back of a chair.

¹⁵Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, p. 84.

¹⁶Paulson, I, p. 162.

¹⁷Townsend, n.p.

¹⁸Quennell, p. 128.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Quennell, p. 187.

²³Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, p. 84.

²⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 117.

²⁵Paulson, I, p. 163.

²⁶Above, pp. 180-181.

²⁷He might also be holding these two quarter-staffs with his right hand, which is hidden from view. And it might also be noted that the ends of these quarter-staffs rest on the floor by this person's right foot.

²⁸Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, p. 84. The figure on the floor in the foreground of Hogarth's "A Mid-night Modern Conversation," published in March of 1732/3, might also possibly be intended for this person (Paulson,

I, p. 152), as might the figure on the horse in the lower right-hand corner of Hogarth's "Southwark Fair," published in January of 1733/4 (Ibid., p. 158). (It is of interest to note that, while the figure in "A Midnight Modern Conversation" bears some resemblance to the figure in "Southwark Fair," there seems to be little resemblance between either of these and the figure in Plate 2 of "A Rake's Progress.")

²⁹Paulson, I, p. 314.

³⁰Ibid. Even Sir Robert Walpole attended this fight (Ibid.).

³¹Ibid.

³²John Godfrey, Treatise upon the Useful Science of Defence (London, 1747), p. 41, quoted in Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . ., p. 210.

³³Chetwood, History of the Stage, p. 60, quoted in Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 117.

³⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 118-19.

³⁵Paulson, I, p. 163.

³⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 118.

³⁷The Daily Post (London), May 11, 1734, quoted in Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 118.

³⁸Grub-street Journal (London), May 23, 1734, quoted in Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 118.

³⁹Above, pp. 180-181.

⁴⁰Paulson, I, p. 163.

⁴¹Paulson also suggests that "the cocks may be an allusion to Rubens' 'Cock and Pearl' (Aachen)" (Ibid.).

⁴²Quennell, p. 139.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Paulson, I, p. 18.

⁴⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 118.

⁴⁷Bakewell, n.p.

⁴⁸Above, p. 217.

⁴⁹Paulson identifies this person as an "old poet . . ." (Paulson, I, p. 163).

⁵⁰Stephens suggests this figure is a tailor (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 118).

⁵¹The person not identified by Bakewell appears to be the figure standing with his back to the window who is to a great degree obscured by the person who is holding the paper in his hand. Hogarth does not appear to have given the viewer any clues as to the former person's occupation.

⁵²Paulson, I, p. 163.

⁵³Above, p. 220.

⁵⁴Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, p. 85.

⁵⁵Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 320.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷This figure does not include those seen in the picture on the wall behind Rakewell.

⁵⁸This harpsichord is marked "I. Mahoan Fecit," which is no doubt a reference to Joseph Mahoon, harpsichord maker to the king (Paulson, I, p. 162).

⁵⁹Nichols, "Catalogue of Hogarth's Prints," in Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius . . . , ed. Nichols, p. 189.

⁶⁰Wheatley, p. 123.

⁶¹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 78.

⁶²Paulson, I, p. 162.

⁶³The bottom half of this page is blank. However, in the painting from which this plate was taken, the initials "F H" can be seen at the bottom of the page; these probably stood for "George Frideric Handel." Thus, while this might possibly suggest that Hogarth intended the harpsichordist to be Handel, it is perhaps more likely that his omission of these initials in the print indicates he did not intend the figure in Plate 2 to be this famous composer.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 162-63.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 163.

⁶⁶Above, p. 217.

⁶⁷Above, p. 217.

⁶⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 118.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Farinelli, whose real name was Carlo Broschi (Paulson, I, p. 163), was a great castrato soprano who was born in 1705 and died in 1782 (Ibid.). According to Paulson (Ibid.), Farinelli:

"made his triumphant English debut on October 29, 1734 in Hasse's 'Artaxerxes' and was showered with gifts. While his salary was £1,500 a year, his income was closer to £5,000 In 1737 he departed, intending to return the next season, but he was persuaded instead to go to Madrid and sing four arias from 'Artaxerxes' each night to the King of Spain at £3,000 a year."

Another source (Charles Burney, A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period [1789], ed. Frank Mercer [New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957], II, pp. 789-90), writing in the Eighteenth Century, states that:

"No vocal performer of the present century has been more unanimously allowed by professional critics, as well as general celebrity to have been gifted with a voice of such uncommon power, sweetness, extent, and agility, as Carlo Broschi Detto Farinelli Nicolini, Senesino, and Carestini, gratified the eye as much by the dignity, grace, and propriety of their action and deportment, as the ear by the judicious use

of a few notes within the limits of a small compass of voice; but Farinelli without the assistance of significant gestures or graceful attitudes, enchanted and astonished his hearers by the force, extent, and mellifluous tones of the mere organ, when he had nothing to execute, articulate, or express. But though during the time of his singing he was as motionless as a statue, his voice was so active, that no intervals were too close, too wide, or too rapid for his execution. It seems as if the composers of these times were unable to invent passages sufficiently difficult to display his powers, or the orchestras to accompany him in many of those which had been composed for his peculiar talent.

.....

There was none of all Farinelli's excellencies by which he so far surpassed all other singers, and astonished the public, as his *messa di voce*, or swell; which, by the natural formation of his lungs, and artificial oeconomy of breath, he was able to protract to such a length as to excite incredulity even in those who heard him; who, though unable to detect the artifice, imagined him to have had the latent help of some instrument by which the tone was continued, while he renewed his powers of respiration."

From previous comments made about Hogarth's opinion of people who were not English, it is probably not necessary to suggest what Hogarth thought of Farinelli (or, as Hogarth called him on the scroll of paper seen in this print, "Signor Farinelli the Italian Singer" [above, p. 89]). However, mention should perhaps be made of the fact that Hogarth does not say the gifts listed on the aforementioned scroll were gifts that were "Presented to Signor Farinelli," but he says they were gifts this person "Condescended to Accept" (above, p. 89), which in itself is indicative of Hogarth's attitude. And it can easily be imagined what Hogarth would think of the idea of giving Farinelli a gift!

⁷¹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 79.

⁷²Paulson, I, p. 163.

⁷³Ibid.

Part II: Chapter IX

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 3 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 80.

³Townsend, n.p.

⁴The "Rose Tavern" was located on the east side of Bridge Street at the corner of Russell Street. It was torn down in 1775-1776 when the Drury Lane Theatre was enlarged (Paulson, I, p. 164).

And it is of interest to note that, in the aforementioned poem The Rake of the Libertine's Religion (above, p. 226), a portion of the fifth stanza (The Rake of the Libertine's Religion, stanza 4, quoted in Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 157) reads as follows:

"Come let us leave this smoaky House,
And at next Tavern take a large Carouse,
A large Carouse to spur us on,
To do what never yet was done,
By Antient Hector or by Modern Rake"

⁵Bakewell, n.p.

⁶Lichtenberg, p. 216.

⁷Although no chair back can be seen, which suggests the possibility he might be seated on a bench, it seems unlikely that Tom could be in the position he is in unless he were supported by the back of a chair.

⁸Antal might possibly believe this is the case (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 99). This source further asserts that "the pose of Hogarth's Rake with one leg on the table is reminiscent of similar young tipplers in Steen drinking with a girl, as in "The World Reversed (Vienna) . . ." (Ibid.), and that "Steen's frequent motif of a man seated with one leg raised was an imitation of a famous antique statue, the Barberini 'Faun' Thus Hogarth's rake, following in the steps of Steen, unwittingly echoed a motif from antiquity" (Ibid., p. 237).

⁹Tom's left arm is not shown.

¹⁰Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid. This would appear to be a definite possibility.

¹³Ten women are included in this plate, and Bakewell states that these are "ten of the most noted whores . . ." (Bakewell, n.p.).

¹⁴Paulson, I, p. 164.

¹⁵The watch being referred to is the one that was mentioned earlier (above, p. 91).

This might also be a suitable point to mention Wilenski's assertion that Plate 3 "is a direct descendant of the Dutch 'Prodigal Son' tavern scenes where pocket-picking so frequently appears" (Wilenski, p. 77). Antal (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, pp. 98-99) also comments on this point, stating that this scene "certainly harks back to a type of Dutch genre painting representing the Prodigal Son, or, discarding the Biblical pretext, an orgy pure and simple (the Hals school in Haarlem; Dirk Hals, A. Palamedes, etc.)."

¹⁶In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 164) the position of the hand with which this person is receiving the watch has been changed. In the earlier states she is taking the watch with her fingers, but in the third state she is taking it with the palm of her hand. The watch itself is facing the viewer. This position is quite logical, since there is no reason why the watch should be facing in any other direction. In addition, showing the watch in this position leaves no doubt whatsoever as to the identity of this object, and allows the time at which the action depicted in this plate is taking place to be definitely established.

It is also of interest to recall that, in Plate 3 of "A Harlot's Progress," Miss Hackabout is seen holding a watch (above, p. 31). While there is a possibility that Hogarth intended the watch stolen from Tom Rakewell to be the one that is being held by Miss Hackabout, thus linking the two series together, the likelihood that this connection was intended appears remote.

