

A Review
of
William Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode
with
Particular Reference
to
Character and Setting
by
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VOLUME I THE THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
the University of Birmingham

Shakespeare Institute

May, 1977

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SYNOPSIS

The thesis has been prepared on the assumption that Hogarth's picture series are essentially narrative works. They are considered in the Introduction in the light of recent definitions of the narrative strip, a medium in which Hogarth was a considerable innovator.

The first six chapters consist of an analysis of each of the pictures in Marriage à la Mode. The analysis was undertaken as a means of exploring the nature of Hogarth's imagination and to discover how coherent a work the series is. There is an emphasis on characterization and setting because Hogarth himself chose to isolate character as a feature in the subscription ticket to Marriage à la Mode. The figures acquire their depth through their interaction with the setting. The interaction compensates for the lack of physical movement in Hogarth's picture narratives and is a source of much of his humour. A number of sections is concerned with relevant background information, such as the traditional rivalry between the cities of London and Westminster, and the medical details of the quack doctor's laboratory.

The seventh chapter is concerned with the literary allusion in Marriage à la Mode, particularly to the popular drama of the time. The eighth is concerned with the extensive and ironic use of analogies. The ninth chapter is concerned with the subject of structure, including the delineation of the rôle of the projected spectator as defined by the work which contains him. The tenth is about theme and includes the use made of the traditional elements and 'humours'.

It is concluded that Marriage à la Mode is a tragi-comic and melodramatic work, and that Hogarth in what are here termed periphrastic sequences came close to making images behave like words without their becoming dependent on any verbal form. His achievement lay in the ability intelligently to organize diversity into a unified structure, similar to that of situation comedy.

105, 000 words

Intricacy in form, therefore, I shall define to be that peculiarity in the lines, which compose it, that leads the eye a wanton kind of chace, and from the pleasure that gives the mind, intitles it to the name of beautiful.

William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty (1753)

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(i) those numbered and listed below; they are usually referred to in the text

(ii) a number of illustrations, cuttings from the prints, which are neither numbered nor referred to in the text; they are identified as free standing

(iii) the prints bound into Volume II, The Supplement, as a series. The reader is invited to pull out the sequence and to have it in front of him in its entirety as he reads the thesis.

I am grateful to the Director of the National Gallery for permission to reproduce the paintings and for access to the Hogarth dossier. The various photographs are taken mainly from the dossier.

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PREFACE

The original intention behind the thesis was to prepare a survey of Hogarth's narrative art as an enlargement on an MA thesis about A Rake's Progress (1735).¹ It was discovered, however, that a critical study of Marriage à la Mode (1742?-1745), one of Hogarth's most important 'series' (his preferred term), had not been made. The general survey was postponed, therefore, for the sake of a detailed study of Marriage à la Mode.

This series is appropriate to study for a number of reasons: first, it is one of Hogarth's most sustained and difficult works. Eric Newton made the point that the 'plot' of the first picture alone 'permeates every corner of the canvas'.² His claim provides a starting point for an examination of the whole series in order to discover how coherent it is.

Secondly, a development is apparent in Hogarth's choice of subjects from a concern with a country seamstress who becomes a harlot, through a merchant's son who is a rake, to the children of an earl and an alderman in Marriage à la Mode. The next series, Industry and Idleness (1747) represents a return to a humbler social class in its study of the careers of apprentices.

Thirdly, Marriage à la Mode is a special case from the point of view of structure. The progresses are "histories", fictional biographies, whereas Marriage à la Mode is constructed on a concept, that of marriage, to which the recurrent figures are made subordinate. (The Four Times of the Day (1738) is not taken into account because its principle of unification is one of duration and there are no recurrent figures.)

Fourthly, Marriage à la Mode was composed during a period when the eighteenth-century novel was emerging. It is an overstatement to claim that Hogarth was the father of the English novel, but his influence on Fielding in the 1740s was considerable.³ Marriage à la Mode is worth studying in a thesis submitted to an English department for this reason, especially as Hogarth makes reference to Joseph Andrews in his subscription ticket (Introduction 4, page 10).

Fifthly, Ronald Paulson has examined A Harlot's Progress (1732) in his biography, Hogarth, His Life, Art, and Times.⁴ The MA thesis was an attempt to explore the next series. Paulson and Sean Shesgreen have considered Industry and Idleness in some detail in Emblem and Expres-

sion and Eighteenth-Century Studies respectively. Separate studies of Hogarth's quartets and pendant pairs remain to be made.

The narrowness of scope is recognized, but the study of a single work of six pictures has its precedents: Mary F.S. Hervey published a Ph. D. thesis solely on the subject of Holbein's Ambassadors and Hildegard Omberg has concentrated on Hogarth's portrait of Captain Coram.⁵ An attempt is made in the Introduction to compensate both for the narrowness and the postponement of the critical survey by considering Marriage à la Mode in relation to the wider context of Hogarth's narrative art and to the theory of the narrative strip worked out in the twentieth-century.

At first sight, this thesis is no more than a repetition of the approach to A Rake's Progress undertaken for the MA. It is thought there is an advance however: the question was asked whether a Hogarthian series did have an essentially narrative form and, if it did, whether an appropriate critical language could be found in which to discuss it. Marriage à la Mode has been approached on the assumptions that Hogarth's narratives are autonomous and that the appropriate critical language exists.

The first six chapters consist of an analysis of each picture of the series and the last four, ^{are concerned} with more general features. They represent in part a continuing attempt to study Hogarth's narrative art through Marriage à la Mode. A danger of repetition exists in a two-fold approach, but it has been thought necessary because the meanings of a number of elementary details required to be established in the first place and because it is not as easy to assume the basis for an interpretation of a picture narrative as it is in the field of literary criticism. The verbal analysis of pictures is inevitably a distortion of their visual experience. An attempt is made in each of the first six chapters, therefore, to come to terms with the visual organization of the pictures as a means of maintaining an awareness of their pictorial form. Fortunately, Hogarth himself believed that the relationship between words and images is close and so his art is amenable to literary treatment.

An advertisement in The London Daily Post and General Advertiser for 2. April, 1743 is the first public announcement of Marriage à la Mode.⁶ An absence of other comparable projects makes it likely that Hogarth was working on the series for up to a year before the advertisement appeared, so that the whole project could have taken up to three

years from the moment of initial inspiration to the publication of the prints in 1745. The extra care that was taken is shown in the facts that three French engravers were commissioned to prepare the copper-plates and that red chalk drawings, pencil drawings, the paintings, and the prints of the pictures have all survived.

The chalk drawings (two survive in Windsor Castle) require no particular comment because they reproduce the contents of the engravings almost exactly.⁷ A set of photographs of the pencil drawings are kept in the National Gallery. The drawings themselves may have been sold in 1917, but enquiries have failed to trace their whereabouts. The photographs show such considerable variations from either the paintings or the prints that Martin Davies, the compiler of the Gallery catalogue of The British School, casts doubt on their authorship. Although the placing of some of the detail is unexpected, its rendering is so accurate that it is held that they were drawn by Hogarth. Davies suggests that the drawings were prepared to show the French engravers how much work would be required, while the rearrangement of detail was to prevent them from pirating Hogarth's preliminary designs. If this were the case, as seems likely, the drawings offer an unusual form of authorial comment on the finished versions and are worth considering because they show what Hogarth thought it advisable to hide. Their variations are taken into account as part of the discussion of each picture.

The thesis is principally concerned with the prints of 1745. A pleasant consequence of the full-size photographic reproduction of engravings is that it restores the bite of the originals. The illustrations to the thesis are taken from the end papers of Wensinger and Coley's edition of Lichtenberg's commentaries; permission to do so was kindly granted by The Wesleyan University Press. Other references are made to Paulson's definitive catalogue, Hogarth's Graphic Works (1970), and to The Art of Hogarth (1975) which is his convenient and up-to-date catalogue of the paintings.⁸

The paintings may have been as important to Hogarth as the prints as saleable objects, because they have been worked over in detail, but their viewing structure is the reverse of the prints and they therefore inhibit an appreciation of the narrative line. Consequently, the paintings are only used to provide the thesis with extra insights into Hogarth's narrative method in terms of colouring, depth, and minor variation. The diminution of these beautiful, rococo works is a matter

of regret, but the exhibitions of 1814 and 1972 confirmed Hogarth's powers as a painter. The use of the paintings to draw attention to the artist's powers as a narrator does little harm to his reputation. The prints were numbered without individual titles. In order to maintain a sense of individual identity as well as one of sequence, the pictures are referred to by the titles of the paintings usually together with the print numbers. These combinations form the titles for the first six chapters.

Particular reference is made to Hogarth's own writings, The Analysis of Beauty (1753) and its rejected passages, his unfinished Apology for Painters (begun in 1759), and his Autobiographical Notes (begun in 1763). Hogarth's writings, even at their most theoretical or confused, are full of detail. Although they were prepared in a period which began ten years after Marriage à la Mode and although they rarely refer directly to the contents of the series, they are invaluable sources for Hogarth's attitudes towards and names for all sorts of relevant detail. His attitudes changed slowly during his working life and there is some evidence that his theories emerged while preparing Marriage à la Mode so the interval is not so great a disadvantage. At the same time, care has to be taken to allow for the effects of Hogarth's embittered self-justifications which came later.⁹ Use is also made of two contemporary accounts of Marriage à la Mode. The first is an anonymous explanation published in the London Evening Post on 8. February, 1746: Marriage-A-la-Mode: An Humorous Tale, in Six Cantos in Hudibrastic Verse; being an Explanaton of the Six Prints lately published by the Ingenious Mr Hogarth. Hogarth invited Jean-André Rouquet to turn some informal notes into a pamphlet for foreign subscribers: the Explication Des Estampes Qui ont[é] pour titre le Marriage à la Mode. Lettre Troisième was published two months after the poem.

The hudibrastic poem is a detailed description of each picture based on a careful study of the prints. The forgotten coin in the money bag of the first picture and the rings on the fingers of the counter-tenor in the fourth are examples of the closeness of the poet's observation. Errors occur frequently, but every description of the series is accurate to some extent. Because the poem has other, satirical purposes of its own, it provides unwitting testimony as to how an admiring and articulate contemporary regarded Hogarth's work. In addition, the poem is an invaluable source of contemporary nomenclature, attitudes, and relevant social detail.

Hogarth in the Autobiographical Notes recalled that he 'was struck with the use such an explanation in French might be to such abroad as purchased prints and were unacquainted with our characters and manners. and thereupon [he] desired . . . the favour of him [Rouquet] to write an explanation somewhat more fully than was necessary for a private perusal'.¹⁰ How far the pamphlet owes anything to Hogarth's expressed view of his work is difficult to estimate. On one hand, John Ireland believed that it was written from remarks Hogarth made, but, on the other, Hogarth's recollection does not imply that he influenced Rouquet. Hogarth could have corrected some of the errors in the pamphlet if he had wished and, because he was to be evasive in his writings about the contents of his series, it seems likely that he did not collaborate with Rouquet. Rouquet could only devote a short passage to each picture and his choice of contents was determined by what a Frenchman would need in order to understand the basic narrative line. His pamphlet may have been commissioned as a response to the popularity of the poem and it is not impossible that the poet was actually an influence on Rouquet. For different reasons, therefore, the poem and the pamphlet ask for careful treatment, invaluable though they are to a commentator. Their existence is a measure of the difficulty of Marriage à la Mode: there was a need for investigations into the nature of Hogarth's imagination from the beginning. This review is offered as a response to a continuing need two centuries later.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following:

Mr David Allen of Birmingham University for his comments on the rivalries between the "two Cities"; Dr B. T. Davis, Forensic Pathologist, of the Birmingham Medical School for sharing his knowledge of eighteenth-century medical practice; Mr Ralph Hyde, Keeper of Prints and Maps, Guildhall Library for information on City insignia; Mrs S. M. Newton and Mrs A. Ribeiro of the Courtauld Institute for sharing their knowledge of costume; Professor Ronald Paulson for his encouragement; Professor T. J. B. Spencer of the Shakespeare Institute for a never-ending list of suggestions; Sir John Summerson, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum, for his guidance on architecture; Mr E. J. Nichol for his interest in and guidance on the musical problems of the series.

I would like to thank my wife and son, the former for her help in many ways and the latter for being patient with a preoccupied father.

R.L.S.C.

PREFACE: REFERENCES

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2. Eric Newton, 'Marriage à la Mode, No. 1, Signing the Marriage Contract, by William Hogarth (1697-1764)' in Art News Review VIII 22 (1956), p. 1, subsequently referred to as 'Newton'.
3. R. B. Beckett, Hogarth, English Master Painters Series (London, 1945), p. 26.
4. Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times, two volumes (London, 1971) I, pp. 238-298, subsequently referred to as 'H I' or 'H II'; Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth-Century (London, 1975), pp. 58-78, subsequently referred to by its short title. Sean Shesgreen, 'Hogarth's Industry and Idleness: a Reading' in Eighteenth-Century Studies IX 4 (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 569-98.
5. Mary F. S. Hervey, Holbein's 'Ambassadors': the Picture and the Man (London, 1900). Hildegard Omberg, William Hogarth's Portrait of Captain Coram: Studies on Hogarth's Outlook Around 1740 (Uppsala, 1974), subsequently referred to as 'Omberg'.
6. The [London] Daily Post and General Advertiser, 2. April, 1743, p. 2, column 1. The text is as follows:

Mr Hogarth intends to publish by subscription, six prints from copper plates, engrav'd by the best masters in Paris after his own paintings; representing a variety of modern occurrences in high-life, and called Marriage à la Mode.

Particular care will be taken, that there may not be the least objection to the decency or elegance of the whole work, and that none of the characters shall be personal.

The subscription will be one guinea, half to be paid on subscribing, and the other half on the delivery of the prints, which will be with all possible speed, the author being determin'd to engage in no other work till this is completed.

(The phrase 'the heads for the better preservation of the characters and expressions to be done by the author' was added to the advertisement on 4. April.) Arthur S. Wensinger and William B. Coley, Hogarth on High Life: 'The Marriage à la Mode' Series from Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's 'Commentaries' (Middletown, 1970), subsequently referred to as Wensinger and Coley: they suggest that Hogarth was working on the series in 1742.
7. The Library, Windsor Castle, Nos 13492-3. National Gallery dossier on Hogarth (113-8); Martin Davies, The British School, National Gallery Catalogues. (London, second edition (revised) 1959), p. 56, subsequently referred to as 'Davies'.

8. Ronald Paulson, Hogarth's Graphic Works, two volumes (London, revised edition, 1970), subsequently referred to as HGW I or II; Ronald Paulson, The Art of Hogarth (London, 1975) subsequently referred to by title.
9. 'William Hogarth's Apology for Painters', edited by Michael Kitson, Walpole Society, Volume XLI (Oxford, 1966-8), subsequently referred to as Apology for Painters. The poem is reproduced as Appendix 3 in Wensinger and Coley, pp. 131-147 (no line numbers) and Rouquet's pamphlet, published by Robert Dodsley and Mrs Cooper (April, 1746), is reproduced as Appendix 2, pp. 126-30 (Coley's translation). The poem is subsequently referred to as 'the poem' and its author as 'the poet'. The pamphlet is referred to as 'Rouquet'.
10. The Analysis, p. 188. John Ireland, Hogarth Illustrated (London, 1806), three volumes, I, p. xii, subsequently referred to as 'John Ireland'. Paulson suggests that Rouquet 'had the artist's approval if not his assistance' (review of Wensinger and Coley in Eighteenth-Century Studies IV 2 (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 229-31).

INTRODUCTION: THE ESSENTIAL FORM OF HOGARTH'S NARRATIVE ART

1. Hogarth's Views on His Form

William Hogarth, an artist known for his canniness, was not altogether clear in his own mind about what he was doing in his most famous works. His reference to them as 'modern^[n](?) moral subject[s] a field unbroke up in any country or any age' shows his awareness of his own originality, but his declared intention reveals some confusion:

Subjects I considered as writers do
 my picture was my stage and men and women my actors
 who were by mean[s] of certain actions and expressi^ons
 to exhibit a dumb show
 (italics added) ¹

The italics draw attention to Hogarth's view of his series as a mixture of writing, drama, and mime, but not as belonging to an autonomous narrative form.

Hogarth may have found the dramatic analogy difficult to avoid because of his concern to 'weaken some of the prejudices' against 'any intermediate species of subject for painting between the sublime and the grotesque' by making use of the established precedent of the theatre as a justification for the serious treatment of character in art.² He may have discovered the literary analogy as a result of his reputation in Europe where the picture series was thought to be 'historical'. (Dr Johnson defines a history as a 'narration of events and facts delivered with dignity' or simply as narration or relation and only then as a form of knowledge.) Hogarth thought the label, historical, proceeded from his sequences 'being design'd in series and having something of that kind of connection which the pages of a book have'.

In The Analysis, Hogarth sees action as a 'sort of language which perhaps one time or other may come to be taught by a kind of grammar rules'.³ (He knew of lip-reading, but did he appreciate that manuals for deaf-and-dumb languages were in existence?) Whether Hogarth felt his art to be closer to acting or writing is difficult to decide. His taste perhaps inclined him towards the plays and 'shows' which he enjoyed, but the arguments he propounded in later life inclined him towards writing. Two metaphors in The Analysis show how fine was the balance between the two: he described the treatise as a 'work with a face . . . entirely new' and he proposed to set out his written case 'in the strongest colours'. Significantly, he regarded himself as an

author, the umbrella-term in the mid-eighteenth-century for any kind of first beginner. He also used the term invent instead of engraved in his prints at a period when the word novelist still meant an inventor.

Hogarth was consistent in stressing the importance of line and movement in art, the essential features of any kind of narrative. The emblem of the serpentine line itself and his belief that motion is the 'greatest grace and life that a picture can have' reinforce the point.⁴ The pleasure to be derived from a play, a novel, a guessing game — or a picture—is expressed in a 'lineal' metaphor:

It is a pleasing labour of the mind to solve the most difficult problems; allegories or riddles, trifling as they are, afford the mind amusement: and with what delight does it follow the well-connected thread of a play, or novel, which ever increases as the plot thickens, and ends most pleas'd, when that is most distinctly unravell'd?

Hogarth was concerned with the linearity of a single picture and not a series, but it is only one further step to perceive that a pictorial series belongs to an essentially narrative form. The step is an admittedly crucial one to take which Hogarth did not do in his writings, although he took it confidently in his artistic practice.

If Hogarth could not recognize his form in words, it is not surprising to find that his critics reflect his uncertainty. His series have been classified as novels and romans muets. He has been called a dramatic painter, a writer of comedy, and a visual biographer. Hogarth is thought to use colours instead of language in his paintings, while his prints are referred to as graphic journalism. The reference to 'dumb shows' has led to an analogy between his work and mime or pantomime. Marriage à la Mode has been classified as a poetic tragedy. There is some truth in all these claims because any form of narrative has some affinity with the others, but the classifications do not identify his essential form.

2. Twentieth-Century Definitions of the Narrative Strip and their Relevance to Hogarth

The problem of Hogarth's narrative form was first recognized as such in 1956. For Newton, it was 'not that of the "illustrator" whose theme is already familiar to the spectator, but of the "narrator" who has to establish not only the characters in his story and their dramatic inter-relationships in a given situation, but has also to suggest a continuity which is the very backbone of the novel or play'.⁵ Recognition was slow, because, as Newton suggests, it had been customary

that narrative painting as a term should apply to those works which refer to a literary text and not to an independent sequence. Hogarth's position as the founder of the British School, his reputation as a social observer, his lack of clarity in his own writings, and the fact that only in English is the word comics used to refer to what can be a serious medium in Europe and America have also helped to delay recognition.

Given the axiom that a Hogarthian series belongs to this serious medium, the narrative strip, it is possible to apply twentieth-century definitions to his work and, subsequently, to place some of the discussion of his narratives, which derives mainly from the literary and dramatic analogies, in its proper perspective. The definitions are drawn mostly from the work of Pierre Couperie and David Kunzle, both historians of the 'Comic Strip'.⁶

The comic strip is defined by Couperie as:

a story (though not necessarily a story) consisting of pictures drawn by one or more artists (we can thus eliminate the cinema and novel in photographs), the pictures being static (as opposed to the animated film), multiple (as opposed to the cartoon) and juxtaposed (as opposed to illustration or the engraved novel).⁷

The definition is sufficiently wide to accommodate Before and After (1736), Beer Street and Gin Lane (1750/1), and The Four Times of the Day (1738), as well as the progresses and Marriage à la Mode. It allows for collaboration such as that between Hogarth and his French engravers. It distinguishes between the single picture and a series. It allows for an analogy to be drawn between the picture strip and other narrative forms. Perhaps the only limitation of the definition is that Couperie continues to use the term story with its literary connotations instead of the more neutral term narrative.

The form of the 'authentic' picture narrative has also been defined:

a series of events, the temporal development of which is achieved by successive leaps from one picture to the next without any interruption in the continuity of the narration. The latter is concerned with the relationship that exists from cartoon to cartoon, from strip to strip, and even from page to page, and, of course, between each of these different constituent elements.⁸

The second part of this definition allows for the fact that Hogarth's series were eventually distributed in book form. Couperie also requires that the contents of the frames should be 'closely linked in time'; should 'constitute a fairly detailed analysis of the action'; that the

latter should be 'intelligible' from the run of the series.

Four more particular features are required of the early narrative strip which, of course, includes Hogarth's work:

1. a 'sequence of separate images'; Kunzle proposes a working minimum of four frames (which, strictly, excludes Hogarth's pairs) and recognizes that there is 'virtually no upper limit'.⁹ Hogarth never went beyond twelve, a comparatively long strip for an 'early' narrative.
2. 'a preponderance of image over text'; only A Rake's Progress and The Four Stages of Cruelty, among the longer series, have verse captions. So dominant is the narrative line in the pictures of A Rake's Progress that the sense of John Hoadly's captions is often at odds with Hogarth's meanings. The words within the pictures function as the exact antithesis of illustrations and other decorative material in a text (page 187).
3. a 'printed form, a mass medium'; a requirement which asks that the engravings should be studied rather than the paintings of a series (Preface, page iii).
4. a 'moral and topical' subject; a requirement which applies to Hogarth, as it happens, but which does not necessarily apply to a later narrator like Franz Masereel.

Four types of pictorial narrative are identified: first, 'simple narrative in which a single plot is developed in a series of cartoons arranged in the logical order of their temporal development'. This, the most common type, was developed by Hogarth in the early progresses into forms more elaborate than those envisaged by Couperie. Secondly, 'parallel narration' develops two or more plots simultaneously through the juxtaposition of several situations: 'this method attests, at least in its detail, to an indifference to time, and unites spatially distant actions the simultaneity of which was not obviously necessary in order to justify the demonstration'. Parallel narratives can convey an impression of 'teeming life' as does Industry and Idleness, a clear example. Hogarth probably derived his sophisticated structure for this series from the split or double plots of late seventeenth-century drama.¹⁰ Dryden's comedy, Marriage à la Mode, could have provided an alternative source for Industry and Idleness to either George Barnwell or Eastward Hoe because its separate plots only coincide on two occasions. Thirdly, 'accelerated narration', the type most influenced by the cinema, analyzes a single action into a sequence of frames closely related in time. Hogarth experimented with this type in Before and After, but relinquished it because of the narrowness of its scope.

Fourthly, a cycle such as The Four Times of the Day has no unifying concepts other than 'pure' time and settings in the general area of

London. Although Hogarth is not mentioned by Couperie as a forerunner of the modern cartoon strip, artists 'who have deliberately chosen to depict duration' prompted him to allow for a special type of narrative: 'any artistic work that relates by its style and composition to a figurative representation in time, without necessarily being in all cases a narrative'.¹¹ Hogarth may have derived his structure from a poetic quartet like Gay's Trivia (1716) which is constructed on similar principles. The Four Prints of an Election and The Four Stages of Cruelty are crosses between simple narratives and narratives of duration. The candidates in the election, as recurrent figures, are virtually lost in the crowds of 'teeming life' so that duration is the predominant principle. Tom Nero is a personification of cruelty and the events in his life are as much exemplifications of a quality as they are the basis of a personal 'history!'.

3. Features Internal to the Narrative Strip

The function of the individual picture, or frame, in a narrative is defined as 'the representation of an action which the reader must discover visually and which must permit him to sum up the situation'.¹² (The requirement, however, which asks for a preponderance of image over text implies that the recipient be a spectator rather than a reader.) The individual picture has to suggest 'a past or future happening which by its position in the [narrative] helps to generate suspense'. The picture has to maintain the presence of at least one identifiable element changing through the interaction of space and time (duration itself can be the constant). Hogarth was to develop a sufficiently sophisticated structure in Marriage à la Mode so that several important recurrent figures are left out of more than one picture of six without a corresponding loss of coherence.

Kunzle, perhaps influenced by Hogarth's choice of titles, regards a principle of juxtaposition as fundamental to the picture narrative and as the source of its morality: 'to narrate is, first of all, to polarize a sequence of events into Before and After, Then and Now, Cause and Result — Crime and Punishment [he might have added Industry and Idleness]'.¹³ Kunzle does not acknowledge the leap in his sentence from temporal to moral terms, but juxtaposition is the principle through which pictures can become truly narrative; conversely, its absence prevents a single picture from being so. He draws attention to a property 'peculiar to the image, and not shared by the word, by which

ILLUSTRATION 1

Below:

ILLUSTRATION 2 The Temp-
tation Scene from the
'Caedmonian Genesis'

the two-part formula can be condensed into a single picture, a single graphic motif'. He refers to a 'woodcut' picture, allegedly by Dürer, in which a man with a knife is shown as committing a crime, while, simultaneously threatened with punishment (Illustration 1). The man with a knife and the figure on the wheel behind, however, are separate figures. The former makes his attack simply in the presence of the other; a causal connexion is suggested only because they are juxtaposed within the same frame. But the relationship is non-literal, a matter of convention, and not a literal rendering of the separate steps of a single action.

A comparable situation is found in A Harlot's Progress III. At the same moment that the harlot displays her stolen watch, a magistrate advances towards her. But there is no duplication of figures as in the broadsheet picture; the Harlot's punishment is shown in the next picture of a series. The magistrate serves only to suggest what is likely to happen next, although the fact of her arrest is implicit in the contents of the next picture. The Temptation picture from the Caedmonian Genesis with its three apples shows what happens when the literal representation of more than one step in an action is compressed within a single frame (Illustration 2). Hogarth avoids such redundancy.

Paulson has analyzed the composition of A Harlot's Progress III out of a belief that Hogarth, perhaps after Poussin and under the influence of Shaftesbury and Richardson, attempted to group some of the evidence of past behaviour to the left of a picture and of possible future behaviour to the right. Thus the magistrate is placed on the right of the triumph-picture in order to anticipate the prison-picture which succeeds it as part of a 'rigorous attempt at telling a temporal story in a spatial genre'.¹⁴ Hogarth's titles, captions, and verbal references do presuppose a literate spectator who is conditioned to associate what he has read, or looked at, in a work with previous events and those to be read, or looked at, with subsequent events. But, if two or more picture are interrelated, the concepts of one beside the other and one above the other must imply one before the other, that is a temporal sequence. In Beer Street and Gin Lane Hogarth chose to place the benign before the malign and so imply a priority.

The narrative structure of a series, therefore, does not have to depend upon conventional grouping within a picture. The magistrate in A Harlot's Progress III is on the right as a matter of preference and

not as a matter of necessity. Hogarth did not explore a convention that left corresponds to past and right to future at all systematically; the associations disappear from the later pictures of each of the early progresses as their plots unfold.¹⁵ By the time that he came to Marriage à la Mode, Hogarth understood that events to the left of a picture in a series inevitably act as apparent causes and elements to the right as apparent consequences, the automatic implications of a viewing structure built on a principle of juxtaposition.

In a realistic picture, the evidence of previous activity can reach a relatively long way into a hypothetical past, but information about any subsequent behaviour can only be tentative. The lots in Marriage à la Mode IV, for example, represent proof that the countess, or her lover, or both, or their agent have attended an auction in the recent past. Although Silvertongue, the lover, points to a picture of a masked ball, and a discarded masquerade costume also occurs in the next picture as proof that a disguise has been worn, there is no certainty that the couple actually attended a ball before coming to the bagnio; it remains a probability.

Elements only function as evidence of subsequent activity either when a picture refers to a separate narrative the temporal sequence of which is known in advance or when a picture relates to others in a sequence. In retrospect, certain elements can function as ironic indicators of subsequent activity. Because Hogarth's 'suspended actions' tend to be separated from each other by considerable intervals of time, a spectator is surer of what leads up to a given moment than of what follows.¹⁶

The rhythm of a Hogarthian series is, therefore, not one which conveys a sense of 'temporal flux', but one which consistently stresses an orderly, even oppressive sequence of causes rather than effects.¹⁷ The stress invites a retrospective and a contemplative approach. The drawing-power of curiosity about what happens next, the source of appeal in much narrative fiction, drama, and film, is restricted in a narrative form which is wholly on display. As a result, Hogarth requires a response different from that of a reader or an audience.

Having considered the pictures in a series, it is appropriate to consider the intervals between them. The interval in Hogarth's complex narratives marks off the equivalent of the major rather than the minor divisions of a play, musical piece, or a book: the acts, movements, or chapters. From a reading of The Analysis, Hogarth may have regarded

his intervals as resting points in the pursuit of intricacy which give renewed 'spring to the mind' and turn the 'toil and labour' into 'sport and recreation'.¹⁸ But he required the interval to carry so much information that it is not easy for a spectator to work out all the steps in a narrative on a first viewing; the recreative moments are part of an arduous pastime.

The picture-frame turns the elements of a composition back on themselves, but in a series the interval represents that essential advance through time which makes the work narrative. A truism of Hogarth's art is that more events in a "history" are implied rather than shown. The limitation of an abbreviated structure required Hogarth to suspend his action at key-moments in a figure's life. His figures are always discovered in medias res, almost neurotically hastening from one crisis to another.

4. Characterization

Hogarth wrote a chapter in The Analysis called 'Of the Face'.¹⁹ He agreed with the old maxim that the face is an 'index of the mind' believing it to be 'reasonable' that the 'natural and unaffected movements of the muscles, caused by the passions of the mind' should mould the face of an adult 'in some measure' according to his character. He was too experienced an observer to be a phrenologist, however; he recognized that physical or accidental factors could also contribute to the way a man looks.

Facial expression is an unreliable guide to feelings, thoughts, and attitudes because it can mean all things to all people. Hogarth provided a partial solution to the problem himself: he referred to the 'common drawing-book called Le Brun's passions of the mind' in which there is a 'compendious view of all the common expressions at once'.²⁰ An attempt has been made to identify Hogarth's "passions", but his range of expressions goes so far beyond Le Brun that the attempt is of limited value. Firmer evidence of the nature of personality is found in a figure's costume and the props he carries (to use the dramatic term). It is difficult for the layman of the twentieth-century to appreciate how responsive Hogarth was to changes in fashion. He was also to assert that 'we know the very minds of people by their dress'. His costumes reflect his figures' moods, tastes, and vanities as external mirrors of their inward life. The figures habitually carry things, point to them, or have recently discarded them. These props can have

ILLUSTRATION 3
The Subscription Ticket to
'Marriage à la Mode'

the force of semi-personal emblems, an inheritance from Ripa and the mediaeval emblem books and pictures. In A Harlot's Progress, for example, the Harlot's bundle of twigs is an emblem of her trade and the stolen watch of her power over men. The bottle of Nants in the last picture confirms the presence of a bawd. Hogarth admitted that he gave up his apprenticeship because he was tired of copying objects, preferring to 'read the language of them <and if possible find a grammar to it>'. Facial expression, costume, props, and physical attitude contribute to what is referred to in the thesis as a figure's characteristic pose.

Hogarth's theory of character, according to his biographer, began with Le Brun's prerequisites that the expressions in a picture should relate to the central event through a direct causal connexion and that each expression should also have its 'cause particulière in the particular character or condition of the individual presented'.²¹ (Hogarth himself used the familiar terms cause and effect several times in The Analysis and, as might be expected, stressed causes rather than effects.) When a figure is carried through a series of pictures in such a way that his characteristic pose is consistent with his previous appearances, the psychology is capable of being complicated. One characteristic pose can be a response to another, forming an independent comment. When several figures recur as well, therefore, the potential is considerable. The characteristic pose and its interrelationship, the unity of causality and the interaction of figures with their setting enabled Hogarth to transcend the apparent limitations of his medium.

Before turning to the interaction of figures with their setting, it is appropriate to consider Characters and Caricaturas (1743), the subscription ticket and visual prologue to Marriage à la Mode (Illustration 3). Hogarth's subscription ticket, the receipt given to the subscribers to a new series, offers an oblique comment on a feature in the series which Hogarth himself wished to emphasize. Boys Peeping at Nature (1730/1) suggests that A Harlot's Progress is a daring investigation into the subject of sexual realism and The Laughing Audience (1733) draws attention to the comic-operatic associations of A Rake's Progress.

Characters and Caricaturas reveals Hogarth's academic interest in character in the, then, metaphorical sense of the word. Its first meaning continued to be as a stamp or imprint and, as Hogarth was aware, it was only beginning to have meaning as the representation of a man's personal qualities, Dr Johnson's fourth definition. The poet,

for example, uses the word to stand for the fancy dress figures — a punchinello, a friar, a turk, etc. — at the masquerade referred to in the fourth and fifth pictures. The subscription ticket also had an educative function; subscribers were to familiarize themselves with the appropriate terminology and critical distinctions between terms while they awaited the publication of the series.

The sketch in the ticket consists of an ugly crowd of profiles crammed into an area forty-five inches square. The profiles contrast with eight heads set in a spacious row beneath. Three heads to the left represent the 'characters' and five deliberately clumsy heads to the right, the 'caricaturas'. The contrasts show that Hogarth intended his realistic expressions to hold the middle ground between the sublime (the characters in the row are preceded by one idealized head) and the grotesque. When the profiles are examined closely, they demonstrate the underlying variety of human expressions in an imaginative tour de force made all the more impressive because Hogarth deliberately limited himself to a flat view. The underlying variety prepares for the easy differentiation of faces within an 'intermediate species' of people, the subject of Marriage à la Mode. Ironically, the square of profiles itself may be in the tradition of Bolognese caricatures in which case Hogarth's sketch is doubly ambiguous.²²

The caption directed a subscriber to the Author's Preface to Joseph Andrews (February, 1742) published just as Hogarth was probably turning to consider Marriage à la Mode.²³ He was returning a compliment because in the Preface Fielding praised the figures of Hogarth's earlier series for their seeming power to 'breathe' and 'to think'. In the same way that Fielding had sought a precedent in Homer's lost 'comic epic-poem', Hogarth sought his in Raphael on whose heads the 'characters' in the subscription ticket are based. Fielding distinguished between his 'species of writing', which he claimed was 'hitherto unattempted in our language', and the 'productions' of burlesque and romance writers. The phrasing of Hogarth's later claim to originality — a field 'unbroke up in any country or any age' — may also echo Fielding's wording.

Both Fielding and Hogarth shared a concern to anticipate misunderstanding and the artist's debt to the writer is again shown in the similarity between Fielding's views on the nature of character in Book III of Joseph Andrews and the phrasing of Hogarth's confused, but revealing recollection of the drawing of Characters and Caricaturas.

Fielding wrote, 'to prevent such malicious applications, I declare here, once for all, I describe not men, but manners; not an individual, but a species . . . are not the characters then taken from life? To which I answer in the affirmative; nay I believe I might aver that I have writ little more than I have seen'.²⁴ Hogarth recalled that he was 'then publishing the marriage alamode wherein were characters of high life'. He remembered that he had 'added the great number of faces above <none of which are exaggerated beyond common portraits> varied at random each of which had a likeness form'd to it to prevent if possible personal applications when the prints should come out which however did not prevent it [*italics added*]'.

The apparent contradiction in Fielding's aim of 'describing not men' and yet taking the 'manners' from life is resolved by arguing that both Hogarth and he were seeking for the now familiar distinction between fiction and non-fiction. At the end of The Analysis Hogarth perhaps resolved the paradox for himself in giving advice to the comic actor: his 'business' is to 'imitate the actions belonging to particular characters in nature', but he can strengthen 'whatever he copies from the life' by taking into account his knowledge of 'lines', that is his experience of art. 'For whatever he copies from the life, by these principles may be strengthened, altered and adjusted as his judgement shall direct, and the part the author has given him shall require.'²⁵ A Harlot's Progress had become popular because of its clever likenesses of notorious people like Dr Misauhin, Mrs Needham, Colonel Charteris, and Justice Gonson. The pastime of identifying Hogarth's 'personal applications' was only to become an embarrassment to him when, under Fielding's influence, he wished to avoid his figures being taken as reproductions in order that they might be recognized as fictional characters instead; hence the insistent tone of the 1743 advertisement and the rueful tone of the recollection (above).

The many personal identifications, which were made in spite of the disclaimer in the advertisement, have led critics to argue that Hogarth did not mean what he wrote, especially as it is not clear what he meant by each having 'a likeness form'd to it'. The criticism can be turned back on itself, however; the rival claimants proposed for a number of the figures suggest instead that Hogarth succeeded in making their faces familiar without being imitative.

Fielding and Hogarth's distinctions, between men and manners or characters and caricatures, are fine ones, matters of selection and

exaggeration rather than essential difference. Hogarth's attitude had yet to harden to the degree it was to do in The Bench (1758) where he was to assert that 'there are hardly any two things more essentially different than Character and Caricatura'. He may have put his heads in a row, effectively a continuum, in acknowledgement of the facts that ultimately only a matter of degree is involved and that he was to bring his figures in Marriage à la Mode, as Hazlitt puts it, 'to the very verge of caricature and yet never (. . . in any single instance) beyond it'.²⁶ Hogarth was to concede that the heads in Characters and Caricaturas were exaggerated, but not beyond 'common portraits'. To ensure that the delicate balance was maintained, he promised in his advertisement personally to engrave the heads of Marriage à la Mode.

The urgency which lies behind the subscription ticket also derived from Hogarth's discovery that the suspended action of 'even the most elegant dancing' was 'unnatural and ridiculous', a fact that the "candid photograph" and the stilted effect of the photo roman have since shown to be true.²⁷ He also knew that the uneducated spectator would dismiss his characterization of ugly people as grotesque. Out of respect for Hogarth's implicit assertion that his figures in Marriage à la Mode are not caricatures, subsequently they are referred to as characters.

As it happens, the characters in Marriage à la Mode are arranged in a well-ordered sequence over the span of the whole series as if Hogarth thought they needed space in which to display their individual differences. The orderliness lends support to the impression of tragic causality with all things stemming from the Earl on the left of the first picture and ending with the departure of the physician to the right of the sixth. The ordering of characters, a viewing sequence it is called, provides a convenient basis for their discussion in the first six chapters of the thesis.

5. Setting and Environment as a Metonymic View of Character

The subscription ticket is remarkable for its total lack of depth. Space is a traditional metaphor of time and in Hogarth's narratives those elements placed nearer to the spectator appear immediate, while 'through the disposition, focus, light, and shade' further elements appear more distant and so remote in time.²⁸ The evidence of previous and possible future behaviour can surround a character without the necessity for ~~bits~~ grouping either to the left or right according to a convention.

The impression of depth is noticeable in Marriage à la Mode because all the major figures except one are shown in rooms of their own or of their choice. The settings, filled with significant possessions, extend into similarly revealing inner rooms and recesses so that the pictures represent visual case-studies of their owners and, indirectly, their visitors (Paulson sees them as descendants ultimately of the Platonic cave²⁹). Spatial and temporal depth can represent psychological depth. Paulson sees space as not only surrounding the characters, but also as actively oppressing them:

The rectangular boxes of frames, of rooms, and of windows emphasize a grid that is artificially imposed on experience by society and by the victim himself. They also delimit and compartmentalize the scene into pieces of more or less accessible information. They are visually related to the conventional shape of the engraved plate, and as the repeated shape of the plates, placed side by side, is what calls for a sequence, so within a plate the shape of the picture on the wall is the same as that of the story — the plate itself — and establishes a parallel between two dimensions of story.

Because Hogarth's characters appear to have chosen their milieu for themselves as often as having an environment forced upon them, they appear self-deluded: 'windows and doors open onto closed scenes or are merely pictures on the walls [which] may appear to the characters to be windows of fantasy and self-expansion but are false openings; they do not look into the natural world but only into a world of art that constrains the people within the room'. Paradoxically, the victims owe their credibility to the cells, literal or figurative, which imprison them.

No other picture-narrator has used the 'dumb rhetoric of the scenery' so eloquently and so accurately.³⁰ The furniture, as another index of the mind, is used in three main ways: most obviously, to provide a sense of place, style, and period. So 'fastidiously authentic' are the interiors that at least one historian of furniture has based descriptions on Marriage à la Mode. Whereas Hogarth and Fielding's characters themselves are fictional, they are associated with localities the addresses of which are sometimes known. Secondly, the furniture acts as evidence of characters' tastes and values: through their choice of pictures, for example, the Harlot is made to admire Macheath and 'Dr Sacheveral'; the Rake, Paris and Nero; the idle apprentice, Moll Flanders; the industrious apprentice, Dick Whittington. Thirdly, Hogarth communicates his point of view through the furnishings from over the heads of characters and literally from behind their backs

as, for example, through the warnings conveyed by the Rake's escutcheons, the Harlot's knotted curtain, or the captive pair of wings which comment on the nature of the Rake's dreams in prison. In addition, the recurrence of objects or classes of objects supplies an underlying coherence, a richness comparable to that of poetry which invites the eye to linger and to make cross-reference rather than to pass on. The subtle interaction between the characters and their setting compensates for the absence of literal movement, the essential dynamic of drama, or the figurative movement of words, the essential dynamic of prose fiction.

One particular feature of the furnishing requires separate consideration. Hogarth makes frequent use of pictures-within-pictures, inset pictures, in his series. In Marriage à la Mode they are, with few exceptions, copies of identifiable and familiar examples of the historical sublime which Hogarth knew from oil-copies or prints of the originals. Their use is an ingenious means by which he could correlate the past and the present and convincingly introduce emblems or symbolic figures into a modern and realistic art form. Such ironic correlations not only have the effect of investing a mid-century London with a significance beyond itself, but also of reducing the heroic to a mundane level. The values of ancient and modern are thereby confused and so both are questioned. Humdrum figures — a country seamstress, a merchant's son, London apprentices, etc. — for the space of a few pictures compare with saints, heroes, and folk-lore characters. Hogarth's modern characters end as calamitously as the heroes of the past often do, but with an ingloriousness appropriate to a harsh, and not golden age: they die of syphilis, insanity, or on the gallows.

6. The Challenge for the Spectator

Hogarth's biographer regards Hogarth as 'one of the last and most consistent adherents of the old difficultas' and Derek Jarrett in The Ingenious Mr Hogarth explains the significance of the epithet, ingenious, as applied to Hogarth by himself, the poet, and Fielding.³¹ The word was linked with the international language of symbols and emblems. The ingenious man was 'versed in the recondite art of emblem-writing, the knitting together of word and image into a form which transcended ordinary language'. This esoteric form of expression had degenerated into a diversion by the eighteenth-century supposedly to be learnt with 'artifice' at finishing school, according to Mrs Malaprop. Perhaps as

a result of his dissatisfactions with having merely to copy objects, Hogarth began to give the term a renewed seriousness in The South Sea Bubble and The Lottery (both 1721). One aim of the thesis is to try to show how Hogarth made use of his 'recondite' knowledge to invest the picture narrative with a rare depth and to provide a spectator with a formidable challenge.

Hogarth's sympathetic spectator initially is someone bewildered (particularly by the paintings because they disrupt the logic of the viewing sequence by presenting things in reverse) who responds to the difficultas and the ingenuity by 'picking up details, reading labels, interpreting various signs . . . until finally the nature of the event and its ramifications become clear'.³² Paulson defines the requisite attitudes as 'cognitive' and 'problem-solving'. They are valuable terms because the non-verbal experience of a viewing structure is similar to, but not the same as, the reading structure of a verbal narrative and the terms are pitched at an appropriate level of generality. The terminology does imply a certain coldness, however: Hogarth used the term wanton to describe the experience of a satisfying narrative and the experience can have the excitement of an adventure.

Hogarth's own assumptions about his reader in The Analysis are equally challenging. The reader is expected to relate abstract arguments to two plates filled with numerous, tiny diagrams. They themselves have to be compared and contrasted. The reader is required to define his responses and to experiment with his own powers of perception. A theory which regards solid objects as shells, dauntingly, requires an observer to see the material universe as wholly ambiguous, to visualize the fabric and the inner structure of things simultaneously.³³ The main intention of the treatise is to induct the reader into the mystery of beauty to which only the author apparently has a key. The wanton chase is not wholly playful: 'pursuing is the business of our lives', Hogarth warns. Thus, in Marriage à la Mode, he both lures and bullies his serious spectator into participation as an active component of the narrative structure, a subject of Chapter X of this thesis.

An additional, physical difficulty is created by the sheer size of Hogarth's medium, large canvases and printed sheets of paper. It is now impossible to see the paintings of either A Rake's Progress in the Sir John Soane's Museum or Marriage à la Mode in the National Gallery displayed in a row. The prints also should be displayed in a row, or a

strip, as Lamb first recollected seeing A Rake's Progress hung in a country house. Few spectators have access to the prints in anything but reduced size as in Paulson's edition of the Graphic Works. Wensinger and Coley were forced to fold their full-size reproductions of Marriage a la Mode as end papers of a book and they cannot be removed. Patricia Rose Townsend's rare elephant folio does not include every picture of every series.³⁴

The narrative movement of a series, therefore, cannot readily be apprehended in a single, sweeping glance and it is difficult to relate the finer detail to an overall impression of the work. Hogarth himself was eventually forced to sell his series in a book form. Industry and Idleness may have been designed as a parallel narrative in order, partly, to lessen the disadvantages of treating a long series as if it were a book. The physical difficulties may have contributed to the delayed recognition of Hogarth's narrative form. The full-size illustrations to this thesis should be removed and laid out in a row and no apologies are made to the reader-spectator for the inconvenience!

7. Conclusion

Hogarth's series are referred to as being built on a 'tension' between the linearity of the book and the simultaneity of the picture; as having a diachronic and a synchronic 'reading structure'; as uniting the language of images and the language of words in a 'subtle interpenetration'.³⁵ The assumptions indicate that a picture narrative is a hybrid form. Paulson cannot 'emphasize too greatly the difference in the reading of a Hogarth print and the seeing of a Hogarth painting'. But a print is a viewing experience, nevertheless, and a series possesses a viewing structure. Words are present as visual detail to be read and looked at, in both Hogarth's prints and paintings. The images in a series happen to be arranged in a manner similar to words because the concept of sequence is common to a verbal passage and a picture strip, but they belong to different forms of narrative.

The language of criticism is the hybrid: a mixture of literary, dramatic, and art-critical terminology. In this thesis, it reads like the practical criticism of poetry. The similarity derives in part from the fact that a series is as dense as, say, a poetic drama. The differences, however, remain; Hogarth's narrative art depends on the elaborate interrelationship between the images (and words as images) within a picture and between those in one picture and another for its

"poetic" sequence.

The thesis has been prepared on the assumption that Hogarth worked in a form that he discovered in practice to be essentially narrative. He was an experimenter in the medium by even the sophisticated standards of the twentieth-century. He sits uneasily in the tradition of the comic strip as Swift does in that of children's literature. It is ironic that the often defensive definition and discussion of a popular, ephemeral narrative form, also customarily thought fit only for children, leads to a clearer view of Hogarth's achievement than perhaps he himself may have had.

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Part One

I. THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

The first part of the chapter is an examination of the characters in the major tableau. A section is concerned to explore ways in which the picture is a confrontation between representatives of the cities of Westminster and London. The second part is concerned with the characters in the minor tableau. The inset pictures which dominate the setting are surveyed in the third part. The fourth is concerned with the variations in the pencil drawing, the visual organization of the picture, and a conclusion.

PART ONE: THE CHARACTERS IN THE MAIN TABLEAU

1. The Earl (i) His Characteristic Pose and the Family Tree

The first character in the viewing sequence of the whole narrative is also the largest. An examination of the detail reveals the primacy of his rank and his ownership of the room. The other characters are all present at his command or invitation.

The Earl fills a thronelike chair big enough for two people of moderate size as its counterpart in the background shows. His foot on its stool adds to the impression of regality and in being three-legged conveyed an effect of dignity and firmness to Hogarth which contrasts with the signs of the Earl's penury elsewhere in the picture.¹ The contrasting hands define his characteristic attitude: one points to the family tree as a sign of his admiration for his own lineage, while the other rests on his chest as if to declare his importance in relation to the family line. The mannered pose of the Earl's little finger draws attention to the signet ring required to set the seal on the ceremony, but he gazes into space as if too preoccupied with his own vision to be anything but indifferent to others and such a technical detail as a marriage contract.

The short coat of gold lace and the waistcoat with the long fringes are those of an old-fashioned courtier. The long cravat and wig are about ten years out of date for the early 1740s. Although the wig is not as long as the quack doctor's in the third picture, it is worth noting that Hogarth thought a full-bottomed wig to be noble, leonine, and as adding dignity and sagacity to the countenance.² Subscribers would have regarded the Earl as being formally and opulently dressed in clothes immoderate in style but not excessively so.

The Earl and His Family Tree (Free Standing)

- Note (i) the coronets on the crutches and the footstool
 (ii) the Hapsburg underlip
 (iii) the signet ring
 (iv) the sweatcloth to the left.