¹⁷This chair is near Tom, and a portion of his coat rests on the chair's seat.

¹⁸This appears to be the index finger of her left hand.

¹⁹A person holding a bent finger up to her mouth would probably be thought to be thinking. As this person is smiling, Kunzle would seem to be correct in suggesting that "this gesture (a bent finger held up to the mouth) in itself can be interpreted widely under the general heading of 'new and/or pleasant thought'. . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 331). (As Kunzle points out, this action does not appear to be "one of pointing or beckoning, nor, for that matter, . . . one of enjoining silence" [Ibid.].)

²⁰Kunzle is of this opinion (Ibid.). He asserts that this pose "implies passive complicity: the negress having noticed the theft, enjoys it and looks round to transmit her enjoyment, and to attract . . . attention . . . to the sleight-of-hand . . . (Ibid.)."

²¹Unfortunately, what is on the tray cannot be identified.

²²Above, p. 91. Cook asserts that this platter "served for many years as a sign to a pewterer on Snow-Hill . . ." (Cook [ed.], p. 47).

²³Paulson, I, p. 164. Fielding used this person, as "Leatherside," in his The Covent-Garden Tragedy (Ibid.).

²⁴Ibid. Cook states that "Leather Coat" was "remarkable for his universal knowledge of the women of the town" (Cook [ed.], p. 47).

²⁵Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 129.

²⁶Paulson, I, p. 164.

²⁷Stephens asserts that these two people are performing "loudly on their instruments" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128). The trumpeter is holding his horn up in front of him, and it would appear that Hogarth intended this person to be thought of as playing his instrument; therefore, although the harpist's hands cannot be seen, it would appear likely that he is playing his instrument too. It might also be noted that Cook suggests that the latter person is blind (Cook [ed.], p. 47); while this is possible, it is also possible that the harpist is not sightless, but that his gaze is directed downward. And as a further item of interest,

it might be noted that Felton suggests the figure decorating the uppermost corner of this person's harp is "King David . . ." (Felton, p. 16).

²⁸"Black Joke" was the title of a famous obscene song (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 331).

²⁹Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 81. There is little doubt that this is what she is doing.

³⁰Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Some of the other women in this scene are also shown as wearing beauty patches (i.e. the aforementioned woman who has stolen Tom's watch (above, p. 93)).

³⁴Paulson, I, p. 165.

³⁵This figure has been worked over in the third state of this print (Ibid., p. 164), with the most noticeable changes being to her left breast, her face (her features seem slightly different), and her hair (in the third state, she does not have the loose strands of hair that hang down the left side of her head in the earlier states).

³⁶It cannot be determined whether or not she is gripping her stocking.

³⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.

³⁸Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 81.

³⁹Above, p. 94.

⁴⁰Paulson, I, p. 165.

⁴¹Above, p. 94.

⁴²As mentioned earlier, this figure is changed slightly in the third state of this print. One of the changes concerns her hair, which in the third state appears much neater than it does in the earlier states. Might Hogarth have made this change to avoid the possibility that the viewer might think her hair has come down as a result of her having already "performed"?

⁴³Antal, who believes this person is undressing. (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 99), asserts (Ibid.) that this figure "was possibly inspired by Steen who often painted a woman dressing in a similar attitude, with one knee crossed over the other (e.g. 'La Toilette,' formerly Kann Collection Paris; de Bruyn, Hague)." This same source also mentions that "a woman with her knees crossed while washing her feet in a brook was also a recurrent motif of Siberechts" (Ibid., p. 237).

⁴⁴Above, p. 92.

⁴⁵Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.

⁴⁶Bakewell, n.p.

⁴⁷Cook (ed.), p. 43.

⁴⁸Concerning this incident, Smith (J.T. Smith, Nollekens and His Times: And Memoirs of Contemporary Artists from the Time of Roubiliac, Hogarth, and Reynolds, to that of Fuseli, Flaxman, and Blake, ed. W. Whitten (London: John Lane, 1920), II, p. 271) states that:

"Hogarth . . . went to Moll King's, in Covent-Garden, accompanied by his friend Hayman, who was at all times highly delighted to see that 'moral teacher of mankind' sketch from Nature. They had not been in the brothel ten minutes, before Hogarth took out his book to draw two ladies, whose dispute bespoke a warm contest; and, at last, one of them, who had taken a mouthful of wine or gin, squirted it in the other's face, which so delighted the artist, that he exclaimed, 'Frank, mind the b__'s mouth!' This incident Hogarth has introduced in the third plate of his *Rake's Progress*."

Oppé believes that the above account "amounts to a 'reductio ad absurdum' of the legends about his drawing from the life" (A. P. Oppé, The Drawing of William Hogarth [New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1948], p. 11), while Antal asserts that "it is not impossible that [the above account] . . . of Hogarth's youthful experience in a tavern with Hayman has some substance . . ." (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 222).

⁴⁹In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 164), the appearance of these figures has been changed, but the changes are only minor.

⁵⁰As this person is holding the candle-holder in a near-horizontal position, there appears little doubt that she is indeed deliberately setting fire to the map.

⁵¹Kunzle asserts that "to fire" was "current in eighteenth-century slang of venery" (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 326); could this account for Hogarth's inclusion of this incident? On the other hand, might Hogarth have wished to suggest to the viewer that Tom Rakewell's "world" was soon going to be destroyed?

⁵²This mirror has a very ornate frame. Two candle-holders are a part of this frame, and a candle is burning in each of these.

⁵³Paulson, I, p. 164. One of these heads can be seen on the floor, partly covered by the pile of clothes beside the "posture woman."

And it is of interest to note that, in the area of the print in which Nero's picture is found, a cord can also be seen. As this cord looks as if it is meant to be pulled, perhaps it is used for summoning a waiter to the room.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵This portrait hangs between the broken mirror and a curtain that can be seen at the left of this print. This curtain is being held to one side by a hook that seems to have been intended for this purpose.

⁵⁶Since two of these pictures of heads are seen on the floor, it seems logical to assume that the mutilation of the portraits occurred during the course of this evening's revelry.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Wheatley, pp. 274-75. It will be recalled that a "French Ordinary" is referred to in the memorandum book in Plate 1 (above, p. 72). Regardless of whether or not Hogarth meant this establishment to be "Pontac's," the decision to include an eating-house of this particular type may have been prompted by Hogarth's knowledge of the famous London establishment.

⁶⁰The base of this glass is possibly lying on the table behind its cone-shaped portion, and the small item near the edge of the table is possibly this glass's stem. the larger object that is lying on its side is probably a bottle. Another item on the table seems to be a piece of fruit; near this is what appears to be either a whole fruit or a piece thereof; and close to this is something which cannot be readily identified (this looks like a snail shell; however, in the lower right-hand corner of this print is what appears to be a similar item that is not completely rolled up).

⁶¹The viewer might suspect that anyone who indulged in the type of merrymaking depicted in this plate may have earlier contracted a venereal disease. Perhaps these pills are meant to suggest that this is indeed the case.

⁶²Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.

⁶³Above, p. 91.

⁶⁴Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 81.

Part II: Chapter X

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 4 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²Paulson, I, p. 165.

³Ibid. This street "was the very centre of High Life in London . . ." (Wheatley, p. 123).

⁴In a version of this state that has been altered with ink (Paulson, I, p. 165), the sky is "dark and stormy" rather than "cloudy," and rain appears to be falling in the distance; in addition, Sarah Young's cap has been changed.

⁵One of the figures in the background--a female--is described by Lichtenberg as being "a queen figure; it almost seems to have something like a beehive perched upon its head" (Lichtenberg, p. 234); this same source also states that, since it is raining, "it is easy to understand why a girl should dive underneath an empty basket" (Ibid.). However, it is not raining in the original version of the first state of this plate, nor is it raining in this plate's third state (Paulson, II, pl. 144); in addition, while it appears

to be raining in both the altered version of the first state of this plate (Ibid., pl. 246) and this plate's second state (Ibid., pl. 247), the rain does not seem to be falling on the figure in question. Therefore, it is perhaps unlikely that this person would "dive underneath an empty basket." In addition, it is not clear if this figure's head is actually covered by the item mentioned above. Thus, upon consideration, it appears impossible at this time to offer a definitive explanation of this figure.

⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 140.

⁷Ibid. This person has an expression of what seems to be either indignation, amazement, or surprise on his face (perhaps most likely the latter).

⁸Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 82.

⁹Nichols, Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works . . . , pp. 214-15.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 214.

¹¹Wheatley, p. 298.

¹²Sedan chairs were first used in London "in 1623. They did not become really fashionable until the time of Queen Ann. In 1711, two hundred were licensed; their tax was fixed at 10s. per year, and the allotted fair was 1s. a mile" (Townsend, n.p.).

¹³La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 66. Behind Tom's head can be seen an item which Lichtenberg states is a "hair-bag . . . [rising] off his shoulders as if standing on end . . ." (Lichtenberg, p. 227). It might be wondered if Lichtenberg is correct in this identification, or if this item is something else which cannot at present be positively identified.