The effect of grandeur is qualified by the presence of the crutches, the sweatcloth beside him, a thickly bandaged foot, and a hint of a bunion on the joint of the other big toe. Gout is now regarded as a comic disease, but the poet in the 1740s calls it a 'P___ almost worn out' and, pointedly, as the 'true nobleman's disease'. Both gout and venereal disease were commonplace in the male population of the upper classes and gout was a traditional sign of excessive sexuality as well as gluttony.³ The symptoms imply a family history of sensuality against which the behaviour of the major characters in the narrative is set. The Earl ignores his disabilities and is perhaps even proud of the gout as an infliction worthy of his rank because he has, ostentatiously, had his crutches stamped with coronets. Only the spectator can appreciate the irony that it is the earldom itself which is crippled, a twist to be completed in the person of the deformed grandson in the last picture. The gout and crutches introduce an underlying theme of flawed magnificence.

A family tree is a natural and yet clever means of supplying information about a distant, but relevant past at the beginning of a narrative. Like the miser's diary in A Rake's Progress I, the tree reveals something of the author's attitude to its owner. It is rooted in William the Conqueror's belly, an amusingly apt source for the family's gluttony. The duke's armour, a familiar heraldic detail, comments ironically on a father who now displays only the arrogance of a warrior and a son who is to be a catastrophically unsuccessful duellist. The word-order of the title stresses the French connexion; 'William Duke of Normandy' is admired neither for his conquest nor his kingship, but for his nationality. It is also significant that syphilis was known as the French gout.⁴

The theme of flawed magnificence extends to and perhaps is intended, symbolically, to derive from the family tree itself. Twenty medals in the shape of fruit hang from the branches. The Earl's finger is placed near an uncrowned fruit on the main stem to indicate the directness of his son's descent. A broken branch is set to one side of the tree to signify a marriage alliance with someone of obscure origins, but the present occasion is apparently the only one on which a direct descendant marries unfavourably. Hogarth has left the scroll partly rolled so that the topmost branches are hidden. The family lineage is nearly at an end which is not to be the result of a natural growth — as the narrative is to show.

Both the poet and Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Hogarth's most responsive commentator, referred to the canopy behind the Earl as a canopy of state and, in doing so, introduced a confusion for others to follow.⁵ The canopy is not dissimilar to the pavilion in Mr Garrick in the Character of Richard III (1746), but it is part of a bed decorated in French style as the tesselations and the valances fringed with gold show. Fashionable bedrooms in the eighteenth-century were furnished like sitting rooms so that it would not have been unusual for a contract to be drawn up in an invalid's bedroom. A similarly formal ceremony in The Christening (1729) also takes place in a bedroom. The correct identification is important because regal associations are found only in the treatment and not in the canopy itself; Hogarth laughs at the pretensions of his Earl without going beyond what was possible.

The bed canopy is an appropriate inclusion in other ways: it is ironic that the latest treaty of a family which claims descent from a famous warrior should be drawn up in a domestic interior. This first bedroom in the French style prepares for the second in the fourth picture where another agreement is being sought which is effectively to cancel the marriage contract. John Ireland first suggested that the bed and the setting generally is a burlesque of William Kent's designs. But, while the heaviness of the furniture and the picture frames may owe something to Kent's designs, the room with its flat, painted ceiling is closer to William-and-Mary in style. Sash-windows appeared around 1700 and so would have been considered a novelty at the time the house was meant to be built. The old-fashioned milieu supports the impression that the Earl's are the values of a preceding generation.

At least nine coronets are scattered throughout the picture, excluding the medals on the family tree. Their frequency has led twentieth-century critics to reprove Hogarth for his tedium and bad taste, but the display was not excessive for an earl's room in the style of the 1730s or earlier.⁶ There is a delightful story of a twentieth-century Member of Parliament whose son, within ten days of his father being elevated to the peerage, decorated his butter-pats with coronets . . . Hogarth's exaggerations may have had a more serious purpose; as has been claimed in the Introduction (4, p. 11), he was a pioneer in demonstrating the metaphorical meaning of character. The imprints on the crutches close to the Earl's head are his marks, both his literal and figurative character. The oppressive effect of his rank and personality pervades the room and in the case of a dog is

The View Through the Window (Free
Standing)

- Note (i) the lawyer's outstretched
hand
(ii) the strollers in the
courtyard.

stamped into its hide.

The coronets function like the extended metaphor of the fog and the mud at the beginning of Bleak House. These images seemingly emanate from the Lord Chancellor and spread out to contaminate the streets of London. The imagery is both poetic and satiric in its effect without disturbing the realistic fabric of the novel. Whereas Dickens had to order his priorities according to the limitations of narrative prose and so chose to approach the Lord Chancellor by way of the streets, Hogarth's medium allowed him to show the character and his surroundings simultaneously. To some extent, the reputations for realism of both Hogarth and Dickens have worked against their underlying intentions.

(ii) The View Through the Window as an Expression
of the Earl's Imagination

The Earl's upward gaze is repeated in that of the lawyer (identified by his coil-wig and gown) who stands just behind and to the right of him. Because the lawyer is the only other character with an uplifted head, he seems to redirect, or refract, the direction of the Earl's gaze through the window. The connexions are emphasized because the lawyer holds the Earl's plan, entitled 'A Plan of the New Building of the Right Hon^{ble} . . .'. The treatment suggests that Hogarth wanted to convey the difficult idea of the Earl dreaming about his favoured project at an important moment in his family's history through the vicarious agency of a subordinate. In so far that the view is the expression of the Earl's fantasy it is appropriate to include it in a discussion of his character.

The sash and the curtain are drawn up from the window as if on a stage-set. The view is of a courtyard dominated by a Palladian façade. Its double portico is in a complete muddle: four Ionic columns are placed above three Corinthian — a top-heavy misplacing of the classical orders of architecture in keeping with other kinds of topsy-turviness in the series. The pediment is incomplete and the whole structure is supported by scaffolding. Both the Earl and his new building, therefore, are "impedimented" and, so the simile runs, both need support. Nichols and Steevens first noticed that the scaffolding is empty of workmen — evidence that even the credit of an earl can run out and the sign of a need for another kind of support.⁷

Although Hogarth was forced to compress the details in order that they might fit into a window space, the indecorous juxtaposition of the

façades with a stable is a deliberate criticism of the architect's taste. Lichtenberg explored the almost Pickwickian humour of a minor detail within a detail: beside the main entrance is a 'dark coach-house which admits some doubtful light through a round hole and has an arched entrance cut so low that the coachman and carriages, when entering, could not possibly escape being cut off, too'.⁸

At the psychological level, the building comments rather more on the Earl's metaphorical short-sightedness than on his tastelessness. He is only concerned with building as a fashionable end in itself and is indifferent to the end-product, a particular building, because the defects are clear to see (the figures in the courtyard with tricorne hats, wigs, and top coats are fashionable strollers perhaps drawn by the notoriety of the design). The lawyer is presumably the Earl's incompetent and inappropriate agent: both have hatchet-profiles and the lawyer's flattering fingers spread over the plan to make the shape of a coronet, a sly visual metaphor which confirms the identity of a foolish, but powerful man's "creature" and the inspiration for the plan.

Three possible clues to Hogarth's personal attitude to his vista are found in his writings.⁹ First, his theory of humour was founded on an awareness of incongruity: 'it is plainly the inconsistency and mixture of incompatible matter that causes involuntary laughter'. The view through the window is stagey and comic and its classical façade clashes incongruously with the French interior. Secondly, Hogarth believed that the 'front of a building with all its equalities and parallelisms' was disagreeable. Thirdly, he lamented the mechanical following of Palladio's rules which the Earl's architects have tried and so obviously failed to obey. Hogarth preferred a house to reflect its purpose as his choice of a simple, modest home in Chiswick shows. He wrote that 'were a modern architect to build a palace in Lapland or the West-Indies, Palladio must be his guide, nor would he dare to stir a step without his book'. (This contempt did not prevent Hogarth, nevertheless, from owning Palladio's 'book' in Isaac Ware's translation.) The dislike of Palladio was sharpened by a prejudice against the Burlingtonians of whom the Earl is made to be an inadequate follower.

Kunzle draws attention to the frequency with which the 'mania for building' (an apt phrase in this later context) was satirized in seventeenth-century "Folly" prints.¹⁰ In comparison with the melancholy view to be seen through the window of the last picture, Hogarth began his series in a comparatively light-hearted mood. The Earl's 'window

of fantasy' does have the serious implication, however, that his dream is a first link in the causal chain which leads to catastrophe. The view, a clever series of elaborate and unobtrusive jokes, is a remarkable example of the way that Hogarth makes his plot permeate the obscure corners.

The Earl, as the first character in the viewing sequence of Marriage à la Mode, is as complex a figure as the narrative form will allow. Because the psychology reveals itself only slowly, the 'scene' can be properly termed delusory. What is, outwardly, a splendidly regal gentleman is, underneath, an arrogant, complacent, self-indulgent, sensual spendthrift who even makes a boast out of his infirmity. His magnificence is exceptional only in its folly.

The Earl's French antecedents and tastes represent a personal prejudice of Hogarth's, based on a mixture of respect and fear which was to deepen into antipathy in his old age. He wrote in the Apology for Painters: 'France <next> aping the glory and <magnifice> of the ancient have <atened> a foppish kind of splendoure sufficient to dazle the eyes of us islanders and draw <vast> sum of money from this country'.¹¹ Hogarth's mixed feelings may have reflected a more general uncertainty towards the French which was due to the Englishman's awareness of the 'long shadow' of French culture. The English reacted either by copying the 'polished suavity' of the French as Lord Chesterfield did, and the Earl and his son do, or by being as English as Hogarth represented himself to be.

The Earl is an original creation only to be rivalled by the formidable bulk of Simon Lord Lovat (1746). Although he may owe something to Garrick's Lord Chalkstone and is perhaps a descendant of Sir Epicure Mammon, his is the figure in which Hogarth first follows up his claim to be concerned with character and not caricature. In spite of the satirical treatment of his building programme or his footstool and canopy, he is a character with a disturbingly convincing authority.

2. The Alderman and the Broker

The bride's father is the most important visitor and, although, the broker takes precedence over him in the viewing sequence, the dramatic confrontation in the picture is between the two fathers. As a matter of compromise, therefore, the broker is considered in the same

The Alderman and The Marriage Settlement (Free Standing)

Note (i) the four strands to his chain
(ii) the chape of his sword between his legs
(iii) the crooked little finger
(iv) the forgotten coin in the money bag.

Top Right: The Civic Gown from the Sixth Picture

section, particularly as there is more than a suggestion that the one is the other's creature.

The father's exact status has been in doubt. The poet assumes that he is an ex-lord-mayor:

His chain he never ceas'd to wear,
To let you know he'd pass'd the Chair.

Rouquet refers to him as an échevin, the nearest equivalent in French to an alderman. Nichols and Steevens translated the term back from the French as 'sheriff'.¹² The father wears a gold chain in both the first and sixth pictures with fewer strands in the latter. Ralph Hyde, Keeper of Prints and Maps at the Guildhall, offers an explanation:

an alderman first wears the chain when he serves his one year as a sheriff . . . [and] is required to wear his chain of office again once he has passed the Chair, i.e. has served as Lord Mayor. Hogarth therefore would seem to be showing an alderman who has passed the Chair. Alternatively — and this might conceivably account for the variation in strands — the father may be a sheriff in Plate I and have passed the Chair in Plate VI.

The second proposal reinforces an impression of the bride's father as an ambitious man who gains in status over the series, while other characters decline. The Civic Order of 1735 did not forbid the wearing of a chain in private so that the alderman would appear to have been within his rights, although his wearing of it on such a domestic occasion as in the last picture suggests that he is as vain-glorious as the Earl.

In the last picture, the bride's father is about to drink from a large, silver loving-cup. The Lord Mayor of London customarily elected, or at least nominated, a sheriff for the following year by drinking to him from a loving-cup on a public occasion.¹³ This Lord Mayor, it may be presumed, has already toasted his sheriff and now uses his cup alone out of pride. The coat hanging on the wall is not dissimilar to the aldermanic gown worn by the Industrious Apprentice as he prepares to sentence Idle, but, according to Hyde, the gown at the end of Marriage à la Mode is in fact the mazarine-blue, silk gown trimmed with fitch fur worn by the common councilman. Hogarth may not have been aware of the particularly fine distinction between the aldermanic gown and the councilman's and so confused the two. The bride's father, therefore, is an alderman at least and he is referred to as such throughout the thesis. The privileges of his rank provide an opportunity for a hypothetical first meeting between the fathers. Sheriffs and mayors were

required to attend at court and would have been important members of delegations to Parliament.¹⁴

The Alderman's wig and coats with their long skirts are older-fashioned than the Earl's. His stock is arranged in a Steenkerk tuck so named after the battle of 1692 and the poet suggests that his clothes were 'made in the end of Anna's reign'. The clash between the scarlet coat and the bright green breeches would have made the Alderman appear the vulgarian of the series to subscribers at a time when pastel shades were fashionable. He sits in what an awkward man might believe to be a genteel pose. Lichtenberg's description is apt and amusing: he is 'tense, attentive and preoccupied. His legs do not even seem aware that he is sitting: the shins incline somewhat beyond the vertical, as if ready for a jump, the feet parallel, the stout shoes with their coarse Stock Exchange soles planted as firmly as his credit'.¹⁵ Hogarth's sly sense of humour is apparent in the placing of the Alderman's sword: the chape juts awkwardly and suggestively from between the character's legs. The comic awkwardness anticipates his son-in-law's maladroitness with a sword as shown in the second and fifth pictures.

At first glance, the Alderman seems about to read the title on the contract, but the line of his gaze is directed more towards the mortgage and the money on the table. His lugubrious, adenoidal expression suggests that he is unhappy about parting with so much money no matter what returns there may be; an incipient miserliness which Hogarth was fully to develop in the last picture. The forgotten coin in the money-bag on the floor is a clever variation on the theme of spoilt magnificence, a small carelessness in an otherwise obsessively careful man. The limitations of his personality make him metaphorically as well as physically short-sighted: while the Earl gazes abstractly, the Alderman is so hunched over the documents that he fails to take note of, or prefers to disregard, the imperfections of the family tree and the patch on the neck of his prospective son-in-law.

The Alderman is in the style of Hogarth's Menippean skinflints, like the Rake's father in The Heir I or Old Manners, the moneylender, in The Gaming House VI. The Rake's father in his portrait also sits bent over the evidence of his wealth. He, too, would appear to have had aspirations damaging to his son in sending him to Oxford. A clue to Hogarth's attitude to his Alderman is found in the treatment of the monkey in the foreground of Taste in High Life (1742), a source for several important ideas in Marriage à la Mode.¹⁶ The monkey, in a pose

The Broker and the Documents (Free Standing)

similar to the Alderman's, appears to read the French menu with the aid of an eyeglass.

The Alderman's individuality as a character in this first picture depends on his full, smooth cheeks, his heavy underlip, his clumsy posture, and his thick fingers which adjust the spectacles with exaggerated care (contrasting beautifully with the Earl's tapering fingers). His is a limited personality in comparison with the Earl because he is a visitor in the other's room. The full extent of his vulgarity, meanness, and callousness is reserved until the last picture where he is shown among his own possessions in his house. Hogarth's original variation in this first picture lies in placing a London merchant and his daughter in the alien setting of a fashionable town house. The situation is an advance on A Rake's Progress IV: the merchant's son is prevented from reaching the palace, but the merchant and his daughter have gained access to an Earl's mansion.

A sour-faced figure completes the main tableau, a 'horrid meagre dun' the poet calls him. He has also been identified as the Alderman's clerk, the lawyer's clerk, a usurer reclaiming debts, and the Earl's steward.¹⁷ His position at the centre-point of the main tableau and his duty, apparently to exchange documents on the fathers' behalf, define his role as an intermediary of some sort: 'it is he who, so as to speak, performs the marriage ceremony'. He proffers the mortgage and the notes instead of accepting them as repayment as a usurer or a dun would. His plain clothes and lack of a wig mark him out as poorer than the other characters present, a fact which works against his being the Earl's steward.

The expectation that intermediaries should be neutral emerges later in the eighteenth-century so that it is possible to argue that the man is a broker hired by the Alderman for what would be a special occasion — the paying out of a large sum. Hogarth's alignment of the tableau makes the broker appear closer to the Alderman than he would be in reality, an artful bias. It is typical of the Earl that he would not be concerned to insist on having his broker present and typical of the Alderman that he would want to dictate financial terms. The three pins in the broker's left sleeve show Hogarth's willingness to provide a minute, distinguishing detail in a minor, non-recurring figure. Pins were of modest value in the middle of the century and

thus worth saving. John Gay in The Pin and the Needle (1727) refers to them being 'rang'd within a miser's coat' as a sign of his saving in small things.¹⁸ It is also typical of the Alderman, whose personal servants are of the poorest (pages 145 and 147), that he should hire a broker of a like mind to himself. Hogarth has made the broker's eyes stare and his mouth hang as if to show that he is awed by, and envious of, the large sums in front of him, the experience of Tantalus.

3. The Two Cities and the Arrangement of Marriage in the Eighteenth-Century

The confrontation between an earl and an alderman would probably have had deeper meaning for Hogarth's older subscribers in particular. The social historian, David Allen, has examined an actual marriage alliance between an earl's son and a lord mayor's daughter in the second half of the seventeenth-century.¹⁹ The alliance became famous because it involved representatives of the cities of London and Westminster. In explaining how distasteful the alliance would have appeared, Allen also provides another likely opportunity for the supposed first meeting between an importunate earl and a rich alderman:

In a so-called Age of Mercantilism, courtiers might rub shoulders with the wealthiest citizens in the halls of trading companies or in the bankers' counting houses but did not seek out their company once they had done business with them. The Court at Whitehall had yet to acknowledge openly its respect for the merchants in the City who endeavoured to increase the country's wealth as [Dr Johnson was to claim].

Although the rivalry was politically important during the Civil War and after the Restoration, it is difficult to decide how seriously it was regarded in the eighteenth-century. The Great Fire weakened the powers of the semi-independent oligarchy in London because it largely destroyed the merchant quarter, a perennial danger referred to in the fire buckets of the last picture. The decline was hastened by the South Sea Bubble, although the crash affected the landed aristocracy as well as the merchants.

The rivalry persisted in drama and literature with only undertones of seriousness as in Swift's or Gay's fears of the town gangs or Bishop Gibson's careful wording of his pastoral letters, directed to 'especially the two great Cities of London and Westminster'. The rivalry was never a common theme in the theatre, but occurs in Jacobean City plays and the Restoration comedies, which Hogarth knew well, as a local variation on the ancient rivalry between town and country:

The 'way of the world' in Restoration London took its tone from the best models at the Court in Whitehall but scorned City manners. Court wits and writers of comedies for the stage made humorous capital from what they intended their urbane audiences to recognize as an inferior sensibility east of Temple Bar.

The rivalry is personified as between aristocrat and merchant, wit and cit, cavalier and puritan (or emergent Tory and Whig), and rake and cuckold. Encouraged in part by Hogarth, it found ironic variations as between rakish wife and stay-at-home husband, foreign tastes and native habits, and between ancient and modern values. Hogarth is in accord with the Jacobean playwrights in not presenting the aristocrat and the citizen as one better than the other.

In both centuries, the rivalry was kept alive through gossip about marriage bargainings. Lord Keeper Guildford, for example, rejected an offer of £6,000 to marry Alderman Lawrence's daughter and refused again when it was raised to £14,000. In 1731, Lord Polesworth, son of the Earl of Marchmont, was reported in the Daily Post, a paper read by Hogarth, as marrying a merchant's daughter; Miss Weston, 'a young lady of 30,000 l Fortune', was an exceptionally good buy. The gold and bank-notes poised as if to fall into the Earl's lap add up to about £6,000, excluding the unknown value of the redeemed mortgage. Financially at least, the marriage is an important one if clearly not in the highest flight.

The French flavour of the title, Marriage à la Mode, distracts both from the Englishness and the long tradition of arranged marriages which had always been a means of 'rising in the world and increasing social influence'. H. J. Habakkuk observes that settlements in England in the eighteenth-century conformed to a strictly observed 'standard pattern' through which far-reaching possibilities were anticipated, including provision for the children of a marriage.²⁰ It is not surprising that Hogarth's settlement is a bulky package and that two lawyers are required to supervise the transaction.

Hogarth thus combines two antipathies with long histories in one situation to underly the mutual dislike of the bridal couple: the enforcement of marriage and the antagonism between London and Westminster. Habakkuk notes of this particular combination that mercantile wealth was probably rising in eighteenth-century England, though not necessarily in the City of London, and that mercantile heiresses were more likely to inherit the whole of their fathers' fortunes than the

heirs of landed families because of the far-reaching authority of the marriage settlement. Hogarth's Earl is as 'intermediate' a member of a landed family as he could be; he has no apparent political influence in spite of the poet's unsubstantiated assertion that he is an adherent of Sir Robert Walpole, and he is forced by his follies to permit an anonymous merchant-citizen to make the better bargain. The landed aristocracy was forced to seek alliances with the merchant class as a result of debts arising from 'personal extravagances, excessive building and election expenses'. (Hogarth had yet to become interested in the last folly.)

The events of Hogarth's own life, like those of Samuel Pepys, made him particularly aware of the inter-city rivalries and the social pressures against those of rank who wanted to marry for love, le mariage anglais. The eagerness with which commentators have sought for real-life sources for the characters is a sign of the interest in the subject: an 'Earl R----d' (Ronald or Roland) and 'Lord T-----y' (probably Tylney) according to the poet, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Scarsdale, and the Earl of Portsmouth; 'old B---ks' (to rhyme with books) according to the poet, and Sir Isaac Shard for the Alderman.²¹

The Alderman is unnamed in the series, but the Earl's family-name is 'Squander', information which is delayed until the fourth picture where it is only then supplied indirectly (Chapter VII section 1). The bridegroom's courtesy title was withheld from the marriage contract in the first painting in order to save an apt point for the subscribers' benefit: 'The Rt. Honble Lord Squanderfield [*italics added*]'.²² Hogarth's surnames belong to the same type of autonomasia that is the basis of Johnson's 'humours'. But in Marriage à la Mode, he was anxious both to make his figures resemble people and to make it clear that they were fictitious; the name Squanderfield represents the compromise.

The twentieth-century meaning of to squander as to spend money carelessly was current in the 1740s, but its primary meaning was then less specific. Dr Johnson defined the word as to scatter lavishly or to spend profusely, where to spend meant to consume or to exhaust rather than to pay out; to 'throw money away in idle prodigality' was a secondary meaning. The word is also defined, at its most general, as to scatter, to dissipate, and to dispose. When Paulson refers to The

Lady Squander and her
Lawyer (Free Standing)

Note (i) the metaphor of
the dagger-like pen turned
to the lawyer's chest and
(ii) the ring on the
handkerchief.

Marriage Contract as containing 'the germ of total fragmentation', therefore, he is defining the essential theme of the picture and the series as Hogarth himself might have done.²³ The contemporary definition shows that Hogarth had no need to make financial bankruptcy an immediate or necessary cause of his squanderers' downfall as he did for the Rake; he had a more universal concept in mind.

Because characters change their status and titles during the course of the series, there is a possibility of confusion over nomenclature: the Viscount Lord Squanderfield succeeds as Earl Squander and the Alderman's anonymous daughter becomes Lady Squander and a countess. To avoid confusion, therefore, the father is referred to as the Earl, his son as Lord Squander or the husband, and his wife as the wife or Lady Squander.

PART TWO: THE CHARACTERS IN THE MINOR TABLEAU

1. The Bride (Lady Squander) and Her Lawyer

The Alderman's daughter is the central figure of the minor tableau. She is considered before the lawyer, although he precedes her in the viewing sequence, because the meaning of his characteristic pose and his position in the viewing sequence is dependent on hers.

Her cap, shaped like a folded handkerchief and probably decorated with real flowers, and her white, possibly satin gown trimmed with lace is the sort of costume in which a young girl would want to be married in the early 1740s. The Alderman may not have spent much on himself, but he has been prepared, or forced, to spend on his investment. The bride and groom's clothes apparently came chiefly from France so that the Alderman has dressed his daughter in the style most pleasing to the Earl and his son, although the concession passes unnoticed.²⁴ The clothes are showy for a betrothal ceremony with its legal emphasis. Hogarth may not have had personal access to such private ceremonies between influential families, although, of course, he would have observed their wedding clothes. There may be a rare suggestion of inexperience here.

Peter Quennell, with a sympathy which Hogarth himself may have shared, deduces from the presence of the large handkerchief that the bride has been crying.²⁵ Resolutely, however, she has now stopped. The size of the handkerchief compares with that of the Earl's sweat-cloth; Hogarth may have been hinting at a point of contact, a shared

excess of feeling, between two different people apparently unaware that they have anything in common. The hint prepares for the daughter-in-law's interest in collecting and preference for sensational subjects in art similar to her father-in-law's as shown in the fourth picture.

The bride is the only character in the picture who, by her pout, shows open disapproval of the transaction. The power of her personality is reflected in the expression of the Medusa in the portrait above her. At present she ignores both her future husband and lover. Her pent-up feelings are directed only against the ring with which she toys, an emblem of marriage and, to the Elizabethans at least, an emblem of the honour which she is to treat lightly.²⁶ She appears to treat the lawyer's approach with the disdain of tradition, but Hogarth has inclined her body towards him as if to suggest an underlying responsiveness.

The bride's status as the daughter of an alderman of the City of London has encouraged speculation about her supposed past. The poet and Trusler see her as having already acquired a taste for 'West-End splendour' as 'th' Assembly's Queen' on Lord-Mayor's Day at the Guildhall, but she sits as awkwardly in her fine clothes as her father does. The prospect of a life of splendour does not yet seem to appeal. The second picture represents her as discovering the unexpected possibilities of a marriage of convenience rather than accepting them as the result of expectation. She is obviously a marriageable heiress and it is a measure of the Earl's and his son's folly that they do not handle her with care.

Commentators vary considerably in their response to the bride, a variation due at least in part to changes in attitude towards women in history as well as to the difficulty of coming to agreement over the meaning of facial expression.²⁷ The poet sees 'Revenge' in her face and Rouquet regards her as playing 'nonchalantly' with her ring. Lichtenberg is indignant: she is 'malicious, pig-headed, stubborn, and yet sly'. In contrast, Hazlitt, perhaps thinking of Pope's Belinda, praises her against the evidence of her stiffness, her pout and her frown: for him, there is 'the utmost flexibility, and yielding softness in her whole person, a listless languor and tremulous suspense in the expression of her face'. In the twentieth-century, she has been described as pretty and part of the sadness of the marriage lies in the fact that the couple are handsome enough to have been attracted to each other without being forced into marriage. She is capable of

ILLUSTRATION 5 Le Brun's 'Passion' Pure Love

arousing a gallant response in the lawyer, apparently on the spur of the moment and without the prospect of obvious material advantage. The various critical reactions are a sign of Hogarth's ability to evoke an ambiguous response; an indication that he was representing character and not caricature.

The lawyer bends solicitously over the bride and his expression, particularly in the arrangement of his barely open mouth, approximates to Le Brun's 'passion' of Pure Love (Illustration 5) as if to suggest that Hogarth intended to convey an effect of love at first sight.²⁸ Commentators generally stress the lawyer's traditionally 'serpentine guile', his gracefulness, and his physical solidity. Although Hazlitt idealizes the bride, he is psychologically much more exact in his description of the lawyer, bringing out his roundness in implicit contrast to the thin bridegroom:

He is full of that easy good-humour, and easy good opinion of himself, with which [women] are often delighted. There is not a sharp angle in his face to obstruct his success, or give a hint of doubt or difficulty. His whole aspect is round and rosy, lively and unmeaning, happy without the least expense of thought, careless and inviting; and conveys a perfect idea of the uninterrupted glide and pleasing murmur of the soft periods that flow from his tongue.

His sharpening of the pen not only provides an excuse for a pleasantry, but also indicates that he is the Alderman's adviser rather than the Earl's since the latter's pen is already set before him in the ink-well. The lawyer is also placed behind the Alderman's chair as if to strengthen the connexion between them and to act as a balance with the Earl's lawyer who is negligent for a different reason.

The Society of Gentleman Practitioners in the Courts of Law and Equity had been established in 1739 as a means of raising the status of lawyers and as establishing them as independent of their clients. G. Baldwin Brown is surprised that a prospective countess does not eventually 'fly at higher game' and, indeed, Lady Squander is to remain touchingly loyal to her lawyer.²⁹ Although lawyers were frequently despised by claimants, there is no evidence to suggest that Counsellor Silvertongue is a social inferior: he looks prosperous; he has come from a family with sufficient means to enable him to pass through the Inns of Court; he is employed by ^{relatively} important people. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he is the younger son of a gentleman, a merchant, or a physician, who lives by his talents — a man worthy of an Alder-

Lord Squander and the Reflection in
the Mirror (Free Standing)

Note (i) the scrofulous patch on the
neck

(ii) the important differences be-
tween the lord's head and the
head in the mirror

(iii) the partial coronets, above
the mirror and underneath
the table.

The pointer's eying of the projected
spectator is absent from this reproduction.

man's daughter and perhaps capable of commanding a viscount's respect.

Hogarth's treatment of the lawyer, however, is consistent with that of the other 'intermediate' characters in the series. He is not a famous lawyer with a prestigious background. He is typified by his name, but the power of his tongue to persuade is diminished by the fact that the name, 'Counsellor Silvertongue', is withheld until the last picture. The poet identifies him as a 'spruce young Templar', an identification which offers some support to the view that Hogarth was exploiting a contrast between the fashionable West End and the mercantile East with the lawyer coming neatly in between as an intermediary.

The social gap between the lovers may have appeared narrower to subscribers than it does now and Silvertongue's approach may have been a degree less audacious and the subsequent affair more probable. Most satires on lawyers from Holbein onwards attack their cupidity or cunning. Hogarth's originality lay less in making Silvertongue a villain and more in making him a gallant. The plot of Marriage à la Mode is more skilfully constructed than the progresses: the agent of resolution, the Alderman, and the agent of destruction, his counsellor, are present from the beginning of the narrative. The dialectic is elegant because the first-movers, the fathers, command the presence of the agent in order to further their own plans.

2. The Bridegroom (Lord Squander), The Mirror, and the Dogs

The bridegroom completes the viewing sequence of the first picture. His back, turned to the other characters, emphasizes his isolation and indifference to his bride, his marriage, and his father. His lips are pulled back in a smile of a kind which can convey impatience or exasperation. His mournful eyes make it expressive of no more than a mild dissatisfaction, a mood reflected in the pastel blue of his coat. His gentleness contrasts with the sullen expression of his bride who is prepared to be critical.

The pastel shades of his clothing show that the bridegroom is dressed to the height of contemporary fashion. The cuffs of the Rake's coat in The Arrest IV, where he is dressed for the outstanding event of his career, are longer than the lord's as befitted the style of ten years before. The variation is confirmation of Hogarth's sensitivity to changes in fashion and his use of costume as indicative of character. The differences between the Rake's preposterous cravat and overlarge coat and the lord's narrow cravat and well-fitting coat are measures of

the bridegroom's decorous taste in clothes at least.

Hazlitt describes him as sitting affectedly 'perked up on his high heels with a certain air of tiptoe elevation'.³⁰ The red heels, which are only moderately high even by the standards of the 1970s, are an old-fashioned touch in the otherwise modish costume. Addison in 1711 had described red heels as 'little extravagances' and 'foppish and fantastic ornaments'. John Gay associated them with foppery and with a French fop in particular. Both Addison and Hogarth would appear to apply their 'remedies', as Addison put it, 'to the first seeds and principles of an affected dress'. Hogarth was probably prepared to tolerate a minor anachronism in Marriage à la Mode for what had become a by-word for the false taste and foppery of which he disapproved. Alternatively, it is perhaps possible that the red heels were part of a temporary revival in fashion which has otherwise gone unnoticed.

The stylishness of the clothes is gently ridiculed in the angular arrangement of the bridegroom's bony arms and legs. This characteristic may derive from the traditional appearance of Sir Andrew Aguecheek or Sir Fopling Flutter and favoured by Hogarth in, for example, the boy to the right of The Graham Children (1742), the absurd fop in Taste in High Life who wears similarly high-heeled shoes to Lord Squander, and John Wilkes Esq^r. (1763). The pose is charming in the boy in the conversation piece, but gauche in the lord. Further evidence of Hogarth's restrained and even affectionate humour is found in the deliberate contrasting of the thin, awkward lord with Silvertongue's rounded, graceful figure — both are set with the same foot forward. The bridegroom's angled legs also anticipate those of a dancing figure to the right of the second plate of The Analysis (1753) which is referred to as the 'awkward one in the bag wig, for whom I had made a sort of an X'. Silvertongue's legs in contrast are closer to the graceful, 'amiable' figure dancing on the far left of the same picture. Grace is juxtaposed with ungainliness as a source of underlying conflict in Marriage à la Mode (Hogarth remembered first using the line of grace in 1745³¹). At the even more basic level of fat versus thin, the contrast extends to the bulky, but dignified Earl and the thin, but awkward Alderman.

The son has outwardly little in common with his father's corpulent frame, but there are underlying similarities: they both gaze absently; both advance the same legs; both crook their little fingers in the affected mannerism which recurs throughout the series; both are turned

to the right; both wear big rings, the one decorative, the other purposeful. The son's elegant appearance is spoilt by a large plaster on his neck in the same way that his father's dignity is spoilt by the gout.

Scrofula attacks the lymphatic glands of the neck and is due to 'constitutional weakness, generally exhibiting itself in early life and characterized mainly by the defective nutrition of the tissues, which renders them a ready prey to tuberculosis', according to Black's Medical Dictionary. The disease, now known to be transmitted through infected milk, was still baffling in the eighteenth-century. Hogarth's subscribers, therefore, would have readily regarded the son's sore as a consequence of the father's excesses and many would have interpreted it as a sign of inherited venereal disease. The gout not only precedes the scrofula in the viewing sequence, but also co-exists: a unique consequence of a narrative mode which is both diachronic and synchronic. The sequence is the wrong way round in the painting where the sin of the son appears to descend to the father, an absurdity which confirms that the print is meant to carry the narrative line.

A pier mirror, the first of several mirrors in the series, hangs behind the bridegroom. It, too, is surmounted by an earl's coronet, but both are cut in half by the margin of the picture as if, ironically, to prophesy that the son is to be but half an earl (Hogarth had withheld the half-coronet from the painting for the subscriber's benefit). A similar joke occurs in A Rake's Progress I where Hogarth set a full escutcheon above the angry mother, but only half above her sorrowing daughter. A shadowy reflection in the mirror has encouraged commentators from the poet onwards to typify the bridegroom as 'a young Narcissus' who courts himself 'in a dull glass'. Ireland wondered whether 'at the same time that [the bridegroom] is admiring his own person, [he] may be observing the counsellor's attention to his lady, and hoping that he shall find some future opportunity of detecting her infidelity, and obtaining a divorce'.³² Lichtenberg, however, argues, persuasively, ^{that} it is a 'catoptric impossibility that, as Mr Ireland thinks, he could watch his bride in it'.

In a review article, Paulson notes that 'the reflection shown in the engraving is . . . not the bridegroom's face, but that of the lawyer who is making advances to the bride. The young man is so engrossed in his own image that he does not see what he should see reflected in the mirror'.³³ Lichtenberg's point remains valid: it is the spec-

tator and not the character who is positioned to see what the young man 'should' see. The bridegroom is as close to discovering an incipient intrigue, ^{and} so changing the course of events, as Romeo is to recovering Juliet. The reflection is absent from the painting so that the afterthought adds a touch of tragic poignancy to a lonely figure who is initially not as calculating as Ireland would have him appear (above). The reflection is so faint and the identification perhaps so unexpected that it has misled critics for two centuries. At a level of what might have been, the mirror provides a glimpse of the man that the bride might have chosen as a husband if her father were more understanding.

The bridegroom's modishness and his subsequent inability to control his wife prompted the earlier commentators to dismiss him: the poet sees him as a 'wou'd be rake, yet half a fool'; Lichtenberg, cruelly, as a 'sick angora rabbit' (in contrast to a 'hot lady hedgehog').³⁴ Hazlitt's customary sympathy is absent, he is 'the true Sir Plume of his day' concerned wholly with 'self-admiration'. The correct identification of the reflection and Lichtenberg's technical objection, however, make his primary traits self-gratification, signified by the taking of snuff, and a lack of foresight rather than narcissism.

The shackled game-dogs, representative of man's natural self in the language of emblems, offer an insight into Hogarth's own view of things. The bitch, sitting upright, gazes out of the picture as if her attention presciently has been directed towards subsequent events; again, the effect is only apparent in the print because in the painting she gazes into undefined space to the left. The dog, who literally takes things lying down, looks soulful. Their contrasting poses not only reflect the way in which the unhappy bridal couple sit as far from each other as their seat allows, but also anticipate the psychological differences in the second picture where the wife's upward stretch contrasts with the husband's despondent attitude; appropriately the dogs are 'pointers'! Whereas the pointers are sleek animals and accept their heavy shackles with composure, their human counterparts are to break their enforced bond.

Hogarth may have noticed that the disposition of the dogs in the painting makes them appear to be the son's rather than the father's. He added the coronet as a brand mark to the dog's hide, making them effectively the Earl's possessions. The mark spoils the smooth coat

as the gout and the scrofula spoil the human magnificence and modishness. The brand draws attention to the Earl's brutal desire to declare his rank and to over-shackle submissive creatures. It also anticipates the mark on the tall woman's bosom already introduced into the painting of The Visit to the Quack Doctor III. The clarification and the gain in brutality compensate for the repetition of ^{yet} another coronet.

PART THREE: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING

1. The Inset Pictures

The ten internal pictures are examples of the 'historical sublime', Hogarth's preferred term.³⁵ Their original sources were identified by Davies in 1959. Paulson has surveyed the pictures briefly in The Art of Hogarth, so what follows is a full investigation of their contribution to Marriage à la Mode.

They are divided into two groups by the corner line of the room. The group to the left is dominated by a large portrait presumably of the Earl (probably after Rigaud). A panoramic view of David killing Goliath (after Titian) is positioned to the right of the portrait. Below it are two paired studies of Judith with the head of Holofernes (after Guido Reni) and St Sebastian (the single, heavy arrow in the saint's body is similar to Titian's version).

The group to the right is dominated by an oval portrait of Medusa, evidently painted on a mirror. (Hogarth's father-in-law is known to have owned a copy of Caravaggio's original.) Four smaller studies form a square around the Medusa. Prometheus and the Vulture (after Titian) occupies the top left-hand quarter and Cain killing Abel (also after Titian) is immediately below. A St Agnes (after Domenichino) balances with the Prometheus at top right and a St Lawrence (after Le Sueur) is placed in the bottom right-hand quarter. A ceiling painting of Pharoah drowning in the Red Sea mediates between the two groups (perhaps based on a wood-cut by de la Grecche, again after Titian).

(1) The Portrait

The portrait is set in an ornate frame topped by a lion decoration of the kind which the despised William Kent favoured.³⁶ The sitter has been represented as Jupiter in order to ridicule, as Nichols and Steevens put it, 'the unmeaning flutter of Rigaud's portraits, some of which (particularly those of Louis XIV) are painted in a style of

The Jupiter Portrait
(Free Standing)

extravagance equal at least to the present parody by Hogarth'. Although Hogarth's purpose was satiric, if the judgement is to be relied on he kept his parody within the bounds of possibility by choosing an extreme case to imitate. Incidentally, Rigaud was to be criticized in The Analysis for carefully avoiding the serpentine line.

The parody is based on a series of deliberate contradictions involving ambiguous images of love and war: the Jupiter's head turns to the right, but his body twists to the left; the robes flutter to the left, but the wig blows to the right; one hand holds pagan symbols, the fulmen, the other points to christian insignia, the saint esprit (VIII, page 197). The Jupiter stands astride an exploding cannon which fires to the right, while a comet at the top of the picture soars towards the left. A zephyr puffs in comic opposition to the comet. Hogarth's dislike of such creatures is recorded: a cherub is 'an infant's head of about two years old, with a pair of duck's wings placed under its chin, supposed always to be flying about and singing Psalms'.³⁷ A cloud of them are poised in the sky above the altar in A Burlesque on Kent's Altarpiece (1725).

The traditional assumption that the portrait is meant to be of the Earl is challenged by Davies who, while conceding the general resemblance, argues that the portrait is of a friend of the Earl's youth since no Englishman had been awarded the French orders of the Golden Fleece or the saint esprit in the years leading up to 1743 and that even the Earl could not be expected to have had them added falsely to his own portrait.³⁸ The objection is technical, but important because the counter-suggestion challenges the proposition that the detail of the series contributes to the unity of the work. As a way out of the difficulty, it is useful to proceed by means of a comparison between the Jupiter and the Earl.

Both have smooth, unlined faces and the Earl's jowls are only slightly plumper. The Jupiter's eyebrows are finer and more arched, conveying a quizzical effect to contrast with the Earl's heavier dignity. Most tellingly, both underlips protrude so that a suggestion of a Hapsburg jaw adds another touch of ridiculous grandeur. Appropriately both figures posture regally: the Jupiter points to the insignia, the evidence of youthful achievement, whereas the Earl points to the family tree, the concern of the elderly. The Jupiter's loose robes and curving cuirass (reminiscent of Kneller's royal portraits) supply the bulk in the younger figure, an impression strengthened by the comparative smallness of the figures in the other inset pictures. The Earl is a

study in domestic security, surrounded by the equivalent of elderly courtiers, a canopy, and thick curtains. The Jupiter is an assertive figure, surrounded by the airy machinery of cosmic warfare and he presides over a metaphorical court of sublime pictures full of violence.

If the insignia are set aside for a moment, then there is little doubt that the portrait is a parody of the Earl's youthful self. The presence of the unwarranted insignia can be attributed to the bad taste of the supposed French portrait painter, rather than to a technical mistake. Hogarth's experience as a silver engraver would have given him access to information about who could or could not wear such famous orders. The Earl's vanity permits his likeness to wear them, perhaps on ^{the} spurious grounds that the family is descended from the Duke of Normandy. The same vanity would not permit even a friend's portrait to be a rival. Although bedchambers were not the private rooms they are now, the collection is presumably more for the Earl's private satisfaction than for public display. Finally, it is consistent with a theme of flawed magnificence that a technicality should spoil the grandeur of the portrait.

The bridegroom is the youthful antithesis of the youthful ideal in the portrait: untidy, old-fashioned grandiloquence contrasts with neat and fashionable mediocrity; bravado with a pinch of snuff; bulk with frailty. Hogarth's ironic view questions the tradition of primogeniture and ridicules pretensions. The differences prepare for the son's failure in the duel and the plump Silvertongue's unexpected success. The presence of the portrait, however, provides the son with a fateful precedent for believing that he could or should triumph; he fails to look in the mirror to see that the lawyer is Jupiter's truer representative, physically and amorously.

A Jupiter is an appropriate deity to preside over a ceremony of marriage. The entry in The Encyclopaedia Britannica XIII demonstrates the further relevance of the portrait:

In Jupiter may undoubtedly be seen not only the great protecting deity of the race, but one, and perhaps the only one, whose worship embodies a distinct moral conception. He is especially concerned with oaths, treaties and leagues, and it was in the presence of his priest that the most ancient and sacred form of marriage . . . took place.

Both the Jupiter and the Earl wear signet rings on their little fingers as a sign of their ceremonial responsibilities. Instead of paying attention to the ceremony, presumably called in his name by the Earl who identifies with him, Hogarth's Jupiter allows himself to be dis-

The Inset Pictures Beside the
Jupiter Portrait (Free Standing)

Above: David and Goliath

Below Left: Judith and Holofernes

Below Right: St Sebastian. Note the
way that Silvertongue's
shoulder overlaps the
saint.

tracted at a moment when his good offices are needed most. Jupiter's rôle as a marriage deity who is not always as dutiful as he should be also gives point to Gay's fable of The Father and Jupiter (1728) in which a man prays tiresomely for a wife and then children and is rewarded by an irascible Jupiter with a scold for a wife and a miser and a coquette for children.³⁹ The rôle also explains why Hogarth associated the marriage picture of the series with The Aldobrandini Marriage (II Part Two. 4, pages 80-1).

The portrait is one of the few pleasantly silly, almost surreal, details in the series. Like the view through the window with which it is balanced, however, the portrait has the serious point to make that ridiculous causes can have catastrophic results.

(ii) 'David and Goliath', 'Judith and Holofernes',
and 'St Sebastian'

The David and Goliath shows David about to cut off the head of the Philistine in anticipation of the fact that a man of lesser social status is to kill a lord, although ironically the plump man kills the puny one. Goliath's bulk also comments on that of the Earl and his portrait. The NED cites a Town and Gown row at Jena in the late seventeenth-century in which the townsmen were described as 'ill-behaved and ignorant Philistines'. Grose and the NED refer to Philistine as meaning an enemy and a drunkard from the beginning of the seventeenth-century. Arnold's famous definition might have been influenced by Hogarth's characters and their preference for bad art! Thus a graceful Silvertongue (David) is to thwart the marriage plans of the Earl (Goliath). The unexpectedness of David's victory also anticipates Silvertongue's equally surprising victory in the duel.

Although the inset pictures are arranged across The Marriage Contract in the manner of a frieze, the dominant corner line and the parallel verticals of the pictures frames combine to emphasize the relationships between the inset pictures above and the characters immediately below, so that the parallel between the lawyer and David is emphasized. His bending over the bride is also reflected in the placing of David and Goliath above the picture of Judith with Holofernes' head and St Sebastian. The arrangement enacts subsequent events in the narrative where Silvertongue (David) is first to dominate the wife (Judith) and secondly to triumph over the husband (St Sebastian). The analogy between David, the warrior king, and Silvertongue is, of

course, limited because David's victory led to kingship, whereas Silver-tongue's leads him to the gallows. The resemblance between the curving backs of Silvertongue and St Sebastian provides another analogy between the victor in the duel and, this time, a martyr. The heavy arrow is an ambiguous image: on one hand, it anticipates both the sword thrust which kills the lord and his killer's eventual punishment and, on the other, it recalls 'popular emblems of Cupid shooting arrows into lovers strung up in this way', an allusion which comments on what is happening to the lawyer at the present moment. Sebastian's conversion also made him a 'traitor to his class' because he was a commander of the Praetorian guard, and so his story offers a precedent, albeit an ominous one, for a lawyer's seduction of a countess.

The lord is also to be a 'traitor to his class' not only because he has to accept the daughter of a citizen as a wife, but also because he, a viscount, prefers to befriend an obscure prostitute. Lord Squander's angular pose as he dies is in exact contrast to the saint's curving body. At a mock-heroic level, Lord Squander is also the victim of the irresistible alliance between a Jupiter (rather than Diocletian, St Sebastian's tormentor), a Judith (who betrays him in the person of his wife), and a David (who is supposedly responsible for supervising his marriage and yet is the cause of his death). Judith's deception of Holofernes, an enemy of the tribe of Israel, comments on a bride who is to be a destroyer of both the husband who is forced on her and her preferred lover.

A comic interplay between the pictures offers a sequence similar to the kinetic effect of the relationship between Before and After or the fighting cocks in A Rake's Progress II: David prepares to cut off Goliath's head, while, just below, Judith holds up Holofernes head as if her gesture were the immediate result of David's blow. By drawing on and juxtaposing separate stories, Hogarth was able to reproduce the two steps of an action in one picture and so avoid the unsophisticated duplication of the kind found in the Caedmonian Genesis (Illustration 2). Caravaggio's original painting, incidentally, shows David actually holding Goliath's head.

Prometheus and Cain defied their gods by introducing fire and death into the world. Both are traditionally artificers; cain in Hebrew means a miner. Their defiance brought severe and long-lasting

The Inset Pictures Surrounding 'The Medusa' (Free Standing)

Top Left: Prometheus and the Vulture

Top Right: St Agnes

Below Left: Cain Killing Abel

Below Right: St Lawrence.

Note (i) the way in which
Silvertongue's head over-
laps the corner of the
Cain and (ii) the
lion in the venus
shell above the
Medusa.

ILLUSTRATION 6

Le Brun's 'Passion',

Fright

punishments from jealous deities, Prometheus, the archetypal sufferer, and Cain, the wanderer. Their contrasting experiences comment on Lord Squander's implied journeyings about town and his mortal suffering at the hands of a rival. Silvertongue's interest in the lady can be seen to have a source in Prometheus because the vulture attacks the seat of desire. Like Prometheus, Silvertongue is to be punished for deceiving his superiors and providing the fire which illuminates the crisis picture of the narrative. Unlike the David and the Judith, the Prometheus is placed directly above the Cain, a variation which reverses the causal link between murder and punishment.

'Cain and Abel warn Mr Silvertongue of fratricide', Lichtenberg observes; the apparent suddenness of the murder, as told in Genesis, comments on the unexpected death of the lord at the hands of his "brother" in love.⁴⁰ Hogarth makes the parallel between Silvertongue and Cain a close one by overlapping the picture-frame with the lawyer's head. The biblical rivalry is between a miner and a herdsman; the modern rivalry is between a lawyer and a lord, which can be extended to include that between London and Westminster. Paulson sees the analogous relationship as between brothers 'sacrificing in their different ways to a single God (the bride), the result being jealousy and murder'. Another analogy can be drawn between Cain and the bridegroom: not only is he the first born, but he wears the mark of Cain, not god-given on his forehead, but on his neck.

(iii) The Medusa

Hogarth had included a Medusa in Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn (1738) whose eyes stare from the shield of her captor, a plump actress who plays Diana. An oval inset picture, illuminated by a single candle instead of two and not of Medusa, is found to the right of Abraham Bosse's second picture, La Rentrée des Mariés II, in Le Mariage à la Ville (1633), a source for Marriage à la Mode.⁴¹ Hogarth's gorgon is also illuminated by candlelight and, eerily, the twin points of light would be beamed back from the mirror in imitation of Medusa's notorious gaze.

Medusa's expression approximates to Le Brun's 'passion' of Fright, an emotion identified by wide open eyes and mouth, the cheeks being 'extremely evident', and the hair stood on end, here represented by the snakes (Illustration 6).⁴² Hogarth himself was to write that 'a large full eye' is expressive of 'fierceness and astonishment'. The

open mouth in particular and the remorse symbolized by the snakes foreshadow the wife's penitential pose at the climax of the series. The intertwining of the sconces and the snakes varies the curling of the wife's tight ringlets. The curling also comments on the contrariness of her behaviour: she is to kneel before her husband and to commit suicide for her lover's sake.

The idea of a warlike or amorous encounter between a Jupiter and a gorgon is an original variation. The Jupiter glances in Medusa's direction as if in contemplation of adding her to the list of his loves, some of whom are present in the fourth picture. His cannon fires in her direction in an amusing effect of aggression and admiration. Her frame is also surmounted by a lion-like head enshrined in a venus-shell to confirm the paradox of love and war conjoined. Jupiter's status as a patron of marriage makes Medusa the mock-heroic equivalent of Juno, traditionally the defender of motherhood. Instead of responding to Jupiter as one of his loves ^{she} ~~ought~~, Medusa responds with Juno's disapproval to the hollow ceremony being carried out in the name of her consort. As an image on a mirror, this Juno can be imagined to foresee the course of events in which a wife is to neglect and finally desert a child.

Lastly, the presence of Medusa invites a search for her Perseus. Silvertongue is the only figure to look directly into the wife's eyes (in the fourth picture) the consequence of which is death. Lord Squander never looks at his wife, and a mirror is conveniently placed beside him in the first picture. Unlike Perseus, however, he is forced to marry the equivalent of a gorgon by fathers already become stony-hearted and so the ultimate consequence for him is also death, brought about by the metaphorical stoniness of his own false pride.

The Medusa is the first of a sequence of art-figures who react expressively to events in the manner of the Chorus of a Greek play. The difference between her presence in Strolling Actresses and in Marriage à la Mode is an indication of how Hogarth had learnt to use a decoration as a telling comment on a situation. Medusa's expression is not only a detached criticism of the Earl's indifference to feeling as the owner of the picture, but her fear inflates the comic awfulness of the situation: if a gorgon is terrified by the modern world, then a spectator's human and humane response should be correspondingly greater than a monster's fear.

(iv) St Agnes and St Lawrence

The inset pictures to the right of the oval portrait represent saints who suffered at the hands of dictatorial Romans. Unlike her modern counterpart, St Agnes refused to marry the son of the prefect of Rome. His brutal effort to force her into marriage comments on both the fathers' disregard for the bride's feelings. St Agnes's humiliation in a brothel finds its parallel in the wife's degradation in the bagnio; the sufferings of a saint and a sinner, Hogarth seems to imply, are similarly pathetic — in fiction, ^{at least} Paulson argues that the picture 'proves to be about a girl who is receiving an immortal crown from Christ for her refusal to have either marriage with a noble lover or intercourse with low-born men'. He notes that Hogarth omitted the upper, heavenly part of Domenichino's painting (an illustration of which is included as fig. 15 in The Art of Hogarth). By cutting and the use of clever juxtaposition, he could replace the vision of heavenly love and sympathy with the ceiling painting of Pharoah, the unyielding enemy of Israel, a ploy which makes Hogarth's vision more unremitting than his source.

The story of St Lawrence, one of the seven deacons of Rome who selflessly persisted in distributing the treasures of the Church among the poor in defiance of the command of Valerian, is set against a situation in which a viscount is to prefer a street girl to the wife chosen for him by his imperious father. Hogarth's mocking point is again that the suffering and deaths of the acclaimed martyr and the modern profligate, both squanderers, are similar, especially since Lord Squander is to die bathed in fire-light.

The juxtaposition, one above the other, of St Agnes with St Lawrence sets out the separate narrative steps of an action in one picture as in the case of the relationship between the David and Goliath and Judith and Holofernes (page 43). St Agnes is shown on the point of being stabbed as a preliminary to being burnt. St Lawrence is shown on his grid at the point of being turned over, as the traditional story would have it. A sheet is being pulled from under him and a torturer stokes the fire, a sign of renewal appropriate to the beginning of a narrative in which a protagonist is introduced as merely taking snuff. In A Rake's Progress VII and VIII, St Lawrence or his grid, a cooking griddle tucked into the Rake's bundle, are semi-private emblems

The Ceiling Painting:
Pharoah Drowning in
the Red Sea (Free
Standing)

The four points on the crown are clearer and the flag whiter in the original.

of the Rake's mental sufferings which he himself has brought into prison.

(v) The Ceiling Painting

The most remote corner of the room is decorated with a naked, reclining figure in a tilting chariot, poised to sink into the Red Sea. The Pharoah raises his hands in salute, oblivious to the drowning men and horses who surround him. Hogarth drew the Pharoah's crown with four points on it and left room for a fifth as if to hint at an analogy with the Earl's coronet. The Pharoah's white flag could have been intended as a reference to the standard of the Bourbon kings in view of the French associations of the series and as a comic flag of surrender.

The absurdly inappropriate placing of a watery subject in a ceiling painting usually to be concerned with airy themes as Domenichino and the son-in-law of Sir James Thornhill knew well, sums up, by virtue of its overall position, the contradictions in the picture. As an apparent extension of the comedy, the semi-naked figures in the inset pictures immediately below are placed as if to float or struggle below the surface of the aptly named Red Sea.

The characters negotiate as blind to the consequences which are to destroy their plans as Pharoah is to the flood which ends his hopes of catching the Israelites. Paulson suggests that Hogarth 'intended to connect the Israelites with the merchant class', in which case, the implied triumph of the Israelites over Pharoah anticipates the Phyrriic victory of the Alderman over the Earl in that the former is the only member of the families to survive to the end of the narrative. The younger generation are caught between the two fathers, literally in terms of the viewing sequence of the whole series, like the Egyptians who drown in the Red Sea at Pharoah's command.

The introduction of such a portentous detail demonstrates the inexhaustibility of Hogarth's imagination, supports the claim that every detail is important to the whole design, and provides the series with a comic image of an overriding fate, superior to Jupiter himself. This Fate is not impersonal; Hogarth made him a counterpart of his Earl and the arrow-like corner-line directs his malign influence into the room.

The inset pictures can be grouped according to whether they are supposed to be about victims or their oppressors. The spectator can

appreciate that the Earl is drawn to the tyrants, a preference which is ridiculed in his own harsh treatment of children and dogs rather than saints or heroes. An underlying sexuality is implicit in Judith's wiles, the attack on Prometheus's liver, the motives behind the humiliation of St Agnes, King David's reputation, and the suggestive placing of the cannon. The Earl's personal interest in the subject would appear now to be vicarious, but its effects lie behind his son's behaviour in the third picture and his daughter-in-law's in the fourth.

The indecorous mixture of classical, Old Testament, Christian, Italian, and French subjects is a more serious criticism of the Earl's taste than the view through the window. Paulson sees the inset pictures as exemplifying 'the evil that is the subject of the series: not aspiration, but the constriction of old, dead customs and ideals embodied in bad art' and 'each room in the subsequent scenes is filled with the pictures collected by its particular inhabitant, and as the series rolls on these people act out the rôles and assume the poses dictated by their pictures'.⁴³ (These parallels provide the basis for Chapter X of the thesis.)

The grouping of the inset pictures creates an interest almost independent of the main narrative. The Jupiter looks over his shoulder at the other pictures in the manner of a general at the head of his troops as well as a potential suitor for Medusa. She acts as a rear-guard as well as performing the rôle of prospective mistress. David and St Sebastian, a commander of the Praetorian guard, were formidable warriors. Judith's resourcefulness in a siege destroyed an Assyrian general. They are cleverly chosen lieutenants to a general and the vulture, Cain, and the torturers make appropriate aides for a monster. Visually, this formidable army not only appears to follow the leader, but breaks down into rival camps which comment on the antipathies among the characters. God and gorgon, warriors and torturers, male and female, rectangular shape and oval balance ^{quest} ~~on~~ Westminster and London or bridegroom and bride.

Hogarth was too disciplined a narrator to let his imagination run away; the contents of the inset pictures were made deliberately shadowy in order that they might not compete with the characters. Nevertheless, subsequent events apparently derive from or represent the fulfillment of their implicit prophecies. The juxtapositions form analogous relationships, mock-heroic and ironic in tone, which allowed Hogarth to treat his situations satirically without his characters degenerating into

parodies. Precedents for such sympathetic relationships between the background and the narrative situation are found in the pictures of Steen, Breughel, and Bosse. Taste in High Life was a rehearsal for Marriage à la Mode in that seven pictures dominate the picture and their shapes cunningly repeat those of the figures. The inset pictures function like an inset story in a novel. The 'history of Leonora' in Joseph Andrews is, effectively, a restatement of the main story in the form of a parable and thus could have supplied a literary model.

As well as revivifying the past by introducing baroque art into a contemporary context, the inset pictures represent a criticism of the copyists and connoisseurs whose exploitation of indiscriminating patrons denied support to English artists. Hogarth complained bitterly of 'wonderfull copies of bad originals [imported and] ador'd for their names only and the dealers'.⁴⁴ Mrs Piozzi's recollection of his conversations may explain why several inset pictures allude to Titian. Hogarth acknowledged Titian's greatness, but insisted that she should not tell of his admission because, as he said, 'the connoisseurs and I are at war you know; and because I hate them, they think I hate Titian — and let them!' Hogarth's intentions in Marriage à la Mode were too subtle for the connoisseurs, however, for they continued to believe the attack was directed against Titian. There may have been a measure of truth in their assumptions because Hogarth's own history paintings were never to present brutal behaviour as directly as Titian's did.

These ten little pictures are, nevertheless, surprisingly accurate renderings of their originals, an indirect tribute to the copyists on whom Hogarth had to depend. He must have enjoyed showing the hacks that he could rival them in a form only incidental to his main purpose and in miniature. His contempt for the dealer, copier, and connoisseur may have derived in part from his own erudition. In preparing The Marriage Contract he must have considered a vast range of possible allusions before deciding on the best combination which represents only a small proportion of his knowledge. His last words show the continuing depth of his feeling against the supposed connoisseurs: 'they <say> that he [meaning himself] abuses the great masters let me put a case & then let it be judged who abuses the great masters <he or they>?'⁴⁵ Hogarth's case rests.

ILLUSTRATION 7 'The Marriage Contract' (drawing)

PART FOUR: OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

1. The Pencil Drawing (Illustration 7)

There is a sufficient number of differences between the pencil drawing and the finished versions to justify a separate section. The main difference lies in the disposition of figures.

The bridegroom is by himself on the left of the drawing and Silvertongue and the bride are together on the right. A reflection is present in the mirror and can only be that of Lord Squander because the nearest figure is the Earl's lawyer with the plan. The bridegroom was placed as if more clearly gazing into the mirror, although it is still impossible for him to be looking at his own reflection. The inclusion of the reflection would suggest that the drawing was made after the painting and the rearrangement of the figures, which hides the intricate inter-relationships between the tableaux (below), is consistent with an intention of withholding special effects from indiscreet employees. The rearrangement of figures, incidentally, makes the pairing of the Earl's lawyer and the lord an unexpected study in contrasting forms of abstraction.

The Earl, Alderman, and broker occupy the same positions, but Silvertongue and the bride are immediately behind the Earl in the bed space so that the canopy resembles a love-pavilion rather than a canopy of state. Lady Squander is in line with the Earl, a juxtaposition which supports the possibility that Hogarth regarded them as like-minded characters. Silvertongue's approach is more discreet and less daring because it does not take place behind the bridegroom's back. The bridal couple are sufficiently far apart for it to be easy to mistake Silvertongue for the groom. The only other drawing to show a comparable reordering of the figures is the last (Illustration 23). Because the effects of reversal are the most difficult to allow for at the wings of an engraved series, it can be argued that these drawings at least had an experimental function.

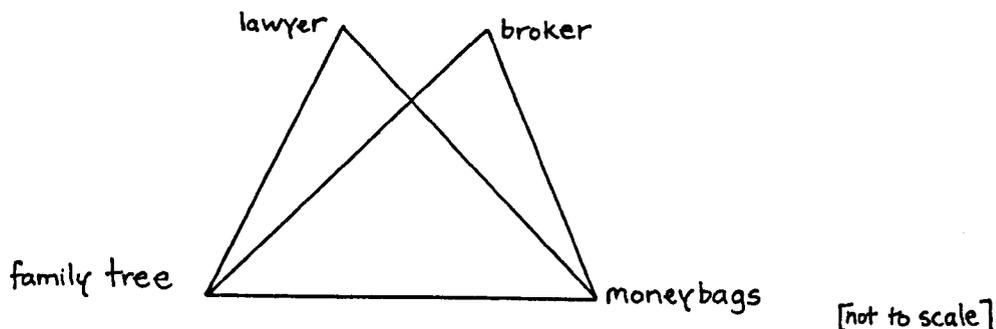
The other variations in the first picture involve adjustments to the setting. Only the Medusa and the Jupiter of the inset pictures are included so that their confrontation is isolated and emphasized. Medusa is immediately above the bridegroom instead of the bride thus diminishing the analogy with the gorgon, but emphasizing that with Perseus. A second, blank, window balances with the first on the other side of the portrait so that there are greater gains in interest and relevance in

the finished versions. Several coronets are present, including one above the pier mirror which also suggests that Hogarth made the drawing after the painting.

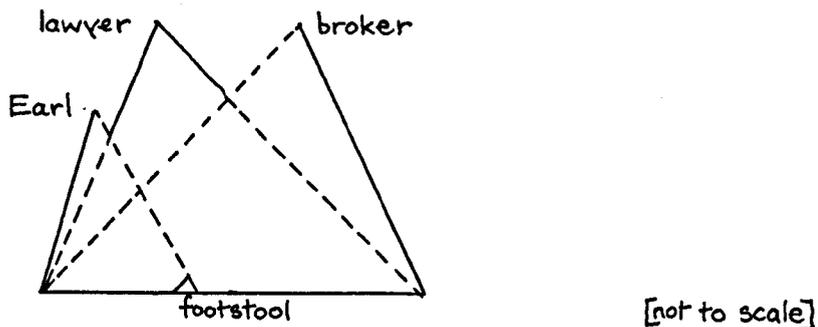
2. The Visual Organization of the Picture and Conclusion

The figures in the viewing sequence are divided into Hogarth's familiar, overlapping tableaux. In The Marriage Contract, he developed their characteristically triangular silhouettes into an intricate series of multiple relationships.

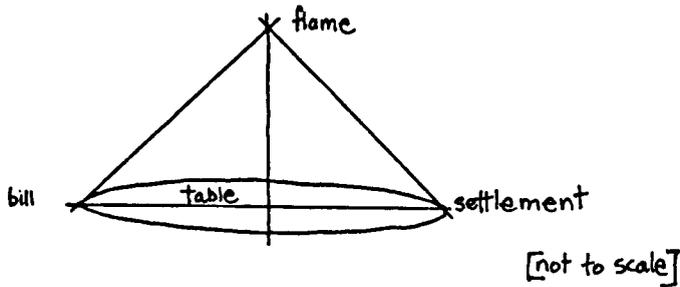
The family tree and the money bags define the base-line of the major tableau and the heads of the lawyer at the window and the broker provide a double apex:



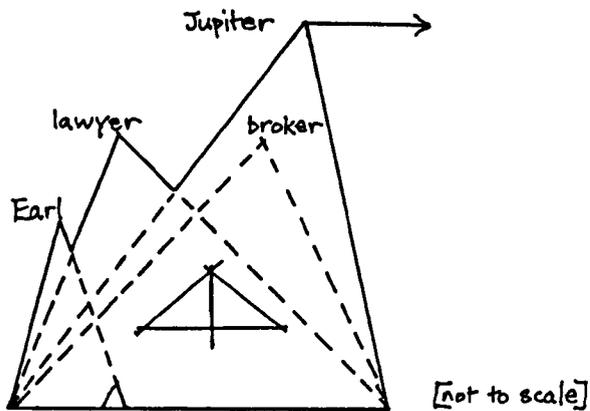
The Earl's crutches frame him rigidly in a subsidiary triangle within the tableau, thus associating him particularly with the shape. The analogy is repeated in his three-legged footstool, also placed within the base-line:



The candle on the table, the focal point of the picture, is at the apex of another inner triangle flanked by a document, the mortgage, set below the money on one side and money set above a document, the contract, on the other:

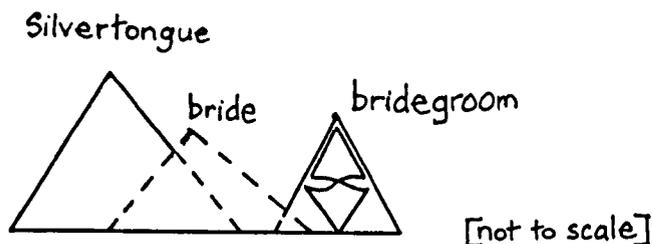


Jupiter's head in the portrait, above the main tableau, forms the apex of a larger triangle which draws the main tableau into an ironic relationship with the setting. The direction of Jupiter's gaze, as it were, gathers up the effect of the arrangement and redirects it towards Medusa and the minor tableau to the right:



The back-to-back disposition of the broker and the lawyer at the window divides the main tableau into halves to form a hiatus which extends downwards through the line of the candlestick. The heads on the Earl's side look upwards and outwards, whereas those on the Alderman's look downwards and inwards as signs of the difference between a visionary and a materialist. Fingers spread and point on the Earl's side, as signs of a carelessly giving personality, whereas hands hold things on the Alderman's as signs of a grasping nature (the family emblem of the Rake's miserly father is a carpenter's vice). The halves of the triangle are held together by the unifying curve of the table, the broker who proffers the mortgage across the dividing-line, and the image of the negligent, presiding deity at the apex.

The minor tableau consists of three, overlapping triangular silhouettes. The bridegroom's characteristic pose itself is constructed of two triangular shapes set on end, base-to-base. The arrangement also particularly identifies him with the shape as do his father's crutches in the main tableau.



The absence of a head at the apex of the minor tableau, the bride's is the lowest of the three, is compensated for by the head of Medusa placed immediately above the bride. The curve of Silvertongue's back encouraged Newton to see a contrasting oval within the triangular tableau: 'the composition of the two figures of the girl and her tempter, linked together inside an implied oval and the lively disposition of flashing lights within the oval, is one of Hogarth's happiest inventions'.⁴⁶ The effect further separates the bridegroom from his bride and makes the lovers appear to have a greater affinity, unconscious at this stage of the affair.

The ovality is a developed theme because each character performs self-contained actions which require the use of both hands: sharpening the pen, toying with the ring, and taking snuff. The motif of an oval within a triangle, as represented by the table within the triangle of the main tableau, is thus repeated in the minor. In that the motif may be a preliminary for Hogarth's later emblem of beauty, a serpentine line set about a cone, it is appropriate that an oval is associated with the graceful figure, the lawyer, rather than the ungainly lord. Hogarth's sympathies would appear to be with the former rather than the latter. Hogarth saw an oval as having a 'noble simplicity' about it so perhaps he was trying to suggest that Silvertongue's initial interest is innocent.⁴⁷

The self-enclosing actions draw attention to the objects themselves. If the candle at the focal point is also taken into account, these semi-personal emblems form a kind of a visual equation which comments on the nature of subsequent events:

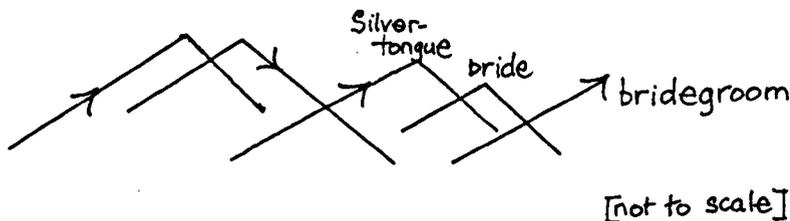
candle → pen + ring + snuff.

The contractual arrangement of marriage leads to a metaphorical wounding of the heart and a playing with the emblem of an unwanted marriage, perhaps considered as worth no more than a pinch of snuff. In Shakespeare's time, a pen had sexual associations so that, if the meaning

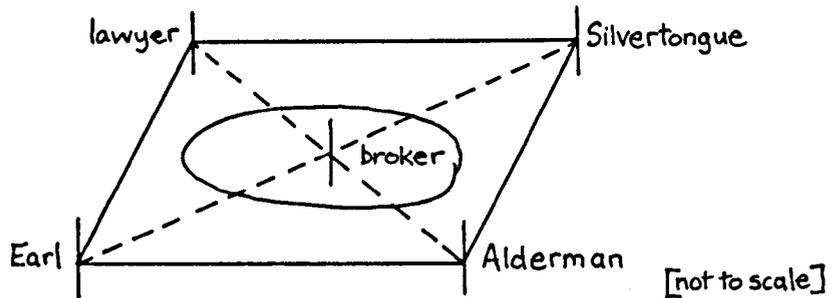
persisted, Silvertongue may be seen as sharpening his desire in readiness for an affair with a woman who is prepared to treat her honour lightly. The snuff also anticipates the heat of Lord Squander's injured pride and his agony by firelight. His self-enclosing action is just broken by the lift of his fingers, whereas the others' self-containment is complete. He is the first to be shown as unfaithful to the marriage and the first to die because of it.

The tableaux are interrelated in several ways: a male Squander balances with another across the full reach of the viewing sequence. Silvertongue sharpens a pen for the purposes of the main group of characters, but is also involved in the minor tableau. The metaphorical treatment of the pen as an arrow draws attention to the feelings he is experiencing as a member of the second group, while present as the servant of the first. The coronet on the back of the Alderman's chair is set as if a matter between him and the lawyer, as subsequent events prove the earldom to be.

The superimposition of a major tableau on a minor emphasizes the importance of the Alderman's figure at the point of overlap. His function as a first-mover is enhanced by the out-growing effect of the broker and the lawyer whose figures bend away from him on either side. The man who redeems the Earl's debts is also responsible for the eventual undoing of the marriage which he proposes, an underlying paradox. In temporal terms, Silvertongue and the Alderman combine to provide a causal link between the tableau nearest the spectator, representing the earlier event, which precipitates the further, and thus subsequent, event of the betrothal itself. The disposition of heads within both tableaux creates a wave-like movement: it leads from the larger crest at the apex of the major tableau through Silvertongue's head to the bridegroom on the right. His head forms the crest of an incomplete wave directed towards the next picture. The movement creates an expectancy, only possible in the print, similar to that of an enjambment at the end of a line of verse:

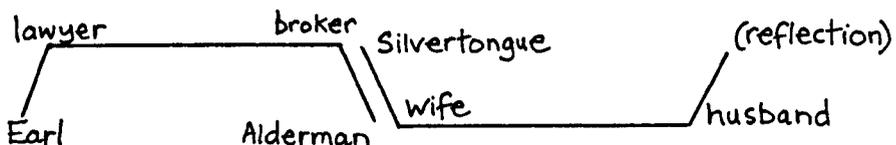


Other variations depend on the depth of the picture; the broker, as befits his role as an intermediary, is at the cross point of an irregular, aligned square:



This arrangement draws attention to the equipoise in the elements of the picture, a sense of balance perhaps inherited from the Augustans and theatrical traditions of tableaux and pageants rather than from a pictorial tradition. Although the bridal couple forms an appendage to the square, the broker's outstretched forearms parallel the bride's as if to suggest that the one offers the price of the other's plaything. An oval table set within a square repeats the arrangement of the inset pictures flanking the Medusa. The destructive power of a gorgon's stare has its counterpart in the brokerage with the power in a modern society to harden men's hearts.

A rhythm of nearer and further figures also underlies the triangular structure of the tableaux. The socially superior figures are set in advance of the socially inferior, including the bride, inferior, that is by eighteenth-century standards. The pairing of the lawyer and the lady together in the background represents a form of visual understatement. The reflection in the mirror provides an extra head, an unobtrusive continuation of the wave-like movement (above). The bridal couple are thus flanked, or bracketed, by the man and the image of the man who is to destroy them:



[not to scale]

Finally, the contribution of colour in providing depth and unity has been demonstrated by Antal in a memorable passage:

in the Contract scene, the alderman's brick-red forms the

centre of the composition, the predominantly blue-white combination of the young couple the left side and the elderly peer's brownish-pink (with gold and white) the right. Their vividness is enhanced by the neutral patches of the lawyer's black on the left, the attorney's grey on the right, and by toning down the numerous pictures and their gold frames on the walls in the background.⁴⁸

The first picture of Marriage à la Mode presents Hogarth's most intricate use of contrasting tableaux with its shifts of emphasis. It is built around the three basic shapes, the oval, the square, and the triangle. Hogarth's system of deriving figures and their interrelationships from hieroglyphs, the engraver's practice of using grids and careful measurements as aids to copying, and the adjustments found in the pencil drawing confirm that he planned his compositions with a near-geometrical precision. The Marriage Contract contains the most elaborate, exact, and carefully planned grouping of figures in the series. Intricacy is the stylistic basis for the series and the multiplicity of groupings and analogies prepared for the ambiguous processes through which the rôles of the characters and their counterparts in some of the inset pictures seem to merge, both in this picture and elsewhere in the series.

The main intention of this extensive survey has been to define the characteristics of the individual figures at the beginning of a narrative and to explore the psychological depth and comic treatment of their relationships with each other and the setting. Although the bridal couple reveal characteristics which in themselves are potentially tragic, a preparedness to play with a marriage or to put a minor act of self-gratification before a major responsibility, Hogarth's own sympathies are with a non-recurring figures, the Earl. His old-fashioned assumptions, degenerate tastes, and flawed magnificence are certainly to influence and perhaps to dictate the subsequent events of the narrative.

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II. SHORTLY AFTER THE MARRIAGE

The second chapter is divided into two parts: the first is concerned with the characters and the second with elements of the setting. The divisions are not rigid because the musical instruments to the right are considered in the same section as the husband; they are thought to have some bearing on his present mood. A discussion of George Whitefield, the dissident preacher, is included in the section on the steward because he is one of Whitefield's followers. A consideration of The Battle of the Pictures is included at the end of the second part because it contains an allusion to Shortly After the Marriage.

PART ONE: THE CHARACTERS

Hogarth resumes his narrative 'shortly' after the wedding in order to emphasize the inevitability of the couple's dissatisfaction with their marriage. As husband and wife, they are shown seated side by side in their own rooms early one afternoon. The clock shows 1.20 in the print (12.20 in the painting) and too much light shines for the time to be the small hours of the morning in spite of the burning candles. The husband has recently returned from an extended night out, hence he still wears his hat and has his sword with him. He has been accompanied or followed into the drawing room by the steward who now departs having failed to interest his employers in their accounts.

The wife, presumably, has spent the previous evening at home where a card party has taken place in the further room. Her being partly dressed, her meal table set for one, and her comfortable attitude suggest that she has had some time to herself between getting up and her husband's return. The tune book and the violins to the right suggest that she has also had time for a music lesson (the music occupies the close foreground, a temporally more immediate area).

1. The Husband (Lord Squander), the Lapdog, and the Music

The husband, although apparently a recent arrival, comes first in the viewing sequence so that the second picture continues with the same character with which the first leaves off. Hogarth changes his sympathetic viewpoint from the father to the son so that the latter now appears responsible for the immediate situation before him rather than suffering the apparent consequences of another's commands.

Lord Squander and the Lapdog
(Free Standing)

Note (i) the mop cap in the
lord's pocket
(ii) the sword broken
in its sheathe.

Lichtenberg held that the husband's characteristic pose was one of Hogarth's finest studies and his unsympathetic attitude changes as a result of his admiration:

Nothing holds together in him through inner force. His position has been reached through force of gravity, through mechanical reaction, and, passively, through the shape of the chair. Waistcoat and stockings hang upon him just like his hat and his hair. The hair-bag is gone, the watch is gone and the money is gone. In place of money there are now empty hands which search for it and find nothing but a melancholy support for themselves, and for the long heavy arms which have become limp as leather through sleeplessness and excesses. What has suffered least in the tumult is the black seal of the Faculty behind the ear. On what does his gaze rest? Outwards it certainly reaches no farther than half-way towards the overturned chair; inwards it must look uncommonly deep on this morn of domestic peace. Even through the mists of headache which hover round his brow it is still possible to recognize some traces of deeper heartache.¹

Not only does the passage define the imaginative psychology of the pose, but when compared with Hazlitt's similarly enthusiastic concern for the girl in the next picture, it reveals the extent of Lichtenberg's own romanticism on an occasion when, for once, he was able to overlook the moral implications of a situation (page 86).

Hogarth's treatment is not without its humour. The husband is thin and lanky, his outdoor clothes are incongruous in the drawing-room at midday, and his face, as Hazlitt notes, matches 'the yellow whitish colour of the marble chimney piece'.² The poet sees his behaviour as disorderly in 'th' modern way', as representing a reaction against his father's tyranny:

My lord now freed from the restraint,
Which with the Earl he underwent.

As comic indications of the change in régime, the well-behaved pointers are replaced by an indisciplined lapdog with its paw, instead of the Earl's foot, on the footstool, the sweatcloth is replaced by a mop cap stuffed in the son's pocket, and the stout crutches by a broken sword.

The mop cap is Hogarth's semi-personal emblem of the 'Unfaithful Husband' who is too indifferent or careless to hide the evidence of an Indiscretion.³ The cap is decorated with a blue ribbon in the fashion of unmarried women of the time, such as are worn by Hogarth's Harlot, Sarah Young, and the young woman of Before. Lady Squander in contrast appears to wear the ribbonless cap favoured by married women of the period.

Hogarth's phrase for a hairy lapdog was 'a rough Shock dog' which

in this picture appears to be a Bedlington terrier.⁴ He regarded such animals as 'extremely odd and comical', confirmation of his humorous intent where the husband's pose is concerned. The dog's roughness also comments on the wife's incongruity of taste as the owner. Its curiosity reflects the wife's discreet interest in her husband's doings; the dog's placing on her blind side conveys an effect of an emissary sent to spy. The sniffing of an untidy, semi-aroused dog draws attention to the husband's interest in the owner of the cap, shown in the next picture.

His downcast attitude encouraged the earlier commentators to assume that the husband is drunk: the poet refers to his drunkenness on four occasions and Lichtenberg's headache (above) is supposed to have its immediate source in a hangover. The 'orgy' of spirit drinking, as it has been called, was at its height in the 1740s so it is understandable that subscribers assumed that they saw a drunkard who drank to compensate for an unwanted marriage.⁵

A comparison with Hogarth's earlier rake, unmistakably drunk in Orgies (A Rake's Progress III), is helpful: both the merchant's son and the viscount recline gracelessly, their legs comically elongated. Both wear tilted, feathery hats and fashionable, dishevelled clothes. The mop cap in the lord's pocket is similar to those worn by the harlots in the Rake's tavern, a common enough feature, but one which does not go against the assumption that its owner is also a harlot. The Rake holds out his gin glass, Hogarth's emblem of a Drunken Man, but his curious, sprawling pose is a 'metaphor for sexual intercourse' used by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists including Bosse in Les Cinq Sens-Toucher.⁶ The Rake's characteristic pose signifies an overt drunkenness with an underlying sexuality. The Lord's pose implies ^{sexual} exhaustion but with no accompanying sign of obvious drunkenness.

So similar are Hogarth's studies of rakish behaviour that, apart from changes of fashion over the ten year's interval, a spectator may be forgiven for wondering whether Lord Squander has returned from an orgy with a companion like the Rake. As if to add to the impression of interchangeability, Lord Squander is to befriend a street-girl and the Rake is to gamble in the company of Lord Cogg. The parallels support the view that the viscount, like his father and his wife, is as intermediate a subject as his rank allows.

Both rakes carry swords. The Rake's is a large, practical weapon with a leather holster, whereas the lord's is a beribboned dress sword. The Rake has recently used and then mis-sheathed his sword, but the

The Musical Instruments

(Free Standing)

The music in the tune book
is a rigmarole.

lord's has been broken in its scabbard, perhaps as the result of a stumble. A broken sword is an emblem of sexual inadequacy which both comments on the lord's present lack of interest in his wife and anticipates his preference in the next picture for a feebler woman. The Rake, whose sword suggests a greater, if misplaced prowess, has acquired an appropriate man-about-town's trophy in the watchman's lantern, whereas the delicate lord has acquired only his mop cap. Hogarth was careful to deny the descendant of the Duke of Normandy any martial prowess — he does not even dismiss an impudent dog — in preparation for his inept performance in the duel.

The husband's own adventures give him reason for suspecting his wife in his absence in the manner of intrigue comedy. The musical anecdote to the right is in line with his gaze. Music masters were well-placed to provide fashionable and bored women with opportunities for intrigue. The tune-book has been dropped, the expensively decorated and valuable violin-case has been left open, and the chair overturned as if as the result of a hasty departure presumably in response to the news of a husband's return. The fact that they have not been tidied away can be put down to the wife's carelessness, her immediate innocence real or feigned, or to a challenging answer to an emergent suspiciousness in her husband, hinted at obliquely in the placing of the reflection in the first picture, and culminating in his following of the lovers to the bagnio.

Some indirect evidence supports the possibility of a visual innuendo concerning a wife's flirtation with an absent music-master. The husband sits on the twin of the overturned chair; both have cabriole legs and date from about 1720.⁷ The connexion between the two sides of the picture is strengthened because the chairs are the only details to be out-of-date in an otherwise up-to-date room. Hogarth generally regarded music as the 'fashionable vice' and in this series alone an assignation is to be arranged during a concert for which the music lesson represents an ironic preparation. The overturned chair prepares for the overturned stool in the fifth picture presumably upset during the duel. The Pilgrim, a popular song, a phrase of which is quoted in the painting (page 184), laments Corinna's betrayal of Strephon and not the other way round. The evidence of a duet or a hasty departure is absent from the drawing (Illustration 9): the chair is on its legs and only one violin case is included as if to suggest that Hogarth was withholding something special.

ILLUSTRATION 9 'Shortly After the Marriage' (drawing)

Below: ILLUSTRATION 10 The Tune Book (detail from the painting)

No music master appears in the series so Silvertongue has first claim to be the wife's mentor. He is to use the concert as a pretext and a silvery tongue can be musical as well as persuasive. A view of Silvertongue as taking an opportunity to give a lesson to a favoured lady adds to the coherence and economy of the narrative; maintains the pattern established in the first picture where the bride is flanked by her husband and her lover; provides an explanation as to why two violins have been left behind, the wife provides the violins as she is to provide the concert.

In the first picture, the evidence of Silvertongue's advance shows in the mirror beside the bridegroom where he cannot quite see it. The instruments are before his eyes in the second as an accumulation of circumstantial evidence. It is impossible to decide whether his melancholy is due to tiredness, sexual exhaustion, the onset of venereal disease on the evidence of the next picture, boredom, or resentment at the implicit slight before him, or a combination of these. Hogarth's skill lay in preparing for his climax through innuendo rather than certainty and not making the possibilities mutually exclusive.

Several bars of music are recognizable in the tune-book (Illustration 10).⁸ The key signatures, double bars, slurs, etc. are in their right places (in the painting). The book is similar in shape, binding, and format to a typical dance book of the period, but the facts that the music is written on only one side of a leaf and that it lacks a title suggest that it is a violin tutor book. The tune is playable, but has not been identified. It is in the style of a popular song or dance tune of the period 1651-1750, similar to many in John Playford's The English Dancing Master (1651) or Pills to Purge Melancholy (1719), which is referred to elsewhere in the painting.

The three-bar phrasing is unusual and impossible to dance to. Hogarth, who could engrave music competently as the phrases from Huggins' oratorio Judith in A Chorus of Singers (1732) show, may have composed his own archetypal practice piece full of deliberate mistakes. It seems likely that he intended a joke similar to that of the palladian facade through the window of the first picture. It also has a familiar look about it, while being inherently unsound. The probability would mean that a source is not to be found for the tune. A popular song tune is in keeping with a citizen's daughter who, while learning to

The Wife, Lady Squander (Free Standing)

- Note (i) the small mirror in her hand
(ii) the strands of hair which
stray from under the cap.
(iii) Are the objects on the plate
wafers or papers?

follow the fashion prefers more homely music at an early stage in her education as opposed to the castrato's sophisticated song in the fourth picture. The husband's melancholy can be construed as due in part to the memory of the awful noise to be heard from the violin! The contrast between the expensive violins and the carefully bound book, and the inaccurate music adds to the theme of spoilt beauty.

The music in the engraving is different from that in the painting; the stave has only four lines. Hogarth seems to have been content to let Baron engrave a musical rigmarole which looks like, but is not music. Did Hogarth lack confidence in his tune, or did he come to regard its light-hearted mood as inappropriate, or did he wish to make sure the beauty of the instruments was very clearly spoilt?

2. The Wife (Lady Squander)

The awkward bride is relaxed and at home in her drawing room. She stretches 'warm with the adventures of the night', the poet suggests, and glances sideways towards her husband from under lowered eyelids as if to make a covert appraisal. The upraised fist makes her stretching attitude something of a challenge to a man exhausted by interests other than in her. There is some enticement, amusement, and mischief in the pose. The sly glance was withheld from the drawing where she, too, stares abstractedly as if Hogarth was again keeping back a special effect.

Lady Squander wears a pale-pink underskirt, laced stays similar to those on the floor in the fifth picture, and a pale-gold dressing jacket of a kind usually worn only in the bedroom.⁹ Subscribers would have regarded it as immodest for a fashionable woman to appear before her servants without her hoops, with her lacings uncovered, and her knees so obviously apart. Hogarth was to argue that for modesty's sake a woman's 'body and limbs should all be cover'd, and little more than certain hints to be given of them through the clothing'. The lady in The Lady's Last Stake (1758-9) 'despite the emotional tension of the moment is too well trained and rigidly corseted to abandon a dignified attitude'.

The backward arching of the wife's body encouraged commentators to take up Ireland's cautious suggestion that the wife might be pregnant, but the tightly-laced clothes work against the proposal.¹⁰ Hogarth was usually definite in indicating pregnancy as in the cases of the miserable Sarah Young and the gloomy ballad-singer in A Rake's

Progress I and III respectively. Hogarth's wife is too sensual and self-satisfied with the situation to belong with them.

The arrangement of Lady Squander's hair may provide a further clue to Hogarth's personal attitude to his character. The tight ringlets of the first picture are out of curl and in some states of the print a lank strand of hair seems accidentally to stray from beneath the cap. Hogarth was to refer to a 'lock of hair' which falls 'loosely' across the temples as having 'an effect too alluring to be strictly decent, as is very well known to the loose and lowest class of women'.¹¹ The detail not only suggests that the wife is intended as a handsome, shameless woman, but also that her instinctive challenge is to her husband's fastidiousness, rank, and exhausted manhood. It is a pity that Hogarth did not declare himself on the subject of ribbons; the prominent bow of the dressing jacket is of the same slate blue as the pillars.

The upheld pocket mirror is the wife's semi-personal emblem, a vanity to balance with the husband's mop cap. At a narrative level, it is evidence of a need to inspect the face after the demands of a long evening's gambling or the supposed attentions of a music master. The poet suggests that the mirror warns that 'her person can't inflame' her husband and, as such, it is an emblem of the empty reality of the marriage. The size of the mirror would suggest that this is overstatement. Whereas the pier mirror shows the spectator an image of the lover, its scaled-down equivalent shows only the back of the wife's head in the painting and nothing in the print. Again, the husband is indifferent to or unaware of the presence of a mirror whether it can show him anything or not.

Whatever evidence there is for believing that the wife's intrigues ^{are meant} _{to} may have begun, her principal interests in this picture are shown to be playing music, gaming, and collecting. 'Hoyle on Whist' lies by her foot and a pack of cards is spilt by the pedestal behind her. Hoyle's manual, published in 1742, changed a game for 'rustics' into the latest fashionable craze overnight. An anonymous, mock-heroic paeon to Hoyle is recorded in The Book of Days which is worth quoting in full for its wit and insight into the background of both the second and fourth pictures:

Whilst Ombre and Quadrille at court were used,
 And Basset's power the city dames amused,
 Imperial Whist was yet light esteemed
 And pastime fit for none but rustics deemed.
 How slow, at first, is still the growth of fame!

The Dissenting

Steward (Free

Standing)

Note (i) the book
in his pocket
(ii) the date on
the bill
(iii) the placing
of the chandelier
surmounted by a
viscount's coronet
(iv) the sword of
the saint in the
inset picture
behind the steward's
neck
(v) the cut and
rolled carpet.

And what obstructions wait each rising name!
 Our stupid fathers thus neglected long,
 The glorious boast of Milton's epic song;
 But Milton's muse, at last, a critic found,
 Who spreads his praise o'er all the world around;
 And Hoyle, at length, for Whist performed the same,
 And proved its right to universal fame.

Three square card-tables, similar to that in The Lady's Last Stake, fill the further room and more are implied round the corner. The wall is hung with a row of mirrors at head level which turns the reflections of the players back on themselves. The candles in front of the clock on the wall of the nearer room to the left have not been lit as a sign that the players were indifferent to the passage of time.¹² The absence of glasses or bottles points to their single-mindedness and suggests that the wife, although perhaps tired, is clear-headed. In addition, her late breakfast is abstemious, consisting only of a wafer(?) and a cup of tea, albeit a fashionable and expensive drink. The evidence indicates that she has deliberately learnt the latest fashionable craze as a means of keeping up with her peers and of occupying an otherwise lonely life.

Card-playing is a favoured image in Hogarth's art for the insecurity of life to which characters, like the Rake, are drawn at the risk of their freedom.¹³ The Lady's Last Stake shows a fashionable woman weighing up the possibility of using herself as a stake, having lost at cards to a gallant (his pose is similar to that of the young man in the 1730-1 painting of Before). The similarities suggest that Hogarth, after Pope, associated playing cards with sexual rivalry. At an early stage in the series, the wife's desires are channelled into outwardly harmless pursuits which, nevertheless, prepare her for her subsequent interest in a lover. Lady Squander's stretch suggests a resilience greater than either her husband or the fashionable and tired servant in the background and an ascendancy which only her husband's death is to end.

3. The Steward and 'Regeneration'

Rouquet describes the departing steward as a man of integrity who draws 'only the salary which was agreed on'. For once, the poet's sarcasm is relatively muted:

The careful stew'rd, a pious creature,
 One that was damn'd in state of nature,
 But was by Wesley reinstated.

Another anonymous contemporary, however, sees him as a successful cheat,

like the notary behind the Rake in The Heir I whose appearance he resembles:

The crafty steward's bills are [passed]
Yet shrugs because it cannot last.¹⁴

The shrug prompted Jarrett to remember that servants could be as 'haughty as their masters and a good deal more grasping' and cites the reception of James Townley's High Life Below Stairs (1759) which was applauded by the gentry downstairs while it was hissed by the gallery which resented the portrayal of servants as rogues.

The steward's many bills and only one receipt act as reminders that the series is concerned with a family which lives beyond its means. These emblems are necessary because it is easy to take the cost of a fashionable way of life for granted and are typical of Hogarth in that he was a cost-conscious man. The single receipt is a clever variation on the forgotten coin in the Alderman's bag (page 27); the squanderers have permitted one bill to be paid, as it were, by mistake.

If the bills and the pen behind the ear are the steward's badges of office, then the book is his private emblem. 'On Regeneration' is the short title of the first and most famous sermon, not of Wesley as the poet suggests, but the dissenting Anglican minister, George Whitefield (1714-70). 'The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Jesus Christ' (1737) cost sixpence or two guineas per hundred to those who wished to give it away.¹⁵ By 1743, Hogarth's reference to 'Regeneration' would have been to Whitefield's then widely known doctrine of rebirth rather than to the first sermon alone.

The allusion is worth exploring because the preacher's ideas and reputation in the early 1740s are relevant background material and provide an indication as to whether the steward would have been regarded as hypocritical by subscribers or not. Whitefield was the 'most controversial preacher in the eighteenth-century and perhaps the greatest extemporaneous orator in the history of the English church'.¹⁶ His rise to fame was unprecedented, thousands gathered to hear him, and, 'passionately loved, passionately hated, Whitefield was never ignored'. His sermons and letters return repeatedly to the subject of 'new birth'. Whitefield wrote that the 'first quarrel many had with me was because I did not say that all people who were baptized were born again'. His autobiographical account of his youth and conversion, in the manner of St Augustine's Confessions, was published in 1740, just before Hogarth

turned to Marriage à la Mode. The Account shows both Whitefield's honesty and his openness to the accusation of hypocrisy: 'as once I affected to look more rakish, I now strove to appear more grave than I really was'.

It was unheard of for a young clergyman to publish an account of his own religious experience or to emphasise the pre-eminence of personal experience over the established authority of the church. The Bishop of London in his fourth Pastoral Letter (1739) warned his two Cities against 'extraordinary communications' with God and Dr Watts protested that Mr Whitefield had acknowledged in conversation that he knew 'an impression on his mind to be divine', although he could not give any 'convincing proofs of it'. So aggravating was the pamphlet that it was still being attacked in 1749 as a 'boyish, ludicrous, filthy, nasty and shameless relation of himself . . . shocking to decency and modesty'.

The Account stresses Whitefield's youthful and wicked delight in plays, cards, romances, and roguish tricks. Dancing, dice, horse-racing, and cock-fighting were also attacked in the sermons. Play-houses were 'nurseries of debauchery' and thus even moderate playgoers did not hesitate to call Whitefield a hypocrite, a view which Hogarth, an enthusiastic playgoer, could not have avoided sharing. Whitefield's oratory at times reads like a direct accusation of Hogarth's rakes and squanderers:

I will attack the devil in his strongest holds, and bear any testimony against our fashionable and polite entertainments. What pleasure is there in spending several hours at cards? Is it not mis-spending your precious time which should be spent in working out your salvation with fear and trembling? (Sermon on the Folly and Danger of Not Being Righteous Enough)

Without either of them being aware of the similarity, Hogarth and Whitefield were energetic, radical, and sensuous men. Both were spurred to their finest oratory and art by the behaviour of which they disapproved and feared.

One remarkable feature of Whitefield's career was his association with the aristocracy. During the winter of 1742, the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon regularly attended the Moorfields Tabernacle. In addition, the following were members of Whitefield's congregations: the Duchess of Malborough, Lady Hastings, the Duchess of Buckingham, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Prince of Wales.¹⁷ Although the conversion of the Countess of Huntingdon was exceptional, the list is impressive and must

have led to public comment.

The Duchess of Buckingham summed up the paradox of Whitefield in a letter written to the Countess of Huntingdon sometime before 1742:

Their doctrines are most repulsive, and strongly tinged with impertinence and disrespect towards their superiors, in perpetually endeavouring to level all ranks, and to do away with all distinctions. It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth. This is highly offensive and insulting; and I cannot but wonder that your ladyship should relish any sentiments so much at variance with high rank and good breeding. However, I shall be most happy to accept your kind offer of accompanying me to hear your favourite preacher and shall await your arrival.¹⁸

Whitefield, as Hogarth might have done, enjoyed the attention. In 1741 he wrote to a follower, 'I am intimate with the noblemen, and several ladies of quality . . . I am now writing in an earl's house, surrounded with fine furniture; but glory be to free grace! my soul is in love only with Jesus!'

Albert M. Lyles in Methodism Mocked sees the periods 1738-42 and 1760-62 as representing the height of the attacks against Whitefield.¹⁹ He does not refer to any specific attacks on the aristocratic connexion in the earlier period, but then he does not refer to Enthusiasm Delineated (c. 1760) or to Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism (1762) which include references to Whitefield (below, this page). In spite of the possible lack of other criticism surviving from the earlier period, Whitefield's detractors, Hogarth among them, could not have failed to be disturbed by the orator's power to sway all classes.

The squint which gave rise to Whitefield's nickname, 'Dr Squintum', does not show in the steward's face, although it may have found a place in the crowd to the right of An Election Entertainment (1755) as well as in the face of the clerk in Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism (1762). The steward is a disciple and not a caricature of the master, a fact consistent with Hogarth's concern with characters. The steward's altruistic motive for being in the Squanders' household would be to 'attack the devil in his strongest holds'. Whitefield's reputation, however, would have prompted subscribers, who were unlikely to be dissenters, to regard the steward as a hypocrite. He has ignored his spiritual master's exhortations to forego the fashionable life in order to live off a viscount as Whitefield could be seen to do during the period in which Hogarth was turning to Marriage à la Mode.

The treatment of the chandelier in the inner room has bearing on Hogarth's attitude to the steward. Francis Watson drew attention to it by admitting that he had never seen a light hanging in such a position.²⁰ In the drawing, the pillars, which just overlap the candle holder to the right, are absent so that the chandelier hangs improbably in the nearer room barely an inch or two above the steward's head. The close juxtaposition suggests that the chandelier may have been intended as a comic image of the steward's guiding light towards which his eyes are seemingly raised. The candles smoke, the vision is cloudy, and the chandelier is surmounted with an extremely worldly viscount's coronet.

Some tenuous, extraneous evidence supports the proposal. Similar, enlarged chandeliers double as maps of hell in the chapel of Enthusiasm Delineated. Paulson reports that the lamp is identical to that in Whitefield's tabernacle, while the congregation sings one of Whitefield's hymns.²¹ An illustration to the verse satire, The Love Feast (1778), also shows heavy chandeliers hanging in a chapel as gifts from devout dignitaries. If Hogarth and the anonymous satirist were to associate a particular type of chandelier with the enthusiasts' chapel furniture, then it is not unreasonable to suppose that the earlier chandelier in Shortly After the Marriage is also a discreet allusion. The suggestion goes some way towards accounting for Watson's puzzlement and lends support to Marjorie Bowen's identification of the chandelier as Dutch.

Against a background of a real countess's patronage of Whitefield, it is comically apt that the ambitious wife of a viscount in Hogarth's series should merely employ one of his followers. It is also consistent with Hogarth's policy of belittling his lord and lady in the series that they should patronize only an obscure follower. The Countess of Huntingdon was sincere in her admiration for Whitefield; Lady Squander's choice of a steward is a pretension.