¹⁴La Farge and Dobson state that "the rake, who has become proof against many better emotions, is powerless against that of terror, which is loudly proclaimed in his features and attitude" (La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 66). While he might be surprised or shocked, Tom's expression and gestures do not appear to be suggestive of terror.

¹⁵Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 140.

¹⁶Lichtenberg asserts that this person, "even while discharging official duties, is chewing tobacco . . ." (Lichtenberg, p. 228).

¹⁷Stephens suggests that Tom is "endeavouring to retrieve his injured fortune by attendance at Court, in hopes of obtaining a place . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 140).

¹⁸This sedan chair bears the number "41." It might be wondered whether this number was chosen at random, or whether it had some specific significance at the time this series appeared.

It might also be convenient at this point to mention a suggestion put forth by Antal regarding the source of this scene. Antal (Antal, The Art Bulletin, XXIX, p. 41) states that:

"the scene of the rake, carried in a sedan chair and, as a debtor held up by bailiffs . . . , is obviously derived from Gillot's composition, 'Scène des Carrosses' (ca. 1707, original picture in the Louvre), . . . which Hogarth could have known through Huquier's engraving. This represents an incident from an interlude, based on an actual happening, which was enacted in Paris in 1707, in the 'Italian' comedy, 'La Foire St. Germain': dressed as women and carried along in sedan chairs, Arlequin and Scaramouche, supported by their lackeys, are quarreling as to which shall pass, while a policeman is trying to separate them."

¹⁹It is of interest to note that the window on the side of the sedan chair visible to the viewer has its curtain drawn across it "as if Rakewell had hoped to escape observation during his journey . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 140).

²⁰Sarah is identified by the box referred to in an earlier chapter (above, p. 221). It might also be noted that, although this box is in an upside-down position, the name "Sarah Young" that is on the side of this box is written so that from the viewer's position it is "right side up."

²¹Sarah wears a dress, cap, and necklace; in addition, she is also wearing an apron. The box seen on her right is not only falling in an upside-down position, but its lid is open, and its contents are seen falling out. Paulson asserts that "by her sewing box . . . we see that she is a seamstress . . ." (Paulson, I, p. 165), while Ireland states she "is now a milliner . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 82).

It might also be noted that the bailiff with the patch on his forehead is probably looking at Sarah (his head is turned away from Tom Rakewell, and while it is difficult to ascertain exactly what he is looking at, it would seem logical that he would be looking at Sarah).

²²Wheatley, p. 299.

²³Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 140-41.

²⁴Ibid., p. 141.

²⁵Ibid., p. 140.

²⁶Lichtenberg states that "the mischievous lamp-lighter intentionally overfills the lamp, and the surplus streams onto Rakewell's festive clothes. That he does this purposely can be surmised from his lower lip, and his eye looking where there is less to see than is below him" (Lichtenberg, p. 227). These statements might be questioned, however, for although it is impossible to accurately determine where the man on the ladder is looking, it would appear likely that he is supposed to be looking at what is taking place below him. If this were the case, he could easily spill the oil without meaning to do so. In addition, there would seem to be little reason for him to intentionally spill the oil on Rakewell. And, while the oil might well be about to land on Tom (which, as Kurz suggests, may be intended to symbolize Tom's plight [Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 158]), it is impossible to state definitely that this will happen, as there seems to be a possibility that the oil will miss him (although to judge by the location in which Hogarth placed the man on the ladder, it is perhaps likely that the artist intended the oil to be thought of as falling onto Rakewell).

²⁷There is also a possibility that a portion of this piece of material has been broken off.

²⁸What is on this sign cannot be clearly distinguished.

²⁹It might also be noted that near this sign is a pole that projects out over the street at an angle.

³⁰This sign appears to be mounted on a very solid-looking structure which somewhat resembles a door.

³¹Above, p. 240.

³²The second state of this plate differs from the third state only in that the sky and the lightning are different, the curtain on the sedan chair's window is drawn completely across this window in the second state (as it is in the first state), and the third state is more shaded than the second.

³³Paulson, I, p. 165.

³⁴Wheatley, p. 294.

³⁵Algernon Bourke, The History of White's (1892), quoted in Wheatley, pp. 294-95.

³⁶Wheatley, pp. 295-99.

³⁷The Polite Gamester; or the Humours of Whist: A Dramatick Satyre as Acted Every Day at White's and Other Coffee Houses and Assemblies (1753), quoted in Wheatley, p. 299.

³⁸Bourke, The History of White's, quoted in Wheatley, p. 300.

³⁹Above, p. 104. Wheatley seems to have been of the opinion that the "object" on which this is written is one of "the posts which marked the edge of the pavement in most of the London streets . . ." (Wheatley, p. 299). The "object" on the left-hand side of this print which Wheatley also seems to identify as one of these "posts" (above, p. 102) is shorter than the one on which "BLACKS" is written, and while both are topped by similarly-shaped pieces the main bodies of these two "objects" would appear to have differently-shaped cross sections.

⁴⁰Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 142. It is also possible that, rather than being concerned with "emphasizing the distinction" between the two types of gambling, Hogarth's intention was to add a touch of humor to this print by referring to the area in which the boys were gambling as "Black's."

⁴¹Kurz suggests that these boys were "inspired perhaps, by the group of little boys playing marbles . . ." in the foreground of the second scene of an anonymous series of twelve engravings published around the years 1660-75 and entitled "La Vita del Lascivo" (Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 158). (The main character of this series seems to have been to Seventeenth Century Italy what Tom Rakewell was to Eighteenth Century England.)

And it has also been suggested that one of the boys in the group seen beside Rakewell "was painted from a French boy, who cleaned shoes at the corner of Hog-Lane" (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . . , II, p. 121).

⁴²Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 142.

⁴³Paulson, I, p. 166.

⁴⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 142.

⁴⁵Paulson, I, p. 166. Paulson also suggests that this lad uses his wig on shoes, as "old wigs were the best possible polishing cloths" (Ibid.).

⁴⁶This person is either in the process of playing the card in his right hand, or else is arranging his cards.

⁴⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 142.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 143. The dice show the numbers "1" and "3" respectively.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid. This cap seems to have a hole in it through which hair is protruding.

⁵²Stephens says that this star has five points (Ibid.), but there appears to be little doubt that the star is six-pointed. It might be wondered whether a star of this type had any specific significance at the time this plate was produced.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶It might be noted that the gesture made by this boy (the one having the star on his body) towards his basket and its contents possibly indicates that, as Ireland suggests, he is "now throwing for his stock in trade . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 83).

⁵⁷The dice in the "dice box" appear to be in the process of being thrown out of the box. (This dice, as well as the box Sarah Young drops in this plate, are further examples of "suspended action" such as is seen in Plate 1 of "A Harlot's Progress" [above, p. 22].)

⁵⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 143. There is possibly another even smaller item by the three thimble-shaped items. Could all these comprise the "equipment" necessary to operate the "shell game" in which a person tries to guess which "shell" the "pea" is under?

⁵⁹Above, p. 106.

⁶⁰Paulson, I, p. 166.

⁶¹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 143.

⁶²Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 82.

Part II: Chapter XI

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 5 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²The differences that exist between the first and third states of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 166) are, on the whole, of a relatively minor nature.

³This person can be identified by his surplice.

⁴Standing to the right of the minister is a person identified as a "clerk" (La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 72).

⁵Stephens states that she has also lost her teeth (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147).

⁶One source describes the bride as "little less than repulsive . . ." (La Farge and Dobson, III, p. 72), while Kunzle asserts that "on close inspection, Hogarth's bride is not so bad after all; a slightly raised shoulder, and of course the missing eye . . . are the only deformities" (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 333).

⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147.

⁸Ireland asserts that her face expresses "an amorous leer, which she directs to her youthful husband . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 84). This might be questioned, however, for not only is it debatable whether the expression on her face could be termed a "leer," but she is neither facing the groom nor looking at him with her one good eye.

⁹Bakewell, n.p.

¹⁰Ibid. As the bride does seem to have some physical defects, it is logical to assume that Rakewell is marrying her because he is short of money and she is not. And while there is no concrete proof that the bride is a widow, this might easily be the case.

¹¹Stephens states that Tom holds this ring between his "first and second . . . fingers . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147). While Rakewell does appear to be holding the ring in this fashion, it is perhaps more likely that he holds it between his first (index) finger and his thumb, with his thumb being hidden by the other three fingers of his hand.

¹²As the print reverses the original painting, the finger on which the ring will be put is on the bride's right hand.

¹³In the first state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 166) Rakewell's right leg is bent, and the heel of his right foot is to the left of his right leg. Even considering that he has possibly just taken a step forward with his left foot, the pose in which we see him in the first state gives him what might possibly be termed a somewhat "affected" air.

¹⁴Ireland suggests Tom is looking at this person (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 85).

¹⁵Stephens says she is "a lady's maid . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147). The head of this figure is reworked in the third state (Paulson, I, p. 166); Paulson states that her face was changed "so as not to resemble Sarah Young's" (Ibid.).

¹⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147.

¹⁷Townsend, n.p.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 166), this man's hair (or wig) is very much darker than it is in the first state (Ibid.).