The steward is an example of a fascinating, but non-recurring figure whose careful treatment, partial isolation from other figures, and particular associations raise him to the status of a character. He compares with the Jew in A Harlot's Progress II, the Welshman in A Rake's Progress III, or the counter-tenor elsewhere in Marriage à la Mode (IV). Hogarth's attitude is typically ambivalent: sympathetic in the depiction of a lugubrious man, ironic in his use of the book in his pocket or the chandelier. The ambivalence may derive from Hogarth's personal attitude to Whitefield, a disapproval of his enthusiasm tinged with envy for a younger man's following especially among the nobility

which he, the artist, was to fail to command.

Irrespective of Hogarth's possible prejudices against his character, the steward's departure does mean that a regenerative force quits the series with as unmistakable a look of disapproval as that of the gorgon in the first picture. Whitefield's reiteration of the traditional belief that man is 'but half a devil and half a beast' is a measure of the degeneration of the steward's employers.²² If a gorgon and a follower of the man with such a pessimistic view of mankind cannot stomach them, then, so the moral works, the squanderers belong to an even lower order of being than half a beast or a devil. The departure of an agent responsible for balancing 'the profit and the loss' draws attention to the squanderers' living on borrowed time. The portentousness of his departure is emphasized by the dark clothes and skull-like head. A more serious skull confronts him and his employers from within the next picture: the direction of the steward's departure draws a spectator towards the memento mori in the quack doctor's laboratory.

PART TWO: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING

1. The Architecture and the Furniture (i) General

The poet assumes that the rooms are in a 'mansion-house' and later commentators seem agreed that they are modelled on one of two houses in Arlington Street belonging to Horace Walpole in the fashionable West End.²³ The architecture of the rooms dates from the 1730s or 40s. It is not palladian, but the heavy archway could have found a place in a palladian house. It is reasonable, therefore, to regard the rooms as part of the interior of the new building showing through the Earl's bedroom window, because the arch, supported by four pairs of Ionic columns (Hogarth^{himself} preferred Corinthian), is sufficiently misaligned and clumsy to fit in with the inconsistencies of the façade. Particular attention is drawn to the misalignment because the perhaps oriental carpet has been cut and rolled back in order to make it fit round the pedestal of the nearer column. Another beautiful object has been spoilt because the servants in a lax household could not be bothered, it is assumed, to draw a heavy carpet away from the pedestal.

Ireland suggested that much of the décor in the second picture is modelled on the designs of William Kent, including the fireplace and its surrounds.²⁴ This suggestion has also been taken for fact probably because Hogarth detested Kent, a 'wretched dauber'. Summerson sees the

The Decorations on and above the
Chimney Piece (Free Standing)

Note (1) the mended nose of
the bust

(11) the broken rams-horn
capitals in the cupid
portrait.

marble fireplace as more in keeping with the designs of James Gibbs than Kent.

The cabriole chairs are the only anachronism in an otherwise modish room (above, page 63). Gloag offers an intriguing insight into their history:

[Hogarth] was also devoted to the form of chair known as "bended back" with sturdy cabriole legs. He showed himself seated in such a chair in his self-portrait. It was a type that was in vogue during the seventeen-twenties, and he used it so often that in late Victorian times it was described, with romantic inaccuracy, as a "Hogarth chair".²⁵

If reports were true that Francis Hayman, the painter, posed for Lord Squander, then he may have sat in Hogarth's chair in order to gaze towards its twin.

The rooms are part of a rich man's suite which owes little to any one designer. The furnishing lacks taste and much of the humour derives from the incongruous mixing of styles: rococo, especially the ceiling of the further room; English, a pole-screen like that behind Lord Squander is included in Chippendale's Directory; oriental, the ornaments on the chimney-piece and possibly the carpet; classical, the facades of the fireplace and the picture frame above it; perhaps Dutch, the chandelier. Hogarth did not let his dislike of Kent predominate.

(ii) The Ornamentation Above the Fireplace

The fireplace and the picture frame fixed to the chimney-breast are a comic reduction of the double-portico of the building through the window of the first picture. Hogarth used his inward eye like a zoom-lens, as it were, first to delineate a detail, the portico, and then to penetrate, and to enlarge upon it in order to provide the basic composition of the next setting in the narrative. An indifference to bad architecture seems to pass from one generation to another. The scaling down is in keeping with the children's preference for trivial forms in contrast to the Earl's for grander forms; the baroque is reduced to the rococo, perhaps.

The ornaments on and around the chimney-piece (Hogarth's term) fired Lichtenberg's imagination in an indignant passage which comes close in spirit to Hogarth's attitude:

The whole mantelpiece here is covered with the most abominable works of art from north-east Asia: Chinese gods, apparently in an advanced state of pregnancy, sit there naked so that the folds of their garments should not come out of crease. Others have their hands outstretched from the shoulders

wanting to make the sign of the horns but unable to. Vases stiff as railings and little bottles dumpy as corks alternate with curious objects of nature and with artefacts such as chance will sometimes produce. Most ludicrous of all is an antique bust. It is a pity that its head is new and the nose still newer than the head. It must have been bought for a Faustina. On the whole there reigns among this junk an admirable symmetry and the most meticulous order. Every little bottle has its counter-bottle and every freak its freak to match.²⁶

Hogarth was to refer to 'pagods', his term for Chinese gods, as 'absolutely void' of 'elegant forms' and he despised the 'mean taste' of Chinese art generally. (The collection of ornaments should not be taken for chinoiserie a term which was applied to architecture and furniture which came into vogue in the 1750s.)

The stone bust, a modern imitation of a classical head, as its cut-wig proves, has a source in the similarly broken-nosed heads in The Marriage Contract oil-sketch, a necessity for fashionable newly-weds in Hogarth's sardonic view. The reference to Faustina is Lichtenberg's joke since the head is male and different from the head of either Germanicus or Julia in the oil-sketch. Eighteenth-century restorers used to fix new noses, contemporary in style, onto classical heads, in order to sell what Hogarth would call 'cooked up cop[ies]' to unsuspecting connoisseurs.²⁷ (Several heads mended in this way are preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum.)

The blind appearance of the bust, which comments on the stoniness of the marriage, has connotations of venereal disease. The crack round the nose is a reminder of the Harlot's noseless servant. The flaw adds a reason to those already proposed for Lord Squander's melancholy because a down-turned mouth is a feature he shares with the bust and the steward. The bust, like the steward's head, also connects with the quack-doctor's disease-pitted and, of course, noseless skull. The bust also replaces the image of Jupiter in the portrait. Since the fate of those who gazed on the gorgon was to be turned to stone, the consequence of Jupiter's glance at Medusa is comically realized. The comic relationship between the art-figures of the first picture continues to be worked out almost independently of the characters without disturbing the unity of the narrative. A gorgon's stare can be construed as a metaphor of impotence and guilt. The associations suggest that the children, especially the husband, continue under the deadening influence of a callous paternity and they also admire a representation of an ancient ideal, exemplified in the bust, which continues to be damaging to them.

The collection of exotic ornaments introduces a new element. Similar objects recur in the fourth picture as the wife's purchases at an auction. The similarities confirm that the ornaments in the second picture are evidence of her interest and not her husband's because she is so much at home in front of the fireplace and she is smiled at, approvingly it seems, by the term, a 'spirit' of the hearth. The careful grading of the matching ornaments (over thirty of them) suggests that she has succumbed to the fashionable mania for collecting as well as for music and gaming. John Gay's Epistle to a Lady on Her Passion for Old China (1725) refers to 'this China-buying rage' and warns that a woman's prudence counts for little 'who sets her heart on things so brittle'.²⁸ Gaming and collecting china go together since the pagods and the primitive 'freaks' can be thought of as the good luck charms of the ardent and imprudent player.

To nineteenth and twentieth-century eyes the obsessive ordering of the freaks makes them resemble grotesque, child-like figures. The ornaments in the fourth picture are set at the wife's feet and their comic rôle as child-substitutes is realized in the person of the deformed child of the marriage introduced at the end of the series. Bearing in mind that Marriage à la Mode may derive from Bosse's Le Mariage à la Ville then it is appropriate that Hogarth, the ironist, should withhold information about the child until as late as the fourth picture and provide only innuendos in the second, whereas Bosse followed La Rentrée des Mariés with L'Accouchement.

A picture of cupid, an infant personification of desire, is set in the monumental picture frame above the fireplace. He is juxtaposed as if to serenade the bust on the bag-pipes. Thus Hogarth's pet-hate, the zephyr, a background detail in the Jupiter portrait, is inflated into the cupid and the Jupiter is diminished in the emasculated bust. Paulson sees the cupid's portrait as a parable in musical form of the moral state of the marriage.²⁹ The unstrung bow, matching the crossed violins, comments on the marital disharmony and a setting amid ruins anticipates the collapse of the marriage. Appropriately the broken capitals are Ionic like those of the archway. Cupid plays his 'melting' air (page 184) on sexually suggestive instruments, an anachronism in a classical setting to compare in its comic effect with Jupiter's exploding cannon. In that Cupid is a spirit of mischief, his presence may offer a hint of Hogarth's intended motive behind the wife's smile: she is prepared to tease her husband in a similar way to cupid who teases the

The French Clock (Free Standing)

bust with his droning. The bust is deaf and blind, but it is evident that the husband is not.

(iii) The Decorative Clock

The English clock-face to the left is surrounded by brass or gilt foliage. The style of the excessively ornate surround is rococo. The whole sums up neatly the way in which an English family has given itself wholeheartedly to the influence of France. Although the clock may be more outré than the excesses which the Anti-Gallican Society was founded to oppose, it remains within the bounds of possibility, only a degree more elaborate than Chippendale's.³⁰ As with houses, Hogarth preferred the beauty of functional clocks and was particularly contemptuous of a clockwork duck which he had seen, a 'complicated, confused and disagreeable object'.

The deliberate absurdity of fishes stranded in a bush with a cat set between them (instead of among the pigeons) recalls the earlier folly of Pharoah drowning in a ceiling painting. Like the Pharoah, the creatures around the clock comment on the characters below: the inclination of the fish matches the alignment of the husband's body and legs in an analogy which suggests that he is a cold fish. Both the cat and the wife sit upright, smiling; the analogy makes feline an appropriate description of her attitude. The cat is the mistress of the stranded fish, a fair comment on the marital situation.

The largest pagod is set in the shadow of the bush more or less in line with the cat and one of the fish. The pagod is an image of a double virility: does he not correspond with the figure of a plump and ardent lover to complete a series of references to the three characters at the centre of Marriage à la Mode? The cat and the pagod smile, while the fish are gloomy; Hogarth was to see a 'little narrow chinese eye' as suiting a 'loving or laughing expression best'.³¹ As a composite set-piece, the clock and its ornaments constitute a chimera with the body and head of a cat, leafy plumage, and fishy limbs, a comment on the "monstrous" situation below. The suggestion may seem fanciful, but a precedent occurs in Hudibras in Tribulation (1725/6) where the juxtaposition of sword, boots, and pistols on the whipping post, ^{also} resembles a ribald creature.

2. The Inset Pictures of the Further Room

Five inset paintings hang from the walls of the gaming room. The

The Inset Pictures of the Inner Room (Free
Standing)

Note St Mary Magdalen's differently arranged
clothes and her cup or pot.

nearest is curtained, presumably to hide a salacious picture — Mars and Venus would have been a likely subject. Only a single, supine foot is allowed to show, an incongruity which destroys an erotic association. Hogarth may have taken the idea from The Marriage Contract oil-sketch in which is an inset picture of just a foot, a gibe at the contemporary adulation of relics of giant Roman statuary. In Shakespeare's time, however, the foot was associated with intercourse in a derivation from the indecent French verb, foutre.³² If the association was still current in Hogarth's day, the picture anticipates the adultery in the series which is not yet revealed as having taken place.

The other inset pictures are full-length portraits of saints hung above the mirrors. A halberd identifies the nearest as St Matthew, his book, either a gospel or a ledger, beside him. He seems to gaze in the general direction of the steward, a comic touch of sympathy between the tax-gatherer and the dissenter who has failed to bring home the "good news" of their debts to a family of squanderers.

Hogarth was to write of the next saint that 'the extended manner of St Andrew's crucifixion is wholly understood by the X-like cross'.³³ St Andrew, like the martyrs in the first picture, was tortured by a Roman, the governor of Patmos, and so a trend is continued. St Andrew's characteristic angularity is similar to Lord Squander's and he, too, is to be the counterpart of a martyr in the series.

The third saint is usually identified with St John the Evangelist because he sometimes carries a cup instead of an eagle. The smooth, beardless face, the long hair, the bluish clothes differently arranged from those of the other saints, however, suggest that the figure is female. Mary Magdalen with her pot of spikenard is the most likely candidate in view of her relevance to the series as a whole. The blue robe may have been intended as the purple of penitence. Her head is turned towards St Andrew as if to suggest a particular relationship between them.

The furthest saint is obscured by the chandelier, but a hand holding a sword in the print provides an identification: St Paul's sword figures prominently in the coat-of-arms of the City of London set in the window of the last picture. The identification is supported by the discreet juxtaposition of the sword with the steward's back, placed to suggest a stab in the back. As the patron saint of London's leading Anglican church and 'a great one for the heretics', St Paul's gesture is a witty gibe at a follower of the reputedly most treacherous dissen-

ting minister of the Church of England of the period.³⁴ Hogarth was fond of such sly coups de grâce: the sword of the tiptoeing lover in A Harlot's Progress II is placed as if to stab the Jew in the back and Sarah Young, even at her most pitiable, seems chained by her bottom to a madman's bed of stone.

A figure with a sword in Marriage à la Mode has to be a comment on the duel: St Paul is a counterpart of Silvertongue, the only character to use a sword successfully. Moreover, his seduction of Lady Squander is a betrayal of the husband comparable to the visual enactment of treachery in the juxtaposition of St Paul's sword with the neck of the husband's agent. Silvertongue's execution at Tyburn is a comic reduction in modern terms of the saint's beheading at the place of execution in Nero's Rome.

The ordering of the inset pictures presents another sequence of emblems which comments on the causal chain of the whole series: an interest in a veiled sexuality—→ a demand for the repayment of debts (St Matthew)—→ a personification of repentance (Mary Magdalen)—→ a treacherous stab (St Paul). A reading, if that is the right term, of the sequence suggests that a secondary cause of catastrophe is a more shameful continuation in the younger children of the open interest in sexuality implicit in the Earl's pictures, his gout, and sweat. The husband makes no attempt to hide his feelings or the mop cap so that the mixture of shame and piety implied in the juxtaposition of the curtained picture with the saints is consistent with the wife's developing attitudes and not his.

A pattern is emerging: Hogarth's views on his characters and plot is conveyed through artfully arranged sequences, forms of periphrasis. The artfulness lies in making them part of a realistic setting. The author's attitude is moral, mischievous, perhaps malicious, inventive, and devious by definition.

Three inset pictures flank the chimney-piece in the drawing (opposite page 634) and the curtained picture is replaced by two smaller frames. A shadowy group is set above Lord Squander offering perhaps a hint of Titian's style of composition, but no identification is possible. Above and to the left of Lady Squander is an adult figure holding a child, a madonna perhaps. She is paired with a female nude whose arms are raised and bent. The nude is superimposed on an even

shadowier figure and the relationship may provide a glimpse of Hogarth's lost Danae (his Io in the fourth picture adopts a different attitude).

It is to be asked why these apparently relevant hints were not developed. The pictures would less obviously represent the wife's choice, whereas it is necessary to the plot that her interests should be in the ascendant. The repetition of a strategy already used in the first picture and to be used again in the fourth would become tedious if repeated in a third picture. Attention would be drawn away from the fireplace where interest is maintained through the ingenious presentation of the clock which functions in ways similar to that of the inset pictures, but in a satisfyingly different form.

3. The Visual Organization of the Picture

The main differences between the first and second pictures are found in the reduction of the number of figures and the increased spaciousness. Space becomes a metaphor of spiritual emptiness and a visual enactment of the concept of squandering in its meaning of to scatter, dissipate or dispose. The nearer room is a study of marital disunity and the further room a study of the aftermath of an arid passion; the two are connected by the yawning archway which dwarfs the characters.

The prettiness is qualified by the continuing theme of spoiling which pervades the second picture. It is signified by the inevitable patch on the husband's neck, the mended nose of the impressive bust, the dress sword broken in its scabbard, the cut carpet, the solitary receipt among many bills. The mixing of indecorous subjects is extended: the décor includes animals, pagods, freaks, a bust, erotic and devout pictures, a classical fireplace, a rococo clock, a pastoral screen. The floor is littered with discarded and broken objects to add to the effect of carelessness.

The picture is held together, however, in a number of ways: first, with the exception of the dog, the figures, real and decorative, are all turned to face the third picture. The lesser, but opposing movements of the wife's sideways glance, the turn of the magdalen's head, and the curious dog stand out, the dog as the wife's emissary and the magdalen as her counterpart.

Secondly, the steward's 'gentle but long-drawn-out-curve is counter-balanced by the two massive groups of the aristocrat and his wife, both seated, while the overturned chair skilfully yet unobtrusively placed in

ILLUSTRATION 11 'The Battle of the Pictures' (1744/5)

the foreground is the pivot of the composition'.³⁵ The steward is thus drawn into a relationship with the couple, the effect of which is apparently to pull their immobile and unwilling figures towards the next picture. Conversely, the upper legs of the chair point towards the couple against the direction of the viewing sequence, as if to point out that the tune book and the instruments are matters between them. A similar ploy is found in A Rake's Progress VII where the legs of Sarah's overturned stool point accusingly at the Rake and serve to connect opposed groups set at a distance from each other across the width of a picture.

Thirdly, a pairing of images is fundamental to the organization of the picture: the drawing room is balanced with the gaming room; pillars with pillars; one side of the fireplace with the other; down-cast husband with ascendant wife; mop cap with mirror; broken sword with discarded instruments; rakish husband with puritan steward; disgusted steward with bored footman. The wife is set at the point of balance between the two rooms as if to show her proprietary interest in both.

Finally, the pairings translate into a disconnected cluster of see-saw effects: the husband's hands thrust downwards, the wife's are upraised; his legs are straight, hers are bent; his body slumps, hers arches; the man slumps, the dog steps up. One of the steward's hands is upraised, the other is weighed down by bills. The couple remains, he departs. The blind eyes of the bust seem to gaze upwards, the cupid directs his music downwards. The height of the walls and the columns emphasizes the vertical, the length of the walls and the flat carpet the horizontal; the diachronic-synchronic tension both contributes to the unity of the picture and underlies its contradictions. The crossing of the violin cases, appropriately placed for the purpose at the end of the viewing sequence, sums up the marital, social, and visual disorders of the picture. The organization of the picture, Shortly After the Marriage II, is on the verge of disintegration, but, because the tendency is checked by underlying tensions, the threat of total disintegration is brilliantly under control.

4. The Relevance of the 'Aldobrandini Marriage' and Conclusion

This is an appropriate point at which to review the connexion between Marriage à la Mode and The Battle of the Pictures (Illustration 11), the bidder's ticket for the sale of the paintings of the earlier series. Hogarth represents his modern paintings as in mock combat with

copies of various old masters. Shortly After the Marriage, as the champion of the most recent series and the only one then not for sale, is matched with an Aldobrandini Marriage. The Battle of the Pictures, therefore, is Hogarth's first comment on Marriage à la Mode after its composition. By selecting the second picture Hogarth confirmed that he saw marriage as the primary subject of the series and presumably the second picture was his personal favourite (it is the only picture to be set on an easel in the ticket-sketch).

Because the Aldobrandini Marriage was then thought to be the only surviving example of Roman painting, Hogarth could be seen to pit his most recent work against the acclaimed original of all painting. In so far as the Roman marriage is an idealized ceremony, then Hogarth's picture is concerned with its reality: Lady Squander's forcefulness, for example, contrasts with the Roman bride's timidity and deference. The intermingling of gods and mortals provides a precedent for Hogarth's ingenious strategy whereby his characters become the mock-heroic and mortal counterparts of the immortals in the inset pictures.

At a narrative level, the Aldobrandini Marriage provides an indirect view of the nuptial ceremonies pointedly absent from Hogarth's series. If Hogarth's Jupiter were a serious study and paying attention to his duties, then the consequences would be an ideal like the Roman ceremony! Hogarth also chose to omit the bride's mother testing the water with her elbow. It is reasonable to suppose that he deliberately excluded mothers, potentially moderating influences as he himself knew, in order not to weaken the dramatic effect of the tyranny of fatherhood.

The Roman picture is made to wound Shortly After the Marriage in an appropriate gesture, bearing in mind the nature of the climax of the series. In turn it is overlapped: a copy of a praying Mary Magdalen is matched against the third picture of A Harlot's Progress which shows the Harlot at the height of her powers. (Incidentally, this inset picture represents the only surviving view of a painting of the first series.) Both the Mary Magdalen and the Harlot obscure the second picture of Marriage à la Mode. This cluster of pictures offers an extended analogy, first between the prostitute-saint of the New Testament and Hogarth's modern Harlot and then between them both and the wife in Marriage à la Mode. The analogy strengthens the parallel between the penitent saint and Lady Squander as she kneels before her dying husband in the fifth picture and supports the identification of

the saint in the inset picture of Shortly After the Marriage as a magdalen (a pot is present in both).

The fathers' ambitions provide the first cause of catastrophe, but the viscount's neglect of his marriage is a secondary cause, according to contemporary attitudes; his indifference gives his wife her licence. Although she is set further back in the picture than he, a reconstruction of events shows her to be more resilient character:

What Cit with a gallant would trust his spouse
 Beneath the tempting shade of Greenwich boughs,
 What Peer of France would let his Dutchess rove . . . ?³⁶

For all its pictorial brilliance and humour, Shortly After the Marriage II is a sad picture: the protagonists sit wearied by their pastimes beset by unsympathetic servants, an uncouth pet, and semi-aware of one another's infidelities. Gloag refers to periodic waves of taste as 'washing over the fashionable world' but leaving the established background with its familiar classical proportions unaltered. Hogarth's second picture in Marriage à la Mode records the passing of such a wave. The husband and wife are together in an interlude which precedes the separate presentation of their separate pleasures in older-fashioned settings. The steward's gesture is ambiguous: from the couple's viewpoint it is one of farewell, but from the spectator's standpoint it can also be seen as an ironic benediction directed towards what happens next.

SHORTLY AFTER THE MARRIAGE II: REFERENCES

1. Lichtenberg, pp. 95-6.
2. Hazlitt, p. 135.
3. The Art of Hogarth, caption to plate 77.
4. The Analysis, p. 49.
5. Guy Williams, The Age of Agony, the Art of Healing c. 1700-1800 (London, 1975), p. 4.
6. L'OEuvre Gravé d'Abraham Bosse, plate 32; a woman sits on a man's lap, also Kunzle, p. 310.
7. Gloag, caption to plate 27. Marjorie Bowen, William Hogarth: The Cockney's Mirror (London, 1936), p. 161.
8. I am grateful to Dr David Johnson, letter (1. 2. 76), Mr Charles Cudworth, Mr E. J. Nichol, The Dolmetsch Foundation in particular for their help with an intriguing puzzle.
9. I am indebted to the National Gallery dossier for the information in this passage (Mrs Newton, 1958), Gloag, p. 200, and The Art of Hogarth, plate 130. The Analysis, p. 53.
10. J. Ireland II, note to p. 25, Lichtenberg (with confidence), p. 97.
11. HGW I, p. 270 and The Analysis, p. 52.
12. Davies, p. 51.
13. Hildegard Omberg, William Hogarth's Portrait of Captain Coram (Uppsala, 1974), p. 71. Before (1730-1), The Art of Hogarth, plate 12.
14. quoted in Nichols and Steevens III, p. 242. The Ingenious Mr Hogarth, p. 144 and England in the Age of Hogarth, p. 143.
15. Davies first made the identification (p. 51). The survey of Whitefield draws on (i) The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, two volumes, by the Reverend L. Tyerman (London, 1876) subsequently referred to as 'Tyerman'. The references are from Volume I unless otherwise stated. (ii) James Downey The Eighteenth-Century Pulpit: A Study of the Sermons of Butler, Berkeley, Secker, Sterne, Whitefield, and Wesley (Oxford, 1969), subsequently referred to as 'Downey'.
16. Downey, pp. 155-6. George Whitefield, 'A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr George Whitefield A. B., Late of Pembroke College Oxford from His Infancy to the Time of his Entering into Holy Orders' quoted in Tyerman I, p. 9ff.
17. Tyerman I, p. 78 and II, p. 36ff.
18. Tyerman II, pp. 160-1.
19. Albert M. Lyles, Methodism Mocked: The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth-Century (London, 1960), p. 127.
20. Francis Watson, National Gallery dossier, letter (10. 1. 57).
21. HGW I, p. 245. Albert M. Lyles, Methodism Mocked (London, 1960), illustration opposite p. 144.
22. From 'The Indwelling of the Spirit, the Common Privilege of All

Believers', quoted in Tyerman II, p. 244.

23. Austin Dobson, William Hogarth (London, 1902 edition), note to p. 75. Dobson suggests 24, Arlington Street, but H. B. Wheatley offers No. 5 as an alternative (London Past and Present (London, 1891), p. 112). Both houses were owned by Horace Walpole, but it is the identification with the same street in the West End which is important. The Analysis, p. 194.
24. J. Ireland II, pp. 28-9 and this thesis I. 1(f), page 22. Apology for Painters, pp. 86-7. Gloag (p. 304) reproduces Chippendale's pole-screen.
25. Gloag, p. 93 and Nichols and Steevens III, p. 241.
26. Lichtenberg, p. 100. The Analysis, p. 17: Dr Johnson defines a pagod as an idol, first, and its temple, secondly. Davies makes the distinction between Chinese art and chinoiserie (note 40, pp. 61-2) and Hugh Honour defines the period (Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay (London, 1961), p. 125).
27. The Analysis, p. 106.
28. The Poetical Works of John Gay, lines 50-2, p. 180.
29. HGW I, p. 270.
30. Francis Watson, the National Gallery dossier (letter, 10. 1. 57). The Analysis, pp. 86-7.
31. The Analysis, p. 138.
32. E. A. M. Colman, The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare (London, 1974), p. 194.
33. The Analysis, p. 146.
34. Professor J. T. B. Spencer's phrase.
35. Antal, p. 109.
36. John Gay, An Epistle to the Right Honourable William Pulteney Esq. (1720 and 1731) in The Poetical Works, p. 158, lines 110-111. Gloag, p. 101.

ILLUSTRATION 12 'The Visit to the Quack Doctor' (drawing)

III. THE VISIT TO THE QUACK DOCTOR

The third picture is obscure because it depends upon a knowledge of eighteenth-century medical practice. Attention is given to the medical details in the first part because they help clarify the activities, status, and the function of the taller woman and the quack doctor; a sub-section is concerned with quackery in the eighteenth-century. Two elements from the setting are considered in the second part: the cupboard and its contents, and the skull and the book. No mention is made of the drawing because it is little different from the finished versions (Illustration 12).

PART ONE: THE CHARACTERS

1. Lord Squander and His 'Common Miss'

The laboratory belongs to the Quack Doctor, but in so far as he represents Lord Squander's choice of a consultant, the doctor and his room reflect on the lord's character and behaviour. His mistress, a 'common miss', as the poet calls her, seems to precede the lord in the viewing sequence, but she is positioned just inside his right leg (his foot protrudes from behind her skirt). The unexpectedly intimate relationship indicates that the couple are closer to each other than the husband and wife in the preceding picture. They are, therefore, considered in the same section.

Lord Squander is positioned at the beginning of the viewing sequence for the second time so that the situation to the right of him again appears as a response to his behaviour. The position of the common miss has the effect of making him gesticulate as if on her behalf. He thus takes the presence of other characters into account for the first time. His modicum of vigour is reflected in the resumed tidiness of his clothes and the warm brown colour of his fashionable coat (a contrast to the colder blue and black of preceding pictures). His previous discontent is changed to a positive, even playful mood: his eyes sparkle, especially in the painting, and his lips are drawn back in a tight grin.

Lord Squander's pose, involving his only disclosed aggressive gesture of the series, is humorously treated as might be expected from the precedent of the second picture. He brandishes his cane at a safe distance from his target, a small, elderly, and short-sighted man. The

Lord Squander and His Common Miss (Free Standing)

Note: the foot protruding from behind her skirt, the three sets of pills, the handkerchief to the lip instead of the eye, the miss's watch which compares with Lady Squander's in the next picture, and the crooked little fingers of the hands holding the pillboxes.

inclination of the cane and the lord's bony legs are ironically repeated in that of the narwhal's tusk behind him, an emblem of sexual stimulation and prowess. He proffers a box of pills towards the doctor as fastidiously as he holds the snuff in the first picture. Another box on the chair in front of his groin shows the nature of his disease. His mistress holds a third box so that it appears that he is complaining that the pills have not worked for her and that she is suffering in consequence. The grin and the flourish of the cane suggest that he is not fully aware of the implications of the disease for himself.

The early commentators show little sympathy for Lord Squander's sad, little mistress. Rouquet dismisses her as 'une petite fille du commerce'. Trusler, usually sentimental, shows none of Mr Spectator's uneasiness when faced with a harlot in the street, in dismissing her as a 'Bow-street cully'.¹ Attitudes were changing, however: Satan's Harvest Home (1749), a satirical pamphlet, which was to become notorious in the next century, draws angry attention to the rakes' preference for young girls, 'some of them hardly high enough to reach a man's waistband'. Hazlitt in a response to a figure who may have appealed to him as a person was struck by the contrast between

the extreme softness of her person, and the hardened indifference of her character. The vacant stillness, the docility to vice, the premature suppression of youthful sensibility, the doll-like mechanism of the whole figure, which seems to have no feeling but a sickly sense of pain — show the deepest insight into human nature.

At first sight, the common miss's woeful expression and handkerchief suggest that she has been crying. But a closer examination reveals no signs of tears and she holds the handkerchief to her lip instead of her eye as do the weeping harlot in A Rake's Progress VI and Sarah Young in A Rake's Progress I. A minute touch of red paint shows at the corner of her mouth as if to suggest the beginning of a syphilitic sore. Another, admittedly unusual beauty proves to be flawed.

Several items of her clothes and appearance relate to various features found elsewhere in Hogarth's art and the similarities help to clarify his attitude towards his character. Her cap has a blue ribbon similar to that in Lord Squander's pocket as if to imply that she, in the absence of another likely figure, is intended as his companion on the earlier occasion and is a cause of his melancholy. A strand of hair

opposite page 87

ILLUSTRATION 13 'The Visit to the Quack Doctor' III

not dissimilar to Lady Squander's in the preceding picture strays from beneath the cap. Both women, it may be argued, aspire to a type of beauty of which Hogarth disapproved.

The blue, perhaps velvet, cape is similar to one hanging from a chair to the left of A Harlot's Progress III. The parallel suggests that the common miss wears the clothes and thus aspires to the status of a harlot at the height of her powers. It is typical of Hogarth's sense of humour, however, that the cape old-fashioned for the period, the brocade skirts, and cambric apron are far too big for her; the common miss claims to be grander than she really is. She probably is intended to have bought the clothes as cast offs, presumably with the money that Lord Squander gives her in order to make herself a fitting consort. (An extensive trade in second-hand clothing was centred in Monmouth Street long before Boz wrote his sketch on the subject.²) The absence of hoops would have been regarded as both sluttish, like the appearance of the sweeping girl in Clarissa, and immodest, like Lady Squander in the previous picture.

The watch hanging from the common miss's waist is similar to one worn by Mrs Needham in A Harlot's Progress I and another displayed by the Harlot in the third picture. A watch, an object of value in the eighteenth-century underworld, may have been intended as Lord Squander's gift to his mistress. His wife wears a similar watch in her lover's presence in the next picture. In Hogarth's imagination, watches seem to be emblems of man's judgement, as they were for Pope; Lord Squander and Counsellor Silvertongue have surrendered theirs to their respective mistresses eventually at the cost of their lives.³ The lady and the common miss are to be ruled by the same sort of time and the same sort of allure (page 66).

Finally, a handkerchief is a motif in the first three pictures of Marriage à la Mode. It is introduced as the Earl's sweatcloth, a means of countering the consequences of a life of physical excess which contributes to the need for an arranged marriage in the first place. It is repeated in the cloth on which the bride threads her marriage ring. It reappears as a cloth left on a table in the further room of the second picture to imply that the marriage is figuratively played with in the gaming room. In the third picture, the cloth is passed on to the common miss who also represents a threat of another kind to the marriage and finally surrendered to the doctor who uses it to help him see more clearly the signs of the disease which contributes to the breakdown of

The Tall Procuress (Free
Standing)

The initials on her
bosom are not clear
in this reproduction.

the marriage.

The similarities between the common miss and the lady represent Hogarth's first use in Marriage à la Mode of one figure as an ironic counterpart for another. They share an immodesty, slovenliness, and a pretentiousness. As a partner in an unhappy adultery, the existence of the miss provides Lady Squander with a precedent for agreeing to the assignation which is to lead to downfall. As a counterpart, the miss represents what the lady might have been or is a representation of her intended moral attitudes. The husband treats the mistress with the care supposedly reserved for a wife. The reversal of rôles adds to the theme of topsy-turviness in the series and the similarities in appearance add to the incongruities.

2. The Taller Woman and Her Knife

The flowing dress with the enormous hoops, comparable to those ridiculed in Taste in High Life, is dramatic in its bulk. The extreme contrasts between the absurdly dainty cap and red apron and the black clothes would have appeared loud to contemporaries. The bodice of the dress has been cut low enough to reveal a brand or tattoo on her chest. Luke Sullivan, an engraver employed by Hogarth, is remembered as explaining that the marks were made with gunpowder and signified a convicted prostitute.

The letters, E (?) C or FC, are one of the sets of puzzling initials occasionally to be found in Hogarth's narratives.⁴ A flake of paint in the painting prevents a positive identification of the first letter. Traditionally, the initials are thought to stand for the names of either Fanny Cock, the daughter of a contemporary auctioneer, or Elizabeth Careless, a notorious beauty. Their differing initials would suggest that the obscuring flake was present at an early period in the history of the painting.

There are arguments against both claimants: Fanny Cock's father, Christopher, was content to exhibit the painting in his auction rooms as a favour to Hogarth.⁵ He would have been unwilling to do so if it included an uncomplimentary allusion to his daughter. Elizabeth Careless was past the peak of her fame in the 1740s when she was referred to as an example of the decline of beauty into old age. Hogarth had referred to her nearly ten years previously as 'Charming Betsey' in

A Rake's Progress VIII and she would have been remembered as Betsey (B. C.) rather than Elizabeth (E. C.) as in fact Fielding referred to her in Amelia (1752).

As if alert to the possibility that the initials would invite personal applications, Hogarth had them moved from the middle of the woman's chest to a point in the print where the tail of the first letter is obscured by the frilled edge of the collar. As a result, subscribers could not connect the initials with anyone. If the initials have any meaning, then they perhaps refer to a cant phrase for a prostitute. More importantly, the marks spoil, or flaw, another ostentatious exterior and draw attention to the woman's shamelessness in showing off rather than hiding the tell-tale marks.

The third picture has puzzled commentators from the time that Charles Churchill, Hogarth's friend and later enemy, was reported as claiming that Hogarth himself did not know what he meant by it.⁶ Paulson makes reference to four differing interpretations in his catalogue to Hogarth's Graphic Works. Davies believes that it is doubtful whether an acceptable interpretation has been made. The puzzle requires investigation because it has encouraged critics to see the third picture as disturbing the unity of the series; Rouquet, for example, thought it to be 'entirely episodic'.

Kunzle has asked the key question without answering it: 'what is the rôle of the woman opening the clasp knife?'⁷ As a means of providing an answer, a comparison with Hogarth's earlier study of a massive woman is helpful, Mrs Needham in A Harlot's Progress I. Both have straight noses, several beauty spots, and display pear-drop earrings. Both women wear beribboned, showy, and expensive clothes with voluminous, perhaps satin skirts. Both have decorative aprons which imply that the wearers do not expect to work, unlike the girls standing beside them.

Mrs Needham is unmistakably elderly, but the puckered brow of the taller woman has encouraged commentators to assume that she is older and uglier than she really is: her hair is black and her skin is pink and clear in the painting.⁸ The youthful effects are less obvious in the print, but the taller woman's smoother skin, fuller cheeks, and fewer beauty spots make her the younger woman. These similarities and the lack of an alternative protectress for the common miss make it reasonable to suppose that the taller woman is one of Mrs Needham's successors who has procured the common miss for the lord. Mrs Needham is concerned with M. Hackabout's induction and so her emblem is the

flattering fan. The taller woman is concerned with the other end of the process, the disease which leads to an early death and so her emblem is the knife.

The taller woman is sometimes identified as the quack doctor's wife and, unlike Mrs Needham who wears outdoor clothes, she is at home in his rooms without gloves or shawl.⁹ But there is neither evidence to confirm the suggestion nor need for it. A partnership between a procuress and a quack is mutually advantageous and such arrangements of convenience were common. The taller woman, therefore, would appear to be an ex-prostitute who, having perhaps caught the disease herself and been branded, has turned procuress. To judge from her expensive clothes and lordly client she is intended to be as successful as Mrs Needham had been.

The meaning behind the gesture with the knife remains to be explained. Since the pills have proved unsuccessful, a bloodletting would have been the expected alternative. The operation required two people, one to use the knife and one to hold the basin to the arm. Although Hogarth has provided the surgeons, the knife is not a fleam, the bloodletting instrument, but a bistoury or scalpel and the basin is well out of reach on top of the cupboard.¹⁰ While the doctor may have been a barber-surgeon (below, page 93), he polishes his spectacles for an examination (Hogarth's alternative title for the picture was The Inspection).

The procuress, identified as a bold woman on other grounds, seems to have snatched up a bistoury in response to Lord Squander's criticisms, but Hogarth has carefully limited her aggression. Only her head is turned towards the lord; her body and arms are aligned away from him, the bistoury is only partly open, and the blade actually points towards the doctor. Her expression is rather more one of dismay mingled with surprise than the anger which the opening of a dagger-like knife might imply. The lord's gesture is directed against the doctor so that she can only be responding to an aside, perhaps to her client's suggestion that his disease was caught from the miss who had been, supposedly, sold to him as a virgin.

Hogarth may have wished the procuress's disapproval to look more aggressive than it is to be in keeping with other mock-heroic allusions in the setting (below, page 97). Her exaggerated response to a slight is a comic rather than a serious contrast to Lord Squander's semi-playful gesture. The antithesis recalls the way in which Hogarth made

The Quack Doctor, His Skull,
and His Book (Free Standing)

Trulla appear a far larger figure than her opponent, Hudibras, in his illustration to Butler's poem, especially as measurements show that Lord Squander is at least as tall as the procuress, after due allowance for his seated posture is made.

A discrepancy remains, nevertheless, between the woman's unwarlike occupation and fairly mild expression and her threatening but imprecise gesture. The narrative line would have been clearer if Hogarth had made the knife a fleam and had put the bleeding bowl in reach. It is a negative sign, however, of Hogarth's ability to convince that a picture can stand up to such a searching after the intentions behind an action. It is argued later in the thesis that each picture of the series is dominated in turn by one of the five physical senses and that the procuress's gesture is part of a wider, deliberate schema (Chapter X , page 230). The third picture is dominated by the sense of touch: the handkerchief that dabs; the stick that threatens to beat; the knife that threatens to cut; and the cloth which is used to polish. Hogarth sacrificed some clarity for the sake of an underlying unity.

3. The Quack Doctor (1) Monsr de la Pillule

The doctor's figure is well-described as a 'short, bow-legged almost toothless old man, with narrow shoulders and wide hips, personal defects which his long-skirted and stiff coat exaggerate in appearance'.¹¹ He, too, is a squat antithesis to Hogarth's ideals of graceful beauty. Only the doctor's head is turned towards the lord as if he, like the procuress, has had his attention caught by an unexpected remark. Dr James Parson's description of scorn and derision fits his expression well: 'sometimes [this feeling] is attended with a grinning laugh which can have no real meaning, because there is no real cause for it; and the hypocrisy of the mirth is easily distinguished on the face'.

The doctor's tangled hair is knotted at the ends to keep them out of the way, a common practice. His full-bottomed wig with its connotations of prestige and sagacity hangs in the cupboard (page 20). His stock, like that Alderman's is tucked loosely in his buttonhole. His appearance brings out a certain unreadiness in the pose as if his clients have forced themselves upon him unexpectedly. The doctor's stature as a character is revealed through his name: 'Monsr. de la Pillule' is the only figure of importance in the series to have a generally accepted source in a real person. M. de la Pilule (with one l) was the nickname of Dr Jean Misaubin, a Frenchman, who practised in

100
100
100
100

The Quack Doctor's Venetian Window
(Free Standing)

London during the 1720s and 1730s. His arrogance and self-esteem became a byword in his life-time. Fielding paid him the dubious compliment of using him in connexion with The Mock Doctor (1732) and, fifteen years after Misaubin's death in 1734, was to recall that Misaubin used to say of himself that the 'world' was his 'proper' address.¹²

Misaubin's arrogance had also irritated Hogarth because he portrayed him as one of the quarrelling doctors in A Harlot's Progress V. His physical appearance in the first series is different from the doctor in Marriage à la Mode and by 1743 Hogarth was more likely to be alluding to a legend rather than to the man himself, especially because Misaubin was a bona fide licentiate of the College of Physicians and not a quack.¹³ The changing of the nickname to Pillule represents a slight but significant step away from imitation ~~and~~ into fiction.

Trusler identified the quack's rooms with Misaubin's address in St Martin's Lane, although, of course, the allusion would inevitably invite such an identification.¹⁴ Nollekens, in supporting Trusler, describes a particular room at the back of Number 96, although his description bears no clear resemblance to Hogarth's room. The venetian window with flat-topped side-windows, dating from the 1720s, is the only distinguishing feature. Isaac Ware in A Complete Body of Architecture (c1735) describes such a window as of a 'kind calculated for shew' and as 'very pompous'. The feature fits in with Monsr de la Pillule's characteristic pride and the palladian touch connects the room and its owner with the detested Burlingtonians with whom Hogarth made his Squander family identify. It would appear that Hogarth designed the architecture of the rooms as he wanted it rather than attempting to imitate an actual laboratory.

(ii) 'Quacks and Quackery' in the Eighteenth-Century ¹⁵

The Royal College of Physicians had been founded in 1518 to control the practice of medicine. The training at Oxford or Cambridge took up to fourteen years so that there was only ever a small élite of licensed practitioners at any one period. Conscientious students, impatient with the long, theoretical training, often took private courses in London, or went abroad, or simply began to practice in effect as quacks. Hogarth's doctor, despised though he may have been, is typical of the large majority of doctors in the eighteenth-century, the golden age of quacks as well as licensed physicians. Not all the quack doctors were necess-

arily 'shameless and impudent' pretenders as they have been made out to be.

A quack's laboratory is also regarded as bizarre and impractical, but the purposefulness of this quack's equipment is remarkable. A small preparation of the narwhal's tusk, the nearest known equivalent to the unicorn's horn, could have sold for up to fifty guineas as an aphrodisiac. The extremely rare substance, mummy, was believed to encourage longevity and to restore life; this quack owns two mummy-cases. The pile of tea-blocks on the cupboard represents a considerable investment in an expensive stimulant. The salt-glaze stone jars for ointments and liquids, and the drawers for dry ingredients indicate an extensive basic stock. The three boxes of pills, apparently for the same ailment, may seem unnecessary to twentieth-century eyes, but the eighteenth-century was a period of poly-pharmacy and substantial dosages. Lord Squander has spent well and to little purpose as his name requires.

The overlarge head with a black pill in its mouth is a trade-model for advertising the doctor's pill from the window or the doorway of a shop. The quack's reputation is sufficiently great that he no longer needs to advertise or work from a shop. He keeps his model with its pill to be admired as a curio in its own right. The model is gilded as a further sign of its owner's prestige and may have been an ironic derivation from the idea behind Hogarth's own shop sign, the golden head of Vandyke. Sadly, he was to take it down in 1751 not out of pride, but out of bitterness because his paintings would not sell.

An outside urine bottle and the brass shaving or bleeding dish are also displayed on the cupboard. The quack has practised as a barber-surgeon in the past, but, presumably as a result of the successful sale of his pill, he has risen above an inferior trade. Hogarth treated the narwhal's tusk like a barber's pole; the quack may have risen in his own estimation, but his creator had a more sceptical view of his character's achievements.

The figures in the cupboard add another dimension to the range of the quack doctor's experience. Hogarth was fascinated by the muscular structure of the human body, one aspect of his interest in the way all objects have internal structures to support the external shell.¹⁶ He was familiar with Cowper's mould and argued expertly in The Analysis that a knowledge of anatomy was a prerequisite for the successful artist. The figure in the cupboard is a muscle man, a teaching doctor's anatomical model to complement the skeleton beside it.

Two inset pictures, one of a man whose head 'doth grow beneath his shoulders' and the other of siamese twins, hang to the right as examples of the doctor-antiquarian's interest in aberrations. In terms of Hogarth's appreciation of the comedy of incongruities, these pictures compare with the saints in the preceding picture; the frames of the inset pictures in both are of similar shape and their subjects both represent states of exceptional being.

Another inset picture of a spread-eagled, perhaps monstrous infant hangs above the doorway to the left. It recalls the defunct baby in a jar in Hogarth's previous study of an alchemist's laboratory, Hudibras and Sidrophel (1725/6). It functions as a variation on the child-like freaks of the preceding picture and provides another prefiguration of the malformed child of the marriage. These oddities, together with the animals' heads, the stuffed crocodile, and the ostrich's egg, show that the quack is a well-equipped specialist with some rare and valuable specimens.

John Ireland first proposed that Samuel Garth's poem, The Dispensary (1699), was a source for the laboratory in Marriage à la Mode.¹⁷ Garth describes a 'wight',

Bold to prescribe and busy to apply.
His shop the gazing vulgar's eyes employs
With foreign trinkets and domestic toys.

The wight's specimens are mummies, a tortoise, a shark's head, flying fish, poppy-heads, an alligator, dried bladders, drugs, a tripod, and an inner room full of globes and books. Garth and Hogarth were working in the same tradition, but the quack is set in a laboratory which owes little to The Dispensary. Hogarth must have known a successful Monsr de la Pillule and was familiar with his laboratory.

The contraptions in the close foreground to the left show that the doctor's more recent interests are in invention rather than medicine. The title-page of the book on the larger machine reads in bad French: 'Explication/de deux/machines superbes/l'un pour remettre/l'épaules/l'autre pour servir de/tire bouchon/inventés par Monsr./de la Pillule/vues et approuvées par/l'Academie Royal des Sciences/à Paris'. Rouquet regards the quack as an inventor of 'extremely complex machines for extremely simple functions'. Although there is truth in his judgement, bone-setting was a difficult operation and cork-pulling was a frequent chore for an apothecary so that inventions which facilitated these operations were of practical value.

L'Academie Royal was an institute of international reputation and

did not give its approval lightly. (Misaubin, incidentally, was a graduate of Cahors university.) Davies found illustrations of similar machines in the Academy's publications for 1735 so that it is possible that Hogarth came across them on his trip to Paris in 1743.¹⁸ Lichtenberg, a professor of physics, respects the accolade, for him the Academy's approval 'means something'. Two volumes, however, are required to explain how the machines work; they, and a third book under the skull to the right, imply that verbosity is the principle manifestation of the quack's self-esteem. His facial expression shows the resentment of a self-important man who has been drawn away from his studies to concern himself with a complaint about his pills, all the more irritating because it represents a criticism of his name.

Hogarth's quack has had experience of medicine, apothecary, and surgery. He is an inventor, teacher, and a theorist of some repute. Strange though his possessions seem, they would have been held to have positive value in the 1740s. By showing a French quack with such a depth of experience, Hogarth chose a figure calculated to be unpopular with the College of Physicians, the Society of Apothecaries, and the then recently constituted Company of Barber Surgeons (1740). These bodies were in dispute with each other at the time when Marriage à la Mode was composed and so were especially sensitive to the kind of outside competition that the quack represented.¹⁹ Furthermore, as a pox-doctor, the quack was a serious rival in one of the most profitable, although 'opprobrious', fields of contemporary medicine.

Most venereal diseases were classified under terms like morbus gallicus or 'the Malady of France'.²⁰ With apologies to the French, it is amusing that the heir of a Westminster family of squanderers, which boasts of its descent from a French duke, should seek a cure from a short-sighted Frenchman who seems no longer interested in practical medicine, and who may have had his origins in the most boastful foreign doctor known to London. Sullivan, the engraver, described the quack as standing 'wiping his spectacles with his coarse muckender'. Hogarth aroused the feelings he intended in the Englishman, but it is to be wondered how the 'best masters' from Paris, who engraved the pictures, reacted. Lord Squander's futile gesture of complaint against a popular villain may have prompted sympathy as well as derision.

The Cupboard Surmounted by the Tripod (Free Standing)

Note (i) the skeleton's kiss
(ii) the face on the wig block.

NB The lord's stick has been cut away, but the silhouette remains.

PART TWO: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING1. The Contents of the Cupboard and the Curios

The contents of the cupboard in the background, like the clock and its surrounds in the preceding picture, comment ironically on the central situation. The muscle man has been described as standing with 'one hand on its hip and with the face grotesquely expressive of enquiry as to the movements of a human skeleton which the artist has disposed so that it seems to be making amorous advances to, and whispering at the ear' of the muscle man.²¹ Antal sees the contents as working within the popular tradition of making inanimate objects, including the skeleton, 'come alive'. Lichtenberg sees them as a metaphor of corporeal man, his skeleton, his skin, and his wig. Ireland sees the contents as symbolizing a 'consultation of physicians'.