²⁰There would appear to be little reason for Hogarth to include, in this scene, a woman who is holding a child, unless he wanted the figure to be identified as Sarah Young. (It might also be mentioned that this woman's face has been reworked in the third state [Ibid.] of this plate.)

²¹Stephens identifies the woman with the child as Sarah Young (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 148), and suggests the person next to her is probably her mother (Ibid.).

²²It appears likely that Sarah's mother's antagonist is going to hit Sarah's mother with either these keys or her right hand. It is also quite possible that Sarah's mother is about to hit her antagonist with her left hand (the one that is clenched into a fist).

²³Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 85.

²⁴Paulson, I, p. 166.

²⁵Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 85.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 148.

²⁸While reference is being made to the child Sarah is carrying, mention should perhaps be made to one source's suggestion that over five years have gone by since the action depicted in Plate 4 took place (Hannay, Trusler, and Roberts, II, pp. 91-92). However, the child being carried by Sarah does not appear old enough to allow this suggestion to be correct.

²⁹It might also be wondered whether the post seen on the left of the person behind the bride is an original support, or one that had to be added because the church's condition was such that additional support was required.

³⁰Above, p. 110. This inscription appears on the front of the balcony referred to earlier (above, p. 112).

³¹Nichols and Steevens assert that "it appears, on examination of the Registers, & c. that Tho. Sice and Tho. Horn are not fictitious names. Such people were really

churchwardens when the repairs in 1725 were made" (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . . , II, p. 123).

³²Above, p. 110.

³³Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . . , II, p. 124. Wheatley suggests that "the Rake would naturally not wish to show his deformed wife before a large audience" (Wheatley, p. 412).

Regarding the location of this church in relation to the city of London, Wheatley asserts that "at the end of the eighteenth century London had joined Marylebone (Wheatley, p. 412), and Ireland points out that, in 1688, "the annual amount of the taxes for the whole parish was four-and-twenty pounds; in 1788, the annual amount was four-and-twenty thousand" (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 84).

³⁴Wheatley, p. 411.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Paulson, I, p. 166. Clerk identifies these as "branches of holly and bay . . ." (Clerk, I, p. 100), and suggests that they "mark the period of the year when this unnatural junction is taking place to be about Christmas" (Ibid.).

³⁷Stephens describes this dog as "a robust, but rather small bitch . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 148), and suggests that it is "probably the pet of the lady . . ." (Ibid.). There are certain similarities between this dog and the one in the previous plate (above, p. 102), but it is perhaps doubtful that the two dogs were intended to be one and the same (close examination suggests that the ears of the dog in Plate 4 are longer than those of the dog in Plate 5).

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Paulson, I, p. 166. Thus, since there is this parallel between the dog on the stool and the woman Rakewell is marrying, it is quite likely that Hogarth intended this dog to be thought of as being this woman's pet, in which case Stephens' assertion concerning this matter (above, p. 247) is correct.

It might also be pointed out that the dog Hogarth owned at the time he produced this plate quite possibly served as a model for the male dog shown in this scene. This dog may have been the one referred to in the following newspaper advertisement from the Country Journal; or, the Craftsman (Country Journal; or, the Craftsman [London], Dec. 5, 1730, quoted in Paulson, I, p. 205):

"LOST, From the Broad Cloth Warehouse, in the little Piazza, Covent Garden. A Light-colour'd Dutch DOG, with a black Muzzle, and answers to the Name of Pugg. Whoever has found him, and will bring him to Mr. Hogarth, at the said place, shall have half a Guinea Reward."

Paulson suggests that either the above-mentioned Pugg, "or Trump posed for the dog in [this plate] . . ." (Paulson, I, p. 205). Trump is the dog that appears in Hogarth's print "GULIELMUS HOGARTH" (*Ibid.*), and the dog said by Nichols and Steevens (Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 122) to be in this plate. (Trump was succeeded, in the 1750's by another pug called "Crab" [Paulson, I, p. 205].)

However, while either Pugg or Trump may have served as a model for the male dog in Plate 5 of "A Rake's Progress," Hogarth may not have seen Pugg again after losing him; in addition, as the painting from which the "GULIELMUS HOGARTH" print was taken was not painted until 1745 (Beckett, p. 55), and as Trump possibly lived into the 1750's, it is possible Trump may not have been born when the painted version of Plate 5 was completed. Thus, the possibility exists that, if one of Hogarth's dogs served as a model for the male dog in Plate 5 (which seems very likely), it may have been painted from a dog other than Pugg or Trump; in other words, Hogarth may have owned a dog between Pugg and Trump that served as his model. But whichever dog was the one from which the dog in Plate 5 was taken, it is perhaps not likely that the dog in the print was intended to be Hogarth's pet; rather, the dog in Plate 5 is perhaps more likely to have been intended to be another dog of the same breed.

⁴⁰Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 123.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Another window is also seen, this one on the right-hand side of the print. This window has a horizontal head, and is possibly part of a door.

⁴³Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147.

⁴⁴Unfortunately, it is difficult to make out what is depicted on the right-hand side of this "small sculptured monument."

⁴⁵Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 123. Nichols and Steevens also state that, at the time the work referred to above was written, this small monument was still preserved (Ibid.).

⁴⁶These are the first three letters of the name of Jesus in Greek.

⁴⁷Paulson, I, p. 166.

⁴⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147. Although no nail is visible on which the clergyman could hang his hat, it appears quite possible that Hogarth intended the "vaguely-defined circular patch" to have resulted from the clergyman's having done just this; not only does no other explanation appear likely, but in Hogarth's "The Sleeping Congregation," published in 1736 (Paulson, I, p. 170), the speaker's hat hangs on the pulpit behind him (Paulson, II, pl. 151).

⁴⁹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 147.

⁵⁰Cook suggests that "the damp of the church . . ." (Cook [ed.], p. 51) have almost destroyed the creed. The words "I Believe" can be made out, and there appear to be a few illegible words below these.

⁵¹This tablet is against the right-hand margin of the print.

⁵²The diagonal crack appears to start on the edge of the tablet at a point slightly above the written portion of the Seventh Commandment, and seems as if it might just touch the written portion of this Commandment. It cuts through the next two Commandments, but seems to " peter out " before going through the Tenth Commandment.

⁵³Before terminating discussion of this plate, mention should be made of Antal's assertion that "the pattern of the three main figures--bride, bridegroom, and clergyman--

in the 'Marriage of the Rake' . . . , their arrangement with-
in the setting and even the stooping attitude of the boy be-
side the bride, seem to derive from Picart's 'Catholic Wed-
ding in Church' . . ." (Antal, Hogarth and His Place In
European Art, p. 100).

Part II: Chapter XII

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 6 of
William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²The three states of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 167)
are all essentially the same.

³Above, p. 104.

⁴It will be recalled that White's was destroyed by
fire (above, p. 105). Wheatley asserts this happened on
April 28, 1733 (Wheatley, p. 295), while Paulson states it
occurred on May 3, 1733 (Paulson, I, p. 168).

⁵Cook (ed.), p. 52.

⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 155.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid. Two lighted candles are stuck in this "long-
stemmed candlestick."

⁹Bakewell suggests that the person holding the
"long-stemmed candlestick" started the fire (Bakewell, n.p.).

¹⁰The dog referred to earlier (above, p. 118) has its
front feet on this chair (its rear feet are on the floor).
And it might also be mentioned that this dog does not appear
to be the same animal that is seen in Plate 4 (above, p. 102),
nor does it appear to be the same animal as either of the
dogs in Plate 5 (above, p. 114).

¹¹Also on the floor are two items identified by Kurz
as Rakewell's "cravat and his empty purse . . ." (Kurz,
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 158).
The one item is quite possibly his "empty purse," but the
other would appear to be not a "cravat" but the bow from his
wig.

¹²Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 155. Stephens also states that Tom is grinding his teeth (Ibid.).

¹³Regarding the Rake's pose, Kunzle states that the half-kneeling position is "familiar enough from representations of the Prodigal Son repentant . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 336). Was this the source of the above-mentioned aspect of Rake-well's pose? And if it were, did Hogarth wish to suggest that when we see him in Plate 6 Tom is repentant?

¹⁴Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 155.

¹⁵Townsend, n.p. Paulson also states this is a black mask (Paulson, I, p. 168), but Kunzle, when comparing this person to the corresponding figure in a plagiarized version of this plate, states that Hogarth's figure "has no mask . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 335).

¹⁶Felton, p. 22.

¹⁷Ireland states this is a glass of water (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 88), but it is perhaps more likely that the glass would be filled with an alcoholic beverage.

¹⁸Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 87.

¹⁹Paulson, I, p. 168. Kunzle asserts that "the highwayman is lying in wait . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 335), and further suggests (Ibid.) that:

"The boy may have to shout more because of the general din than because of the raptness of his customer. The highwayman is surely very much awake; further, he may be ignoring the boy because he detects the arrival of the moment of confusion which he intends to exploit."

²⁰Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 156.

²¹Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 336. This figure appears to be quite concerned about something. Most likely losses incurred at the gaming table are the cause of his concern.

²²As Kunzle points out, this is the only sign of "physical delapidation" that can be seen in this print (Ibid., p. 337).