The tip of Lord Squander's cane is superimposed on the chin of the doctor's wig block as if to confirm that Hogarth intended the lord's antagonism to be directed towards the doctor himself. The wig and the, admittedly improbable, face on the block resemble a malefactor's head on a pole. As if to complete the analogy, the three-legged gallows at Tyburn, as Hogarth was to represent it in Industry and Idleness XI, is of the same basic shape as that of the scientific tripod on top of the cupboard. The muscle man is flanked by the alternatives of execution and the kiss of death (a symbol of disease). With a grisly correctness, however, Lord Squander's cane is made to point to an image of the likely fate of his own executioner, Counsellor Silvertongue.

The curios on top of the cupboard are images of exaggerated masculinity and sterility to comment ironically on the lord's present impotence: the narwhal's tusk, the long sword, the big cock spur, the scarab or huge 'dried louse' (the poet's identification), and the tortoise sustain the theme. The whale-bone or baleen resembles a giant comb seemingly to be used on the equally giant head of the trade-model which amusingly however, is bald. Hogarth declared the femur to be the most graceful bone in the human body, but the serpentine curve of this femur is interrupted by the trade-model and made deliberately clumsy.²² The bone is a satirical exaggeration, but it may have had a convincing association as an antediluvian bone: the discovery of fossilized bones led natural philosophers to argue that people before the Flood were giants.

The arrangement of the longer machine behind the shorter one to

The Bone Setting and the Cork Pulling
Machines (Free Standing)

Note the wording of the open book.

the left repeats the size-relationship between the tall lord and his puny mistress. The machines resemble instruments of torture, a kind of rack and a screw. One is an appropriate instrument to be set beside an already lanky man who is to be shown as, figuratively, racked with pain by the end of the narrative. The common miss, it can be imagined, is to be held and cut in a surgical operation in much the same way that the bottle, an image of the female principle, is held in the smaller machine in order to be pierced. The bottle is one of Hogarth's familiar gin bottles; gin was used to relieve menstrual pain (the common miss looks anaemic), so there may have been an intentional comment in that direction as well as on abortion.

The sword, buckler, and spur recall the accoutrements of Don Quixote and Hudibras.²³ The tall hat resembles that of the squire, Ralph, in the Hudibras illustrations. He was a tailor whose way, like the steward's in the second picture, is through 'Gifts' and 'New-Light'. A rustic with his tongue out jeers at his hat to the left of Hudibras Vanquish'd by Truth. Fourteen more hats hang like accusing cannons from the walls of The Committee. Both Butler and Hogarth saw the saints a self-important and it is therefore fitting that their familiar emblem should end up on the walls of this doctor's laboratory.

The odd shoes recall that to be thrown at Hudibras and Ralph in the stocks. (It lies waiting in both Hudibras Triumphant and Hudibras in Tribulation.) The barber's basin, of course, recalls Don Quixote's helmet, although its design is not quite the same as that in The Freeing of the Galley Slaves. The crocodile and the skeleton are variations on those in Hudibras and Sidrophel, but Hogarth was just as likely to have drawn on the general tradition as on his previous work.

The trappings of comic chivalry mixed with those of puritanism, the famous polarities which have their local variations in the alliance between the Cities of Westminster and London, are reduced to the level of curiosities in a room where the consequences of love or belief are only disease and contempt. It is appropriate and sad that Hogarth's perversely chivalrous and initially mild character should ^{be shown to} discover his Dulcinea and his valour in such a milieu. Lord Squander fails to appreciate that chivalry is outmoded and ludicrous; the consequence is that his chivalry is to deepen into a sense of injured pride which is to destroy him in an outmoded ritual, the duel.

The pathologist is in no doubt that skulls eroded by syphilis display strange configurations like the W-shaped pattern of holes in the forehead of the skull on the table — an indirect tribute to Hogarth's knowledge of pathology.²⁴ The poet is also sure:

And tho' it was extremely thick
The p-x ten holes in it did pick.

The superimposition of the skull on a book indicates that the doctor is an authority on venereal disease, but the arrangement is also an ironic allusion to St Jerome whose benign wisdom, by implication, has deteriorated to the level of a quack's 'opprobrious' specialism in Hogarth's view. Conversely, the quack, as the man responsible for the disposition of the skull, consciously or unconsciously, equates his own knowledge with an epitome of wisdom. Lord Squander, as the present sufferer from the disease which killed the owner of the skull and as an agent of the plot, passes beyond the experience of the skull, a prefiguration as well as a memento of death.

The skull is the centrepiece of a museum which preserves the relics of universal death. The quack is the keeper of all the orders of being: creeping things and reptiles, fish (the horn and the comb), beasts and a bird (the ostrich's egg), an antediluvian creature, ancient man, a baby, modern man (the muscle man), and death himself (the skeleton and the skull). The allusions to the heroes of comic epic provide an additional, literary dimension. Only a representative of the gods seems missing, but the trade-model with its pill in its mouth, another form of self-representation, is placed to substitute for the portrait of Jupiter and his fulmen. Finally, the erosions in the skull show another delicately painted object to be flawed.

2. The Visual Organization of the Picture and Conclusion

The single tableau shows a return to the triangular structure of the first picture with the taller woman's head at the apex. The common miss is set as an appendage to the triangle at right-angles to and just within its imaginary base-line. The quack doctor's figure is constructed of one triangle on top of another as a variation on Lord Squander's first pose which accentuates a link between them, perhaps as dealers in death. The tableau is dominated by the tripod, the emblem of the gallows, the placing of which suggests that those who form the triangular shapes and relationships in the tableaux and the series are associated with violent death.

The interaction of arms and hands creates a rhythmic movement which counteracts the rigid effect of the triangular grouping. The movement begins with the common miss's right hand holding the pill-box. The upraised forearm, which holds the handkerchief to the lip, changes the movement from the horizontal to the vertical; a direction repeated in the line of Lord Squander's uplifted cane. The elbows overlap as if to confirm that her discomfort and his complaint have a common source. The little fingers of the hands holding the pill-boxes are both crooked; the couple share a need, an ailment, and a genteel mannerism, pathetic in the context.

The line of the cane checks the movement for a moment before it turns towards the right along the curve of Lord Squander's extended arm. The movement then transfers to the procuress's right arm and continues through the knife to come to rest with the doctor. His bent arms direct the movement to the focal point of the spectacles so that in the chain of causes and effects the doctor seems to be required to examine the common miss in particular. The skull, a point of glowing light in the painting, resembles a full-stop at the end of a sequence.

It is to be wondered whether this movement is the nearest Hogarth was to come to representing the appearance of a sentence within a narrative. The nominals in the sequence, the pill-boxes, the cane, the knife, and the spectacles, provide a sequence of semi-personal emblems similar to those arrayed across the minor tableau of the first picture (page 53). This sequence is the more elaborate in that there are more emblems involved and they are bound up in the expressive attitudes of the characters:

misery (pills + handkerchief) → complaint (cane + pills)
dismay (knife) → scorn (spectacles) . (skull).

The direction of the viewing sequence forces the dramatic interplay of expressive actions to the same conclusion. The uplifted cane offers a digression and thus an apparent means of escape, but its line leads only into the cul-de-sac of the cupboard which is dominated by other images of death.

A comparable arabesque of arms in The Wedding (A Rake's Progress V) is used to unite a nearer and a further tableau in order to link the Rake with both the woman he marries and the woman he ought to have married. The movement is sinuous, whereas in The Visit to the Quack Doctor the contrasts in characters' heights, the angled lines, the dramatic variations in expression and gesture create a staccato effect,

appropriate to an acrimonious atmosphere.

As has been suggested (page 13), Hogarth's settings can be regarded as metaphorical cells in which the figures are imprisoned. The quack doctor's laboratory is the condemned cell of Hogarth's imagination. The characters are confined by rigid lines: those of the cupboard and the cornice; the many cross pieces in the windows and doors; the rows of shelves and drawers; the lines of swords, ropes, pulleys, and levers. The narwhal's tusk is as firmly gripped by its brackets as Lord Squander can be imagined to be by his disease. Both the characters and the spectator are positioned to see the appearance, if not the reality, of the instruments of torture. The trade-model seems gagged by its pill and the muscle man is confined in a cell-within-a cell, surmounted by an ironic image of the gallows and guarded by the most merciless of gaolers. Lord Squander, an irresponsible man-about-town, is only released from the condemned cell to change into a destroyer and to be destroyed. Hogarth himself added the l to Pillule, as he added the r to Marriage in the title. The word, pill, was cant for both a doctor and one who lays waste; Hogarth's young lord is made to swallow bitter medicine.

Antal was mistaken in regarding Hogarth's knowledge of medicine to be that of a 'man-in-the-street' and Kunzle is correct in referring to the 'sinister pathological associations of the picture'.²⁵ Criticisms of the soul-destroying power of machinery begin to appear later in the eighteenth-century, but Hogarth's updating of the mediaeval alchemist's laboratory with its cruel inventions anticipates the objections of Blake or Carlyle. The picture is not altogether morbid or pessimistic: the setting is full of comic exaggerations, incongruities, lewd jokes, and mock-heroic allusions. The danse macabre is a comic metaphor and Lord Squander himself is represented as the ridiculously gallant Everyman in a contemporary danse who has the temerity to sit in death's laboratory and complain.

The narrative line of the picture could have been clearer, but the picture is remarkable for its fascinating technical detail and for showing the implicit stages in a character's career. The picture is not episodic; the subject of the series is marriage. The third picture is concerned to show the husband's infidelity, a fitting initial climax to a work in which the wife's infidelity is to form the basis of the final climax. The third and fourth pictures show the separate pleasures of the married couple. The third is concerned with the end of one

affair prepared for in the second picture, whereas the fourth shows the preparations for the other which leads to catastrophe in the fifth. The ordering of the pictures is correct and The Visit to the Quack Doctor III is an integral component of the series. It succeeds at pathological, psychological, thematic, and visionary levels rather than at a simple narrative level. Churchill was wrong; Hogarth knew what he was doing.

THE VISIT TO THE QUACK DOCTOR III: REFERENCES

1. Trusler, p. 16. Satan's Harvest Home is referred to by Levey, caption to plate 3. Hazlitt, p. 135.
2. Monmouth Street was known to Gay for 'old suits', l. 548 Trivia, Book II, The Poetical Works, p. 77.
3. R. L. S. Cowley, 'An Examination and Interpretation of Narrative Features in A Rake's Progress', unpublished MA thesis (Birmingham University, 1972), pp. 62-63.
4. 'MH CU(?)' on the ceiling of A Harlot's Progress V, 'LE', and 'AE' in A Rake's Progress VIII. No completely satisfactory explanation has been offered for any of them. J. Ireland II, note to p. 34.
5. H II, p. 122. Hogarth was careful to exclude allusions to friends in his prints as in the case of Tothall and Handel (A Rake's Progress I and II). Henry Fielding Amelia I (Everyman, 1962), chapter 6, p. 29.
6. Reported in J. Ireland II, p. 31. HGW I, p. 272: the theories of Rouquet, Trusler, Ireland, Rogers (after Sullivan); Lichtenberg (p. 102ff.) and the poet offer other variations. Davies, p. 52. The picture is criticized for its obscurity in the Introduction to James Heath's folio of prints (reprinted in Anecdotes of William Hogarth Written by Himself and Various Essays edited by J. B. Nichols (London, 1833, Facsimile Reprint, 1970), p. 129).
7. Kunzle, p. 315.
8. J. Ireland, 'haggard' (II, p. 34); F. G. Stephens (BM. Catalogue) 'coarse-featured' (p. 561); Antal 'large, ugly' (p. 110); The Cockney's Mirror, 'a stout dame' (p. 162).
9. The identification as the doctor's wife was first proposed by the poet and repeated by J. T. Smith in Nollekens and His Times by John Thomas Smith edited by Wilfred Whitten (London, 1829) II, p. 163.
10. I am grateful to Dr Burgess of the Wellcome Institute for the identification. The Inspection, the title given to the picture in the Sale Catalogue (1745), is reported in The Art of Hogarth, caption to plate 78.
11. F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 561. Dr James Parsons, 'Human Physiognomy Explain'd', The Crounian Lecture on Muscular Motion (1746) a supplement to Physiological Transactions Volume 44 (1746-47); 'Scorn and Derision' Table IV, p. 64 and figure 1.
12. HGW I, p. 211, DNB, Henry Fielding, Tom Jones (New York, 1963 edition), Book XIII, chapter 2, p. 584.
13. Munk's Roll (London, 1878) II, p. 67.
14. Trusler, p. 23 and J. T. Smith in Nollekens and His Times by John Thomas Smith edited by Wilfred Whitten (London, 1829) II, p. 163. Gloag reports Ware's views, p. 41.
15. The title of this section and the quotations are taken from Eric Partridge's article 'Quacks and Quackery' in Literary Sessions (London, 1932), p. 176ff.

16. The Analysis, pp. 70-76, provides a long and expert disquisition on muscular structure.
17. J. Ireland II, p. 35 and Art of Hogarth caption to plate 78. Samuel Garth, The Dispensary, a Poem in Six Cantos (London, sixth edition 1706), Canto II, pp. 21-23.
18. Davies, note 56 to p. 63. Lichtenberg, p. 107.
19. O'Malley, p. 147.
20. Guy Williams, The Age of Agony, The Art of Healing c. 1700-1800 (London, 1975), p. 128 and E. A. M. Colman, The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare (London, 1974), p. 202. Sullivan's words are reported in Nichols and Steevens, II note to p. 178.
21. F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 560. Antal, p. 125. Lichtenberg, p. 108. J. Ireland II, p. 36.
22. The Analysis, p. 71.
23. HGW I, p. 271. Samuel Butler, Hudibras I, Canto 1 (London, 1818 edition), p. 23. HGW II, plates 77-88, The Large Illustrations to 'Hudibras' (1725/6) and plates 158-63, Six Illustrations for Don Quixote (1738).
24. Dr B.T. Davis, interview. Hogarth may have had a copy of Caravaggio's picture of St Jerome in mind because the former also set the skull on the book (Caravaggio, The Masters 93 edited by Robert Hughes, general editor Sir John Rothenstein (Bristol, 1967), plate XII).
25. Antal, p. 110 and Kunzle, p. 316.

IV. THE COUNTESS'S MORNING LEVEE

The first part is concerned with the lovers as separate characters and as they relate to each other and the toilette behind them. It includes a section on the screen and the hairdresser which flank the lovers. The second part is concerned with the singer, his accompanist, and the members of his audience. The third part is concerned with elements of the setting, the lots bought at an auction, and the inset pictures.

PART ONE: THE MAJOR CHARACTERS

Important changes have taken place since the view of the marriage in the first and second pictures. A rattle with a teething coral hangs from the chair under Lady Squander's arm to show that a child has been born and is some months old. The earl's coronets on the mirror and the tester of the bed, together with the information implicit in the title of the picture, indicate that the old Earl is dead. The décor of the wife's bedroom is closer in style to his room in the first picture than to the fashionable rooms of the second. (The simpler elliptic arch, the spandrels, and the heavier furniture date from about 1700.) The new earl and his countess, therefore, appear to have moved into the old building, the family seat.

In the husband's absence, Silvertongue is established as Lady Squander's favoured companion and, because they form a coherent unit within the long, rather flat parade of figures, they are considered in the same section.

1. The Lovers (i) As Separate Figures

Counsellor Silvertongue is placed in the influential position at the beginning of the viewing sequence hitherto occupied by the Earl and his son; Silvertongue literally sits in the latter's seat in his absence. Since the room is the wife's combined bedroom and dressing room, the placing suggests that the concert is put on for Silvertongue's benefit in much the same way that the quack doctor's laboratory is put at Lord Squander's disposal.

The first point to be noted about Silvertongue's reappearance is the sameness of his legal clothing, an incongruity in a fashionable setting and a sign that he has not changed. The repetition of the garb

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ILLUSTRATION 15 'The Countess's Morning Levée' (drawing)

suggests either that he has called on his lady while carrying on his profession or that a change of clothes would be beneath his dignity. Conversely, the countess's acceptance of him indicates the extent of her tolerance and admiration for him.

Hogarth has developed the curves of his figure into a characteristic plumpness, extending even to the podginess of the ball of the thumb of his upraised palm. He reclines with his feet on a double seat, an attitude which conveys a mixture of condescension and uncouthness. One hand draws attention to the picture on a screen behind him, while the other proffers a crumpled and torn paper to his lady labelled '1st Door, 2d Door, 3d Door' (Illustration 16).

The early commentators assume that the paper is a masquerade ticket on the evidence of the masquerade picture on the screen and the implications of the disguise in the next picture.¹ The paper looks larger than and dissimilar to the ticket Hogarth himself had designed. Silvertongue holds it quite openly, whereas even a careless man might have been expected to pass a ticket for a notorious entertainment more discreetly. The paper is also unlikely to be a key to the picture on the screen. Although the doors correspond to the three panels, a key seems unnecessary because the subject is clear and would have been very familiar. The design on the paper has a vaguely floral border and no sign of further writing or print. The shapes of heads seem to have been overpainted as if to suggest that Hogarth himself at one stage at least was undecided as to the meaning. The drawing is not helpful as it shows only a blank paper (Illustration 15).

The word Door should perhaps be taken at face value. The poet imagines that the masquerade which the lovers attend takes place at the Opera House. Hogarth's view of its piazza, labelled 'masquerade' in Masquerades and Operas, shows three brick entrances and people queuing. The paper can be regarded as the plan of a rendezvous inside such a building. The Opera House could have been in Hogarth's mind also because Heidegger's masquerades had been held there and the equally detested Burlingtonians patronized the operas. On the evidence of the paper's tattered state, Silvertongue has used the plan and the rendezvous before. As well as proffering the plan, he points to a disguise on the screen by which he might be recognized (below, page 109). Rouquet makes the essential point, however, that, whatever the meaning of the paper, the gesture itself is to be understood and the proposal accepted by the lady.

The lovers' faces are bland and expressionless; Hogarth may have been seeking in them to reproduce Le Brun's passion of 'Pure Love' (Illustration 5). They gaze into each others eyes as lovers should, a 'blooming blush' is apparent on their cheeks in the painting, both mouths are bow-lipped and 'a little turn'd up' as Le Brun required.² The stippled shadows around the wife's chin in the print may owe something to Le Brun's shading in 'Fig. 15' in the version Hogarth would have seen. Silvertongue's lips are again slightly open as his name and the passion require. In view of his name, it is possible to wonder whether Hogarth had Romeo's words in mind:

It's my soul that calls upon my name:
How silver sweet sound lovers' tongues by night
Like softest music to attending ears.

As if to confirm the subject of their conversation, the book on the seat beside Silvertongue is Le Sopha, a collection of tales concerned with amorous intrigue (pages 180-83).

Unlike her drably dressed companion, Lady Squander has changed considerably. She wears a casually draped, white peignoir over a gold dressing jacket. She has acquired sufficient modesty to cover her lacings with a stomacher. She seemingly wears the same light-pink under-garment that she does in the second picture and a less stiff and more discreet blue bow.

The differences in Hogarth's treatment of a similar garment provide an indication of the intended development of the character from one picture to another. The wife's stretch has been changed to a graceful pose so that the texture of the cloth flows in a melting effect, added to in the print by the convoluted folds of the long dressing jacket. Only one toe peeps delicately from beneath the under-skirt instead of two awkward feet. Although the wife's knees may be still apart, their shape is hidden under the skirt in a decorous manner of which Hogarth would have approved.

Lady Squander's hair is being arranged in more flowing curls than the tight ringlets of the first picture, a sign of her greater sophistication and freedom. The oval of her face is no longer broken into by the crudely alluring strand of hair. The general impression is of a change from an awkward novice to a poised, confident hostess.

The coral hangs disregarded as a sign of Lady Squander's lack of

interest in her child; there is presumably a careless nurse in the background who has forgotten to take the teething ring with her. Traditionally, coral is the Christ child's protection against evil. Hogarth had already represented one of the Grey children, not the naughty one, as holding its coral in a happy and innocent picture (1740).³ The separation of the amulet from the absent child is an ill-omen to be proven true when the child's deformities are shown.

The appropriately coral-pink ribbon is a prominent detail in the painting, set well away from Silvertongue so that, through it, Hogarth could indicate that Lord Squander is the child's father and thus its deformities are a consequence of the marriage rather than the adultery which has yet to take place.

(ii) Their Disposition in Relation to the Toilette

Lady Squander's pose anticipates that of the daughter in Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter (1752). Silvertongue's reclining attitude anticipates Idle's on the tombstone (Industry and Idleness III) or that of the statue of Silenus leaning on his wine skin in the first plate of The Analysis ('No 107'), both celebrants in their differing ways. The wife's pose also recalls the seated sybils and prophets in the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel (the graceful disposition of Isaiah's withdrawn left hand and upright attitude come to mind). Silvertongue's pose is similar to the placing of Pope Julius on his tomb. The echoes are sufficiently general, however, for Hogarth to have been alluding to the rhetoric of the sublime through which to mock at the pretensions of his lovers, one of whom achieves a statuesque pose by putting his feet on an elegant double-seat instead of a Roman couch and the other who sits in the grand manner while having her hair dressed.

The lovers are drawn into a peculiarly close relationship with the toilette behind them. The line of the drapery emerges from behind Silvertongue's shoulder and passes behind the mirror to merge with the line of the wife's peignoir. The lack of colour in the print makes it seem that the drapery and the peignoir are the same piece of cloth. The outstretched arms below the mirror and the drapery above involve the two figures in an irregular oval shape about the centrepiece of the mirror to form an ensemble.

The arrangement has heraldic associations: the lovers are set as comic supporters (one couchant, the other sejeant) before the blank escutcheon of the mirror (ombre and divided per band).⁴ The coronet

A crest surmounted
by a coronet. The garde
visure of the casque,
empty and affrontée

The chaplet: laurels
of triumph

A vested sup-
porter: statant

The mirror resembles
Boutell's fourth type of
escutcheon 'somewhat
square'. It is blank,
ombre and divided per
bend

A vested supporter couchant
with his figure disclosed; the
Triant aspect. Rouquet
uses the term couchant
of Silver-
tongue

ILLUSTRATION 16

The Lovers and the Toilette:
the Heraldic Associations

A vested supporter
sejeant

The paper as a ragged motto

and the decoration beneath it form a crest with a casque, the gard-visure empty and placed affrontée (Illustration 16). The drapery suggests a fringed and corded mantelle, the objects in the wife's hair a coronet triumphant, and Silvertongue's paper a ragged motto. Hogarth's knowledge of emblemature was learnt during his apprenticeship to a silvership and Hogarth designed at least one coat of arms in the large and small versions of The Kendal Arms (1723 or later). The general arrangement also resembles a book plate; the one which he designed for George Lambert (c. 1725) comes to mind.

The effect also separates the lovers from the clumsier poses of the rest of the audience and elevates the ensemble to a mock-heroic plane. The poet responded to the arrangement by plagiarizing Pope's description of Belinda's toilet: 'And, now, unveil'd the toilet stands display'd', for example, becomes 'the toilette is at large display'd'. Although Hogarth's pictorial imagination and training would have encouraged him to see the heraldic possibilities first, the analogy with an altar is an attractive variation on the ironic placing of figures before the fireplace in the second picture. The drapery behind the coronet and the mirror resembles a bridal veil so that the ensemble seems a comic reconstruction of the kind of ceremonial idealized in the Aldobrandini Marriage. (The similarly stylized poses of the bride and groom holding hands in Bosse's Le Contract may have given Hogarth another immediate source.) The analogy suggests that the lovers' relationship is the second "anti-marriage" of the series to match the protective relationship between Lord Squander and his miss in the previous picture. The oval — which for Hogarth had a noble simplicity about it — is a repetition of those which enclose the lovers in the first picture, a development which enacts the growth of their love.

The statuesqueness of the poses, the ironic effect of an escutcheon, or a bridal couple, convey an impression of artificiality, of other-worldliness. Lady Squander's watch, hanging from her stomacher, is unusual for having no hands, an improbable impression of timelessness. The omission helps detach the lovers from their supposed reality so that they appear bound up in each other and oblivious to any consequences of their behaviour. Only the spectator can appreciate that the bridal veil is drawn back from a blank centrepiece; the mirror prophesies an empty future.

ILLUSTRATION 17

The Dutch Screen (detail)

2. The Screen and the Hairdresser

The presumably leather screen shows the maskers dancing to the music of players set on a balcony. The ball is illuminated by chandeliers, the nearest of which is similar to that in the second picture. The identification of the latter as Dutch in design supports the view that the masquerade is painted in the Dutch manner to contrast with the preponderance of baroque art elsewhere in the picture.⁵

The figures in the foreground of the screen are identifiable (Illustration 17): a punchinello occupies the left hand panel; a friar and a nun stand close to each other talking, together with a turbaned figure, in the middle panel; a man disguised as a woman, his hair cut short behind his mask, occupies the right hand panel. The picture reveals a view of the kind of entertainment which is likely to precede the visit to the bagnio. Silvertongue's fingers are superimposed on the costume of the friar and the inference is that he invites his lady to play the part of the nun.

The punchinello occupies the predominant position in the close foreground of the viewing sequence-within-a-viewing sequence. By 1710, Punch's role was established in England as 'fool in ordinary to the puppet stage'.⁶ He was a 'compère and comedian combined . . . amorous, derisive, mischievous and overbearing'. He was a destroyer of convention: 'in a mannered society he was instinctively uncouth. Virtue was in the air, so he was naughty. There was one law for the rich and another for the poor? He broke them both'. Punch finds his correspondence in Silvertongue, he, too, is plump, unconventional, uncouth, and positioned to dictate events in his present setting.

At the same time, the punchinello's corpulence, his hooked nose, and jutting chin, if not his uncouthness, recall the Earl's bulk and Hapsburg profile. The Earl is positioned at the beginning of the whole series as an irresponsible 'compère' to the tragi-comedy of Marriage à la Mode. In commanding his son to marry out of his class, he, too, disrupts convention. Hogarth saw Punchinello as an epitome of ugliness: like the pagod, he is 'droll by being the reverse of all elegance, both as to movement, and figure, the beauty of variety is totally and comically excluded from this character in every respect'.⁷ The situation in Marriage à la Mode stems from the ugliness of the punch-like Earl's topsy-turvy vision which his daughter-in-law inherits. In the same passage as he considered Punchinello, Hogarth described Pierrot, a figure constructed 'chiefly in perpendiculars and parallels'. Lord

Squander's angularity may have another source apart from St Andrew's angled cross.

The disguises in the middle panel are also relevant; a nun and friar represent the chaste life, but, when placed one in front of another in the context of a masquerade, become personifications of the bawdy life. The presence in the same panel of a personification of sensuality in the turk adds to the ambiguity and his image, perhaps, is meant to provide the lovers and the spectator with a clue to the likely choice of a bagnio at which to complete their assignation.

In the general context, the man-woman with the gloomy mask in the right-hand panel finds a correspondence, perhaps by default, with the only other figure not to have an obvious parallel, Lord Squander. The presence of his counterpart makes Trusler's fanciful account of Lord Squander in disguise and spying on the lovers at a masked ball a degree less far-fetched.⁸ Given this admittedly tenuous correspondence, the figures on the screen form another periphrastic sequence, a variation on the line of saints in the further room of the second picture:

the punchinello (Earl) → the nun (Lady) dominated by the
friar (Silvertongue) set beside or at the sign of the turk
(the bagnio) → a melancholy man-woman who observes the
situation (the husband).

The screen also takes up motifs from Hogarth's Masquerades and Operas (1723/4), the large Masquerade Ticket (1727), and A Harlot's Progress II, where the Harlot's mask on her toilette implies that she has just come from a masked ball with her secret lover.⁹ Details in the third and fifth pictures suggest that her preferred disguise is as a witch! The latent animalism in the masquerade is brought out in the ticket in the grotesque masks which find their echoes in the statuette of Actaeon, the ornaments, and, obliquely, in the disguises of Jupiter. A statue of Priapus is decorated with the goats-horns of lust and the antlers of cuckoldry. A huge clock indicates the passing of time with hands marked 'Wit' and 'Impertinence'. A pair of 'Lecherometers' measures desire. Hogarth was fascinated by and perhaps feared the masquerade and its Italian origins; a subscriber who knew the artist's attitudes well would have been in no doubt that Silvertongue's proposal was intended as impertinent, lecherous, and degenerate.

Under the influence of the song, some of the audience let their social masks slip — some posture, one grimaces, and another sleeps with his mouth open. The lady's fashionable friends are as ugly as her taste in ornaments. The presence of an ambiguous image like a screen

raises the question of which is the illusion, the supposed reality or the shell with no depth. The screen is doubly and trebly ambiguous: it shows an occasion which is in itself a deceit and it is a traditional metaphor of the deceit which in art is always discovered (to become the central image of intrigue in The School for Scandal). Not only did Hogarth understand that facial expressions become grotesque when movement is suspended, but he knew that the imitation of real-life on canvas is also a deceit on a screen.

The hairdresser's trade is signified by the comb in his own elaborately arranged hair. The early commentators are agreed in regarding him as a French hairdresser, but Ireland may have been responsible for weakening Hogarth's consistency of approach. In order to make the joke that the hairdresser is the 'complete Canton of the Clandestine Marriage' (1766), he had to suggest that Hogarth's hairdresser was Swiss and the misconception has persisted.¹⁰

The hairdresser concentrates, it seems, on his tasks of arranging the curls, testing the heat of the tongs, and perhaps implanting jewels in Lady Squander's hair. The poet calls him a 'flatt'ring, tattling busy wretch'. His reproof seems unjustified, but hairdressers were notorious for gossip. The hairdresser would be the most likely character in the series to convey information to the absent husband. The drawing offers some confirmation that Hogarth intended the hairdresser to overhear something worth passing on. It shows a partially erased outline of the hairdresser's head set right on the lady's shoulder as well as his head set at a distance as in the finished versions. No direct evidence exists to confirm or deny the hairdresser's rôle as a spy except that he is positioned to read what the crumpled paper has to say and he has a prominent nose (below, page 122).

PART TWO: THE OTHER CHARACTERS

1. The Singer and His Accompanist

The singer is considered out of order because the members of the audience behave in response to his song. Hogarth provided a French butt in Monsr. de la Pillule to attend the husband and an Italian for the wife in a castrato-singer. Ireland complained of a 'musical mania' for Italian music and musicians among the 'greatest part of our nobility'

which acted as if it had been 'bitten by a tarantula'.¹¹ He lamented that 'the sums lavished upon exotic warblers would have supported an army, the applause bestowed on some of them would have turned the brain of a saint'.

Hogarth shared Ireland's view; he had already referred disparagingly to the wasteful sums spent on the most famous castrato of the time, Farinelli, in A Rake's Progress II. The unnamed singer in Marriage à la Mode is probably a conflation of two of Farinelli's successors, Senesino and Carestini, without necessarily being intended as either. Farinelli is reported as having earned up to £5,000 a year in the 1730s so the cost to a squanderer of hiring a grand successor and an accompanist for only a levée would be in keeping.

F. G. Stephens provides an observant and one of the least vituperative descriptions of the castrato:

He is sitting in one chair, and lolling with his left arm supported by another chair which he tilts up. His person is very fat; his features are heavy and blunt; he has a vast mass of fat at his jowl, the jaw being small, and the lips full, thick, and flabby, but apparently endowed with great mobility; his nose is big and thick at the base, with large, wide nostrils; his eyes are very small, his eyebrows thick and black.¹²

Although the poet dismisses him as a 'beardless thing' and his singing as a 'Eunuch's Squall', he, nevertheless, observes his costume closely. He refers to the pendant earrings, the cross which 'binds' his bow, the four rings on his fingers, and the diamond buckles on both his shoes and his knees. There are other extravagances: the flashy, Italianate bow, the curly wig, the frilled shirt, and the trailing, heavily embroidered, floral coat. The poet anticipates Ireland's point by describing him as 'too richly drest at Fools Expense' and as proving

what dupes the English be
To France and chiming Italy

The jewelry is designed in matching sets as evidence of expensive presents from foolish admirers — the shoe and knee buckles, and the earrings, and the pin in the bow.

It is no small part of Hogarth's humour that, although he conveys the glorious complacency of the singer's attitude, his voice (like Silvertongue's) is also unheard, a flaw in an otherwise splendid figure. He sings contralto and the closeness of the relationship between him, the flautist, and the Ganymede (below, page 122) suggests he sings an erotic aria about the beauty of the boy! The two figures are comparable in other ways. They both take up as much space as they wish, while

The Castrato, the Flautist, and
the 'Ganymede' (Free Standing)

Note the visual simile of the
flautist's hooked nose and
the eagle's hooked beak.

The Die-Away Lady (Free Standing)

their social superiors are crowded together. The legs of their respective double-seats bulge under their weight and they treat the furniture as if it were their own. The analogy is limited because Silvertongue's plumpness is evidence of his sensuality, whereas the singer's is of emasculation, but within the context of the series both are the comic successors of the Earl in their bulk and their pride.

The flautist has been associated with an Englishman, John Lewis, whom Hogarth knew, and with a German, Weidemann, identified very positively by Lichtenberg.¹³ His presence adds to the supposed cost of the performance and to the incongruous mixture of European styles in the picture. Hogarth gave him a crooked little finger as a sign of affectation and a prominent hooked nose, the centre point of an elaborate, extended joke (below, page 122). Hogarth gave him a snub nose in the drawing, a sign of his own concern to hide a special effect.

2. The Other Members of the Audience (i) The 'Die-Away' Lady¹⁴

The first member of the audience in the sequence is a woman in a plain, white morning dress. Her rather old-fashioned, English clothes and straw hat contrast specifically with Lady Squander's colourful French ones. Lady Squander sits with upright dignity, while the 'die-away' lady leans towards the singer in the rhapsodic pose which inspired Ireland's delightful epithet. The contrast is between a country cousin overcome by the music and her sophisticated town cousin.

The 'die-away' lady's face is as pallid as the common miss's; Quennell, thinking of the painting, refers to the 'dead-white complexion and nearly invisible eyebrows that often accompany flame-red hair'.¹⁵ Hogarth has united the signs of a fiery and yet vaporous temperament in one character, one most likely to overrespond to an Italian's erotic song (page 231). Her rhapsody, sincere or assumed, proves her to be one of the gentry bitten by Ireland's tarantula and her attitude is mocked at in the expression of the servant who serves her with chocolate. An exotic person himself, in the eyes of the subscribers, he grins hugely at the singer.

The lady is customarily identified as a Mrs Fox Lane, the reputed subject of a famous sonnet, On a Raptur'd Lady (1735), whose cry was 'One God, One Farinelli'.¹⁶ Hogarth had used the remark in A Rake's Progress and she had probably become a legend, like Misaubin, by the

The Other Members of the
Audience (Free Standing)

Note the envoy's paper
curlers and the furred
cap hanging down his back.

1740s. The identification is an attractive one, although there were several other claimants to the remark, because the bucolic name fits in well with her pastoral appearance and the presence of the country-man with the riding crop behind her, who is customarily taken as her husband. Perhaps Hogarth could not resist the personal application in a minor character.

(ii) The Envoy and the Man with the Fan

The most fantastic figure concentrates most intently on the song. His eyes, even larger than Lady Squander's, gaze into space as he sips his chocolate. His thin, outstretched leg and withdrawn elbow parallel the castrato's fat ones in an unconscious ironic form of imitative flattery. The poet with humorous sympathy sees him as starved and gloomy:

A long, thin, gawky, awkward figure,
Depriv'd of body, strength, or vigour;
Dull eyes in low-sunk sockets stare,
But all must praise his curl'd up hair;
Musing he sits in thought profound,
And meditates upon the sound;
But gladder than the rest to eat,
Wisely drinks up his chocolate.

The furred cap hanging behind his head and the bars of lace on his coat have encouraged commentators to identify him as a military officer, and, ironically in view of his frailty, a Prussian envoy.¹⁷ Hogarth allows the incongruities to accumulate: a Prussian warrior waits to have his hair uncurled by a French hairdresser in an English bedroom, while listening to an Italian singer!

Nichols and Steevens, followed by Lichtenberg, suspect that the envoy was meant as Lord Squander himself: 'what induces one to think that it may have been designed for the [husband], is, that the eyes seem fix'd upon the horns of the mandrake [that is, the statuette of Actaeon]'.¹⁸ At first sight, the idea is attractive; they are both thin, awkward figures. Hazlitt sees the curl papers as a 'cheveux-de-fris of horns' and the husband is to be a cuckold and as ineffective a swordsman as the envoy can be imagined to be.

Lord Squander's figure, however, is always indicated by the scrofulous patch. Hogarth has provided a second, ironic counterpart in the series in order to maintain the idea of the husband in his absence as he does for Lady Squander through the common miss (page 88). The envoy not only anticipates Lord Squander's forthcoming rôles, but

maintains the pattern of flanking the figure of the wife with her husband and her lover or their counterparts. The envoy's foolish, staring expression and his thin figure also derive from the ridiculous figure of the beau to the right of Taste in High Life. The similarities between the three figures indicate the degree to which Hogarth has provided a parody of his lord in the envoy, an archetypal image of a fashionable cuckold. The differences between the lord and the other two indicate the degree to which Hogarth toned down the absurdities in order to ensure that Lord Squander is a character and not a caricature.

The man with the fan hanging from his upraised and admiring wrist is another example of Hogarth's care with a most obscure figure. His lip is marred by a patch (a derivation from the common miss's sore, perhaps) and his face has twisted into an ugly smirk under the influence of the music. The fan has encouraged a variety of disapproving responses ranging from hedonism to homosexuality. Lichtenberg's interpretation is appealing: he is a slave to fashion and holds the die-away lady's fan in the expectation of a kiss!¹⁹

PART THREE: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

1. The Blackboy and the 'Collection of the Late Sr. Timy. Babyhouse'

A blackboy in charge of a basket of ornaments kneels in the foreground. He is set at the apex of a miniature, asymmetrical, triangular tableau which is placed before Silvertongue like the dogs before Lord Squander in the first picture. He, too, has to bear with the concert and amuses himself meanwhile by playing with the statuette.

He is a derivation from the blackboy in A Harlot's Progress II. They both wear feathers in their turbans and are the fashionable toys of treacherous mistresses with a taste for masquerades. The Harlot's boy stares in surprise at the overturning tea-table, whereas the heavy-lidded eyes of Lady Squander's blackboy leers, knowingly, at the spectator. He is also a derivation from the adult black servant who guards similar lots in the Marriage Contract oil-sketch, among them the inset picture of Ganymede and the Eagle which also found its way into The Countess's Morning Levée. The arrangement of marriage, Hogarth seems to have believed, leads to the acquisition of exotic, expensive servants as well as expensive copies of bad art.

The Blackboy and the 'Entire
Collection of the Late S^r Timy.
Babyhouse' (Free Standing)

An open catalogue in front of the blackboy's basket reads: 'A CATALOGUE of the Entire Collection of the Late Sr. Timy. Babyhouse to be sold ~~at~~ ^{by} Auction'. Rouquet supplies the appropriate social background; he suggests that Lady Squander has returned from one of those 'auctions of second-hand furnishings, pictures and a hundred other old tatters, which take place so frequently in London, and where many people of quality go to be duped'. He also refers to auctions as providing opportunities to talk to people 'one cannot meet elsewhere at no risk of scandal'. If the lovers were intended to have met at an auction, then they grow bolder over the course of the series, from a chance meeting, to a music lesson, an auction, a levée, a masquerade, and, finally, to a bagnio.

The basket contains what are probably intended as a washing bowl and water vessel, perhaps of majolica ware. The basin is decorated with a picture of Leda and the Swan, attributed to Julio Romano perhaps more on the grounds of his reputation as an erotic artist rather than on a particular work.²⁰ Next in line is the statuette of Actaeon with a broken arm and, beside the basket, is a 'fantastic group of hydras, gorgons, and chimeras dire', as Ireland calls them, terminating with the tiny figure of a mouse.

Although the lots may have been bought as a pretext for a lovers' meeting, their grotesque features resemble the collection of oriental ornaments, the child-substitutes, on the chimney-piece of the second picture (page 75). In the drawing, a pyramid similar to those on the chimney-piece is included among the lots, but withheld from the final versions. Hogarth seems not to have wanted to make the connexion between the collections appear too obvious. The ornaments in the fourth picture have been bought from a Baby-house and timothy was probably a current euphemism for a child's penis.²¹ Hogarth seems to explore a strange, psychological undercurrent before modern psychology was thought of.

The statuette is the centrepiece of the collection. By Shakespeare's time, the allusion to deer in Actaeon's story had made him a type-figure of cuckoldry. The association persisted into the eighteenth-century because the poet wrote of the blackboy's gesture:

an emblem aptly made,
To suit his Lord; Actaeon's head:
And grinning as in's hand 'tis borne,
He slyly points towards the horn.

What would appear to be his weapon hand is broken in a comic prefig-

uration of Lord Squander's failure as a duellist in the next picture.

The grouping of the lots in and around the basket form another periphrastic sequence:

a round vessel and bowl (the Rape of Leda) + Actaeon (a cuckold) → a deformed progeny.

The title page of the auction catalogue provides an ironic accompaniment, a gloss, on the sequence. The Earl, as the only figure known to have died in the series, is 'late'. Signor was both a courtesy title for a person of rank and an Italian singer in the eighteenth-century. The Earl is shown to identify himself with his lineage and baby-house may be also Hogarth's original synonym for a family tree. He has sold his 'Entire Collection', his pedigree, to the highest bidder, the Alderman. (A 'Sir Timothy Treat All' was a current synonym for a fool.)

The Earl, so the gloss runs, is eventually responsible for putting a compliant nymph, an ardent Jupiter, and a broken cuckold together in one basket. The consequences of this incongruous collection is the ugly parade of little monsters which diminish in size to end with the mouse. If the husband's physical disease is meant to be a congenital cause of his child's deformity, then the cruelly chosen ornaments point to a profound insensitivity in the mother to add to her neglect of her child. The objects make their own comments: one hydra, apparently a candle holder, listens to the music as if appalled and the mouse tries to run away from the rest.

The blackboy kneels by the collection like a presiding deity. The directness of his communication with the spectator invites him to pay particular attention to the auction lots. The sequence and its gloss is Hogarth's most ingenious periphrastic sequence, a comic motto for the escutcheon above, and his most cunning use of the interaction of words and images within a picture.

2. The Inset Pictures

The back walls of the wife's bedroom are hung with heavily framed paintings of nude or semi-nude figures similar to those in her father-in-law's bedroom. The pictures are less crowded, the frames a degree less ornate, the subjects less bloody, and more explicitly erotic. The differences create a subtle distinction in taste between the two characters and a development in the wife's taste in the direction of sensationalism from the coyly curtained and pious pictures in Shortly After

the Marriage II.(i) The Portraits of Silvertongue and Ganymede

The Earl's ideal is the portrait of someone very like himself, but his daughter-in-law's is a faithful likeness of her lover hung shamelessly in her husband's house. 'The Jupiter furens' of the first picture is replaced by a Silvertongue concupiscens who eyes the nymph opposite instead of Medusa.²² Silvertongue's likeness has his hand tucked in his coat and placed against his heart, a gesture ironically anticipated in the yawning servant of the second picture and ridiculed in the envoy's limp gesture immediately below. The treatment of Silvertongue as a counterpart of Jupiter is especially appropriate to a picture concerned with a masquerade because, as Sheridan was to point out, Love had been 'a masquerader ever since the days of Jupiter'.

The poet suggests that the portrait is a parody of the work of 'Carl Vanloo' the French portrait-painter whose work became the rage in fashionable circles to the detriment of English painters. Vertue was to record that he painted the Prince of Wales and that his popularity caused 'great uneasiness' among the English painters. Hogarth's hatred of his French origins and furious output was to persist long after Vanloo returned to France in 1742; he was to associate him with 'Brazen Serpents' in his notes.²³ The poet's suggestion is persuasive because Vanloo would have been just the sort of expensive painter the lady would seek out and Hogarth would have enjoyed making him the painter of his lover-villain. From Hogarth's point of view, a parody in miniature represented a kind of mastery.

The Ganymede in the picture below is positioned as if the eagle is flying him up to Jupiter above. The immediate source is The Marriage Contract oil-sketch and both could be derived from Michelangelo's sketch of the subject in which 'Jove's puissant eagle soars calmly upward, bearing the beautiful youth who lets himself go voluptuously as he nestles between the eagle's wings and claws'.²⁴ The differences between the versions in the oil-sketch and The Countess's Morning Levée are slight, but amusing. The eagle's head in the sketch is placed high on Ganymede's chest, but in the Levée the beak is exaggerated and lowered to threaten the boy's genitals. The alteration may have been intended as a gibe against the castrato, a suggestion which encouraged

'Io and Jupiter' (Free
Standing)

Note the doe's head to the
left.

Lichtenberg to suspect that the eagle will have the singer, too.

The placing of the eagle behind Ganymede repeats the relationship between the flautist and the singer, turned into a comic visual analogy because of the similarity between the bird's hooked beak and the flautist's hooked nose. The flautist lifts the song to the level of the gods, as Ganymede is lifted by the eagle. But in Hogarth's imagination, Jupiter is only a plump lawyer and the Ganymede is an ugly form of eternal youth. The eagle-flautist, it can be imagined, has to lift the mass of the singer off the ground, a task sufficient to task Hercules! The vertical relationship between the characters and the inset figures is a variation on that between Lord Squander and the St Agnes and the St Lawrence or Silvertongue and the David and Goliath, etc. in the first picture (pages 46 and 43). The analogies add to the systematic ironic confusion of rôles in the series (Chapter VIII).

A view of a spread-eagled Ganymede (was a visual pun intended?) is in keeping with the other victims in the series in anticipation of the deformed heir. Ganymede's silhouette effectively repeats that of the monster-infant in the preceding picture, an ironic reminder of what lies beneath the shell. At a thematic level, Ganymede; Actaeon, Prometheus (in the first picture) are youths who suffer the arbitrary and destructive power of the gods. It is part of the tragic effect in Marriage à la Mode that the warnings go unheeded. More immediately, the Ganymede also comments on the lovers' relationship. A lawyer is elevated for his beauty to the position of a countess's favourite and the disposition of Silvertongue's portrait above the Ganymede suggests that the Countess, who commanded the concert, is transported to heaven as one of Jupiter's favoured nymphs, Io.

(ii) 'Jupiter and Io'

A large copy of Correggio's Io hangs immediately to the left of the bed arch. The picture is set directly above the wife to make an analogy with the nymph who was seduced by Zeus-Jupiter in the guise of a cloud. Jupiter, as a cloud, comments neatly on Silvertongue's rôle as a dissembler, a secret lover, and consequently a destroyer. The darkness of the cloud is a clever variation on the lawyer's black clothes. The head of the hind, submissive in the presence of Jupiter, as a mocking counterpart of the wife, contrasts with Actaeon's head, the emblem of the husband's cuckoldry. Actaeon observed Artemis bathing in much the same way that Correggio's Jupiter can be imagined to have

ILLUSTRATION 18 'Lot and His Daughters' engraved by
Lud. du Guernier after Caravaggio

watched Io. Lord Squander is to spy on the lovers and to be destroyed as Actaeon was to be torn to pieces by his own hounds.

A reference in The Analysis raises a doubt about Hogarth's understanding of his own source.²⁵ He praises Correggio for his use of the serpentine line, particularly in his 'Juno and Ixion'. His editor corrects Hogarth's slip by pointing out that he really was referring to the Io and Jupiter. It could have been possible that Hogarth confused the two stories. Zeus foiled Ixion's plan to seduce Hera by providing him with a false image of the goddess in the shape of a cloud — the exact antithesis of the situation Hogarth painted. The story of Ixion with its concern for seduction, cuckoldry, and a monstrous progeny (the false Hera gave birth to Centaurus) fits in sufficiently well with Hogarth's purposes that this story may have also been in his mind when constructing the Levée picture. To add to the merry-go-round of allusions, the Io is replaced by a Leda in the drawing.

(iii) Lot and His Daughters

The Lot is one of the few inset pictures in the series, the intermediary copy of which has survived in a photograph (Illustration 18). Lud. du Guernier made a print from a painting of the subject which he attributed to Caravaggio. The background of the original painting is predominantly rocky, but Hogarth followed du Guernier who substituted trees and foliage.

Lot is a puzzling figure to find among the nymphs and their lovers, apparently serving only to add incest to the spectrum of perversions in the series. But Marriage à la Mode is about the ways in which children and parents betray each other. Lot's daughters come to their father in the guise of lovers intent on preserving their lineage. The Earl and the Alderman arrange a marriage to suit only their purposes and they are betrayed, as Lot is betrayed, by children who follow their own destructive inclinations. Incest as a subject draws attention to the means by which an élite based on inheritance is both maintained and threatened. The seduction of a mature man completes a spectrum of threatened manhood which includes a boy, Ganymede, and a youth, Actaeon. The characters in Hogarth's narrative fail to take note of another warning: if a just and righteous man, a hero of the Old Testament, can be deluded by his own family, then the modern squanderers are in even greater danger.

Hogarth omitted the view of Sodom, which burns to the right of

du Guernier's print (similar to that of heaven from the picture of St Agnes in The Marriage Contract, page 46). The omission allowed knowledgeable subscribers to perceive that a fashionable levée substitutes for the biblical epitome of urban wickedness.

A pile of baggage was also omitted from Hogarth's view of the Lot (occupying the same position and serving similar purposes to that in A Harlot's Progress I). The baggage, some clothing, a key, a wine vessel, perhaps a sheathed sword, and the inevitable apples, provided Hogarth with a model for his own ingenious use of the international language of emblems and symbols (page 14). The key, sword, and the clothing may have provided emblems to be used in the fifth picture.

Lot's head is set against his daughter's breast in a travesty of Roman charity or Christian mercy. Caravaggio's The Seven Works of Mercy shows a woman visitor suckling a prisoner. He has a grizzled look and a widow's peak similar to Lot's (incidentally, supporting the attribution of the Lot to Caravaggio). Whether Hogarth had The Seven Works of Mercy in mind is probably impossible to say, but its subject comments on the Countess's kindness towards Silvertongue. He is to be destroyed by the woman who befriends him as Lot is to be destroyed by his friendly daughters. The incestuous relationship, another form of topsy-turviness, finds its parallel in the social inversions implicit in the affair.