²³Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 88. George asserts this person is a member of the Jewish race (George, p. 43), but there would appear to be no real basis for this assertion.

²⁴Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 88.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 155-56.

²⁷This person seems to be looking at either the man wearing the glasses or the book he is holding; in addition, he may be speaking to the older man (Stephens is of this opinion [Ibid., p. 156]). The well-dressed gentleman also seems to be holding something in his left hand which may be a roll of coins (Stephens identifies this as a roll of coins, terming it a "rouleau" [Ibid.]), and the index finger of this hand is extended.

²⁸This would not be the same chair as the one on which this person is sitting.

²⁹Above, p. 119.

³⁰Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 88.

³¹Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 158.

³²Cook (ed.), p. 53. It is perhaps unlikely that the figure receiving the coins is borrowing money from the other person, since Hogarth would possibly not wish to include a second "moneylending" incident in this scene.

³³It might also be noted that this person appears to be somewhat inebriated, as Ireland suggests when he describes this figure as "one of those staggering votaries of Bacchus who are to be found in every company where there is good wine . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 88).

³⁴This man's mouth is open as if he were speaking.

³⁵It is perhaps rather unlikely that the man with the sword was merely waving the sword in anger, and would not strike the person towards whom his wrath was directed.

³⁶Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 158.

Part II: Chapter XIII

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 7 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²In the states of this plate whose locations are known, the changes made in the depicted scene are minor, being confined to changes in shading (Paulson, I, p. 168). However, Paulson states that, in the first state of this plate (the present location of which is unknown), the notation "'Garnish Money' does not yet appear in the Jailer's book; the writing on the paper under the 'Scheme for paying the National Debt' is barely indicated. The plate is not filled up to the left margin . . ." (Ibid.).

³This scroll is seen falling to the floor, along with a sheet of paper; another scroll lies on the floor beneath the latter. (The sheet of paper appears to have writing on it, but closer examination reveals that what is on this paper is not actually writing, but merely lines that are meant to resemble writing.)

⁴Paulson, I, p. 166. This is the same prison with which the "Fleet Chaplains" referred to earlier (above, pp. 59-60) were associated.

⁵"Fleet Prison," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, IX (1960), p. 368.

⁶Ibid., pp. 368-69. Concerning the wardenship of the Fleet Prison, Wheatley (Wheatley, p. 391) informs us that:

"John Huggins purchased the Wardenship of the Fleet . . . from the Earl of Clarendon for £5000. The term of the patent was for his own and his son's life, but his son William Huggins having no wish to take upon himself the responsibility of such an office, John Huggins, in August 1728, sold it to Thomas Bambridge and Dougal Cuthbert for the same amount he paid for it."

On February 25, 1728/9, a Committee of the House of Commons (of which Hogarth's father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill, was a member) was appointed to examine the kingdom's jails (Ibid., p. 389). This is presumably the committee Wheatley refers to (Ibid., p. 388-89) when this source mentions a committee that looked into the management of debtor's prisons:

"[and] brought to light a series of extortions and cruelties which would have been considered incredible were not the evidence so incontrovertible. When the Committee paid their first and unexpected visit to the Fleet Prison, they found Sir William Rich confined in a loathsome dungeon and loaded with irons because he had given some slight offence to Bambridge."

Regarding this latter person (and also his predecessor, Huggins), Wheatley states that they were both "declared 'notoriously guilty of great breaches of trust, extortions, cruelties, and other high crimes and misdemeanors.' They were sent to Newgate, and Bambridge was disqualified by Act of Parliament from enjoying the office of Warden of the Fleet" (*Ibid.*, p. 392). Wheatley (*Ibid.*, p. 388) also asserts that:

"there is every reason to believe that in giving way to his abominably cruel nature Bambridge was following the precedent set by former Wardens of the Fleet. In the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic, 1619-23) there is note of a letter from Rookwood to Sir Clement Edmondes (August 2, 1619), in which it is stated that 'the Warden has put into the dungeon called Boulton's Ward, a place newly made to exercise his cruelty, three poor men, Pecke, Seager, and Myners, notwithstanding the express command of the Council that they should be favourably dealt with till further orders, they are starving from want of food'."

In 1728/9 (Beckett, p. 41), Hogarth did a monochrome oil sketch showing members of the aforementioned Commons Committee and Bambridge (*Ibid.*, pl. 8); the figure of Bambridge is the one that Beckett describes as "showing trepidation . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 41). A painted version of this subject was done, but its location is at present unknown (*Ibid.*). Another version was ordered by Sir Archibald Grant (a member of the Committee) on November 5, 1729; Beckett states this was "still unfinished on 1st Jany., 1731" (*Ibid.*). And Beckett states that the picture dealing with this subject that is in the National Portrait Gallery, which is said to be the one ordered by Grant, "appears to be only a copy" (*Ibid.*).

⁷Lichtenberg asserts that this is "a rather fine cane chair . . ." (Lichtenberg, p. 262) that "Rakewell has brought with him . . ." (*Ibid.*).

⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163.

⁹Tom's wig is pushed back on his head to the point where some of his hair is showing, which contributes to the feeling the viewer has regarding Rakewell's mood.

¹⁰If Lichtenberg is correct concerning the chair upon which Tom is sitting, perhaps this table is Tom's also, since it is possibly of a better quality than what one might expect to find in Tom's cell.

¹¹Paulson, I, p. 169. John Rich, a pantomimist and theatrical manager, is said to have been born about 1682 (Joseph Knight, "Rich, John," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XVI [1964], p. 1001). When his father died, he and his brother "came into possession of the new theatre, then all but completed, in Lincoln's Inn Fields" (Ibid.). This theatre was opened on December 18, 1714 (Ibid.). Knight (Ibid.) states that:

"No special feature distinguished at the outset Rich's management. His theatre was large, and had a large stage, gorgeously furnished with mirrors. The opening receipts were 1437., a sum rarely exceeded during the season. Shorn [by this theatre] . . . of some of its best actors, Drury Lane, under the admirable management of Colley Cibber, Booth, and Wilks, still possessed the more capable company, and the new theatre held a secondary place in public estimation. Rich accordingly began in 1716 to give entertainments in the Italian style, which speedily developed into pantomime. On 22 April the performance of the 'Cheats' was followed by that of a piece unnamed, of which the characters only are given. These consist of Harlequin by Lun, Punch by Shaw, and Scaramouch by Thurmond. Lun was the name under which in pantomime Rich invariably appeared.

Rich is thus credited with the invention of what in England has, under changing conditions, been known as pantomime. Davies says, concerning these entertainments: 'By the help of gay scenes, fine habits, grand dances, appropriate music, and other decorations, he exhibited a story from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," or some other fabulous writer. Between the pauses or acts of this serious representation he interwove a comic fable consisting chiefly of the courtship of Harlequin and Columbine, with a variety of surprising adventures and tricks which were produced by the magic wand of Harlequin, such as the sudden transformation of palaces and temples to huts and cottages, of men and women into wheelbarrows and joint-stools' (Life of

Garrick, i. 130). Rich himself invariably played Harlequin. From 1717 to 1760, the year before his death, Rich produced a pantomime annually. Few failed of success, most of them running forty or fifty nights consecutively; Drury Lane, put on the defensive, was obliged reluctantly to follow the example set at Lincoln's Inn Fields."

It is of interest to note at this point that, on January 29, 1728, Gay's Beggar's Opera was presented. This work, refused by Drury Lane but accepted by Rich, "eclipsed all previous success, making, as was said, 'Gay rich, and Rich gay.' It was given without intermission sixty-three times, and was revived next season and played both by the regular company and by children" (Ibid., p. 1002).

In 1730, "Rich set foot on a subscription to build a house in Bow Street, Covent Garden, and gave a public exhibition of the designs of his architect, Shepherd. Before January 1731 six thousand pounds were subscribed and the building begun" (Ibid.). This new theatre opened on December 7, 1732, with a revival of Wycherley's Way of the World (Ibid.).

On November 26, 1761, Rich passed away in London. He had been married twice, and his second wife survived him (Ibid., p. 1003).

Knight asserts that, as Harlequin, "Rich seems to have been unequalled. Davies . . . declared that in fifty years no man approached him, and that Garrick's action was not more perfectly adapted to his characters than were Rich's attitudes and movements to Harlequin" (Ibid.). Knight (Ibid.) also states that:

"Rich was uneducated, and was quite illiterate. He talked of 'larning' Wilkinson to be a player; told Signora Spiletta to lay the emphasis on the 'adjutant,' and said 'turbot' for turban. He had some curious affectations. He pretended never to recall a name. Addressing Tate Wilkinson, he would call him in turns Williamskin, Whittington, or whatever other name came into his head."

¹²Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163.

¹³It might also be noted that her hair is very "messy."

¹⁴Her right arm is extended, which suggests that if her fist is not merely clenched in anger, she might be going to hit her husband. Her left fist seems to rest on Tom's shoulder, and there is a possibility she may have just given Tom a blow with this fist.