The stories behind the inset pictures are concerned with eventual victims whose fates lead to further enmity and suffering. Io was to become the mother of Epaphus, the mythological founder of Egypt and an enemy of Israel (one of his descendants, the Pharoah, presides over the first picture). Lot's daughters gave birth to the Moabites and Ammonites, also traditional enemies of Israel. Leda's eggs hatched out Love and War, the mixture implicit in the Jupiter portrait, which led to the destruction of Troy. Both the artists and the buyers of their pictures chose to ignore the consequences and to concentrate on the pleasures of the moment. The selection of pictures indicates a form of self-delusion appropriate to the prelude to a crisis-picture concerned to destroy illusions. Lady Squander's commonplace adultery leads not to a cataclysm, but to a study of meanness.

The Alderman proves to be a connoisseur of paintings in the Dutch or Flemish manner. His daughter inherits his interest in collecting, but her tastes are influenced more by her father-in-law. Her father's

influence is never quite lost as the presence of the Dutch chandelier in the second picture suggests. The punchinello unites the twin influences in one image with his origins in the commedia dell' arte and the part he plays in Dutch Drolleries. In one sense, Marriage à la Mode charts the path of a daughter's escape from and then a painful retreat to her father's coarse values and the pattern is reflected in the styles of the inset pictures.

4. The Visual Organization of the Picture and Conclusion

The composition of the most crowded picture in the series has been analyzed in detail by Nicolette Coates.²⁶ She draws attention to the separation of the lovers from the members of the audience:

this visually dramatic break, however, in no way destroys the pictorial unity. A stable composition is enlivened by a serpentine rhythm which unifies the figures and moves through the picture space. Into this formal structure Hogarth introduces a number of sharp accents which make the eye flicker to and fro across the composition.

The ensemble distinguishes the lovers from the other characters without the need for overlapping tableau, a new device. The shape formed by the outstretched arms and the mantle around the lovers encloses them in one, larger oval, a logical development from the smaller, separate ones of the first picture.

Nicolette Coates shows how the accents create spatial relationships which reinforce the psychology of the picture:

The Negro page . . . points with amusement at Actaeon's horns, which are 'echoed' in the curlers of the fop, seated on the other side, who 'accidentally' points back to Actaeon with his toe. Behind this visual joke lies a further meaning, in that the horns of Actaeon refer to the cuckolding of the absent Earl [the husband] which is being planned in the background.

Most intriguing is the repetition of the literally 'sharp' accent of the hooked noses. They extend from the punchinello on the left, through the hairdresser, to the flautist and the eagle on the right. The feature has an effect similar to an extended figure of speech, a form of visual alliteration. Lady Squander is overlooked as closely by her hairdresser, her husband's agent or nose (the term may have been current) as the singer is attended by the hooknosed flautist or the friar and nun are watched by the punchinello. The lady is threatened by a beak as sharp as that of the eagle whose function is also to transport an image of beauty to heaven.

The accents help to break down the simple relationships between

the characters and the art figures and renew them in a series of underlying incongruities which is part of the wider comedy of analogies in the series.

There are few connexions between the third and fourth pictures at a narrative level, thereby emphasizing their antithetical function. The Countess's Morning Levée IV, like the third picture, is a development from the second picture: the wife's vulgar stretch changes to a mannered pose; the sideways glance at a despondent husband to a joyous contemplation of a lover; the litter of absent friends to their bizarre presence; pictures of martyred saints to ecstatic nymphs and youths; a hidden to a blatant eroticism.

It is difficult to convey a sense of steady psychological growth in a narrative of so few frames so that Lady Squander appears to have embarked on a rapidly expanding career of self-gratification. Her downfall succeeds a social and romantic zenith so that she is unprepared, whereas her husband, meanwhile, has undergone an experience of a metaphorical hell on earth so that he is grimly prepared for catastrophe. The shape of the bed arch dominates the background to the right. What appears to be just 'a little bit of acanthus' on the tester in the print is more clearly a fleur de lys in the painting.²⁷ Lichtenberg wonders what the French coat-of-arms is doing on an English bed (a shocking combination to staid contemporaries); the next picture supplies Hogarth's answer, an inevitable consequence of le mariage français.

THE COUNTESS'S MORNING LEVEE: REFERENCES

1. Rouquet, the poet, and Trusler (note to p. 25). Hogarth's 1727 masquerade ticket is 7" x 10" and the design bears little resemblance to that on the paper.
2. Le Brun, Figure 15 and p. 34.
3. Gabriele Baldini, and Gabriele Mandel, L'Opera Completa di Hogarth (Milan, 1967), Tav XXVIII.
4. This passage draws on Boutell's "Heraldry", edited by C. W. Scott-Giles and J. P. Brooke Little (London, 1966); A. C. Fox-Davies, Complete Guide to Heraldry (London, 1949); L. G. Pine, Heraldry and Genealogy (Edinburgh, 1957). Lichtenberg refers to the Earl's characteristic pose as 'a sort of magnificent coat-of-arms', p. 86.
5. Quentin Bell identifies the screen as Dutch in 'Art and the Elite' in Critical Inquiry I 1, edited by Sheldon Sacks (Chicago, 1974), p. 39.
6. Philip John Stead, The Naturalization of Mr Punch (London, 1950), p. 60 and p. 65.
7. The Analysis, p. 159.
8. Trusler, p. 28.
9. Antal makes the connexion with The Large Masquerade Ticket, p. 75.
10. J. Ireland II, p. 40. George Colman's play draws on Marriage à la Mode.
11. J. Ireland II, note to p. 38.
12. F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 569.
13. Davies, p. 53 and note 65. Lichtenberg (p. 119), 'our countryman'.
14. J. Ireland II, p. 40.
15. Quennell, p. 175.
16. J. Ireland II, p. 46 and The Daily Journal (6. 6. 1735) reported HGW I, p. 163.
17. Lichtenberg, p. 119, F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 570, and HGW I, p. 273.
18. Nichols and Steevens III, note to p. 33 and Lichtenberg, p. 120.
19. Lichtenberg, p. 123.
20. HGW I, p. 273. J. Ireland II, p. 41.
21. James Orchard Halliwell, A Collection of Archaic and Dialect Words II (London, third edition 1855), p. 875. Stanley Ellis of Leeds University considers Halliwell to be good support (letter, 10. 2. 75). Peter Hall, M.D. reports the term is still current.
22. Paulson's amusing phrase, p. 485.
23. George Vertue, Notebooks III in Walpole Society (Oxford, 1933-34), XXII, p. 84. The Analysis, p. 217.

24. The Drawings of the Florentine Painters edited by Bernard Berenson in three volumes (Chicago, 1938), II No. 1614, p. 218 and III, figure 690. The sketch is in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle so that it is just possible that Hogarth could have seen it in England. Lichtenberg, p. 128 and note.
25. The Analysis, p. 9. Burke corrects Hogarth in the index, p. 240.
26. Nicolette Coates, William Hogarth 1697-1764, The Masters Series 69 (Bristol, 1963), p. 4.
27. Sir John Summerson's phrase (interview, 20. 2. 1975). Lichtenberg, p. 128.

V. THE KILLING OF THE EARL

The first part is concerned with the characters and, because the interval between the fourth and fifth pictures is made to carry extensive information, a preliminary section is concerned with an outline of the double sequence of events which leads up to the moment of crisis. The second part is concerned with the bagnio, the inset pictures, and the periphrastic sequences which extend to include most of the objects scattered throughout the room.

PART ONE: THE CHARACTERS1. The Implied Sequence of Events

The lovers, it is to be supposed, having disguised themselves (below, pages 130), have met at an agreed rendezvous perhaps in the Opera House. The poet sees them as having taken a 'round or two/The diff'rent characters [of the masquerade] to view' before going on to the bagnio, an advertisement for which is found among the wife's clothes. The room seems to have been hired for the night because the master of the bagnio has been aroused from his bed.

The room does not seem to have been used for its other purpose of dining, although the poet suggests, sarcastically, that the lovers have had a 'short supper'. The leaves of the gate-legged tables are folded down and pushed out of the way, and the round-back chairs are set against the wall. The door has been locked from the inside (the key lies on the floor in the print) and the lovers would appear to have been in the room for some time on the evidence of the well-burnt candle.

Meanwhile, Lord Squander, it is to be supposed, has learnt of the assignation, perhaps through the agency of a spy like the hairdresser. The épées in the foreground are a matching pair so that the lord could only have brought them with him in order to force a duel on the lawyer (below, page 127). He has broken down the door (the crosspiece of the lock lies on the floor) and presumably surprised the lovers in bed. The subsequent challenge and choice of weapons has taken sufficient time for the master of the bagnio to summon both the watchman and the constable. Hogarth seems to have regarded the duel itself as a maldroit, short-lived event because Lord Squander appears to have allowed himself to fight with the firelight in his eyes. Silvertongue's understandable inexpertise shows in that he has killed rather than maimed

ILLUSTRATION 20

Le Brun's 'Passion'

Bodily Pain

his frailer opponent.

The disclosed moment occurs some moments after the critical sword thrust because Silvertongue has had time to make his way to the window. The movement of the narrative suggests that in his fear he tries to escape from a high window so that he is to be quickly cornered and arrested.

2. Lord and Lady Squander

Duelling was 'still the final resort in quarrels between gentlemen even though the pistol had come to replace the sword as the favourite weapon'.¹ For all his smartness of dress, Lord Squander has chosen an outmoded weapon, one most appropriate to a descendant of the Duke of Normandy, but one which requires the dexterity and quickness he lacks. Typically, Hogarth was to turn the old saying upside down: the man of words is mightier than the man who claims to use a sword by right of birth. Although Hogarth was reputed to swagger about town wearing a sword, his attitude to duelling was as enlightened as that of Addison and Steele; they all saw duelling as a self-destructive folly.

Lord Squander occupies the middle of the picture for the only time in the series. His figure is enlarged in a way which begins to anticipate a cinematic close-up and every detail of his pose is brought into sharp focus by the powerful "spot" of the firelight. As is to be expected, his expression corresponds to Le Brun's passions of Acute Pain or Extreme Bodily Pain (Illustration 20), except that the tightness of the lord's features has already begun to relax.² His face glows more healthily in the painting than elsewhere in the series. Allowing for the effect of the firelight, the glow suggests that disease is no more than a contributory factor to his defeat.

The lord's hat and épée are suspended in mid-air, like Sarah's work box in A Rake's Progress IV or the maiden's apples in the outdoor version of Before — all signs of irreversible change in the process of coming about. The empty crown of the lord's hat is placed close to his head and turned towards the spectator in the drawing (Illustration 21). The readjustment in the finished versions makes its empty O enlarge upon the open mouths of the married couple, the wife in particular. The silent metaphor is a visual substitution for the implicit cries of suffering and remorse. These are feelings shared by the couple for the only time in the series and their unity of feeling is bridged in the hat. The moment lasts, however, only as long as it

Lord Squander, the Mirror, and the Falling
Sword (Free Standing)

Note the left hand seeking support from
the table.

takes a hat to fall.

Hogarth may have drawn, consciously or unconsciously, on Antony's speech (especially in view of the brightness of the blood on Lord Squander's shirt in the painting):

Woe to the hands that shed this costly blood!
Over thy wounds now do I prophesy
(Which like dumb mouths do ope their ruby lips
To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue).

Ann Gill's wounds in Cruelty in Perfection seem an even more exact rendering of Shakespeare's traditional image.

The loose, heavy coats in contrast to Silvertongue's lighter, freer garment would have hampered the lord in the duel to add to his other disadvantages. Ironically, the bars of lace decorating the top coat are similar to the envoy's in the preceding picture. The modish man seems to have committed the supreme vanity of putting on his most military-looking coat for a duel. The blue-grey of the coat, the pale-blue of the shirt, and the black of the breeches (like those worn in a similarly melancholy and perhaps suspicious mood of the second picture) are appropriately sombre shades with which to reflect the fading of life. The shirt is of the same colour as Silvertongue's garment so that the rivals seem to be brothers underneath their outer clothes, a fulfillment of the implications of the inset picture of Cain and Abel in the first picture (page 44).

Lord Squander's pose may have given Hogarth some difficulties: the drawing shows that he made two previous attempts to place the lord's hand on the table. The adjustments draw attention to the staginess of the pose: a mortally wounded hero staggers back to a table for support. Hazlitt judged Hogarth harshly: 'the attitude of the husband, who is just killed, is one in which it would be impossible for him to stand or even to fall. It resembles the loose paste board figures they make for children'.³ Burke sees the pose as 'an exquisite parody of the rococo serpentine line of grace', an interpretation which also casts doubt on the naturalism of the pose.

The charges are important in that they cast doubt on Hogarth's ability to avoid the grotesque at the most important point in his series. Hazlitt's rebuke prompted Dr John Brown to make a reply in one of the imaginative set pieces which characters in Marriage à la Mode have inspired including, of course, Hazlitt himself. Brown's style, in fact, may owe a debt to Hazlitt:

Look on that dying man — his body dissolving, falling not

ILLUSTRATION 21 'The Killing of the Earl' (drawing)

like his sword, firm and entire, but as nothing but a dying thing could fall, his eyes dim with the shadow of death, in his ears the waters of that tremendous river all its billows going over him, the life of his comely body flowing out like water, the life of his soul — who knows what it is doing.⁴

The pose convinced one spectator, possibly with a medical background, of its naturalism.

Hogarth could have advanced the technical arguments in his own defence that the lord is well-established as an awkward figure and that the suspense of action in a picture implies a distortion from what is customarily expected of a dying pose in art. He was probably one of the few men in the eighteenth-century to have made the imaginative effort required to reconstruct the effect of a physical collapse in anything like its reality. The pose is no less realistic than those in 'stills' from films or plays from the twentieth-century.

Hogarth positioned Lord Squander's head as if framed in the mirror behind him. The juxtaposition was probably intentional because the mirror is placed well away from his head in the drawing (Illustration 21). The immediate source for the curious arrangement is in Taste in High Life where the simpering woman is similarly set against a mirror, a sly comment on her vanity. Her absurd appearance is a parody of the ideal that a mirror surmounted by the emblem of Venus is supposed to reflect back to her. As he dies, Lord Squander is surmounted by the same emblem as if to suggest that he dies as a result of seeking a similarly absurd ideal. The mirror in the first picture of the series shows a true image of his eventual murderer. As part of the fulfillment of its prophecy, the husband, who cannot see the warning in the mirror, is shown as becoming an inhabitant of the mirror he has disregarded. Metaphorically, it is eating his soul, a fitting end to a Narcissus. He is framed as his own portrait as part of the process of becoming a memory. The Earl's portrait is surmounted by a lion emblem, but his son's ironic anti-portrait and epitaph is set in a frame surmounted by an emblem of love and beside a portrait of a harlot.

The last appearance of a character is a convenient point at which to sum up his part in the narrative. Lord Squander is never looked on with affection and his physical ungainliness in contrast to his pretty clothes makes him an even more pathetic, albeit dangerous figure. He suffers an overbearing father, a stultifying inheritance, and a congenital disease, or so it was thought. He is forced to marry a wife with an eagerness for the affairs he takes for granted and an energy he

Lady Squander (Free Standing)

Note the empty crown of the hat
which repeats the shape of
her mouth.

cannot match. He seeks an affection outside his class from a puny street girl who is evidently as indifferent to his concern as he is to his wife. The liaison, it appears, brings further disease and open contempt. For all his modishness and lack of pride, his distorted sense of honour, when the affair threatens to become public, forces him into an unwise and inappropriate solution to a marital problem. He is the scapegoat of the series, a martyr enhaloed by a mirror at the end. The openness of his clothes as he dies shows his vulnerability and suggests perhaps that he welcomes death.

Most of the clothing in the room belongs to the wife and its identity and purpose do much to clarify the pattern of the immediately preceding events. She wears a pale-blue undergarment the colour of which echoes the deathly colour of her husband's and her lover's garments (a similarity regrettably missing from the print). In Queen Anne's time, it had become fashionable for 'night rails' to be worn over ordinary clothes in the day time. The undergarment could have served a double purpose as a disguise and a night dress without drawing attention to the wearer.⁵

The long, pale-gold overgarment appears to be part of the wife's domino, the loose, originally Venetian cloak which was worn to masked balls by people who were not in fancy dress. A curtain mask with a heavy fringe lies beside the hooped petticoat. Lady Squander's cap, like the night gown could double as a night cap and it could have been well hidden under one or both of the shoulder capes on the floor to the left. The disguise is not part of a nun's costume. Hogarth only recalls the light and dark shades of the costumes on the screen. The improvised disguise is consistent with the lovers' preoccupation with each other rather than with dressing up. Thus Silvertongue's domino, perhaps worn under the shapeless clothes on the chair to the left, is little more than a shirt. The anonymity of the disguises was perhaps intended as a safeguard: the only distinguishing feature for the husband or his agent to have recognized is the fairly distinctive pair of dancing slippers. (A pair of shoes was sufficient to betray Don Juan to Don Alfonso.)

Lady Squander ignores her husband in the first picture, eyes him provokingly in the second, and derides him in his absence in the fourth. At the moment of crisis, her allure, self-confidence, and easy grace

Silvertongue (Free Standing)

Note (i) his scanty domino
 (ii) the mask and empty
 sheathe below him.

are replaced by remorse. Her hands are clasped imploringly in the manner outlined in the old manuals of acting. The theatrical effect suggests that she kneels more out of an impulsive fear for herself than sorrow for another.

As might be expected, the earlier commentators are severe. The poet, superficially at any rate, is more tolerant of the man than the woman in citing the customary codes of behaviour:

My, lord, who did not doat upon her,
 Yet could not brook insulted honour;
 He still consider'd that for life,
 She was and must remain his wife;
 And that tho' he might sin sometimes,
 'Twas hard to brand him with her crimes.

Ireland in his twin roles as an expressive poet (he composed the epigraphs to each chapter which he signed as 'E.') and as an observer mixes sympathy with disapproval. 'E.' refers to her 'contrite sigh', her 'poignant agony', and a 'deep corroding care'. The moralist, aware of how the narrative ends, claims that there is reason to suspect that the tears flow 'from regret at the detection, rather than remorse for the crime'.⁶ The crumpled clothes and the homely cap make her an incongruously domestic and pathetic figure in a bagnio. She has none of the tragic fortitude of a martyr like St Agnes and is consequently more human as a result.

3. Silvertongue and the Onlookers

Silvertongue is a casually executed, outline figure on his last appearance. He is only recognized by the suggestion of plumpness about his thighs and by his staring eyes. Lichtenberg observes 'that we can almost see Mr Silvertongue in his entirety up to his silver mouth, which is concealed here by his shoulder'.⁷ His domino is described as 'the so-called robe of innocence, [viewed] from an angle which even innocence would regard as double nakedness'.

Hogarth had shown the Harlot and Sarah Young with bare breasts and the Rake with a loin cloth as he dies (in the painting). Hogarth had made another promise in the 1743 advertisement: 'particular care is taken that the whole work shall not be liable to exception on account of any indecency or inelegancy'. Silvertongue's clambering figure (resembling that of a naked man climbing out of the water to the left of Michelangelo's The Battle of Cascina) is the nearest Hogarth cared to come towards 'indecency'. Ironically, sexual activity is much more explicitly represented in the inset pictures; the Io is more open than

The Master of the Bagnio, the
Constable, and the Watchman

(Free Standing)

- Note (i) the shadow-cross on
the door
(ii) the master's hand
holding the door
(iii) the key and the
crosspiece of the
lock on the floor.

anything in Hogarth's art with the possible exception of Before and After.

The reduction of characters' clothing to a minimum is, nevertheless, an important strategy in the earlier narratives as a means of showing the destruction of vanities. The Harlot was modelled on a Mary Maffet who was so blind to the reality of her situation that she wore her finery to Bridewell. The Rake is dressed to the height of fashion as he is arrested for debt. Both characters are covered by a sheet or a loin cloth as they die of disease and madness. Silvertongue, whose clothes are conspicuously plain, is punished for his presumption rather than his personal vanity. He departs in his incongruous cap and shirt as nakedly as Hogarth's promise allowed.

As he scrambles away, the prophetic image of his turning the dagger-like pen towards his own heart is fulfilled; he is only to be referred to again in the form of a gallows speech (page 157). He is always the visitor in the series; ingratiating himself in someone else's house; making himself at home on a sofa or in a hired bed. His lack of background and ephemeral name add to the impression of rootlessness. Although his is the considerable rôle of the stock-in-trade villain with Hamlet's unexpected powers of swordsmanship, he, too, is a pathetic victim of chance, the marriage-game, the code of honour, and the penal system.

The intruders, some of the most comic characters in the series, cluster in a knot in the doorway, like fearful seconds to the duel which has just taken place. The master of the bagnio in the vanguard is a homely and prosperous figure in a quilted gown and night cap. He raises one hand in fear and warning, while holding the edge of the door with the other as if he has to pull himself into the room. 'The hold-door trade' was that of the brothel-keeper in Troilus and Cressida and the peculiar gesture may have been Hogarth's enactment of an old saying, especially because a reference to 'painted cloth' occurs in the same passage, one of which hangs on the wall beside the master (page 135).⁸ In contrast to the thinly clad, vulnerable figures before him, the master's gown is buttoned as a sign of his detachment from the kind of disturbance he sees before him.

A constable, a 'fat householder of the locality', identified by his staff follows. He looks neither athletic nor eager for duty. A

watchman keeps so far to the rear that only his lantern shows and "watches".⁹ The onlookers represent an insight into the legal and public procedures which are to be followed through in the near future and they reveal the appropriately horrified expressions which spectators should properly adopt. But at the most serious moment of his narrative, Hogarth was prepared to allow Dogberry and Verges to act as witnesses and representatives of the legal and moral order. Their presence confirms him as the author of a tragi-comic work.

PART TWO: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING

1. The Bagnio

The death of the notorious Mrs Needham in 1731, as a result of being pelted to death in the pillory by the very people she had served, drove her successors undercover, perhaps including the taller procuress in the third picture!¹⁰ In consequence they were forced to disguise their brothels as seraglios or bagnios. Rouquet described them for the benefit of Hogarth's foreign customers: their 'principal purpose' is 'defined as the reception of any couple, well matched or ill-matched, that seeks a room or a bed for an hour or for a night in pursuit of promiscuity'. He listed the tariff as ranging from five shillings to half a guinea and, sarcastically, praised the bagnios for their safety, discretion, decorum, and cleanliness.

Several Turk's Head bagnios were open in central London in the 1740s.¹¹ The poet links the room with Mrs Earle's bagnio in Bow Street (at a convenient walking distance from the Opera House). An advertisement in one of Hogarth's favoured newspapers refers to a long-established bagnio in Chancery Lane. It was also close enough to the Opera House, was maintained by a master rather than a mistress, likely to have been in the news not long before the eventual date of publication, and would have been well known to lawyers. The advertisement is worth reproducing in full for the way a real master regarded his service:

This is to give notice that the Turk's Head Bagnio in Chancery-Lane is now reviv'd, and the whole house is made very neat and commodious, the proprietor, at a great expense, having made several separate apartments for the conveniency or sweating, bathing, and cupping both Ladies and Gentlemen, and hath taken particular care to have the best attendance and accomodation, at the most reasonable rates, and hath provided one of the best cuppers, B. Jones, who has made it his sole business for these thirty years past, in London and at Tunbridge Wells, who is always ready to attend Gentlemen and

The Harlot Portrait (Free Standing)

Note (i) the soldier's legs protruding below
(ii) the well-burnt candle.

Ladies at what time and place they please to appoint.

By C. Bowler from Oxford

Note. There is lately found out a fresh spring and at a great expense so contriv'd as to supply the different baths with the water, which makes it much preferable to any bagnio in town; likewise an exceeding good cook &c.

N B. There is a back-way leading up from the Star Inn to Cary Street.

Daily Post Numb. 7719, May 24, 1744.

The presence of the sash window in an otherwise old-fashioned room could just be a sign of the renovation to which Bowler refers, although the shabbiness of the rest of the room would suggest that the revivification has not been very extensive! The room is as shabby as the Drury Lane garrets of A Harlot's Progress III and IV: the tester-bed and the ladder-back chair are similar to those in the Harlot's rooms. They confirm Hogarth's awareness of the true purposes of bagnios and comment on the impoverishment of Silvertongue's choice of a romantic setting.

2. The Inset Pictures

Three inset pictures hang in the background: a portrait of a harlot in a plain, but gilt frame; a study of St Luke above the door to the left; a large mural of the Judgement of Solomon on the wall behind the portrait.

(1) The Portrait of 'Moll Flanders'

Nichols and Steevens claim that the portrait is derived from 'a coarse picture of a woman called Moll Flanders'.¹² It would appear from the wording that they did not connect the source with Defoe and thus provide unwitting and therefore reasonably reliable testimony that Hogarth's source may have been an illustration to the old story (the harlot's costume and long hair ^{are} ~~were~~ old-fashioned for the 1740s). The allusion is apt because Defoe's anti-heroine was allowed to survive the hazards of prostitution and thievery to live to a complacent old-age. In her way, she is as much the modern prostitute's ideal as an ecstatic nymph is of the fashionable hostess. Ironically, Lady Squander is destroyed as the result of apparently only one experience of the prostitute's way of life; hers is the luck of Io and not Moll Flanders.

The Moll holds a squirrel in a parody of the style of fashionable portraiture and a parrot perches in a ring to one side of her head. In the same way that the "machinery" of the Jupiter-portrait is a catalogue of his martial and amorous attributes, the pets represent the harlot's.

Grose notes that a squirrel was a catchword, later in the century, for a harlot 'because she, like that animal, covers her back with her tail'.¹³ A parrot is a repetitive and chattering bird and its presence provides a hint of the way that the news of the scandal might pass through the streets of London. The Moll holds some kind of instrument before her in a mannered pose. The handle seems too heavy for a parasol, but, bearing in mind the Harlot's specialism, flagellation, the haft of a whip seems the most probable and traditional emblem for her to hold, the prostitute's equivalent of Jupiter's cannon.

The legs of a Jewish soldier — as solid as Silvertongue's — protrude below and from behind the portrait. The juxtaposition creates a parody of ~~a~~ ^{the} relationship ^{between} ~~with~~ the Io and the Jupiter. It, too, provides an alternative view of the undisclosed seduction. Lady Squander, however, is shown neither to experience the ecstasy of the nymph nor to possess the hardness of the professional. Her experience has been 'intermediate'. The juxtaposition also recalls the presence of the man-woman figure on the right of the screen (page 110), a resemblance which comments both on Lord Squander's personal inadequacies and his lack of swordsmanship (the Moll is clearly the mistress of the instrument).

(ii) The Judgement of Solomon and St Luke

The portrait is superimposed on a painted cloth hanging like a tapestry on the wall. (Canvas hangings, as has been noted, painted with pictures and moral sentences, were a cheap substitute for figured tapestries in Tudor brothels.¹⁴) A biblical story seems an unexpected subject to find in a bagnio, but the harlots who frequented it could be expected to be interested in a moral tale of their own kind which has the authority of the Old Testament behind it. The superimposition of a most unmaternal harlot on the biblical epitome of wisdom implies both a comic triumph and a justification. Where the cloth has worn or fallen away the picture has been repainted on the brickwork. In Marriage à la Mode, even the pictures in a bagnio are cared for and their subjects confirm its optimistic employees in their delusions. At the same time, the lack of sensitivity implied in the incongruous placing of one picture on top of another is a precedent for the Alderman's equally inconsiderate treatment of his pictures (page 159).

At a more general level, the themes of parental authority, a threatened family, carelessness, an attempt to live a lie, and the

St Luke and His Ox (Free Standing)

references to various enemies of Israel find their parallels in the bible stories. Other stories of harlots underlie Hogarth's series: the prodigal son is a source for A Rake's Progress and Industry and Idleness, while Mary Magdalen is behind both A Harlot's Progress and Marriage à la Mode. The allusion to the bible in the context of a brothel should not be unexpected.

Crude and unimportant though the mural is, the Judgement of Solomon provides a key to an important aspect of Hogarth's method. The mural is considered in greater detail in a section (Chapter VIII.1(i), pages 189-92) concerned with the analogical relationships in the series.

The picture of St Luke above the door maintains the presence of saints or their counterparts in five of the six pictures. The mural of Solomon is sufficiently crudely drawn as to have little identifiable style so that the St Luke is the last, rough, imitation of the historical sublime in the series. As Lady Squander returns to her parental home, the weaker becomes the influence of the fashionable taste in art. It is sufficient at this point to note that the hitherto passive figures of the saints have been transformed into an observer whose eagerness contrasts amusingly with the apprehensive onlookers in the doorway. The religious implications of the presence of St Luke are also included in a later section (above).

3. The Periphrastic Strings

The objects scattered about the foreground are arranged in looser, but still recognizable, sequences than they are in previous pictures; the term string is preferred out of recognition of the change. One string leads from the shoulder capes on the left towards the pile of overturned objects on the right. The other leads upwards from the capes towards the picture of St Luke.

The shoulder capes and the ladder-back chair substitute for characters in the position in the viewing sequence which represents an apparent cause of events to the right. The capes are arranged as if to suggest that the dominant, lighter cape is whispering to the submissive, darker one in a more intimate tête-à-tête than either that of the lovers in the preceding picture or the friar and the nun on the screen.

Lord Squander's épée is suspended midway between the capes and his foot. The carefully placed mouthpiece of the hat mediates between the

The String of Significant Objects to the Right

(Free Standing)

- Note (i) the advertisement for the bagno
(ii) the staytape
(iii) the crossed sticks
(iv) the scattered pill-like objects.

husband and the wife. Her kneeling body and extended leg carry the movement downwards and onwards to the pile of objects on the right.

The line of the domino disappears behind as useless a collection of clothing as that being pulled from the Harlot's trunk as she dies. The arrangement of the hoops set above the mask and the slippers resembles a collapsed doll turned inside out and upside down. The merging of the clothes Lady Squander is wearing with those she has discarded suggests a metaphorical stripping away of a disguise and an illusion. The resemblance of a doll suggests that playthings have been left behind, leaving only a seriousness. The blank mask is an ambiguous emblem: on one hand, it recalls the blandness of Lady Squander's expression in the preceding picture and, on the other, it offers a prefiguration of her dead face in the next.

The discarded costume is set beside a further cluster of objects superimposed one on the other: the overturned stool is set behind the stays, a bundle of firewood, and two crossed sticks. The stool completes the motif of downfall in the picture beginning with the falling sword and the body to the left. The pattern of its wicker seat forms a saltire. Not only is it the emblem of that most angular of saints in Hogarth's view, St Andrew, but an andrew was also a synonym for a broadsword (a derivation from Andrea Ferrara's name, according to the NED). The stool combines a suggestion of the lord's physical awkwardness with his clumsiness with a sword in one image of downfall.

For once in the series, Hogarth achieved the correct relationship between the disposition of objects with temporal associations and the left-past, right-future convention (page 7). The whispering capes to the left recall the masquerade and the overturned stool is a representation of the collapse which has not quite happened. The balance only applies to objects in the foreground, however: although Silver-tongue escapes into the darkness on the right, the future side, the intruders, whose presence prepares for the next important step in the action, his arrest, are on the left, the "wrong" side. These placings perhaps accord more with a theatrical than a literary convention: the representatives of law and order enter upstage left just as the villain departs upstage right.

Pairs of stays are discarded on two other occasions in Hogarth's narratives. The posture woman in A Rake's Progress III has removed hers in preparation for her lewd performance. More subtly, the young woman in Before has already removed hers before she protests at her lover's

advance. A woman's dispensing with stays is associated with a release from moral restraint in Hogarth's mind: Lady Squander has been, but is no longer "stayed", a pun which comments both on her previous adultery and her subsequent suicide. The advertisement, naming the place and repeating the shape of the room, is tucked between the stool and the stays. The arrangement suggests that a matter of a Turk's Head comes between a lord's downfall and his widow's release from responsibility.

In referring to the juxtaposition of the stays and the faggot, Lichtenberg observes that 'we may be sure our artist has not thrown these two fascines together for nothing'.¹⁵ A fascine was the long faggot used for lining trenches in Roman warfare and a faggot was a cant-term for a recruit. The one meaning comments on Lord Squander's height and the other on his inexperience with a weapon.

A bundle of sticks, the fascis, was also the emblem of the Roman lictor's powers of punishment and its bindings symbolized the tying of the criminals limbs before execution. Hogarth's faggot is also associated with the legal process through which Silvertongue himself is to be bound, sentenced, and executed. No axe is bound in this bundle, however; two sticks, deliberately arranged in the shape of a cross, are superimposed on the bundle. The point of the cross is placed just above the binding or belt of the figurative recruit.

Silvertongue's emblem in the second picture is thought to be the sword of St Paul (page 77). The crossed sticks are another image of his swordsmanship. The stay-tape dangles over the faggot and its end disappears behind the hilt of the wooden sword as if to emphasize the closeness of the relationship between the three images: an unfaithful husband, a libertine wife, and a murderous lover. Partridge also notes that a scorched stay-tape was a catchword for bad health, an understatement in the present context.¹⁶

The limits of allusion have not necessarily been reached. A faggot was a cant-term for a baggage and, as a verb, the word meant to frequent with harlots.¹⁷ A faggot was also the emblem which repentant heretics were required to wear on their sleeves, according to the NED. The result of the wife's release from moral restraint is, first, the behaviour of a harlot and, then, the remorse of the penitent who has felt the heat of the fire.

The crossed sticks also resemble a crucifix, hanging from its cord, the stay-tape, and directed through the faggot towards the couple. The crucifix, tied to the stays, suggests that the fatal wounding and the

Silvertongue's Epée and the Shadow-Tongs

(Free Standing)

Note the hook within the bow.

accusation come about directly as a result of the wife's lack of moral discipline. The sticks turn the movement of the viewing sequence and the periphrastic string back into the picture and thus perpetuate it. A string of images is particularly amenable to such treatment because, of course, it can be read from right to left as well as left to right.

A small box of scattered objects lies beside the wife's shoes. They seem too irregular for pills because eighteenth-century apothecaries prided themselves on the roundness of their pills (although the box looks slightly more like a pill box in the drawing, Illustration 21). Perhaps Hogarth was doing no more than suggesting that the pleasurable life depends on medicines, stimulants, or dice. Again, the lovers do not appear to have time for or interest in amusements. The rich associations of the adjacent objects make their obscurity as puzzling and tantalizing as the mysterious pouch in the foreground of A Rake's Progress VIII.

The shadow of a pair of fire-tongs extends across the foreground, a recollection of the hairdresser's smaller tool in the preceding picture. The tongs, now no longer required, would appear to hang from a hook set near the fire itself since its shadow shows within the bow of the tongs. Their elongated shanks resemble the husband's long legs and form a comic image of his suffering in the fire. They fulfill the prophecy inherent in the sequence of the first picture, which connects the roasting of St Lawrence with the bridegroom's taking of snuff (pages 46 & 54).

Silvertongue's épée, already dropped on the floor, passes through the bow of the shadow-tongs in an imaginative reenactment of the undisclosed wounding. The crossing of Silvertongue's emblem, the sword, with the shadowy representation of his victim is ^{an}ominous and a literal foreshadowing of his own execution. (In the drawing an upturned chamber pot with a hole in it repeats the play on ideas in a cruder form which Hogarth was wise to exclude.)

The shadow-tongs and the discarded épée balance with the fallen sheath and mask across the hooped petticoat. In a cross-current of ideas, an enforced duel fought on behalf of a discarded petticoat leads to an abandonment of the trappings of a fashionable existence. The sequence of images illuminated in the path of the firelight also offers a counter-current leading from the fire (a cause) to the sword (a means) the key (perhaps a symbol of a solution) and to the amazed witnesses (a consequence).

The "Whispering" Capes and the
Ladderback Chair (Free Standing)

The second periphrastic string is more coherent. Its movement rises from the capes up the unimpeded rungs of the ladder-back chair. It is taken up in the line of the constable's staff, the upraised fingers of the master of the bagnio's hand, and the upright in the cross-piece of the watchman's lantern. The movement is completed in the vertical edge of St Luke's book or tablet. The sequence can be read as follows: the whispering leads to a horrified response on the part of the representatives of the established order. Their disapproval, it seems, is recorded as "good news" by the gospeller who writes as he watches like a modern newspaper reporter. His news can be imagined as spread through the streets of London by the wide-eyed gossips as well as the "chatterry" harlots of the bagnio.

4. The Visual Organization of the Picture and Conclusion

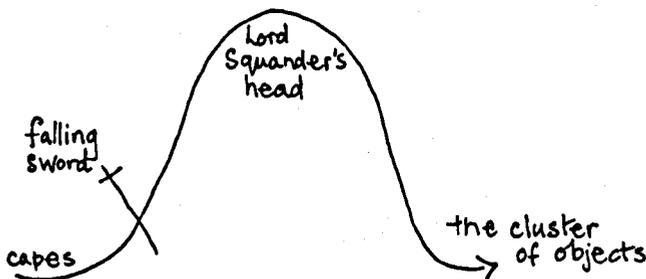
The fifth picture is a companion to the second in terms of its composition. It returns to the subject of a divided marriage: the main characters are isolated from each other by a physical as well as a spiritual divide. The wife continues to take notice of her husband while he continues to ignore her and another major figure departs to the right. The steward's comic disapproval is transformed into Silver-tongue's similarly comic attitude of panic. The staring onlookers in the background enlarge upon the figure of the idle, indifferent servant lounging in the further room of the second picture.

The spaciousness of the fifth picture is again a metaphor of spiritual emptiness (page 12). The space in the second picture is between the husband and wife and in the cavernous centre of the composition. In the fifth picture, because the possibility of human contact between the married couple has been removed, space surrounds them like the protoplasm encloses a nucleus. The effect of a nucleus is heightened by the irregular circularity of their combined poses and the repetition of the shape in the semi-circular leaves of the tables behind them. The resemblance to a protoplasm occurs because the other interesting figures and objects are pushed back to the periphery as they tend to be in the second picture. The fifth picture demonstrates the similarly explosive, scattering effect contained by solid walls, ceiling and floor, the visual enactment of squandering (page 79).

The tendency to disintegration in the second picture is controlled by the multiplicity of pairings and antitheses (page 80). Similar underlying patterns also control the chaos in the fifth picture: first, the irradiance of the fire brings groupings into focus successively. A spectator is guided to the swords and the married couple first, then to the onlookers and, perhaps lastly, to the escaping Silvertongue. In the print, the path of light cuts from outside the frame through the protoplasm, the nucleus, and beyond in an alignment which challenges the movement of the viewing sequence, a dramatic means of illuminating a violent climax. While the painting is marvellously atmospheric in its effect, the print lacks pictorial depth as a result of the loss of colour, shading, and Hogarth's wish to make the backwall interesting. He had to bully his engraver, Ravenet, into toning down the details of the backwall in the print and it is doubtful whether either was altogether satisfied with the result.

Secondly, the wife continues set between the figures of her husband and her lover, but, whereas she is usually set at the apex of the triangle, it is now turned upside down. She is set at the apex of a triangle in a state of unstable equilibrium, a state repeated in the lord's falling sword, the point of which just touches the floor (page 196). The alternatives of previous pictures are themselves on the point of downfall; the husband is collapsing and the lover seems about to tumble into darkness. Ironically, the oval shape which has enclosed the lovers, separately (The Marriage Contract I) and then together (The Countess's Morning Levée IV), now encloses the husband and wife in a direct antithesis of harmony.

Thirdly, the periphrastic strings unite the figures and the objects of the foreground in one sinuous curve which, more than the lord's pose alone (page 128), is an enactment of the curving line of beauty:



One indication of the complexity at the crisis of a situation narrative is that no one figure dominates. Although Hogarth's visual sympathies revert to the husband and wife, the situation at the climax

is built on a series of paradoxes: the husband came for revenge and is unaware that he has found it; the wife came to fulfill a fashionable ideal and is forced to her knees; the victor flees from a double triumph; the forces of law, with a fine sense of timing, arrive just too late to change things.

Finally, the chain of causes and effects is almost complete: the fathers unwittingly construct an eternal triangle out of a contractual pairing. Over the course of the series, the husband's dissatisfaction with life has deepened as the wife's awareness of its possibilities has expanded. While he rehearses his fatal aggression in the doctor's laboratory, she comes to the zenith of her social success (unrealized as such). At first sight, the climax shows a moment of tragic reconciliation, but only after the catastrophic event. The balance of responsibilities is fine; even responsible society, as represented by the onlookers, takes an interest^{only} when it is too late. Only a first beginner, the Alderman, is reserved with 'calm of mind' to tidy up in the last picture.

THE KILLING OF THE EARL V: REFERENCES

1. England in the Age of Hogarth, p. 103.
2. Le Brun, Figs 24 and 25, opposite p. 41.
3. Hazlitt, p. 136. ^{Joseph} ~~James~~ Burke in Hogarth, The Complete Engravings by Burke and Caldwell (London, 1974), p. 20.
4. Dr John Brown, reported in Hogarth's London (London, 1909) by H. B. Wheatley, pp. 119-120.
5. R. Chambers, The Book of Days II (London, 1864), 'The Washing Talley', p. 232.
6. J. Ireland II, pp. 43 and 44.
7. Lichtenberg, p. 132.
8. Troilus and Cressida, V x. 1. 50.
9. F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 576.
10. This passage draws on England in the Age of Hogarth, pp. 137-8.
11. Nos 1425, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432 in London Coffee Houses (London, 1963) by Bryant Lillywhite. The advertisement from the Daily Post (24. May, 1744) is included on pp. 610-11. The National Gallery dossier includes a Montage attributed to Hogarth which shows an advertisement for Alice Neale's bagnio in Golden Square, but the attribution appears to be based on coincidence.
12. Nichols and Steevens II, p. 184.
13. Francis Grose, A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue edited by Eric Partridge (London, 3rd edition, 1963), p. 325.
14. E. A. M. Colman, The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare (London, 1974), p. 206.
15. Lichtenberg, p. 133.
16. Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (London, 5th edition, 1961) I, p. 826.
17. Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (London, 5th edition, 1961) I, pp. 262-3.

VI. THE SUICIDE OF THE COUNTESS

The first part of the chapter begins with an outline of the sequence of events which can be assumed as having taken place in the interval between the fifth and sixth pictures. Hogarth ends his series by presenting a parade of new, carefully differentiated characters, each with a separate function. The new characters, with the exception of the physician, are placed to the left of the recurrent characters as if to emphasize the pre-eminence of the new; they are, therefore, considered first. Four aspects of the setting are surveyed in the second part: the view through the window; Silvertongue's dying speech; the inset pictures; the Alderman's cupboard and clock. The third part includes an investigation into a possible relationship between the domestic details of the picture and a number of popular sayings and proverbs.

PART ONE: THE CHARACTERS

The major events of Lord Squander's funeral, Lady Squander's retreat to her father's house, Silvertongue's trial and execution are not shown. Hogarth takes up his narrative at the point where Lady Squander has just received news of her lover's execution. The poet supposes that she has heard the hawkers crying their wares, the dying speech, along the waterfront. The gangling servant can be imagined to have been sent to buy both a copy of the speech and the laudanum. The daughter appears to have been sitting in her father's armchair and has finally decided to commit a premeditated suicide, just as the Alderman was about to begin his meal.

He would appear to have risen suddenly from his now overturned *dining* chair to call for the apothecary and the physician. When their help has failed, the old woman has been summoned to bring the child to its mother. Meanwhile, the Alderman has opened the cupboard behind him in order to put his daughter's ring in a safe place. Finally, just as he removes the ring from her finger and as the physician departs, the cur has sneaked into the room and to the table.

1. The Minor Figures Other than the Physician (1) The Hungry Cur

In that the animal occupies the position of apparent causality to the left of the print, all that occurs to the right appears a conse-

quence of the presence and behaviour of a dog. In that a dog is a representation of man's natural self, then the Alderman's cur is an expression of his master's inner hunger, meanness, and fear. In terms of the viewing sequence, the cur replaces the major figures set to the left of the previous pictures — the Earl, his son, and the lawyer — and is thus their peer.

The cur is a mongrel, as his long back legs show, but he is of similar colouring to the Earl's pointers. Whereas their composure indicates the extent of the Earl's tyranny, the eventual consequences of an arranged marriage have given the underdog its day in the Alderman's house. The mongrel's pose completes a movement in the narrative in which animals gradually assume human rôles: the shock dog with his foot on the stool presumes; the wolf's head passes judgement; the stag acquires a human body; the cur takes the place of a diner at his master's table. The cur's is the triumph of a mixed breed over the pure-bred although his daring suggests that the Alderman is a more fallible man than the tyrant Earl.

(ii) The Imbecile Servant

The disturbing appearance of the imbecile prompted a sympathetic response in Hazlitt:

the fine example of passive obedience and non-resistance in the servant . . . whose coat of green and yellow livery, is as long and melancholy as his face. The disconsolate look and haggard eyes, the open mouth, the comb sticking in the hair, the broken gapped teeth, which, as it were, hitch in an answer, every thing about him denotes the utmost perplexity and dismay.¹

His hair is gathered in two clumsy twists in a travesty of the style of the fashionable servant in the second picture. His coat is so large that it has had to be cut down to fit; there is only room for six buttons between the hem and the top of the pocket instead of the usual eight. Not only is the coat incorrectly buttoned as a sign of maladroitness, but Hogarth may have had in mind the saying that to be 'short of buttons' referred to someone not quite as sharp as he might be.²

The servant's coat appears to be the master's cast-off, but the sickly and melancholic colours are different from the Alderman's reds and blues. The coat seems to be in too good a condition to have been given away by a man who starves his dog, hires the cheapest of servants, and is already wearing his old coat (below, page 151). Monmouth Street

The Imbecile Servant and the Apothecary (Free Standing)

Note (i) the julep and the syringe in the apothecary's
pocket

(ii) the imbecile servant's lack of buttons.

would appear to be a likely place for another attempt on the part of a feeble character to appear more than he is by buying grand clothes; the imbecile's coat compares to the finery of the common miss (page 87). Hogarth suggests that the widest social range from an earl to an idiot or a lady to a street girl has its pretensions. Although the servant can be supposed to have bought his coat with Lady Squander's bribe, an imbecile is the only figure who appears to have done her a service which is not obviously to his material advantage.

The staring eyes and shocked expression recall the other perturbed faces in the series: the frightened medusa, the amazed trade model, the dismayed wolf's head, the appalled hydra, and the worried King Solomon. The effect of the gorgon's stare is finally realized in the last picture: the Alderman's expression is stony, his behaviour callous, his daughter is dead, and his servant is mentally empty. The servant is not absolutely harmless, however, since he introduces poison into the narrative, a fact prefigured in Medusa's snakes.

A clumsy, pretentious, unlucky, and gloomy servant, whose hair resembles drooping horns, is an outré, but not a grotesque counterpart (according to the definition in the caption of The Bench) of an absent figure. Lord Squander is a maladroit, modish, unfortunate, and melancholy cuckold. Hogarth's visual epitaph is cruel.

(iii) The Apothecary

The apothecary is identified by his clyster syringe and julep bottle in his pocket, and the nosegay in his buttonhole. The syringe was used to purge and the julep to 'charm' the 'itch of sense', according to the NED; contrasting treatments which Lady Squander may have needed, but requires no longer.

The sayings, 'to talk like an apothecary', (that is, to prattle) and 'as proud as an apothecary' point to a proverbial self-esteem.³ His little finger is also gently crooked like so many of the other characters in the series. To have been fooled by an imbecile servant, who bought the poison from him (in the absence of another claimant) would have been a blow to his characteristic pride and a challenge to his officiousness. The apothecary's left hand points in the direction of both the dying speech and the laudanum bottle as if to suggest that he is also angry that his preparation has been used for a suicide on behalf of a common criminal.

B. T. Davis identifies the apothecary as an achronoplastic dwarf.

The Nurse, the Heir, and Lady Squander (Free Standing)

Note (i) the Dying Speech, its wording and emblems at
the head

(ii) the laudanum bottle

(iii) the boy's leg iron

(iv) the almanac on the wall.

The disability adds another element of the outré to the parade and makes the apothecary an incongruous figure to scold an imbecile. The deformity supplies another reason for his irascibility, adds to the theme of deformity in the series, is an ironic prelude to the introduction of the deformed heir, and comments on the Alderman's choice of ugly persons on whom to depend. A malformed apothecary was not likely to charge the highest prices. The idiosyncrasies of both the servant and the apothecary are further evidence of Hogarth's determination to make every detail different and yet relevant.

(iv) The Old Woman and the Child

The old woman is plain, toothless, and evidently unused to holding a child. Except for her lack of a jutting chin, she is a similar study of uncritical loyalty as the old servant who lights her fire oblivious to events in the background of A Rake's Progress I. The old woman serves to make the satirical point that a servant feels more for the child than the grandfather. She is customarily seen as the nurse and, as such, is another sign of the Alderman's refusal to spend more than a minimum.

The Harlot's son and the Rake's daughter have little or no influence on their narratives, but Lady Squander's child is an important element in the resolution of a series which begins with an emphasis on lineage. Some doubt exists over the sex of the child, but the earlier commentators assume he is a boy.⁴ It was customary for small girls to wear bonnet-like caps even indoors. The Rake's daughter, perhaps only a little older, wears a frilly cap as do the girls in all Hogarth's conversation pieces.

Although there is an irony in the idea of the dynasty ending with a girl, the fact that an infant earl should survive in the care of an indifferent maternal grandparent is an exquisitely bitter consequence of the arrangement of a marriage. The child's disabilities suggest that he will not survive to a potent manhood so that the end of the line of direct descent is prolonged only for a limited period.

The child suffers from a weak leg, a sore on his cheek, an enlarged head, a slightly depressed forehead, and, perhaps, a stunted body. B. T. Davis has diagnosed the infirmity of the child's leg as probably tubercular osteitis caused, like his father's scrofula, by infected milk.