¹⁵Quite understandably, this woman would not be at all pleased with her husband's handling of her money. In addition, she may have just found out about Tom's connection with Sarah Young, as the latter person (along with Tom's illegitimate daughter) is also present at this time.

¹⁶Kunzle refers to "the innocent bewilderment of . . . Rakewell . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 337), and states that he "unconsciously reveals his helplessness . . ." (Ibid.). This source then puts forth the suggestion that "this is . . . his [Tom's] permanent condition at this stage, and not a sudden emotion caused by the rejection of his play . . ." (Ibid., pp. 337-38), but then suggests that, "as a compromise, one could settle for a condition induced partly by the refusal, partly by the simultaneous badgering of Turnkey, Boy, and his Wife, and partly by his debts in general" (Ibid., p. 338).

It might be thought that his wife's verbal tirade would possibly arouse Tom's anger. However, while Tom might soon become angry if his wife's tirade continues for any length of time, at this point it seems quite likely that this "verbal barrage" would simply increase his feeling of hopelessness regarding his present situation. (The position of Tom's right leg and foot is of interest. Is he in the process of moving his right leg, perhaps because his wife's comments, coupled with the demands of the turnkey and the boy, are making him feel "uncomfortable," or is the back portion of the heel of Tom's right shoe actually on the floor, with the fact his foot is not flat on the floor being intended as another manifestation of his mood?)

¹⁷Bakewell asserts this person is Sarah's mother (Bakewell, n.p.), but Stephens apparently either does not think so or has not considered the possibility, as he refers to this figure as simply "the other woman . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163). Upon consideration, it appears quite possible that this figure is intended for Sarah's mother. Admittedly, her being older than Sarah, and her appearance in this scene, does not necessarily mean she is this person, but the fact that this figure's dress is made from a patterned material might possibly indicate that

Hogarth meant the viewer to associate this person with the figure seen in Plate 1 who wears a patterned dress and who is identified as Sarah's mother (above, p. 74).

¹⁸Sarah may have fainted while sitting on a chair, as the legs of an overturned chair (or, what is perhaps less likely, an overturned stool) can be seen under her dress.

¹⁹Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163). His hair can be seen below the edge of his wig.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Above, p. 125. Since Hogarth included the initials "T. L." on this scroll although it was not necessary that he do so, it seems likely that "T. L." was a real person. Unfortunately, the identity of this person, if he did actually exist, is not known at this time.

²²Above, p. 253.

²³Above, p. 253.

²⁴Paulson, I, p. 169.

²⁵Stephens suggests that this little girl is "about three years of age . . ." (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163), but she appears to be slightly older than this; she is perhaps approximately four years of age, or possibly even approaching five.

²⁶It might be pointed out that there is little doubt this girl is indeed the daughter of Sarah Young and Tom Rakewell. There was no reason for Hogarth to include the little girl in this scene unless he intended this figure to be the daughter of the two aforementioned people.

Furthermore, as this child appears to be upset, and as her attention is directed towards the woman who has fainted (not only is the little girl looking at this figure, but she also appears to be trying to put her arms around the limp adult), there is little doubt that the woman who has fainted is Sarah Young.

Sarah, as Ireland suggests, has come to the prison "perhaps to comfort him [Tom],--to alleviate his sorrows, to sooth his sufferings . . ." (Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated, p. 90), or possibly to offer him any aid she could. (There is perhaps a slight possibility that, if the woman wearing

the patterned dress is Sarah's mother, Sarah has come to see Rakewell at the insistence of her mother, who perhaps wanted to see Tom to "heap abuse" upon him and to gloat over his present state; however, in view of Sarah's kind gesture in Plate 4, it appears far more likely Sarah visited Tom for one of the reasons noted above.)

Regarding Sarah's fainting, Sala suggests that "there is a passage of arms, or rather of words, between the two [Tom's wife and Sarah]. The ex-old maid has the best of the encounter over the ex-young one. Sarah faints . . ." (Sala, p. 211). While this is possible, it is perhaps more likely that, if Sarah at this point harboured some "tender feelings" for Rakewell (which seems quite likely), the sight of him in prison, combined with the realization that Tom has gotten himself into a very bad predicament, would cause Sarah to faint (Tom's present mood would probably have increased the impact of the above on Sarah).

²⁷Stephens' assertion that this is a "nightcap" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163) might perhaps be questioned.

²⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰This figure is not at all involved in the action that centers around Tom and Sarah. Townsend asserts that he is "so infatuated with his work that he will not be disturbed by anything less than the roof falling in" (Townsend, n.p.).

³¹The material that goes around the top of this bed, as might be expected, is ragged.

³²These wings are shaped like a bird's wings, and appear to have real feathers on them. They were no doubt built to resemble real wings as closely as possible (on the other hand, Hogarth may perhaps have intended them to be real wings from a large bird).

³³Townsend, however, suggests that they were not the property of this man, but of "some poor wretch [who] had intended [to use them] to escape--but finding them inadequate for the execution of his project, he has placed them on the tester of the bed" (Townsend, n.p.).

³⁴The cell walls appear to be made of stone.

³⁵Paulson, I, p. 169.

³⁶Lichtenberg, p. 261.

³⁷These are numbered "1," "2," and "3" respectively, and the second one has what is probably the handle of some item sticking up above its rim.

³⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 163.

³⁹Ibid. The handle of the gridiron appears to be under the rope that goes around this "bundle." Bakewell suggests the latter is a bed (Bakewell, n.p.), as does Cook (Cook [ed.], p. 55).

⁴⁰Bakewell, n.p.

⁴¹Cook (ed.), p. 55.

⁴²It should also be noted that the portion of the cell's floor seen in the lower right-hand corner of this print differs from that seen in the lower left-hand part of this plate. While the former area appears smooth, the latter area is either rough (as if this portion of the floor is either damaged or unfinished), or else it has had some unidentifiable substance(s) and/or material(s) spilled on it.

Part II: Chapter XIV

¹John Hoadly, verses appearing below Plate 8 of William Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress," 1735.

²Paulson, I, p. 169. The first state of this plate is an unfinished proof (Ibid.). This plate's third state (Ibid.), as might be expected differs in certain respects from the second. The most important of these changes will be described during the course of the examination of this plate.

³Bakewell, n.p.

⁴"Bedlam," Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. W. Yust, III (1960), p. 301.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Wheatley, p. 370.

⁷Ibid., p. 373.

⁸Bakewell, n.p.

⁹In the third state of this print (Paulson, I, p. 169), Tom's head is smaller; some changes have also been made in his face, and, either purposely or by chance, Tom perhaps looks less demented in the third state than in the second (Kunzle, however, would appear to believe just the opposite [Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 342]).

¹⁰This figure is said to be a free version of Caius Gabriel Cibber's statue of "Melancholy Madness" (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 102). (This statue was completed about the year 1680, and at the time "A Rake's Progress" appeared was over the portal of Bethlehem hospital [Ibid.]. At present this work is in the Guildhall Museum, London [Paulson, I, p. 170].) However, Paulson asserts that "the pose of Rakewell's head and left arm . . . may have been based on Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder's etching 'The Painter torn between Olympus and Everyday Life' . . ." (Ibid.).

¹¹An item that appears to be Tom's coat is seen on the floor. (Part of this garment can be seen on the floor beside him, another portion "sticks up" by his right side and his back, and he might even be sitting on another part of this garment.) In addition, his shoes are on the floor beside his left foot. Thus these items have possibly been recently removed by either Tom or someone else.

¹²Townsend, n.p.

¹³To the right of Sarah, in the lower left-hand corner of this print, can be seen a large pot and a bowl. The pot and the bowl contain what Stephens states is gruel (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 168). The bowl is not sitting in a level position, and as a result it is in the process of losing some of its contents. The handle of what is probably a ladle sticks up out of the gruel in the pot, and what is probably the pot's handle can be seen at the side of the pot. It appears likely that the bowl was filled from the pot, and that what is in the bowl was intended for Tom.

¹⁴In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 169), Sarah's face and cap have been changed. Thus in this state there is definitely some space between the right hand of the man standing beside Sarah and Sarah's cap,

while in this plate's second state (Ibid.), the man's right hand might almost be taken as resting against Sarah's cap (however, even in the third state, this man's right arm looks as if it might be touching the top of Sarah's cap).

¹⁵Paulson, I, p. 169.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸A chain is attached to this shackle, and the person beside Tom may be holding this chain with his right hand.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 102.

²¹Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 154.

²²Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 340.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Kurz, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 154. Kurz asserts that "though it [the idea Tom is dying] was made clear pictorially by the artist, it has been overlooked hitherto . . ." (Ibid.). Kunzle once again agrees with Kurz, stating that Rakewell is "on the point of death . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 341).

The assumption that Hogarth intended the Rake to be dying is perhaps supported by one of the lines of verse included with this scene, for Hoadly wrote a line which reads "Behold Death grappling with Despair" (above, p. 131). In addition, it will be recalled that while the person standing behind Tom is apparently a member of the hospital staff in the second state of this plate, in the third state he wears "clerical bands" (above, p. 133). This change quite possibly indicates Rakewell is dying, since there seems little reason why it should have been made unless Hogarth felt the viewers did not realize Tom was expiring, and thought he should include a clergyman in this scene to emphasize this.