Alternatively, Ireland and Nichols and Steevens identify the ailment as rickets and Williams notes that an enlargement of the head could also be a sign of the disease.⁵ The patch is not quite over the lymphatic glands so that the possibility of a congenital venereal disease is rather more likely than a scrofula (a depressed forehead can also be a sign of the ^{former} disease). Hogarth should not be expected to have made such fine distinctions between symptoms as can now be made but, as has been noted (page 37), he was familiar with the diseases of his day. The symptoms point to a range of common diseases which subscribers were likely to regard as congenital: scrofula, rickets, and pox.

The unfavourable predictions implicit in the forgotten coral of the fourth picture are realized (page 107): the child would appear to be more diseased and feeble than either his father or his grandfather. The Alderman's family has become contaminated by the French disease, both physically and spiritually. The enfeebled male heir is Hogarth's final indictment in the series of an aristocracy based on primo-geniture as maintained through alliances with rich citizens. It is not surprising that the artist did not receive the whole-hearted support of the upper hierarchies in either London or Westminster.

The pathos can be easily overstated: about two-thirds of children born in Metropolitan London in the eighteenth-century died before they were five.⁶ ~~By~~ J.^{H.} Plumb in 'The New World of Children' has calculated that twenty-five percent died before they were a year old in the whole country. What is now thought to be the inhuman treatment of children was regarded as normal; any show of affection was disapproved of among upper-class families as being morally bad for the child. The treatment of the child would have been regarded as unexceptional and even kindly by many subscribers, his leg is being treated, he has someone to look after him, and his family are concerned to let him say goodbye to his mother.

Plumb's article was written to show that 'a new and magical world' had begun to emerge in the 1730s when attractive toys, books, and entertainments were produced on a large scale for the first time. The Foundling Hospital opened its doors in 1741 and Hogarth, a governor and benefactor, was a leader of the movement which demanded a greater sympathy and care for the young. Only the enlightened subscriber, however, might have perceived that the artist in his depiction of a weak, lonely, and unloved child was making a demand for a new understanding.

2. Lady Squander's Suicide

The wife has made a qualified recovery from the experiences of the bagnio, a measure of which is found in her restored clothing, a simple cap, white house dress, and a dull green petticoat. Antal suggests that the costume is Dutch in style in which case her father's influence has had an all-inclusive effect on his daughter. She sits in his big arm chair, a symbolic gesture which makes her enclosed by his possession.

The dress is only remarkable in that it has been loosened by the physician or the apothecary. The continued absence of stays and hoops suggests that she has neither cared much about her appearance nor has recovered a sense of modesty or moral responsibility. The implicit sequence of events suggests that she has hung onto life only while her lover was alive and that she has killed herself for his sake and not as a result of the death of her husband.

The description of her death in the BM Catalogue is moving in its observant quality: 'she is in the languid stupor of dissolution. Her eyes are lightless; their dim pupils are visible between the relaxed lids that are half-closed by defect of action; her lips have parted, her lower jaw has fallen, and her limbs are loose and unnerved'.⁷ Jarrett sets her death in its social context: 'visitors from Europe were amazed and appalled at the prevalence of suicide in England'. By the 1750s it had become the subject of jest. The Gentleman's Magazine, for example, carried a mock advertisement for a new preparation called 'Stygian Spirit' which cost a guinea, but was to be given free to those who wished to commit suicide without fuss even in company. The advertisement was addressed with tongue-in-cheek to men of pleasure.

Several reasons were put forward for the prevalence of suicide: the emptiness of the pleasurable life; the damp climate which encouraged melancholy; the effects of over-eating; the lack of religious conviction in a non-Catholic country. Foreign subscribers particularly would have recognized clear reasons for Lady Squander's death: the loss of a lover; the gloomy atmosphere of her father's riverside house; the company of a disappointed father, an ailing son, an aged nurse, and an imbecile servant instead of fashionable friends; the belief that sanguine people, when thwarted, were prone to deep depression (page 232). The malign influence of London life, its crowdedness and competitiveness, was seen as an explanation for the existence of three hundred lunatic asylums in the capital. Doctors advised patients to leave London if they

The Alderman and the Physician

(Free Standing)

- Note (i) the stone which makes
it not a wedding ring
(ii) the lack of a button
on the coat
(iii) the chain with three
strands
(iv) the characters set
back to back
(v) the physician's
vinaigrette.

wanted to shake off the desire for death. Lady Squander's tragedy is due partly to the fact that she has nowhere else to go.

The steward is the only overt religious influence in the series, but Whitefield's first sermon was supposed to have sent people mad and from the beginning his movement encouraged a morbid religiosity. Hogarth implies that the arrangement of a marriage presided over by Jupiter does not lead to suicide as the Roman way out. Lady Squander dies from the 'English malady' a malaise which balances perfectly with the emphasis in the series on the French malady.

In the penultimate picture, she is placed to accept the large part of the blame. After her death, Hogarth distributes the blame more evenly in a series of echoes: the child's deformities act as a reminder of his father's and paternal grandfather's "sins"; the Alderman's material interest recalls his motives^{as outlined in the first picture}. Only the wording of Silvertongue's speech suggests a hint of denial. Lady Squander is an "anti-heroine" who is thrust into a dazzling milieu for which she is ill-equipped. As a result, she is incapable of finding a secure place in either the new or the old life; both have become alien. Her suicide is the logical solution. Like Hogarth's Harlot, Lady Squander ends as the victim of the sad paradox that more figures make claims on her as she dies than they are shown to do when she is alive.

3. The Alderman and His Meal

The Alderman has been turned through ninety degrees from his first appearance so that his impassive, heavy features are now open to inspection. He is the only member of the two families to be shown firmly on his feet and his is the only viewpoint which grows over the course of the series as if to imply that he thrives on other people's suffering.

In the drawing, the pupils of the Alderman's eyes gaze abstractly and sadly. In the finished versions, the eyelids are lowered in un-sentimental contemplation of the task in hand. The removal of a jewelled ring (not the wedding ring) from the forefinger of a corpse before it is cold is a careful act. The property of suicides was forfeit and would have had to be removed before rigor mortis set in by anyone concerned to outwit the law.⁸

The midwife in A Harlot's Progress is rifling the Harlot's trunk before she is dead so that Ireland's suggestion that the Alderman is determined to secure the ring against the depredations of the nurse is another practical reason for 'careful Daddy's' heartlessness (the poet's

term).⁹ The absence of his spectacles from the last picture is explained by the fact that he is no longer called on to read, but the omission also points to a metaphorical short-sightedness. A matter of law, a contract, calls for closer attention than a daughter's death; characteristically, he avoids looking at her. In the first picture, the Alderman overlooks the coin in the money bag, but at the end he has learnt not to make a similar mistake. By turning the most miserable family situation to his advantage, a minor error is transformed into a major deficiency of feeling.

The general style of his clothing is the same as on his first appearance, but there are important differences of detail. His growth in stature is accompanied by a corresponding physical coldness: he wears three coats instead of two on a similarly warm day. The Alderman lives on as a warmly dressed man, while the younger generation, in dying loosely and partially clad, squander their warmth.

The top coat and first under-coat are different from those of the first picture. The top coat has buttons down to the hem of the skirt in the last picture, whereas there are none in the first. The under-coat has cloth buttons instead of gold so that the Alderman wears his cheaper clothes at home. The servant is obviously 'short of buttons', but the master's top coat is also short of at least the fourth button up from the hem of the skirt. He has ignored the defects in the family tree, the defects of Lord Squander in the first picture, and the loss of buttons in the sixth comments on his continuing lack of good sense.

A man who wears his chain of office at home, who drinks water from a ceremonial cup, and hangs his civic garb in his living room is exceptional. Although the wearing of the chain saves a careful man the worry of leaving it in an insecure place, his private life is dominated by a love of public office. His pride matches the Earl's: it is no less incongruous to eat 'hog's face' (the poet's phrase) while wearing an aldermanic chain and to toast oneself in water from a loving cup than it is to brand a hunting dog with a coronet.

A person's choice of a meal can be as revealing an index of character as other evidence of behaviour. Hogarth took such care with the Alderman's table that it invites detailed consideration. Only one place is laid. The first course is boiled egg, set in a pile of rice or sand. Some crusts on a second plate have been placed immediately in

The Cur and the Alderman's Table
(Free Standing)

front of the loving cup. Its chasing makes the crusts look something like cutlets in the print, but their identity is clear in the painting. The table is egg-stained, ^{again} a conspicuous detail in the painting. The stains prove the Alderman to be a messy eater with a disregard for appearances in the privacy of his home. The stains also show that he is a habitual eater of dull, insipid, but cheap food.

The second course is pig's head for which a smaller plate and fork are ready. They are set on the other side of the table, amusingly to make it seem that the dog is about to dine off his master's plate. Pig's head, dressed with an apple in its mouth was a festive winter dish, but the Alderman's brawn is miser's food because it has not been dressed and, as a standing dish, it could be brought many times to the table.⁹ Even a man of such resolutely coarse tastes as the Alderman would be thirsty after eating salted meat and salt with his egg from the cellar. The enormous jug of water beside the chair is ready to quench his thirst and reveals his willingness to be generous, ^{only} with what is cheap.

Ireland sees the discrepancy between the frugal food and the Alderman's well-fed appearance as a sign of his attendance at the City feasts where he could gorge at public expense and save on food at home.¹⁰ The suggestion also gives point to the offensive gluttony of the diners at the sheriff's banquet in Industry and Idleness VIII.

The overturned dining chair has been clumsily mended with a fillet as if to suggest that the Alderman had risen violently from it on a previous occasion. In the absence of any other reason, his daughter's stubbornness could have been the cause. The crude repair is not only another sign of the father's meanness, but the flaw in an otherwise sound chair adds to and completes the theme of spoilt things; even this destructive idea is overturned.

In the first picture, the broker is the more obvious miser, while his likely employer is the squanderer in the secondary, financial meaning of the word. The last picture shows a greater miserliness to be the lasting impression of the Alderman. He is not a stock figure. The private meanness in contrast to the splendour of his public status makes him a study of near schizophrenic self-interest with a heaviness of person, coarse tastes, and pretensions of his own. The French quack presides over death-dealing disease, but the English Alderman is the prudent guardian of suicide. The quack responds to a complaint with a sneer, but the Alderman accepts the fact of a personal loss as a matter of course.

ILLUSTRATION 23 'The Suicide of the Countess' (drawing)

4. The Departing Physician

The last picture includes a view of a licensed doctor to balance with the quack. His supposedly sagacious wig, his fashionable cane and sword identify him as a Westminster physician — the poet names him 'Sir Glycerpipe'.... Amusingly, the eccentric son of a squandering Earl consults a fashionable, despised quack, whereas the miserly City dignitary properly consults a member of the College of Physicians. Unlike either the quacks or the apothecaries, the licensed doctors did not undertake practical medicine so the summoning of the physician was a costly and futile gesture, a carelessness to compare with the forgotten coin in the first picture. A physician of repute could earn the then enormous sum of £7,000 a year, so his early departure is consistent with a man who would not waste time and who would probably suspect that Alderman would be disinclined to pay a large fee.¹¹

A hint of professional antagonism may have been intended behind his departure. The gentleman physician leaves a sordid and commonplace form of death to be dealt with by an ugly, inferior, and ungentlemanly rival, presumably a member of the Society of Apothecaries (page 95). The physician sniffs the vinaigrette at the end of his cane out of contempt. Unlike the apothecary's practical nosegay, vinaigrettes were no longer used seriously as a protection against disease, but neither would have been of use against the English malady.

The last drawing shows the physician still on the far right, but, as a result of the reversal, superimposed on the window as an afterthought (its lines show through). The placing robs him of his indifference by making him wait sympathetically. His proximity makes the cur's theft less convincing. The displacement destroys the careful gradation of the figures. The alteration disturbs the whole design so successfully that Hogarth must have felt that he was withholding something important.

The strange impression of a doppelganger arises from the juxtaposition of the physician back-to-back with the Alderman. The emblems of the latter's pretensions, his sword, the tricorne hat, which really hangs on the pegs to the left, and his wig, are repeated in the similarly unmoved figure of the physician. He appears to be transporting all trappings of "gentlemanliness" out of the house, revealing the Alderman in his true character as a man who can no longer afford even a perverse ideal. Conversely, the Alderman adopts the attitude that a concerned physician would take in feeling for his patient's pulse. The movement

The View Through the Alderman's Window

(Free Standing)

- Note (i) the spider's web
(ii) the Sword of the Spirit in
the coat of arms
(iii) the broken window panes
(iv) the clay pipe and the tobacco
jar
(v) the mud banks on the river.

of the viewing sequence of the whole series leads to an expression of rejection and contempt in the physician. The impetus is redirected into the undefined, unimportant corridors beyond — an anti-climax.

PART TWO: ELEMENTS OF THE SETTING

1. The Alderman's House (i) The View through His Window¹²

A particular house has been identified as a possible source for the view of London Bridge and the Alderman's window. The corner house on the east side of Old Swan Stairs is the only one with similar round-headed windows in Buck's print of the frontage by London Bridge. The print shows a Thames-side house on the edge of the merchant's quarter with one special feature to mark the Alderman off from his peers, as does the quack doctor's window. The panelled interior is austere and well lit, typical of the vernacular style in which the City was rebuilt after the fire of 1666. The Alderman is sufficiently proud of his house to have insured it against fire, as the fire buckets through the doorway show, although the ceiling is stained with river damp.

Hogarth's uncle Edmund kept a grocer's shop (also insured) at the southern end of the bridge. He appears to have given his young nephew only grudging support when he was in need of a job. There may have been a personal edge to Hogarth's choice of London Bridge and a man who admires its structure. The bridge was effectively a dam because the current and tide had to pass through channels the equivalent to a sixth of the river's width. Consequently, the force tore up the river bed and weakened the wooden starlings making the whole structure vibrate:

for late the winter's flood

Shook her frail bridge and tore her piles of wood.

The famous houses had to be lightly built in order to reduce weight. As a result, they were always catching fire and literally falling down. As the houses were invariably rebuilt, the result was as unforgettable a mixture of architecture in its way as the façade in the first picture.

Thomas Pennant's recollection of the street and life on the bridge is particularly vivid:

I well remember the street on London Bridge, narrow, darksome, and dangerous to passengers from the multitude of carriages: frequent arches of strong timber crossed the street, from the tops of the houses to keep them together, and from falling into the river. Nothing but use could preserve the rest of the inmates, who soon grew deaf to the noise of the falling waters, the clamour of watermen, or the frequent shrieks of drowning wretches.

The misery was not exaggerated; boatmen tried to shoot the rapids between the arches and over the years thousands of people lost their lives. There is a delusory calmness to the water, appropriately shown as at low tide through Hogarth's window. It is difficult to appreciate from the nostalgic viewpoint of the twentieth-century how Hogarth and many of his contemporaries would have feared and detested the bridge.

The fatalism and indifference to death of its inhabitants comments on the character of the man whose admired view it is. It is ironically set beneath the arms of the City of London in the window so that a vision of dereliction is surmounted by an image of City pride. The hidden weakness in the structure of the bridge comments on the spiritual and physical poverty of the Alderman's private life. It is unlikely that the real city dignitaries were any more appreciative of Hogarth's humour than the nobility in Westminster.

The heads of criminals were displayed on poles on the south gate to add to the gloomy reputation of the bridge (and perhaps uncle Edmund's home). Although the poles cannot be seen from the Alderman's window, Lady Squander dies within sight of the structure which might well be decorated with her lover's head and within the sound of the rushing waters which also were redolent of death. In so far that Silvertongue's emblem is the sword, then St Paul's Sword of the Spirit in the top left quarter of the escutcheon is a sly reminder of the man who is introduced into the narrative by the Alderman to make a marriage and then is punished for destroying it, as it were, on behalf of the City of London.

Hogarth could not have found a more appropriate structure to finish the series and to balance with the Earl's palladian folly. Both structures are outwardly grand and inherently faulty. Both draw attention in different ways to the precariousness of London life in general and, metaphorically, comment upon the unsound basis of a marriage alliance between the two Cities. Whereas the Earl overloads his room with coronets, the Alderman allows the grandiose effect of his armorial window to be spoilt through neglect — several panes are broken.

The most perfect coincidence in Hogarth's choice of a view is that the bridge presents houses and shops set over water rather than on the ground. The shops specialized principally in dry goods, haberdashery, books, and grocery! The absurdity reverses the situation in the first picture where a similarly dangerous stretch of water, the Red Sea, is painted on the ceiling (page 47). The account of a marriage between

ILLUSTRATION 24

The Patches of River Damp

on the Ceiling

the "faces in the fire" effect

a lord and a commoner and between London and Westminster begins and ends with visions of folly.

(ii) The Spider's Web

A spider's web was added to the top left hand corner of the window frame. The spider is a personification of transience, deceit, and hypocrisy in the Bible (Job 8.4 and Isaiah 59. 4-6). Kunzle reproduces a broadsheet (c. 1720) about the speculator, John Law, whose portrait is flanked by webs, the 'rewards' for deceit and cunning.¹³

The spider in The Battle of the Books possesses 'a good plentiful store of dirt and poison' in its breast and an 'overweening pride, which feeding and engendering on it self, turns all into excrement and venom'.¹⁴ It 'produces nothing at last, but fly-bane and a cobweb'. Hogarth, who knew of the work (page 80), may have had a particular passage in mind. The bee accuses the spider:

Erect your schemes with as much method and skill as you please; yet if the materials be nothing but dirt, spun out of your own entrails (the guts of modern brains) the edifice will conclude at last in a cobweb: the duration of which, like that of other spiders webs, may be imputed to their being forgotten, or neglected, or hid in a corner.

While Hogarth would have only agreed with the reference to modern brains on condition that it did not include him, he regarded the spider in much the same way as Swift. The artist used the web which festoons the poor box in A Rake's Progress V as a comment on the corruption of the clerics who conduct clandestine and profitable marriages instead of helping the poor. No spider appears in most states of the engraving. It has quitted its web, presumably because there are no more victims to be found. The idea of a spider's spinning coming to nothing is an age-old point, a comment on the end of the Alderman's plans for his daughter's marriage. He is one of Swift's 'other spiders', a disappointed man with little left to feed off other than himself.

(iii) The Patches on the Ceiling

When spectators are asked to study the patches of river damp on the ceiling, some see a meaningful shape in the configurations, a consequence of the "faces-in-the-fire" effect (Illustration 24). If the print is rotated clockwise through ninety degrees, as Holbein's The Ambassadors was meant to be, then the patches form the outline of a figure. R. L. Gregory in 'The Confounded Eye' states that an unfamiliar shape can be almost infinitely ambiguous.¹⁵ When an unfamiliar shape

is set in a familiar context, then the context begins to influence and so delimit its meaning. The knot in the curtain (A Harlot's Progress III) and the mask-like fold in the gathered mouth of the bundle (Cruelty in Perfection) are other examples of ambiguous shapes in Hogarth's narrative art which in context come to resemble the dead or dying faces of the Harlot and Ann Gill.

The context of Marriage à la Mode suggests that the elusive figure on the ceiling is of a hooded woman, perhaps a reference to the wife, her face encircled by a shawl or perhaps the shoulder capes of the fifth picture. The shadowiness and smeared quality of the features also offer an image of a shrouded figures, perhaps a prefiguration of the wife's dying.

The ambiguity on one ceiling may provide a clue to the understanding of the patches of light on another. In the painting of the preceding picture, the watchman's lantern throws a mysterious, roseate pattern of light on the ceiling. This pattern was rearranged in the print to make two cross patterns, one smaller than the other. More clearly, this pattern comments on the size relationship between the husband and wife below. Their moment of contact is as transient and ephemeral as the patches of light. In the last picture of the series, no lantern glows; the shadow is essentially cold and the possible final image of an authorial comment on a familiar figure was literally to fade from the later states of the engraving as the copper plates wore away.

2. Silvertongue's Dying Speech

The broadsheet, lying on the floor beside the bottle of laudanum, reads 'Counsellor Silvertongue's last Dying Speech'. A similar speech occurs at the end of Industry and Idleness XI, 'The last dying speech and Confession of Tho. Idle'. Idle admits his guilt, but the absence of 'and Confession' from Silvertongue's speech suggests that Hogarth may have intended his lawyer's speech to have a touch of defiance about it in keeping with his initial gallantry and boldness.

Idle's speech is plainly presented, but Silvertongue's is headed with three decorative emblems. The largest is the familiar triple gallows at Tyburn, prefigured in the scientific tripod of the third picture, and actually shown in Industry and Idleness. Robert Collison has discussed the subject of dying speeches in The Story of Street Literature.¹⁶ The jobbing printers customarily used one decorative woodcut per sheet. Collison implies that they had multi-purpose blocks

ready to suit a variety of crimes and criminals, a common printers' practice. Only really notorious criminals called for special treatment. Jonathan Wild, for example, supposedly inspired an elaborate account of his death with specially commissioned blocks.

Hogarth would appear to have been deviating from normal practice and to have invented his own emblems for the purpose of making a concluding comment on his narrative. The gallows is flanked by a bust enclosed in a circle on the right, the traditionally "good" side of a paper. The figure to the left is less clear, but magnification reveals a horned or perhaps winged creature. It is reasonable to suppose that the bust refers to the lord, ironically depicted as if canonised, while the other figure, on the sinister side, is Silvertongue's emblem, perhaps a devil or a demon king. If this reading is correct, then the balancing of the husband and the lover about the gallows maintains in a detail their flanking of the wife. In this analogy she represents a matter of death set between them.

The dying speech is an effective agent of the plot. It supplies the immediate cause of Lady Squander's suicide. It is an ironic epitaph for an important character. Silvertongue has stood, sat, knelt, presumably hung, and, to complete the reduction, ends as the equivalent of a bit of paper 'whirled by the cold wind'. His character trait is only discovered from a dying speech at the end of a narrative after he has made his final exit. The spectator cannot hear what he has had to say and his persuasive voice has not prevented his execution. His name was deliberately left incomplete in the painting, 'Silverton...'. Only the subscribers were allowed to discover the full name and to weigh up its ironic implications. His initial gallantry attracts a heavy punishment; the weight of retribution is cruelly tragic-comic.

3. The Inset Pictures

The Alderman is the most active collector of the three in the series. A full-length portrait of a man with his back to the spectator, literally an anti-portrait, has been hung over a larger still-life. The lack of a frame and the unusual position suggests that the portrait is a recent acquisition hung in front of a familiar and so less interesting piece. The style of all three pictures is similarly ugly, probably intended as Dutch or Flemish. ¹⁷

The 'Pitcher Man' Suspended in
Front of the Still Life (Free
Standing)

Note the hook and the lack of
a frame.

(i) The Portrait of the Pitcher Man

The portrait shows an untidy peasant who, having put down his pitcher, relieves himself against the wall of the barn. His action forms a deliberate reply to the cannon of the Jupiter portrait in the first picture and is a vulgar response to the calculating look of the harlot in the portrait of the preceding picture. The last likely observer on the series is turned to reject the immediate situation, the series, and the spectator in an act of supreme contempt. Appropriately, the Alderman, the vulgarian of the series, takes the most pride in the least dignified of human activities.

Hogarth has exaggerated the curve of the peasant's buttocks and the sides of the pitcher to form a visual simile. A pitcher man was slang for a toper, according to the NED, and the implication is that, having relieved himself, the drunkard will sleep in the hay above — a symbolic representation of the concept of "the end". 'He shall not piss my money against the wall' was the indignant protestation of the careful man who does not wish to see his money 'squandered' on drink (the compiler's term).¹⁸ The Alderman has been drawn to the Earl as a personification of squandering and he continues to admire variations on the theme in his art in spite of his disappointments. 'To piss by the pot' was a cant phrase for adultery and so the portrait offers another kind of ironic epitaph for the adulteress of the series (a pitcher was also slang for a 'woman's commodity' and Hogarth had already used an empty brandy bottle as an emblem of the Harlot's death (page 222).

The pitcher man's shirt tail hangs out, a comic recapitulation on Silvertongue's departure through the window with his, metaphorical, tail between his legs. The saying, 'the dogs have not dined', was a current catchphrase for a shirt hanging out and the phrase seems to connect with the comic act of revenge taking place to the left of the picture.

A urinating boy or man is a recurrent motif in genre painting and in Hogarth's art. Swift may have encouraged him first to use the idea because The Punishment Inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver (1726) with its grossly vulgar subject shows a Lilliputian urinating on Gulliver's hat. Incontinence is associated with madness and vanity in the madman who thinks that he is king (A Rake's Progress VIII). An embarrassed monkey urinates into a Roman helmet to the right of Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn (1738), and a boy makes a noisy puddle much to the cross-

eyed girl's amazement in The Enraged Musician (1741). The motif is ribald, deflating, and mischievous. Only in Marriage à la Mode does it begin to be a more serious expression of the artist's contempt for the ideas he himself was representing. The seriousness, however, is qualified by many comic associations and the idea is carefully worked into the narrative so that it is neither an isolated nor irrelevant comment.

(ii) The Still-Life

Ireland suggested that the only purpose of a still-life, such as that which hangs under the portrait, was as an exercise to show how highly a Flemish artist could 'finish'.¹⁹ The subject is also particularly useless in that it shows an untidy corner of a stable or cold store where rubbish and the bulkier supplies of food are left higgledy-piggledy.

The plentiful supply of meat and vegetables contrasts with the Alderman's frugal meal and perhaps is intended to remind him vicariously of the City feasts. The other objects in the picture offer generalized echoes of elements elsewhere in the narrative: a stable lantern recalls the watchman's lantern; a pair of shoes or clogs on the wall recalls the curios in the third picture and perhaps the dancing slippers of the fourth; an empty candle-stick recalls those present at the sealing and the metaphorical dissolution of the contract; a chopping block on which a feathered cap and clay-pipe are laid are reminders that pretensions and the Alderman's small pleasures (below, page 163) are under threat; an empty barrel, tureen, and overturned bucket are ironic counterparts of the woman's corpse. Echoes of a brighter life appear to be drawn together, distributed at random, and frozen in the stillness of still-life; the summary is the final comic consequence of Medusa's stare, appropriately represented ^{like her,} as a picture within a picture.

The objects also represent a comic assemblage of the merchant interests of London to supplement the presence of the apothecary, physician, and banker in the picture below. The emblems suggest the companies of butchers, candle-makers, shoemakers, barrel-makers, and so on. An Alderman who has passed the Chair has been a formal representative of all these interests, but the placing of the pitcher man on top suggests that he has turned to more basic interests.

The gloominess of the view through the window, the ugliness of taste and meanness of mind as represented in these pictures makes Lady

The Carousal Scene
(Free Standing)

Squander's suicide after the last hope of a brighter life has passed an understandable one. Hogarth was to declare that the greatest grace a picture can have is to express motion. A still-life was a symbolic representation of suicide for him as an artist and his treatment of the setting in the last picture implies a sympathy for the lady.

(iii) The Carousal Scene

The last inset picture of the series is the most cheerful of the three: another toper solemnly lights his pipe from the nose of a friend. There is a dustiness about the toppers which suggests that they may have been intended as millers, thirsty men by definition. If this were the case, then the picture may have been a comic variation on the idea behind Hogarth's early trade paintings like The Sign for a Pavior (c. 1725), or Mr. Carpenter's Yard (both c. 1725).

All three inset pictures seem to be by the same artist. One toper wears a feathered hat similar to that on the chopping block in the still-life. The toppers' earthenware jugs appear to be smaller versions of the pitcher in the portrait. The pictures have the same simple frame. They do not appear to be imitations of an identifiable artist although belonging to the same general style. Their anonymity is in keeping with the Alderman himself.

The sayings, to have a 'nose to light a candle at' and 'one may know by your nose what pottage you love', offer precedents for fusing the pleasures of smoking and drinking in a visual metaphor.²⁰ The Alderman is the only known smoker and drinker in the series; a gin bottle is kept in the cupboard and a pipe awaits him on the window sill. A smoker who draws his fire from the deformity which a friend has bought upon himself is an apt comment on a mean-minded Alderman who takes advantage of an Earl whose personal excesses have forced him into a degrading alliance and on a man who, at the same time, admires what the Earl represents.

The inset paintings of the last picture mark the end of a prominent feature in the series. Marriage à la Mode begins with a vision of comic grandeur and excessive movement in a view of Jupiter flourishing his fulmen. The work ends with trivia and a kind of stasis. The Earl prides himself on his ideals: a monument, a pedigree, the pictorial representation of heroes, martyrs, and warriors. He disregards gout,

The Alderman's Corner Cupboard
and His Clock (Free Standing)

Note (i) the resemblance between
the whole shapes
(ii) the keys in the lock.

money and mortgages. The Alderman is concerned in his art with drinking, smoking, clothes, eating, and perhaps sleep. The pictures show a consistent admiration of a perverse kind of squandering; he admires the consequences of drunkenness, food gone to waste, and excessive conviviality. He has been drawn to a family of squanderers as an inevitable consequence of his own fantasies which contrast with the meanness of his own life.

The gradual change from the historical sublime to the low Dutch not only charts the decline of the daughter's ambitions, but also the gradual ascendancy of the domestic, vulgar, and anonymous over the universal, sublime, and the famous in art. The conclusion is a comic triumph for London over Westminster, a pyrrhic victory, however, in view of Hogarth's contempt.

4. The Corner Cupboard and the Clock

The placing of the Alderman's corner cupboard and its contents among the paintings suggests that he regards them as of comparable value. Five books fill the top shelf, their spines reversed, perhaps to save wear. The titles have been inked in on the foreedges of four of them: a day book, a ledger, a receipt book, and a compound interest book.²¹

The compound interest book identifies the Alderman as a usurer and perhaps a merchant banker as well (a detail which was withheld from the paintings in order to give the subscribers extra value for money). A day book could have been used either as a record of financial transactions or for the invoicing of goods, but the usurer seems inclined to avoid transactions involving goods which can be stolen or burnt.

The presence of a labelled receipt book draws attention to the absence of an identifiable payments book. The smaller, untitled book remaining could be the payments book or a journal. The lack of a label would suggest that the Alderman cannot bear to see the word payments. The smallness of this book, a flaw in an otherwise regular row, suggests that the Alderman makes a few payments as possible and avoids the return of capital which would then need re-investing. In this respect, his daughter has done him a disservice in forcing him to take responsibility for a valuable. The thickness of his compound interest book is a tribute to the Alderman's cunning, hard-headedness, and his success. By discouraging his borrowers from repaying capital he himself would earn more. There is no evidence of a "cash-flow" problem for Hogarth's

'spider' or that the folly of dealing with a personification of squandering has impoverished the miser. His concern to acquire his daughter's ring at such a moment is all the more degrading.

The bottom shelf contains the careful man's small pleasures: a stock of clay pipes, a gin bottle, and a soft leather bag for minor valuables like the ring. The cupboard is usually kept locked as the Alderman's means of keeping his books to himself and controlling his own desires. One pipe and an oval tobacco box are ready on the window sill for his after dinner smoke as signs of his forethought in small matters which contrasts with his oversight of the coin in the first picture. Kunzle refers to the poor who smoked in order to kill the pangs of hunger; a miser's pleasure has its useful purpose.²²

The regularity of the Alderman's way of life is implied in the presence of the wall clock with its large alarm bell and the almanac. Although Hogarth disapproved of his Alderman, it would have been likely that he appreciated the purposeful simplicity of his English clock in contrast to the artificial elaborateness of the French clock in the second picture (page 76).²³

The arched silhouette of the clock and bell is similar to that of the cupboard with the punchbowl on top and the centrepiece of the window. In so far that an upturned bowl (another female emblem) signifies the end of festivities, then the bell, securely anchored, signifies that the woman is a prisoner of the father's regulated way of life. If the analogy is extended to include the shape of the window, then the father's authority has the metaphorical support of the City of London behind him.

A similar almanac in Mr West's counting house is decorated with a motto of youth ~~chasing away time~~ ^{taking time by the forelock} (Industry and Idleness IV), an emblem of thrift, good order, and hard work. The London Almanac, incidentally, hangs today in the Chancery Lane offices of tax advisers! Ironically the old woman in Marriage à la Mode, like the moon or father time, holds only a representative of deformed youth in her arms.

PART THREE: OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

1. A Special Case: The Dog, the Pig, the Woman, and the Miser

A dog, a pig, a woman, and a miser represent some of the more

popular figures in folk-lore, proverb, and story. Several parallels suggest that Hogarth was inviting a spectator to perceive ironic relationships between unexpected ideas: the pig's lip and the cur's both curl; the pig's head and the dead woman's have similarly smooth cheeks and open mouths; the placing of the animals's heads balances with those of the mother and son.

A pig and a cur are traditionally associated with gluttony. A hungry dog is a permanent threat to the food in the house and a public advertisement for its owner's miserliness. The cur's greed comments on the Alderman's eagerness to take possession of the ring, to seize the figurative pig's head. The saying, 'you can never scare a dog away from a greasy hide', comments on a cur who steals in spite of his fear.²⁴ This saying extends to include the impulse behind the master's present action which also overrides his fear or human sympathies. 'Folly is a bony dog' may have been at the back of Hogarth's mind and, as a personification of man's natural self, the animal represents his most succinct judgement on the Alderman's character.

The Alderman's eagerness for his own daughter's valuable of a kind that he normally appears not to handle anticipates the later proverb, 'dogs are hard drove when they eat dogs'. Juvenal reputedly coined the maxim, 'dog does not eat dog', but in the Alderman's house there is no such honour among thieves.

The cur perched on the chair reflects the saying, 'flesh stands never so high, but a dog will venture his legs'. The implied speed of action is commented on in the saying, 'to be as fast as a dog can lick a dish'. Several jingles comment on the cur's presumed success. The following ironic twist is typical:

Rank misers now do sparing shun
And dogs thence with whole shoulders run.

Hogarth is reported as having painted Sir Isaac Shard sitting in judgement on 'a great hungry dog who had stolne from his honour's kitching a piteous lean scraggy shoulder of mouton'.²⁵ A dog steals the only chop in The Distrest Poet (1740). Both the account and the picture show the artist's awareness of proverb law and the incident in Marriage à la Mode seems a likely variation on the subject.

The nearness of the animals' heads suggests that the Alderman cannot perhaps distinguish a pig from a dog, an observation which Tilley construes as to mean 'a very fool'. The lack of discrimination in a man who eats undressed, salted brawn is perhaps commented on in 'hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings'. Swift's variation, scornful

dogs, comments on the Alderman's disregard for humanity, both in his actions and in his choice of pictures.²⁶ 'Some cannot abide to see a pig's head gaping' draws attention to the Alderman's lack of fastidiousness. Grose records a saying that to eat boiled pig at home is to be master of the house, but the Alderman's supposed mastery is spoilt by both the cur's triumph and his daughter's self-willed death.

A miser was said to dress eggs and give the non-existent offal to the poor. 'To be as full of knavery as an egg is full of deceit' is typical of the many sayings on the subject and the association is strengthened by the addition of the spider's web, another symbol of deviousness. A, perhaps later, proverb comments on the abstemious man's power of survival, 'drinking water neither makes a man sick, nor in debt, nor his wife a widow'.

The preceding pictures in the series have been examined to see if such proverbial associations occur elsewhere. Some details, like the cat and the fish in the second picture, Sr. Tmy. Babyhouse's collection in the fourth, and the fagot in the fifth, provide isolated precedents. But no other picture seems to yield such a range of associations. The Earl's favoured tradition is alien, heroic, and cruel, whereas the Alderman's is homely, proverbial, and distasteful. The moralizing anticipates that of Industry and Idleness, another City narrative, and makes the next series a development from Marriage à la Mode and not an abrupt change of direction.

2. The Visual Organization of the Picture and Conclusion

The escutcheons of Hogarth's archetypal miser, the Rake's father, in The Heir I, provide a clue to the organization of the picture. The Rakewells' emblem is a carpenter's vice. The figures in the last picture of Marriage à la Mode hold or grip one another: the cur seizes the pig's ear; the apothecary holds the servant by the collar; the thick-armed old woman firmly clasps the child; the child clings to its mother's head. The Alderman, on the only occasion that major figures are allowed to touch one another, holds his daughter's wrist as he withdraws the ring. Ironically, the most grasping character metaphorically holds his victim with the most delicacy.

The figures are graded in height from the small dog to the tall Alderman. The ordering reflects the traditional hierarchy from an inferior to a supposedly superior form of being. The imbecile and the dwarf are partial beings, more than beasts, but less than the whole man.

The old woman and the child are at the extremities of age and youth. Whereas a countess is the superior in rank, her suicide represents a descent to the lowest level, an appropriate preliminary in the viewing sequence to the view of a supposedly whole man. The physician is an ordinary enough figure, but a back view is the artist's definition of half a man. The Alderman is surrounded only by partial or inferior forms of being.

The old woman, the child, and the mother form a coherent group within the parade (to which the Alderman is a significant appendage). All the figures lean towards the right with the exception of the Alderman so that their inclination holds the parade together and encourages the eye to pass on to the Alderman. His action appears a consummation of the behaviour of the grasping and limited beings to the left.

The disposition of arms and hands of the figures to the right of the parade is similar to that of the marriage picture (A Rake's Progress V). The movement of the Rake's fingers against the direction of the viewing sequence challenges the passing eye and so draws attention to the ring he puts on his bride's finger. The Alderman withdraws a ring in line with the direction of the viewing sequence so that his is the less conspicuous action. The pride, gallantry, melancholy, pure love, violence, and remorse in the series lead up to and resolve in a small, greedy, callous action.

The last picture reveals the ultimate truth about people of some social standing, but of intermediate character. Lady Squander prefers her lawyer to her husband at the end. They survive as echoes in an ailing child and a discarded paper. Only a cold, precise man stands out against the diminishing trend and the thievery of his sneaking cur completes a movement in which the bestial ends on a par with the human.

THE SUICIDE OF THE COUNTESS VI: REFERENCES

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4. The poet and Nichols and Steevens III, p. 55. The misidentification probably derives from George Augustus Sala's casual reading in William Hogarth, Painter, Engraver, and Philosopher: Essays on the Man, the Work, and the Time (London, 1866, Ward Lock Reprint, 1970), note on p. 294. Dobson note to p. 102, HI p. 484, and HGW I, p. 275.
5. J. Ireland II, p. 52 and Nichols and Steevens III, p. 55. The Age of Agony, p. 63; a connexion between dietary deficiency and rickets was first proposed in 1746.
6. The Age of Agony, p. 49. ~~J.~~ ^{H.} Plumb, 'The New World of Children', Listener (26. February, 1976), Vol. 95, No. 2446, pp. 232-3.
7. F. G. Stephens (BM Cat.), p. 582. England in the Age of Hogarth, p. 211; the passage draws on Chapter 8 'The Vale of Tears'.
8. Dobson (p. 102) was the first to appreciate the need to anticipate rigor mortis. Davies explains the point of law, p. 55 and note 81.
9. J. Ireland II, note to p. 51.
10. J. Ireland II, p. 51.
11. O'Malley, p. 158.
12. The passage draws on The Thames About 1750 (London, 1951), by Hugh Phillips p. 51 (Phillips reproduces Buck's print), HI, pp. 25-6, and William Kent, Encyclopaedia of London (London, 1937), p. 62 (Kent reproduces Thomas Pennant's account). The lines are from John Gay's An Epistle to the Earl of Burlington (1715) lines 19-20 in The Poetical Works of John Gay, p. 153.
13. Kunzle, p. 153 (5-25).
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15. R. L. Gregory and E. H. Gombrich Illusion in Nature and Art (London, 1973), p. 68 caption to fig. 18.
16. Robert Collison, The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press (London, 1973), p. 34. Kunzle, p. 192, Life and Death of Jonathan Wild (1725, 6-45).
17. Antal's suggestion, p. 47.
18. Francis Grose, A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue edited by Eric Partridge (London, 3rd. edition, 1963), p. 263. Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (London, 5th. edition, 1961) I, p. 635 and Bohn's edition of

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19. J. Ireland II, p. 53.
20. Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (London, 5th. edition, 1961) I, p. 570.
21. I am grateful to Philip Bond for background information to the book-keeping details.
22. Kunzle, p. 220.
23. Lichtenberg identifies the clock as English (p. 149). The numbers in the print were not reversed from the painting so that the Roman XI, for example, appears on the right. It is impossible to decide whether this was an oversight or a deliberate comment.
24. The sayings are drawn from Bohn's edition of Ray's Collection, Tilley, and the Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs.
25. Recollected by George Vertue and reported in HI, p. 228.
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Part Two

ILLUSTRATION 26 The Notes of Invitation (the painting)

VII. THE LITERARY ALLUSIONS

This, the first of the chapters in the second part to be concerned with the series as a whole, is divided into four sections. The first is concerned with the most popular comedy of the period, The Provok'd Husband, which provides a source for Lady Squander's name and gives the series a moral dimension in verbal form. The second section is a survey of Dryden's romantic comedy from which, apparently, Hogarth took his title. The third is concerned with Le Sopha, a collection of tales, which gives the series a philosophy of sexual behaviour. The last section is concerned with some less important or doubtful allusions.

1. The Notes of Invitation in the Fourth Picture and 'The Provok'd Husband'

The invitations and the note of enquiry on the floor of The Countess's Morning Levée read as follows: 'Lady Squanders Company is desir'd at Miss Hairbrains Rout'; 'Lady Squanders Com is desir'd at Lady Heathens Drum Major on next Sunday'; 'Ly Squanders Com is desir'd at Lady Townlys Drum Munday next'; 'Count Basset begs to no how Lady Squander sleapt last nite' (Illustration 26).

As measures of Lady Squander's busy social life, the notes show that she has been in Count Basset's company on the previous evening and is presumably to visit Miss Hairbrain later in the present day since no other day is named. She is also to go visiting on a Sunday and Monday in which case Hogarth may have intended the present day to be a Saturday! Visiting cards were often improvized on the backs of playing-cards so that those on the floor are probably meant to be even more invitations.¹ The repetition of the courtesy term desir'd is an ironic accompaniment since Lady Squander's company is desired in more ways than one. The variable spelling comments on the writers' degree of literacy; amusingly, the most scatterbrained of Lady Squander's acquaintances, who forgets to name a day, is the best speller. Lady Heathen, appropriately, issues her invitation for a Sunday.

A Lady Townly and a Count Basset are characters in the most popular play of the period, Colley Cibber's The Provok'd Husband (1728), a revision of Sir John Vanburgh's A Journey to London.² The play was performed over eighty times in twenty-six seasons and twenty-six of the performances took place between January 1741 and January 1744.

In the play, Sir Francis Wronghead comes to town to seek prefer-

ment as a member of Parliament for the 'famous borough of Guzzledown' (I. i, page 32), a name Hogarth was to use in the Election series. A 'mask' lists the names of the masqueraders at an entertainment in Lady Townly's house:

There's Lady Ramble — Lady Riot — Lady Kill-Care — Lady Squander — Lady Strip — Lady Pawn — and the duchess of Single-Guinea (V. i, pages 87-8).

Lady Squander is neither shown nor her name repeated in the play, but Hogarth must have known the play well to be aware of such minor details. Cibber's comedy is capable of providing an insight into the dramatic background to Marriage à la Mode. The other type-characters referred to in the invitations, Miss Hairbrain and Lady Heathen, could derive from a similar list in a similar play, but a search has not found a source. It seems more likely that Hogarth made up the names for the sake of the jokes in the invitations (above and page 185).

The Provok'd Husband is constructed around three sets of characters: Lord and Lady Townly, whose marriage is threatened by the lord's complaisance and the lady's single-minded adherence to the fashionable life; Lady Grace, Lord Townly's sister, and her eventual husband, Mr Manly; the unruly family of Sir Francis Wronghead, Manly's country cousins. Count Basset, a card-sharp, has seduced his landlady's daughter, befriended Lady Wronghead at the races, and schemes to marry her daughter.

By the end of the play, the Townlys are reconciled through the good offices of Lady Grace and Mr Manly. They declare their love, having come through the ordeal of Lady Wronghead's attempts to drive them apart in order to preserve her family's prospects of an inheritance. Sir Francis is forced to return home to avoid greater debts incurred in London by his greedy wife and to prevent his son from marrying a 'jade' and his daughter from marrying Count Basset.

(i) Lady Townly and Lady Squander

The main plot is taken up with an intermittent debate between Lord and Lady Townly over her devotion to a life of fashionable squandering. The appeal of the play is found in the vitality and zest of Lady Townly's speeches. Even Lord Townly is forced to concede that his wife's appetite for pleasure as she describes it is 'prodigious':

'To begin then, in the morning — a married woman may have men at her toilet, invite them to dinner, appoint them a party, in a stage-box at the play; engross the conversation there, call 'em by their Christian names; talk louder than

'Lot and His Daughters'

(Free Standing)

the players; — from thence jaunt into the City — take a frolicsome supper at an India house — perhaps in her gayeté de coeur, toast a pretty fellow — then clatter again to this end of town, break with the morning, into an assembly, crowd to the hazard table, throw a familiar levant upon some sharp lurching man of quality, and if he demands his money, turn it off with a loud laugh, and cry — you'll owe it him, to vex him! ha, ha!' (I. 1, page 3)

Lady Townly's catalogue of the daily round anticipates Lady Squander's interest in gaming; her invitation of both men and women to her levée; her 'jaunt' from masked ball to bagnio; a dangerous flirtation with a 'pretty fellow'. Lady Squander's unorthodox assumption of equality may derive directly from Hogarth's recollection of a famous play.

Two of Lady Townly's descriptions of marriage seem to anticipate the marital situation in Shortly After the Marriage II. They supply by association an idea of the script that Hogarth might have had in mind for his couple as he composed the picture:

why, here's my lord and I now, we have not been married above two short years, you know, and we have already eight or ten things constantly in bank, that whenever we want company, we can take up any one of them for two hours together, and the subject never the flatter: nay, if we have occasion for it, it will be as fresh next day too, as it was the first hour it entertained us. (III, 1, page 48)

She returns to the subject of a 'little witty sort of business' later in the same scene:

'a smart repartee, with a zest of recrimination at the head of it, makes the prettiest sherbet! Ay, ay . ! if we did not mix a little of the acid with it, a matrimonial society would be so luscious, that nothing, but an old liquorish prude would be able to bear it'. (III. 1, page 48)

Marriage has to be acerbic in order to protect it from boredom.

Although 'a little of the acid' has been a mainspring of comedy since Aristophanes, it could have its serious side in the eighteenth-century. Recriminations could easily turn into a breach among the well-to-do in real life because other rooms and country houses made separate living possible: 'angry husbands could take themselves off to town, leaving behind angry wives who would seek affection where they could find it'.³ In the same way that to acknowledge feeling for a child could be a confession of moral weakness, so too could it be for a husband to acknowledge an affection for a wife. Cibber's twist was to send Lady Townly off to town and to make her hide her feelings, while her husband mopes at home. Hogarth was to substitute Lord Squander's indifference for Lord Townly's concern and make a catastrophe out of

anger instead of a reconciliation out of forgiveness and reformation.

The mop cap in the pocket and the musical innuendo in the marriage-picture represent the offences against the marriage that the couple can be imagined to put 'in bank'. The spaciousness of the rooms, the indifference and open disapproval of the servants, the husband's lack of interest in his wife draw attention to Lady Squander's loneliness as a woman married out of her social class. Her stretch suggests that she is prepared for contact with her husband if only for 'smart repartee'. Jarrett suggests that the real moral of Marriage à la Mode is not that husbands and wives should be content with one another's company, but that wives should be content with either loneliness or the company of their own sex. In an imaginative sense, Lady Squander could refer to her supposed acquaintance, Lady Townly, as a justification for seeking other than a domestic life and going her own way in marriage.

Both the play and the series are studies in the effects that social freedom can have on people. 'The rich could afford to be tempted and they could usually afford to yield'. Lord Townly suffers because, as Mr Manly warns, he wants to play the lover to his wife 'when he should have taken up the husband'. Lord Squander's liaison with the common miss, which represents his reaction against the authority of his lineage, is justification for his wife's repayment in kind. It is part of Hogarth's skill and an advantage of his medium that in the second picture he could present his couple in such a way that the evidence of their separate pursuits is in balance.

Cibber was careful to protect Lady Townly from any threat of sexual disgrace; her rakishness is an affair of passionate words rather than actions. 'I dote upon assemblies; my heart bounds, at a ball; and at an opera -- I expire! Then I love play to distraction! Cards enchant me! and dice put me out of my little wits! Dear! dear hazard! Oh! what a flow of spirits it gives one!' (III. 1, page 50). She is chaperoned by Lady Grace when the maskers come to her house and she is only ever shown to talk to the worthy characters, while her husband and Mr Manly mix freely with the rogues in the sub-plots. Lord Squander's indifference, the absence of sympathetic parents, and friends leaves his wife out in the open.

Lady Squander's vulnerability is shown in the intimate tone of Count Basset's note. His character-trait is that of a game, a derivation from Italian faro and an appropriate source for a picture dominated by an Italian castrato. In the game, bets are laid on upturned

cards and thus it was particularly attractive to card-sharps because stakes were readily raised. Squandering is the logical consequence of a risky form of gambling so that the character-traits are well and dangerously matched. The allusion had social implications; the paean to Hoyle quoted in the second chapter refers to basset's power to amuse the 'city dames' rather than the ladies of court (page 66). Lady Squander's origins continue to show in her company in discreet details like ornaments, a screen, or a companion.

Count Basset is not only a card-sharp, but a confidence trickster who plays Lady Wronghead, Jenny, and the landlady's daughter, Myrtilla Dupe, off against each other. Ironically, he is not a real count, but a dissembler of no social status. The intimate tone of his note suggests that Lady Squander is an intended victim. It suggests that he is meant as a rival to Silvertongue not only as a possible lover, but also as a comic variation on the Italianate villain. Hogarth, if the mixture of metaphors is allowed, stacks the odds against his heroine because, if one schemer were to fail, a more famous one waits his turn in the wings.