²⁵It might be debated whether or not an article of clothing is covering this portion of his body, as his lower abdomen could perhaps be covered by part of a blanket.

²⁶Portions of either one or two chains can be seen touching the side of the stone block; one of these portions seems to be anchored to the block, and the other seems to disappear into the straw that is on top of the block. (It is impossible to ascertain whether or not the person in the cell is chained.) It might also be noted that beside the block is a bowl which appears to be empty.

²⁷He does not appear to be resting his chin on his hands (in addition, the fact that his mouth is open makes this unlikely).

²⁸This cross appears to be made of wood, and the crosspiece is perhaps supposed to be tied to the other part of the cross. Near this cross is a barred window, and light coming through this window is seen falling on the cross.

²⁹This is possibly Clement the First, who "is generally reckoned to be Peter's third successor" (Donald Attwater, The Penguin Dictionary of Saints ["Penguin Reference Books"; Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1965], p. 88). Attwater (Ibid.) states that:

"he is famous for the letter sent by him from the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, the occasion of which was the revolt of some Corinthian Christians against the leaders of their church. It is the first known example of a bishop of Rome intervening in the affairs of another church"

On the strength of the authentic letter St. Clement is accounted the first of the Apostolic Fathers. He is venerated as a martyr, but there is no good evidence that he was one. The tale that he was sentenced to hard labour in the Crimea and was there lashed to an anchor and thrown into the sea is legendary; but it became popular"

Clement I died at the end of the first century (Ibid., p. 87).

³⁰This is possibly St. Athanasius, a bishop and "one of the four great Greek doctors of the church . . ." (Ibid., pp. 53-54). He was born in Alexandria c. 296, and died there in 373 (Ibid., p. 53). Attwater (Ibid.) asserts that:

"When a deacon, Athanasius accompanied his bishop to the first Council of Nicaea in 325, at which the Arian heresy was condemned, and three years later he was himself elected to the see of Alexandria. He presided over this church for forty-six years, of which over seventeen were passed in exile on account of his vigorous opposition to the spread of Arianism, which had the support of certain of the emperors. He was first banished, to Trier, in 335, but was allowed to return in 337, only to be banished again two years later. This time he went to Rome and was away for seven years. From 346 to 356 was relatively his most peaceful period and some of his most important writings date from this time. But the emperor, Constantius, was bent on getting him deposed, and soldiers were sent to arrest him. Athanasius went into hiding in the desert, and guided his flock from there till Constantius died in 361. There were two more short periods of exile, and then from 366 he was able to rule his church in peace until his death. He devoted himself to repairing the harm done by all the years of dissention and violence, and was able to return to his writing and preaching undisturbed."

³¹This is possibly St. Lawrence, who died in Rome in 258 (Ibid., p. 214). About this person, Attwater (Ibid.) states:

"It is known that he was one of the seven deacons of Rome, and that he was martyred there four days after Pope St. Sixtus II in 258, and was buried in the cemetery on the road to Tivoli, where the church of St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls now stands. According to tradition, when ordered by the city prefect to hand over the church's valuables, he assembled the poor and sick and presented them to the prefect: 'Here,' he said, 'is the church's treasure.' Thereupon he was put to death by being roasted on a grid. It is more likely that in fact he was beheaded as St. Sixtus was [From] the fourth century he was venerated as one of the most famous martyrs of the city of Rome."

³²Paulson, I, pp. 169-70.

³³Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

³⁴Before proceeding to discussion of the next figure, mention should be made of Antal's assertion that the source of the figure in cell 54 was Caius Cibber's statue "Raving

Madness" (Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art, p. 102). Like Cibber's "Melancholy Madness" (above, p. 261), this statue was completed about the year 1680, and at the time this series appeared was over the gate of Bethlehem hospital (Ibid.). At present this statue is in the Guildhall Museum, London (Paulson, I, p. 170).

³⁵Also like the previously-mentioned cell, this cell has a barred window letting in light.

³⁶Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

³⁷Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 342.

³⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

³⁹Ibid. Paulson (Paulson, I, p. 170) is perhaps more explicit when he states that the person in cell 55 "unconcernedly urinates straight ahead."

⁴⁰Wilenski, p. 83. Admission was charged to view the inmates, and at one time Bethlehem hospital derived a revenue of at least £400 a year from this practice (Wheatley, pp. 370-71). However, Wheatley (Ibid., p. 371) states that:

"In 1770 it appeared at last to have dawned upon the intelligence of the authorities that the introduction of visitors 'tended to disturb the tranquility of the patients.' In May 1775 Johnson and Boswell visited the Hospital, but in July 1784 Cowper writing to Newton speaks of the custom having been abolished."

⁴¹In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 169), this woman's head has been reworked.

⁴²There is also perhaps a possibility that this fan is being held up to prevent the other woman from seeing the man in cell 55.

⁴³In this plate's third state (Paulson, I, p. 169), this woman's head covering has been changed, and her face has been made more attractive. In addition, her head is now slightly tilted, and she is turning it to the left virtually as much as is possible; this, coupled with the expression that is now on her face, gives the impression that her reaction (to seeing, or being told about, the occupant of cell 55) is artificial.

⁴⁴Above, p. 135.

⁴⁵The wall and the ceiling both appear to be in need of repair.

⁴⁶The terms "North Pole" and "Antartic Circle" appear in connection with this diagram.

⁴⁷In the third state of this plate (Paulson, I, p. 169), only about half of the diagram of the earth is still visible, as Hogarth added to the drawings on the wall what Paulson describes as "the reverse of a half-penny with 'BRITANNIA' and '1763' on it, and the figure of Britannia with her hair flying loose behind her head . . ." (*Ibid.*). And the chain on the wall now looks as if it is attached to this diagram rather than to the diagram of the earth.

⁴⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

⁴⁹Paulson, I, p. 170.

⁵⁰Nichols and Steevens, The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; Illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes . . ., II, p. 126. William Whiston was born in 1667 (Leslie Stephen, "Whiston, William," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XXI [1964], p. 10). He attended Clare Hall, Cambridge, and obtained his B.A. in 1690 and his M.A. in 1693. In September of 1693 he was ordained a deacon by William Lloyd, bishop of Lichfield. He returned to Cambridge, intending to take pupils, but ill-health "decided him to give up tuition . . ." (*Ibid.*). He then became chaplain to John Moore, bishop of Norwich, during which time he published his first book. Then, in 1698, "he was presented by Bishop Moore to the vicarage of Lowestoft-with-Kissingland in Suffolk . . ." (*Ibid.*). In 1699 he married Ruth Antrobus, daughter of the master of a school he had attended. Two years later, in 1701, Whiston "was appointed deputy to Newton's Lucasian professorship . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 11), and in 1703 "he succeeded Newton as professor, and gave up his living" (*Ibid.*). He delivered lectures on mathematics and natural philosophy, and was "among the first to popularize the Newtonian theories" (*Ibid.*).

On October 30, 1710, Whiston's heterodox religious beliefs (his studies, for example, had led him to the conclusion that the accepted doctrine of the Trinity was erroneous) resulted in his being banished from the university and deprived of his professorship. He went to London, and towards the end of 1711 published his chief work, Primitive Christianity Revived (*Ibid.*). In 1715 he started a society

for promoting primitive christianity; weekly meetings were held at his house in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, for two years.

Concerning Whiston's interest in longitude, Stephens (Ibid.) states that:

"he made various attempts to devise means for discovering the longitude. A large reward for a successful attempt was offered by parliament. Whiston co-operated with Humphrey Ditton in a scheme published in 1714, which was obviously chimerical. In 1720 he published a new plan founded on the 'dipping of the needle,' improved in 1721, but afterwards found that his 'labour had been in vain.' A public subscription, however, was raised in 1721 to reward him and enable him to carry on his researches. The king gave 100*l*, and the total was 470*l*. 3*s*. 6*d*. Another sum of 500*l* was raised for him about 1740, the whole of which, however, was spent in a survey of the coasts"

Whiston lectured in various cities, and published numerous pamphlets and treatises. His most successful work "the translation of Josephus, with several dissertations added, appeared in 1737 . . ." (Ibid.). In 1746 he announced the millennium would begin in twenty years, and in 1750 gave some lectures explaining how his predictions were confirmed by an earthquake (Ibid., p. 13). He had also earlier come to the conclusion that the Tartars were the lost tribes of Israel (Ibid.).

Whiston had joined the baptists in 1747. Five years later, in 1752, he passed away at Lyndon, Rutland (Ibid.). Stephen (Ibid.) describes him as being "a man of very acute but ill-balanced intellect. His learning was great, however fanciful his theories, and he no doubt helped to call attention to important points in ecclesiastical history." Among his publications were A New Theory of the Earth; Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament; A Course of Mechanical, and Pneumatical Experiments; A New Method of Discovering the Longitude; A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles; The Calculation of Solar Eclipses without Parallaxes; The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies; and The Primitive New Testament in English.

⁵¹Paulson, I, p. 170. Nathaniel Lee was probably born in 1653 (Sidney Lee, "Lee, Nathaniel," The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, XI [1964], p. 805). He obtained his B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge. We are told (Ibid.) that:

"As a young man he is said to have been handsome and 'of ingenious conversation,' and he seems to have obtained an entrance into fashionable society before leaving Cambridge. The Duke of Buckingham, who became chancellor of the university in 1671, is credited with having 'brought him up to town,' and with having wholly neglected him on his arrival there But Lee came to know Rochester and other of his neglectful patron's abandoned friends, and he lost no time in imitating their vices"

To earn a living, he sought to become an actor. In 1672 he was given a part in an adaptation of Macbeth, but because of acute stage fright he soon abandoned acting and began writing plays. His first play, Nero, was produced in 1675 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. This was followed in 1676 by two plays (Glorian, or the Court of Augustus Caesar, and Sophonisba, or Hannibal's Overthrow), but his reputation was not definitely secured until his best-known tragedy, The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great, appeared in 1677 (Ibid., p. 806). Lee's Mithridates, King of Pontus appeared in the year 1678. Then, in 1679, Dryden "gave practical proof of his regard for Lee by inviting his aid in an adaptation of Sophocles's Oedipus" (Ibid.), and in 1680 two plays by Lee appeared--Caesar Borgia (with a prologue by Dryden), and Theodosius, or the Force of Love. In 1681 he wrote Lucius Junius Brutus, the Father of His Country, which was partly based on Mlle. de Scudéry's Clélie. Some lines "on the immoral effeminacy of Tarquin were interpreted as a reflection on Charles II, and on the third night the further representations were prohibited by Arlington, the lord chamberlain" (Ibid.).

In November of 1681, "Lee's comedy the Princess of Cleve, founded on Madame La Fayette's romance of the same name, was acted at Dorset Gardens for the first time . . ." (Ibid., p. 807). This play has been described as being "singularly coarse in plot and language" (Ibid.). For this play, "Dryden wrote a prologue and epilogue, which appear in his Works, but were not published with the play, which first appeared in print eight years after its first representation" (Ibid.). In an attempt to remove the bad impression created by his Brutus, Lee in 1682 wrote an adulatory poem, To The Duke [of York] on His Return, and induced Dryden to join him in writing an historical tragedy, The Duke of Guise, which was produced on December 4, 1682. The plot of this play "was readily capable of application to current politics, and it championed the king and tories far more directly than

Brutus had favoured the whigs" (Ibid.). In 1684 Lee's Constantine the Great was produced; the epilogue was written by Dryden, and had "a political flavour" (Ibid.).

However, "in spite of his dramatic successes, Lee's vices grew with his years, and his rubicund countenance testified to his intemperate habits" (Ibid.). Then, towards the end of 1684, his mind completely failed, and he was taken to Bethlehem hospital (it has been noted that, "before the catastrophe actually came, Dryden wrote of 'poor Nat Lee . . . upon the verge of madness'" [Ibid.]). After five years his reason had recovered sufficiently to warrant his release, but his literary work was done. A pension of 10*l* a year was allowed him by the company at the Theatre Royal. In 1689 the Princess of Cleve was published, and in 1690 a piece that had been written earlier, the Massacre of Paris (two scenes of which he had introduced in the Duke of Guise), was produced (Ibid.). Then, in 1692 "according to Oldys, when returning one night, overladen with wine, from the Bear and Harrow . . . Lee 'fell down on the ground as some say, according to others on a bulk, and was killed or stifled in the snow' (sic)" (Ibid., p. 808).

⁵²It might also be noted that his right eye is closed.

⁵³Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169. Paulson asserts that "tailors proverbially went mad with pride . . ." (Paulson, I, p. 170).

⁵⁴There are at least four rings on the fingers of this hand.

⁵⁵He wears a cloak, or a coat, that is thrown over his shoulders and not closed at the front. Nothing else covers his upper body (the lower part of this person is hidden from view, and it is impossible to tell whether or not anything is worn over this part of his body).

⁵⁶Stephens suggests this is made of paper (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169).

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰On his right leg his stockings and his breeches do not meet (the same is possibly true of his other leg, but this cannot be stated definitely).

⁶¹Paulson, I, p. 170.

⁶²Ibid. This identification appears to be correct.

⁶³Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

⁶⁴Paulson, I, p. 170. Kunzle asserts that, in this plate, "Hogarth certainly wished to contrast 'Raving' with 'Melancholy Madness,' the two principal forms of insanity recognized at the time . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 341). Kunzle (Ibid.) asserts that the religious fanatic (above, p. 134) expresses 'Raving Madness' (it will be recalled that Antal suggests the source of this figure was Cibber's statue "Raving Madness" [above, pp. 264-265]). He also states that "'Melancholy Madness' [is expressed] in the love-sick man on the stairs . . ." (Kunzle, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX, p. 342). Then Kunzle (Ibid.) asserts that the expression on Tom Rakewell's face in the painted version of this scene (which differs from the expression on Tom's face in the printed versions) suggests Tom was near "Melancholy Madness" (it will be recalled [above, p. 261] that the figure of the Rake is said to be a free version of Cibber's statue of "Melancholy Madness"), and that Hogarth "probably realizing that the Rake's face in the painting tended to repeat that of [the melancholy lover] . . . heightened his [Tom's] expression . . ." (Ibid.).

⁶⁵Betty Careless was a prostitute (Paulson, I, p. 170) who became a brothel-keeper (Ibid., p. 272). She passed away in 1752 (Ibid.). In Plate 3 of Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode," a woman is depicted who has some initials on her bosom (Ibid., II, pl. 270). These initials are either "F C" or "E C," and if they are the latter, they might stand for "Betty Careless" (Ibid., I, p. 272). Betty Careless is also mentioned in Fielding's Amelia (Henry Fielding, Amelia ["The Works of Henry Fielding," Vol. VII; New York: Eighteenth Century Club, 1902], p. 37) in the following passage:

"I happened in my youth to sit behind two ladies in a side-box at a play, where, in the balcony on the opposite side, was placed the inimitable B____y C____s, in company with a young fellow of no very formal, or indeed sober, appearance. One of the ladies, I remember, said to the other--'Did you ever see anything look so modest and so innocent as that girl over the way? what a pity it is such a creature should be in the way of ruin, as I am afraid she is, by her being alone

with that young fellow!' Now this lady was no bad physiognomist, for it was impossible to conceive a greater appearance of modesty, innocence, and simplicity, than what nature had displayed in the countenance of that girl; and yet, all appearances notwithstanding, I myself (remember, critic, it was in my youth) had a few mornings before seen that very identical picture of all those engaging qualities in bed with a rake at a bagnio, smoaking tobacco, drinking punch, talking obscenity, and swearing and cursing with all the impudence and impiety of the lowest and most abandoned trull of a soldier."

⁶⁶While this dog does not bear a close resemblance to the animal in Plate 6 (above, p. 250), there are certain similarities between it and the dog in Plate 4 (above, p. 102) and one of the dogs in Plate 5 (above, p. 114). The length of its right ear, and the marking on its right front leg, suggest that it is perhaps intended to be the same animal as is seen in the fourth plate (as was mentioned earlier [above, p. 247], it is perhaps doubtful that the dogs in Plate 4 and Plate 5 were intended to be one and the same). Rakewell and Sarah Young are both seen in Plate 4 and in Plate 8. Therefore, if the dogs found in the fourth and eighth plates are intended to be the same animal, then this animal probably belongs to either Rakewell or Sarah Young, with the latter being the most likely owner.

⁶⁷Stephens suggests that these letters "have been cut within an oblong frame, and with two oblique lines to represent cords, by means of which the supposed picture was suspended" (Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169). While this could be the case, it is perhaps more likely that this is a simple drawing of a church with a cross on its roof.

⁶⁸Stephens, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 169.

Part III: Chapter XV

¹Above, p. 6.

²Henry Fielding, Champion (London), 1740, quoted in Antal, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 171.

³John Trusler, The Works of Mr. Hogarth Moralized (London: J. Goodwin, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

⁴Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁵Antal, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 171.

⁶Moore, pp. 27-28.

⁷At this point, it might be noted that Moore asserts "he [Hogarth] does not tell a story merely to inculcate a lesson . . ." (Ibid., p. 71). And Wilenski, when discussing "A Harlot's Progress" (he also believes the same to be true of "A Rake's Progress"), states that "no moralist . . . would have told the story in this way. Hogarth told it thus because in these pictures he was not really a moralist but, a man depicting and commenting on life" (Wilenski, p. 81).

⁸Paulson, I, p. 162.

⁹It will be recalled that Hogarth did not think very highly of Lord Burlington's aesthetic tenets (above, p. 82).

¹⁰Paulson, I, p. 102.

¹¹Ibid., p. 109.

¹²Antal, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XV, p. 183.

¹³Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁴Paulson, I, p. 133.

¹⁵Wilenski, p. 81. It might be noted that Hogarth hated cruelty, and in 1750/1 (Paulson, I, p. 211) he produced "The Four Stages of Cruelty" in hopes that it would lessen the amount of cruel treatment shown towards animals.

Conclusion

¹Above, p. v.

²Wilenski, p. 87.

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