The rôle and attitudes of women towards marriage and sexuality in eighteenth-century literature have been examined by Patricia M. Spacks in ' "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake" '.⁴ 'Not all male poets, playwrights, and novelists supported Pope's dictum . . . but many hinted their belief in — or their hope or fear of its truth' (Cibber and Hogarth among them). Women, as well as men among the middle and upper classes, assumed that a submissive rôle for women was the correct one. A woman who adopted a positive approach to a man other than her husband risked disgrace, being made an outcast, and thus becoming fair game for the philanderers, as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu discovered.

Women in the eighteenth-century did regard themselves as sexual beings in spite of assumptions to the contrary and their writings testify to the 'energy and complexity of their sexual attitudes'. Eliza Haywood's Love in Excess; or, The Fatal Enquiry (1724) is quoted as typical of sexual behaviour in contemporary fiction: 'she had only a thin silk night-gown on, which flying open as he caught her in his arms, he found her panting heart-beat measures of consent'. While the passage continues ~~to be~~ ^{by being} more explicit than any in Crébillon's Le Sopha, and more daring than the stage permitted, Eliza Haywood's readers knew that an interruption would immediately succeed this moment before anything more developed. Hogarth was careful to avoid any 'indecenty' in the fifth picture, but he was impatient with the protectiveness of Cibber or the

timidity of Eliza Haywood. The more accustomed were Hogarth's subscribers to the conventions of sentimental comedy and fiction, then the more brutal, honest, and original was the force of his resolution.

(ii) The Exemplary Characters and the Ideal of Moderation

Lady Grace and Mr Manly personify attributes which Hogarth excluded from Marriage à la Mode. They do have token defects, moral sobriety and a satirical way of speaking, but the emphasis is on their moderation and balanced points of view. Cibber deliberately contrasted Lady Townly's rhapsodies with Lady Grace's descriptions of the ideal life in town and country:

Why in summer, I could pass my leisure hours in riding, reading, walking by a canal, or sitting at the end of it under a great tree, soberly! in dressing, dining, chatting with an agreeable friend, perhaps hearing a little music, taking a dish of tea, or a game of cards, soberly! managing my family, looking into its accounts, playing with my children (if I had any,) or in a thousand other innocent amusements — soberly! And possibly, by these means, I might induce my husband to be as sober as myself (III. i, page 51)

It is to be wondered how much sympathy there was in a contemporary audience for Lady Townly's ironic response to the smugness in exclaiming, 'Under a great tree! O my soul!'

Lady Grace is not a puritan, however; she is prepared to commit herself up to a finely calculated point:

I would visit — soberly — that is, my real friends; but as little for form as possible. — I would go to court; sometimes to an assembly, nay, play at quadrille — soberly: I would see all the good plays; and, (because 'tis the fashion) now and then an opera, — but I would not expire there, [unlike Lady Townly] for fear I should never go again: And lastly, I can't say, but for curiosity, if I liked my company, I might be drawn in once to a masquerade! and this, I think, is as far as any woman can go — soberly. (III. i, page 52)

There is both deliberate and unconscious irony in the emphasis on sobriety. Cibber is wary of a reference which betrays feeling. The insistence on the government of the imagination by reason, according to Pamela Spacks, ensured patterns of repression and denial which women believed to be the nature of things. Hogarth's self-determinate characters are isolated from any such responsible or repressive advice, once the arrangement of their marriage is complete. The Alderman, an epitome of the regulated life, is withheld from the marriage picture and the steward, a compromised figure, walks out on his christian duty. Only the author interjects his warnings, but their meanings are veiled and

the characters are not in a position to read them.

The odds were not wholly stacked against the wife in a contemporary marriage. The saying, 'it is a sweet sorrow to buy a termagent wife', also has its tragi-comic implications. A letter from a supposed Sir John Enville to the Spectator made the following rueful complaint:

She next set herself to reform every room of my house, having glazed all my chimney-pieces with looking-glass, and planted every corner with such heaps of china that I am obliged to move about my own house with the greatest caution and circumspection, for fear of hurting some of our brittle furniture. She makes an illumination once a week with wax-candles in one of the largest rooms, in order, as she phrases it, to see company. At which time she desires me to be abroad or to confine myself to the cock-loft.⁵

In the Dedication, Cibber declared that the 'design' of this play is the familiar one of 'chiefly to expose, and reform the licentious irregularities that too often, break in upon the peace and happiness of the married state'. The prologue and epilogue are, also predictably, concerned with the moral implications. Disarmingly, Cibber suggests that Vanburgh thought of the play as an atonement for his own vicious youth. The suggestion indicates that Cibber sees its representation of a carefully circumscribed, liberated womanhood as daring. In defence of the exemplary characters, he argues that a play should include the real and the ideal, a blend which Hogarth was to reject in his characters, but to transpose to the comic relationship between the real characters and the supposed ideals of the inset art. The epilogue exhorts husbands to govern their wives, since modern women are such 'high-bred creatures' that they need extra care and only 'take pride' in their marriages 'when merit is their master' — a value Hogarth denies in direct terms.

Lord Townly married for love and even his wife accepted her arranged marriage without criticism and enjoys its sherbet. He is only the potential cuckold whose wife is in love with the fashionable life in general rather than another man. It is to be suggested later that Lady Squander's tragedy comes about because Silvertongue plays on her desire to be fashionable rather than her carnal desire (page 235). Lord Squander's apathy derives partly from a distaste for a 'low bred' wife (as the poet sees her) who is forced on him, the moral of which is that arrangements of marriage work if the husband and not the husband's father does the choosing. The lord only discovers a pride in his marriage when it is too late for him to become the master. The poet, who attacks women who 'rail' or 'run lewd', was prepared to be understanding of an erring wife if her husband did not set her an example.

The women novelists equated ignorance with a potentially disastrous innocence: Lady Townly nostalgically recalls her sheltered girlhood in the care of a doting father in the country. Lady Squander is transferred from what can be assumed to be a restricted, spartan home to the care of an indifferent rather than an overcaring husband. Both the play and the series criticize the enforcement of marriage on women who have not reached maturity by concentrating on the intoxicating effects of a fashionable life. Hogarth deepens his criticism by choosing a marriage alliance between families traditionally hostile to each other, an additional folly.

Cibber places most of the moral responsibility on Lady Townly, but Hogarth widens his responsibilities to include the husband, a gallant, the influence of the historical sublime, two fathers, and the implicit values of the two Cities themselves. The epilogue to the play makes a plea for the tolerant reception of a reformed woman — at least in a play. The continuing popularity of The Provok'd Husband was the playgoers' answer; Cibber prepares the way for Hogarth's more serious and challenging test of their sympathies.

The reference helps align Marriage à la Mode, a tragic work in its essential situation, with the traditions of Restoration comedy. The allusions make Hogarth's characters demonstrably fictitious in another way because Lady Squander is associated with the named characters of popular entertainment. Lady Squander's and Lady Townly's paths all but cross and perhaps Hogarth imagined his lovers as visiting 'My Lady Townly's House [which] is always open to the masks on a ball night' before they go to the Haymarket and then to the bagnio. The overlapping of imaginary societies provides an unusual example of interrelationship between the arts. Marriage à la Mode, as an extension of someone else's idea, compares with the special relationship between Jane Eyre and The Wide Sargasso Sea except that the former involves two distinct narrative forms.

At the same time, Hogarth's extension criticizes the improbabilities of sentimental comedy by following its implications through to their more probable conclusion. Allusion is a form of flattery, however; the references connect Marriage à la Mode to a more kindly view of marriage. Hogarth's characters are not in a moral vacuum absolutely because the play provides, albeit tenuously, a moral standard against which the tragedy can be set. Having lashed the 'follies' of marriage, Hogarth also intended to give it its 'due eoniums' in the Happy Marriage series.

Significantly, he did not complete it.

2. 'Marriage à la Mode' by John Dryden

The presence of deliberate references to one play invites a review of another. Dryden's romantic comedy with a split plot was first published in 1663, but was unlikely to have been performed after February 1703.⁶ The comic sub-plot, the story of Rhodophil and Doralice, was transposed unaltered to another of Cibber's dramatic revisions, The Comical Lovers, or, Marriage à la Mode (1703). This version was performed as late as 1722 so that some knowledge of the old play was available to Hogarth during his twenties. Tonson reprinted the whole of Dryden's play in 1734 so that Hogarth was reasonably well placed to have been influenced by it, or even to have read it, as a preliminary to his own work.

Palamede, a minor character in the witty sub-plot, begins the play by explaining that he has been ordered home suddenly to marry at the command of a selfish father:

in few words, my old man has already marry'd me; for he has agreed with another old man, as rich and as covetous as himself; the articles are drawn, and I have given my consent, for fear of being disinherited; and yet know not what kind of woman I am to marry. (I. i, lines 117-22)

Palamede's description of the avaricious fathers anticipates in general terms the situation in The Marriage Contract I. Melantha, Palamede's betrothed, in turn reads a letter from her father who demands her unquestioning agreement to his choice of a husband. She accepts the fait accompli quite eagerly because she foresees the attractions of the independent life that Lady Townly and Lady Squander are to discover only after marriage. The tone remains light-hearted; a threat of disinheritance quickly persuades Palamede to give up his potentially tragic pursuit of a married woman, Doralice, and to 'conquer' his Melantha. Paradoxically, a father's authority is used to resolve things happily, instead of presiding over a suicide.

Rhodophil and Doralice, the important characters in the sub-plot married for love, but, when the play opens, they have tired of each other. Doralice introduces herself by singing of the death of marriage, the decay of passion, and the possibility of a lover. The song is as ironical in its implications for the play as The Pilgrim was to be for Hogarth's second picture (page 75 and below, page 184). Rhodophil declares that he is wretchedly married and that he avoids quarreling

with his wife because they simply go their different ways. The liveliness of their quarrels, however, which must have influenced Cibber in his treatment of Lord and Lady Townly, provides a source for the earlier play's appeal. Dryden also set out an argument which Hogarth may have visualized as taking place between his husband and wife:

Rhodophil. Pox o' your dull tune, a man can't think for you.

Doralice. Pox o' your damn'd whistling; you can neither be company to me your self, nor leave me to the freedom of my own fancy.

Rhodophil. Well, thou art the most provoking wife!

Doralice. Well, thou art the dullest husband, thou art never to be provok'd.

Rhodophil. I was never thought dull, till I marry'd thee; and now thou hast made an old knife of me, thou hast whetted me so long, till I have no edge left.

Doralice. I see you are in the husbands fashion; you reserve all your good humour for your mistresses, and keep your ill for your wives.

Rhodophil. Prithee leave me to my own cogitations; I am thinking over all my sins, to find for which of them it was I marry'd thee.

Doralice. Whatever your sin was, mine's the punishment.

Rhodophil. My comfort is, thou art not immortal; and when that blessed, that divine day comes, of thy departure, I'm resolv'd I'll make one Holy-day more in the Almanack for thy sake.

Doralice. Ay, you had need make a Holy-day for me, for I am sure you have made me a martyr.

Rhodophil. Then, setting my victorious foot upon thy head, in the first hour of thy silence, (that is, the first hour thou art dead, for I despair of it before) I will swear by thy ghost, an oath as terrible to me, as Styx is to the gods, never more to be in danger of the banes of matrimony.

Doralice. And I am resolv'd to marry the very same day thou dy'st, if it be but to show how little I'm concern'd for thee.

(III. i, lines 41-72)

The rivalries reflected in the balancing of one phrase or line against one another may have given Hogarth a precedent for his disposition of his couple one against the other in the second picture and for the pairing which contributes to the underlying organization of the picture (page 80). Rhodophil pursues Melantha and Doralice flirts with Palamede in a pairing which anticipates that between the lord and the common miss, and the lady and the lawyer in the third and fourth pictures of the series.

Dryden, as Cibber was to do, carefully preserved the virtue of his characters in order that their escapades should remain a game. Doralice declares that she leads Palamede on only for her 'diversion' (III. ii, line 36) and Rhodophil promises Melantha that he would only force her

if she wanted him to (III. ii, lines 76-7). The point of a 'pretty odd kind of game . . . where each of us plays for double stakes' (III. ii, lines 156-7) has its serious implication. The game is played out of a need for novelty, a dubious virtue to eighteenth-century eyes, but a need forced upon many well-to-do wives of the time, nevertheless. Dryden cleverly avoids a tragic confrontation between Rhodophil and Palamede by making Doralice argue that they have to remain virtuous because 'the only way to keep us new to ^{one} another, is never to enjoy' (V. i, lines 302-3). Lady Squander was to play a similarly dangerous game, but her husband does not care for the rules and she lacks Doralice's wisdom and maturity.

Melantha, 'the town lady', haunts the court: she is 'the greatest gossip in nature'; 'the most eternal visitor'; 'no other woman is so curious of a new fashion as she is of a new French word'. She provides a prototype for the modish and frenzied activities of Cibber's and Hogarth's heroines and other fashionable, female characters in the eighteenth-century comedy of manners; Mrs Tatoo in Garrick's interlude, Lethe (1740) is an epitome (below, page 187).

Rhodophil, the potential cuckold, is a prototype for both Lord Townly and Lord Squander. He is willing to pursue Melantha, but feels abused and begins to hate his friend when Palamede declares that Doralice is to be his mistress. Rhodophil's suspicion leads to jeering and a challenge. Rhodophil's personal safeguards against tragedy, apart from Doralice, are a sociability and characteristic good humour which Lord Squander lacks.

The fourth act of Marriage à la Mode is constructed around a masquerade where the characters from both plots dance, make assignations, and mistake one another's identity. The masquerade seems to have been forced on Dryden as a means of drawing the citizens to a fairly distant theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields:

for we shall show today,

A Masquing ball to recommend our play (Prologue, lines 30-1).

By the 1740s, a masquerade was enough of a theatrical commonplace for Hogarth to dispense with it as a set-piece and reduce it to a mere picture on a screen. Rhodophil's definition of a masquerade, however, could have supplied Hogarth with a hint for the crisis of his series:

I believe it was invented first by some jealous lover, to discover the haunts of his jilting mistress; or, perhaps, by some distressed servant, to gain an opportunity with a jealous man's wife (IV. i, lines 122-5).

Dryden's characters are drawn to the novelty and mystery of a masquerade, 'there is nothing to be known' of a woman in disguise, 'she's all terra incognita' (IV. i, lines 140-1). Hogarth stripped his pleasure-seekers of their mystery in order to concentrate on the sordid truth of the aftermath of an outworn ritual. His original contribution to the comic traditions of joyous lovers and jealous husbands was to withhold any obvious signs of the cuckold's jealousy in order to create an effect of maximum surprise in a medium where surprises are not easy to achieve.

The tone of Dryden's major plot is romantic and serious and his sub-plot light and witty. He was aware that he had drawn back from the serious implications of his comic plot. The Epilogue declares:

But yet too far our poet would not run,
 Though 'twas well offer'd, there was nothing done.
 He would not quite the women's frailty bare,
 But stript 'em to the waist, and left 'em there:

(lines 11-14)

The Epilogue supposes that the audience are 'all for driving on the plot' and are disappointed when he 'came in to break the sport'. Dryden's defence of a happy ending is that the 'poor cuckold seldom finds a friend'. He preferred to leave the harsher view of the consequences of an arranged marriage to others:

Some stabbing wits, to bloody satyr bent,
 Would treat both sexes with less complement,
 Would lay the scene at home; of husbands tell,
 For wenches, taking up their wives i' the Mell:
 And a brisk bout which each of them did want,
 Made by mistake of mistris and gallant

(lines 17-22).

Hogarth fits the description of a 'stabbing wit' so closely that his Marriage à la Mode appears a deliberately witty and bloody reply to Dryden's defence of comic restraint and sentimentality.

3. 'Le Sopha'

Silvertongue has a book tucked behind his back in the fourth picture. The word 'Sopha' is legible on its top edge. Claude Prosper Jolyot, 'Crébillon fils', first attracted notoriety with L'Ecumoir, ou Tanzai et Neadarme, Histoire Japonaise (1734), a satire against the monarchy and the church. The work caused such an uproar that Crébillon was imprisoned in the Bastille and then exiled from Paris. Le Sopha (1740) was published in defiance of royal decree, and translated and published in London a year later.⁷ Lady Henrietta Maria Stafford was so taken

with 'the delicacy of the author's mind' that she went to Paris in 1744 first to become his mistress, then the mother of his children, and only then his wife. She seems to have been the real counterpart of Lady Townly and Lady Squander and, unlike them, was able to turn convention upside down and to her advantage.

Lawrence Sterne acknowledged the influence of Le Sopha on The Sentimental Journey (1768) so that Crébillon was continuing to have his effect well after the publication of Marriage à la Mode. Hogarth could not have avoided knowing the contents of the work and its reputation for licentiousness. Crébillon was the kind of radical, like Samuel Butler, George Whitefield, or John Wilkes, to which Hogarth was drawn. Le Sopha should also be considered as part of the relevant background to Marriage à la Mode.

The work is a parody of the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights. The Sultan, Shah Baham, is the supposed grandson of Scheherazade and, like his grandfather, he calls for stories. The relationship between the original tales and their modern sequel could have supplied Hogarth with the idea for making his own series an imaginative extension of The Provok'd Husband. The Sultan prefers tales which are 'a little sportive' (page 31), but a recurrent joke is that the story-teller, aided by the Sultana, refuses to satisfy him. The work is neither as titillating as its reputation suggests nor anywhere near as explicit as Fanny Hill (1749) was to be. The story-teller, Amanzei, is a young Brahmin who has undergone the experience of metempsychosis (page 23). At one stage of existence, he was transmogrified into a woman and, because of indolence, Brahma transposed the soul to the sofa on which he had spent so much time in his life as a woman.

Brahma decreed that Amanzei's soul 'should begin a new lease of life only when two persons with [himself] as opportunity should render each other the first fruits of mutual affection' (page 29). The tales are the recollections, therefore, of a persistently hopeful voyeur. Conveniently, Brahma allowed Amanzei to remember his experiences and to flit from one sofa to another at will. He recounts six stories in all. The first two, the tales of Fatima and Amina, offer a general resemblance to the situations in Marriage à la Mode. The morality and philosophy in the other tales may have been at the back of Hogarth's mind as he composed the series.

Fatima is careless of her appearance in a studied way. She prefers a 'romance full of tender situations' (page 32) to devout works. Her

husband desires his wife, unlike Lord Squander, but is too awed of her to confess his feelings. She yields to him 'with a very ill grace' only when she has someone else in mind. She attacks the idea of women who take lovers in order to keep her husband at a distance while she takes her own lovers. She is summed up as one born with 'that duplicity which incites women to disguise their natures and yet long to be honoured', as 'not refined' and 'sensuous' (page 37).

Fatima's second lover is a popular Brahmin who 'spoke so sweetly . . . [that] he made the taste for virtue steal so gently over erring souls' (page 46). A silver tongue is a prerequisite of not only the successful man of religion and the lawyer, but also of a personification of sexual persuasion and power. Silvertongue perhaps is a conflation of Hogarth's recollection of Fatima's lover, Count Basset, and whatever other schemers and sweet talkers from Romeo onwards were in his mind at the time.

The end of Fatima's affair is more sudden and brutal than even Lady Squander's. The seemingly meek husband catches her with her Brahmin and, entering the closet, strikes the lovers dead. The cuckold's revenge, by way of contrast, draws attention to Hogarth's irony in arranging for the husband to die and the lover to escape.

Crébillon's stories are urbane analyses of rapture and the procedures of persuasion, refusal, and delay. Love is a matter of strategies and tactics to be worked out according to the tacit rules of a game, as it was for Dryden. Sexual activity is described only briefly and then with discretion; the academic implications of sexuality were more important to Crébillon.

The conversations between the women and their lovers are debates which concentrate on the philosophical aspect of love. Mochles contemplates the 'perpetual want of employment in which [women] idle away their lives' (page 95). Boredom is this 'fatal indolence [which] breeds the most dangerous notions' (page 96). An enforced idleness can be seen as one cause of Lady Squander's interest in erotic, fantastic, and grotesque art and the risky pursuits of card-playing, attending a masquerade, and visiting a bagnio. Mochles defines virtue as 'denying ourselves the things which most delight our senses' (page 115). A subscriber, who had read *Le Sopha*, could well imagine that this hedonistic argument is being proposed during the *tête à tête*.

Mochles draws attention to the social pressures on women not to be faithful, 'it is not easy for a man to stand out against love:

everything prompts a woman to yield to it' (page 95). The argument is as modern as those of Pamela Spacks:

it is always the women who are attacked (excepting those few without shame or principles, who, even without being in love, dare to be the first to say that they love), so that, as a rule, in spite of modern licentiousness, we do not have to hold out against the kindnesses, the tears, and the determination which we daily employ so successfully against women (page 97).

In another story, Zuleika explains that ' a woman has only got to be less than frightful and everybody at once imagines that she is more amenable to love than she ought to be' (page 253). Doralice, Lady Townly, and Lady Squander belong to the same order as Crébillon's sensualists — women who assume a sexual initiative in a society dominated by men. The stir that the work caused in Paris and London can be imagined.

Hogarth and Crébillon are colder, more honest observers than Dryden or Cibber. Bonamy Dobrée pays tribute to Crébillon's shrewdness and delicacy. The tales are

graceful inductions into something far harder to compass than rigid morality; they aim at the perilous balance of sympathy and understanding [which accompany] physical pleasure, for while they deal largely with the body, they never forget the soul (page 3).

It is a relief after reading the sentimental plays to find that the obvious moral is not obviously propounded.

Crébillon's style is elaborate, allusive, and wickedly euphemistic, an appropriate foil to Hogarth's own intricate and periphrastic style. Although the range of the tales is narrow, the most moral of Crébillon's characters are vain, complacent, dissatisfied, and as human in their way as Hogarth's. Le Sopha provides the series with a philosophical dimension which is modern and persuasive, serious in content, ironic in its narrative structure.

The mock-oriental setting of the tales makes an assignation at the sign of a Turk's head seem an inevitable consequence of the lovers' reading of and their self-identification with a work which advocates the gratification of desire to those who seek such justification. Milton declared that a book is the expression of a man's soul. Amanzei can be imagined as present in Lady Squander's sofa, observing, remembering, and hoping, but how offended his fastidious spirit would be by the placing of Silvertongue's feet!

4. Minor Allusions (1) 'The Pilgrim' and 'The Beggar's Opera'

The cupid in the inset picture over the fireplace in the painting, but not the print, of Shortly After the Marriage II plays the bagpipes to the tune of 'O happy groves', a reference to the opening lines of a popular lyric called The Pilgrim:

Oh, happy, happy Groves, Witness of oue tender loves;
 Oh, happy, happy Shade, where first our Vows were made.
 Blushing, Sighing, Melting, Dying, Looks would charm a Jove;
 A Thousand pretty things she said and all was Love;
 But Corinna perjur'd proves, and forsakes the shady Groves;
 When I speak of mutual Joys, she knows not what I mean,
 Wanton Glances, fond Caresses, now no more are seen
 Since the false deluding Fair left the flow'ry Green
 Mourn ye Nymphs that sporting play'd where poor Strephon was
 betray'd,
 There the secret Wound she gave, when I was made her slave.⁸

The complaint stresses the nymph's treachery in contrast to the shepherd's innocence. The allusion suggests that Hogarth regarded the wife's behaviour as treacherous by analogy in one version of the second picture at least. The reference to Jove can only be coincidental, but it prepares conveniently for the later analogy between Lady Squander and one of his nymphs and between the god as a dissembler and Silver-tongue. ~~The coincidence acts as a reminder that allusions to Jupiter as a lover~~ ^{but not so much as a marriage deity,} were as much of a cliché in the terminology of pastoral song as the effusive epithets, 'blushing', 'sighing', 'melting', and 'dying'.

Barrett's tune and the first line of The Pilgrim were parodied by Gay in The Beggar's Opera (1728). The opening phrase, 'happy groves' became the title of the fifty-eighth air in Act III and the exaggerated lament is ridiculed in the lines:

O cruel, cruel, cruel case!
 Must I suffer this disgrace?⁹

Gay's opera was a source book for Hogarth's art: he painted at least six versions of the climax and the work supplied several ideas for the progresses. The Harlot admires Macheath, for example, and Matt the Mint's brother, Tom, ends up, like Hogarth's Tom Nero, 'among the Otamys at Surgeon's Hall' (II. 1).

Macheath sings the air while awaiting execution, after having been betrayed by Jenny Diver and Jemmy Twitcher, the agents of Lockett and Peachum. The latter are both as dictatorial and as unlikely partners and rivals as the Earl and the Alderman. Gay makes Macheath's reprieve

at the end as much a criticism of the improbabilities of popular comedy as Hogarth's ending.

A marriageable, but discerning daughter who does not behave quite as a father might expect is common to both works. Macheath's need to choose between his wives (in Hogarth's picture they flank him on either side) contrasts with a situation in which a wife is set to choose between a husband and a lover. Mrs Peachum interrogates Polly as to whether she can 'support the expense of a husband . . . in gaming, drinking, and whoring; whether she has 'money enough to carry on the daily quarrels of man and wife about who shall squander most?' (I. viii) She concludes that there are not many husbands and wives 'who can bear the charges of plaguing one another in a handsome way' and prophesies that Polly will 'be as ill-us'd and as much neglected as if [she] hadst married a Lord!' Peachum himself describes the parting of a wife from a husband as the 'whole scheme and intention of all marriage articles. The comfortable estate of widowhood, is the only hope that keeps up a wife's spirits' (I.x).

There is no obvious reason why Hogarth left the allusion out of the engraving except that the emphasis on a woman's treachery created an imbalance he may not have wished to make too obvious at an early stage. Because the allusion seems so much to Hogarth's taste, could it be that he just forgot to check that Baron included it?

(ii) 'A Mad World My Masters'

Although Hogarth's reference to a Lady Hairbrain is a self-contained joke (above, page 169), a Mistress Harebrain is the wife of the jealous Master Harebrain in Middleton's Jacobean City comedy.¹⁰ Hogarth could not have seen a performance, but his knowledge of plays is unexpectedly deep. Apart from the authors already mentioned in this chapter it is possible that he knew of Nathaniel Lee, Tate, Jonson, Fielding, Etherege, Marston, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and perhaps even Webster as well as the repertoire of travelling theatre and fairground pageantry as is shown in Southwark Fair (1733/4) and Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn (1738). Hogarth could have come across a copy of Middleton's play or an obscure adaptation and thus it is worth reviewing if only to discover the extent and style of the dramatic tradition in which Hogarth worked.

A Mad World My Masters (1606) is concerned with treachery, suspicion, and female wilfulness in marriage. The memorable figure of Sir

Penitent Brothel is a study of the power of lust and the fears and guilt it can generate. The country knight, Sir Bounteous Progress, belongs to the same tradition of eccentric and expansive nobility as Earl Squander. Master Harebrain and the Alderman are both in the Menippean tradition of narrow-minded skinflints. The interaction of the gallants, Follywit and Sir Penitent Brothel, with the citizens and prostitutes of London demonstrates the length of tradition behind Hogarth's City rivalries.

Comedy can be divided into romantic or realistic according to the emphasis given to love or money.¹¹ Realistic comedy puts money first. Follywit's aim is to enter his inheritance and his love for Lady Gullman, if it can be called that, arises incidentally. Hogarth's choice of a family name would suggest at first thought that the series is to be romantic. Everyone, including the Alderman at the beginning, puts all else before money. Silvertongue's gallantry, Lord Squander's quixotic gesture, the lovers' joy are romantic features. But the emphasis on contemporary manners, fashions, and places, the Alderman's final gesture, the harshness, and the sardonic humour is realistic. Hogarth's series unites the contrasting traditions in a work which is both tragic and comic, *realistic and romantic.*

(iii) Garrick's interlude 'Lethe'

Lethe, written in 1740 and performed as late as 1742, may have influenced Hogarth.¹² No direct allusion is present in the series, but several common features reveal how much Hogarth's imagination was of his own time.

Lethe is a parade of weary, fashionable figures who pass before a wondering Esop in order to bathe in the river of forgetfulness. The morbid situation perhaps reflects on the prevalence of and concern about suicide which was to be behind Hogarth's end to Marriage à la Mode (page 149). Paulson draws attention to Lord Chalkstone whose unhappy marriage makes him want to forget: he married for a fortune and his wife for a title.¹³ They have parted and await the 'happy moment, that will give to one [of them] the liberty of playing the same farce over again' (page 17).

Chalkstone is more than a husband overcome by ennui. He is 'so much afflicted with the gout and the rheumatism' that the other characters have had difficulty in getting him across the river (page 13). He himself declares that his legs cannot bear his body to his friends

and his bottle. He admires French wines, French foods, and speaks a little French. He has been a duellist, but now settles differences only by wagers. He inspects the river Styx with the expertise of a landscape gardener: 'you should give it a serpentine sweep' (page 16). Lord Chalkstone is also in the gargantuan tradition and in so far as Hogarth needed an immediate model for the Earl, then Lord Chalkstone is a possibility.

Lethe includes a woman who is also a rake at heart. The vitality of Mrs Tatoo's recollection of a fashionable life belies her world-weariness. Garrick gave her a panegyric even more impressive than Lady Townly's. It is quoted in full to show how common such descriptions were in the contemporary theatre and for its memorability:

She lies in bed all morning, rattles about all day, and sits up all night; she goes everywhere, and sees everything; knows every body, and loves no body; ridicules her friends, coquets with her lovers, sets 'em together by the ears, tells fibs, makes mischief, buys china, cheats at cards, keeps a pug-dog, and hates the parsons; she laughs much, talks aloud, never blushes, says what she will, does what she will, goes where she will, marries whom she pleases, hates her husband in a month, breaks her heart in four, becomes a widow, slips from her gallants, and begins the world again — (page 20)

As well as showing how traditional Hogarth's ideas were, the foregoing discussions have implications for the relationship between different forms of art. The allusions compensate for the silence of the medium in the case of a spectator who can bring his recollections of drama and stories to bear on the picture. As Mario Praz has argued, the sister arts can become one through the agency of memory.

The ease with which a picture narrative can be considered as part of the same tradition as several other narrative forms — plays, tales, a song, and an opera — confirms the rightness of the assertion that the picture series is a narrative form. The allusions to literature are dependent on the series in an exemplary, illustrative sense and not the other way round.

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3. This passage draws on England in the Age of Hogarth, pp. 124-7.
4. Patricia M. Spacks: "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake" in Eighteenth-Century Studies VIII 1 (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 27-46. This passage draws particularly on pages 27, 28, 34, and 46. She refers to the fiction of Jane Barker, Eliza Haywood, Lady Montagu, Mrs Thrale, and Mary Wollstonecraft.
5. Spectator Paper No. 299 (12. 2. 1712) in The Spectator edited by Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965) III, p. 69.
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9. John Gay The Beggar's Opera (London, 1729) III xiii, Air 58.
10. Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters in Four Jacobean City Comedies edited by Gāmini Salgādo (Penguin, 1975).
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12. Lethe in The Dramatic Works of David Garrick Esq. (London, 1748), I.
13. HI, p. 483.

Part of the Mural: 'The Judgement of Solomon'

(Free Standing)

Note how part of the mural has been painted on
the wall itself.

VIII. ANALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN 'MARRIAGE A LA MODE'

The many figures in the inset pictures invite so many comparisons between them and the characters that it is not always certain "who" the latter are meant to be. The first part of the chapter is concerned with the complicated relationship between The Judgement of Solomon in the fifth picture and the study of Lot and his daughters in the fourth, and the three characters at the centre of the situation in Marriage à la Mode. The second part is concerned with the religious analogies, particularly in the fifth picture, which combine to create an effect similar to that of allegory.

1. The Inset Pictures (i) 'The Judgement of Solomon'

The art figures within a picture are as real or as unreal as those in the larger context of the picture itself. King Solomon in the mural is positioned as much to judge Hogarth's characters as he is to judge between the mothers in his own story. Hogarth encourages the double effect by obscuring the rest of the figures in the mural with the harlot's portrait and by highlighting only King Solomon's head and shoulders. The king's dismay reflects that of the onlookers in the doorway, an analogy which not only draws attention to the risks involved in being a judge, but also the fact that they are representatives of the law.

In the bible story the true harlot-mother is resigned to the loss of her son in the face of the deceitful harlot's lying: 'O lord give her the living child and in no wise slay it'.¹ Lady Squander kneels before her husband (and Solomon) in the rôle of a supplicant, but she is to hang onto life in the last picture, presumably in the hope of recovering her child-lover. The last picture shows something of the desolation that the false mother might feel as a result of the carelessness which made her inadvertently kill her own son and the deceit which causes her to lose the one she steals.

Paulson suggests that the mural, by means of a 'curious redistribution' (of the kind outlined above) makes Silvertongue the equivalent of Solomon, Lord Squander the sacrificial baby, and Lady Squander the harlot-mother, or, more ambiguously, both mothers.² This 'fragmentation of rôles' is reflected in the hanging of the harlot's portrait on top of the Jewish soldier so that the combined figure is neither woman nor man.

When the analogy is considered from the lovers' point of view, Silvertongue's judgement on the baby with Lord Squander as its counterpart reveals the apparent loyalties of Lady Squander as a mother-wife who kneels before her baby-husband. The last picture, of course, shows her act of repentance to be false. The mothers in the bible have only to be tested to the point of death, but Silvertongue, the modern judge miscalculates and runs away from the consequences of his delivered judgement, not to lasting glory, but to infamy.

From an alternative viewpoint, Lady Squander is positioned between her husband and her lover as she is in various ways ^{throughout} ~~to~~ the series. Consequently, she is also in a position to judge and, because she lacks Solomon's wisdom, both her supplicants die. She is left in the impossible situation of being both the judge and the baby over whom the claimants have fought and died, hence the suicide. Ironically, her weakened child survives the judgement and outlives the judge, but with neither a true nor a false mother to comfort him.

Conversely, Lady Squander kneels before her husband in the attitude of a penitent daughter before a parent and, as such, assumes the rôle of the child in the story. She witnesses the death of her husband, the counterpart of her truthful mother, while her lover, the deceitful mother, deserts her. The last picture shows that her mind, childishly, has changed again. The pre-eminence of the harlot's portrait over the Judgement picture is an ironic anticipation of the wife-child's eventual choice; an adulteress prefers her lover.

Silvertongue's rôle is similarly open to interpretation: as the counterpart of the true mother, he has won his baby in front of Solomon by defeating his rival. But, by so doing, he loses the attention of his mistress-baby and is never to know, it seems, that she prefers him at the end. The variations appear endless: is the husband, for example, a cuckold-judge who, having become involved with harlots himself, is faced with a near-impossible judgement? Like Solomon he has proposed a risky ordeal as a solution which tragically turns back on himself.

Because there are only three figures at the centre of Marriage à la Mode and four in the Judgement story (excluding the child), the permutations, perhaps fortunately, are limited. The lack of a one-to-one correspondence, however, creates the shifting effect. By juxtaposing Ancient with Modern, Hogarth implies that Old Testament wisdom is useless when confronted with the consequences of a contemporary arrangement of marriage. He is questioning the simple morality and the foolhardiness

'Lot and His Daughters'

(Free Standing)

behind the idea of judgement by ordeal and, thereby, criticizes those who advocate the authority of the Old Testament in modern times.

(ii) Lot and his Daughters

The study of Lot and his daughters in the preceding picture acts as a precedent for the multiple interpretations of the fifth (lot in old hebrew means a veil). Lot, the father, is to be the lover of his daughters. They, like the harlots in A Rake's Progress, befuddle their dupe in order to steal from him. Lot, unlike the Rake, is represented in the comfortable attitude of a suckling child, a lover-baby-father to his mistress-mother-daughter. Both daughters compete for their father's attention and in so doing anticipate the rivalries between the harlot-mothers of the Judgement story and between the husband and the lover.

The question of justification for seeing such fusions and confusions of rôle in a pre-Freudian narrative has to be asked. First, the analogical process works among the characters themselves independent of the figures in the inset pictures. Lord Squander's protective attitude towards the common miss is comically paternal. In turn, they stand rather like defiant children to the parents, the quack doctor and the tall procuress. Lady Squander's behaviour makes her an appropriate sister to the common miss. A twentieth-century medical advertisement (in the author's possession) actually refers to the common miss as the lord's 'neglected weeping wife'. In the fourth picture, the lady relates to Silvertongue in the rôles of both a prospective mistress and an admiring disciple. The black boy kneels at the feet of his substitute parents in the manner of a Tudor family group. In the last picture, the husband's counterpart is a sorry imbecile.

Other inset pictures provide further analogies: the portrait of Jupiter is a view of what the Earl and his son might have been, what they might have liked to be, and are not. Silvertongue competes with the husband as a brotherly rival, a Cain to an Abel, and acquires a paternal role, as Jupiter's counterpart, in being a mentor to the wife. Without developing the implications of his suggestion, Lichtenberg shows that he understood Hogarth's method. In considering the analogy between Silvertongue and Jupiter, he wrote 'in order to bring the necessary symmetry into the analogy of this adventure with Jupiter's, the indulgent reader is asked to perform a slight transposition among the actors, by which Lord Squanderfield obtains the role of Juno'.³ The sense of

balance characteristic of Hogarth's time came to his aid; the presence of one element implies the presence of a second, two a third, and so on, and invites a similarly conditioned spectator to do ^{make similar inferences.} the same.

Silvertongue is a counterpart of St Sebastian, David, and Cain; Lord Squander of St Lawrence, St Andrew and, to a lesser extent, St Sebastian, Prometheus, and Perseus. Lady Squander has connexions with Medusa, Judith, St Agnes, one of Jupiter's nymphs, and Mary Magdalen. The Actaeon combines the rôles of a prospective lover to the goddess, a cuckold, and a child in one richly ambiguous image. Elsewhere, the husband and wife are likened to fish and a cat, their child to ugly ornaments, a flautist to an eagle, the Alderman to the dog who steals his meat, and his daughter to the food, the pig's head, itself. The ramifications of the analogical process test the spectator's own ingenuity to its limits.

A basic assumption in the criticism of Shakespeare's plays is that they are studies in the nature of appearance and reality. Rôle-playing and the ironical merging of rôles through analogy are recurring characteristics of City comedy. Irrespective of whether Hogarth did or did not know of Middleton's play, the courtesan in A Mad World My Masters plays the part of a virtuous daughter and a fine lady. She is the grandfather's mistress and is to be the grandson's bride, an aptly named Lady Gull-man. Sir Penitent Brothel disguises himself as a physician and a friend to the man he intends to cuckold. (The contradictions in his personality are inherent in his name.) Follywit plays so many parts (including a Lord Owemuch) that it is difficult for an audience to keep track of who he is.

In Dryden's comedy, both Doralice and Melantha play the mistress while finally accepting their destinies as dutiful wives. Both bewilder the men by disguising themselves as boys. Rhodophil is both a philanderer, in words if not deeds, and a jealous husband. The main plot is also bewildering: Polydamus finds a lost son who is then replaced by a daughter; the supposed son, Leonidas, turns out to be the rightful heir to Polydamus's own throne; Polymyra, the daughter, changes from being Leonidas's sweetheart to his sister and back again. She is confused by the similarity between the appearance of her beloved and the villain, Argaleon, at the masquerade. Even the sound of the names is meant to confuse: Argaleon and Leonidas, Palamede, Polydamus, and Palmyra, Amalthea, and Melantha.

The Provok'd Husband and The Beggar's Opera, both first produced in the same year, are also ambiguous: Lady Townly plays the rake and hides her loyalty; Basset pretends to be a count, woos a mother in order to win the daughter and is forced to marry a girl called 'Dupe'; Sir Francis Wronghead comes to London to recover his losses, but London only brings him greater debts; Lady Grace and Mr Manly hide their true feelings from each other. The climax at which the characters' real motives are discovered and their destinies decided, takes place during a visit from the maskers. In The Beggar's Opera, the rogues and harlots behave like gallants, Macheath confuses everyone as to his real intentions, he is reprieved unexpectedly, Newgate figures sing prettily, and an opera is a play in disguise.

Hogarth's paintings of The Beggar's Opera show 'actors playing parts (of other actors — Macheath, etc. — playing parts) on a stage where they are juxtaposed with the very gentlemen and ladies they are imitating as characters'.⁴ Because Hogarth juxtaposes a variety of expressive art-figures with the characters in Marriage à la Mode and because they are equally valid elements in a work in which a masquerade is an important event and metaphor, the juxtapositions are capable of creating uncertainties about the meaning of identity and art itself. The effects are comparable to the use of illusion and disguise in the theatre.

2. The Religious Analogy

A particular class of analogies persists throughout Marriage à la Mode, as it does throughout A Rake's Progress and, to a lesser extent, the other series. Paulson suggests that the fifth picture is the only one in Marriage à la Mode to be based on an allusion to conventional iconography.⁵ Lord Squander is represented in the 'pose of Christ in a deposition or a burial' and his wife in that of a 'mourning Magdalen'. Six possible sources are reproduced in The Art of Hogarth: a picture of the school of Colin de Coter, one by Petrus Christus, Rubens, Carracci, Guido Reni, and by Michelangelo.

The claim is a bold one because of the potentially sacrilegious implications at a time when religion was still a sensitive political subject. There are features of Hogarth's career, however, which make such double-seeing possible: his presbyterian antecedents; his training in emblemature and other ingenious forms of language; his knowledge of the historical sublime and popular broadsheets; his experience of free-

masonry. These aspects would have encouraged, or even conditioned, him to regard the material world as a metaphor of spiritual existence. The central gesture of Boys Peeping at Nature, the subscription ticket to A Harlot's Progress, is the lifting of a veil.

A Harlot's Progress itself appears to be an ironic parallel to or synthesis of some of the events in the life of Mary Magdalen. The dying Rake is held in Sarah Young's arms as an ironic variation on a Piéta. The cross-pieces of windows, the dice, gestures resembling blessings, the spilling of oil in mock-anointment add to the Christian associations. They form the basis of a claim that the Rake is a modern counterpart of anti-Christ.⁶ His career begins when he enters into a material inheritance. His moment of passion takes place in a gambling hell and he dies surrounded by images of an apocalypse.

The angular Christ in Le Rétable de la Trinité is the closest to Lord Squander's figure in Paulson's selection. The sinuous curves of Christ's body in Michelangelo's The Entombment might well have attracted Hogarth also, if a copy of the picture was available to him, because he was to refer to Michelangelo's alleged use of the term 'serpentine' as a forerunner of his own line of grace. None of the suggested sources, however, shows the same combination of a body and head falling to the left with drooping arms as it is in Marriage à la Mode. The lack of correspondence can partly be explained by a need to represent Lord Squander as dying on his feet and to disguise the analogy with Christ to some extent. Hogarth had toned down the parallel in A Rake's Progress VIII (the Rake's loin cloth in the painting was changed to a pair of breeches in the print, for example). Hogarth may have been reasonably satisfied with the "veiling" of meaning in Marriage à la Mode because there are no differences in Lord Squander's pose between the painting and the print.

As it happens, neither Le Rétable nor The Entombment show Christ with a halo, but the mirror in Hogarth's picture is placed as if to suggest that Lord Squander is blessed with a rectangular halo of earthly vanity instead of holiness. The use of innocent objects to resemble haloes is a means Hogarth employed to elevate some of his characters to a status beyond themselves. A round hat on the wall behind a harlot lamenting the death of M. Hackabout elevates her to the level of another sorrowful Magdalen. The platter on which the posture woman is to dance in A Rake's Progress III is set behind her head to make her a counterpart of a Jezebel or a 'Mother of Harlots'. The glory on the

pulpit in The Marriage V makes the aged wife seem an ironic bride of Christ. A diagram of the sun on the wall behind the kindly warder's head in The Madhouse VIII makes him the comic counterpart of Joseph of Arimathea.

Francis Bacon's deliberately wide definition of a crucifix in art is helpful: 'a crucifixion is an environment in which bodily harm is done to one or more persons and one or more persons gather to watch'.⁷ Bacon seeks the highest level of generality out of the recognition that figures can only be grouped in a finite number of ways. Hogarth's composition for all its untidiness and contemporaneity is significantly closer to a christian 'environment' than Bacon's definition of the archetype.

Lady Squander kneels at the feet of her husband, a position at the foot of the cross often occupied in pictures by Mary Magdalen. Lady Squander's pose (particularly the clasping of her hands) is not dissimilar to that of the saint in Petrus Christus's Deposition. The traditional story of Mary is comparable in general terms to that of Lady Squander. Mary was supposedly born of a good family and deserted by her husband after marriage. She then turned to a life of sin and was possessed by seven devils, an appropriate image for the mental state which can be imagined as leading to Lady Squander's suicide.

The lantern in the doorway throws an enlarged silhouette of a cross on the door. Its mystery is deepened by the fact that the owner cannot be seen. Hogarth used a lantern as an ironic symbol, perhaps of the Light of the World, on several occasions (page 226). The watchman's lantern in The Gaming House (A Rake's Progress VI) is surmounted by a triangle, or trinity, of decorative pinholes unique in Hogarth's art. Two heavy lanterns flank the arresting magistrates in Industry and Idleness IX. The magistrates reward Idle's treacherous whore with a single coin instead of thirty. The caption is from Proverbs (vi. 26): 'the adulteress will hunt for the precious life'. The choice of a text would appear to have been influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the preceding series because the connexion between an adulteress and a prostitute who is also a Judas seems an apt insight into Marriage à la Mode. Tom Nero's lantern in Cruelty in Perfection is illuminated by two large lanterns. Ann Gill's death is set in a rural churchyard which recalls the Garden of Gethsemane. The lanterns and their prominent cross-pieces only occur at points in the narratives when the characters have put themselves beyond redemption.

The shadow-cross is set back from the main characters as in Le Rétable where the cross is supported by an angel, the serious counterpart of the watchman. In A Rake's Progress VIII, a large crucifix in a madman's cell is made to lean towards the Rake and, if the wall did not intervene, its shadow would fall on him. In both works the hidden crucifixes would appear to signify the presence of an anti-Christ.

Lord Squander's falling sword represented with its point just striking the ground is a curious feature. As well as having connotations as a crucifix, it is possible that Hogarth had Simeon's address to Mary in mind, 'Yea a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also' (Luke 2. 35). (In Shakespeare's time a piece of ground had, albeit bawdy, currency as a girl or a woman.⁸) Lady Squander kneels in an attitude of apparent reverence as a truth is revealed. The shoulder capes in the close foreground resemble the shapes of people, perhaps echoes of the Virgin and her comforter in the context of a crucifixion.

The intruders with their staves and lantern belong to the same order of righteous men as those who arrest Tom Nero. Both groups are comic reductions of the 'great multitude with swords and staves' (Matthew 26. 47) who came to arrest Christ. A gopeller is present immediately above them to record the event and the harlot's portrait is suspended at the level often occupied by angels (as in Le Rétable).

A meaning can be found for many of the details in the room: the key which evokes the idea of St Peter is set at the feet of the master of the bagnio, the keeper at the door of an anti-heaven. In a way he has "treacherously" betrayed a master by summoning the constable and the watchman. The soldiers in the mural, the shapeless cloth draped over the chair, the dice-like objects, recall the casting of lots for Christ's garment. The back of the chair recalls the ladder, Silver-tongue's fallen épée the spear, and the basin in the background the grail.

If the shanks of the shadow-tongs are thought of as the handles of a pair of pincers in reverse, the handle resembles a nail pulled from the cross. The roseate pattern on the ceiling in the painting has its source in the light which also casts the shadow of the cross on the door. In the context it has connotations as an antithesis of the Holy Spirit, a manifestation perhaps of the insignia in the Jupiter portrait. This was the one detail in the picture that Hogarth changed in the print perhaps because he thought it too overt an allusion. The faggot is to replenish the fire in which heretics, an anti-Christ

or an anti-Magdalen, are being burnt. The crossed sticks "point out" the hidden meanings of the picture; in a modern context only the shadows of christian truth are present in a 'heap of broken images'.

The series can be reviewed in the light of the allegorical implications of the fifth picture. A tyrant Earl who "owns" Pharoah, David, Goliath, Cain, Abel, and a parade of martyrs is the comic counterpart of the jealous God of the Old Testament. The Jupiter in the portrait wears the order of the Holy Ghost as well as the Golden Fleece. The younger generation, including Silvertongue, is identifiable with the Old Testament heroes and the Christian martyrs. They share the determination of the latter to be destroyed by others or by themselves. They come unwillingly rather than joyfully before the throne of their god.

The major figures in the first picture also represent a parade of the Deadly Sins. The Earl is proud of his lineage and the gout signifies his gluttony. The sour broker and the Alderman share avarice and envy between them so that the pride and gluttony of Westminster are allied with the contrasting sins of London. A personification of sloth is to be united in unholy wedlock with anger, a passive with an aggressive sin. Silvertongue, as a personification of lust, mediates between the characters. The Jupiter, the Earl's representative, oversees the ceremony as a counterpart of Lucifer and exhibits a mixture of pride, anger, and desire. As the series develops, the characters acquire other vices: Lord Squander finds a mild lust and an anger, and then a belated pride; Lady Squander's anger changes to vanity; the Alderman's willingness to squander, a form of gluttony at the beginning is revealed as a greater avarice at the end.

The fireplace in the second picture resembles an altar with the freaks and pagods arranged as lesser marriage deities to the blind bust, itself a counterpart of Hymen perhaps, and an impotent substitute for a virile Jupiter. Appropriately, the anti-priest and priestess watch the only devout man of the series walk out on their heresy. The steward's nose is similar to the bust's, an analogy which suggests that the steward's god is stony, blind, and flawed. The portraits of the saints in the further room are set in the equivalent of a side chapel, dedicated to whist, of an anti-church dedicated to the religion of fashionable pursuits.

Jarrett suggests that quackery was 'almost a religion in its own right' in eighteenth-century London and one with many followers.⁹ Lord Squander in the third picture is an ironic counterpart of Christ in his assumption of responsibility for the sins of "everyman" (page 100). He is threatened by the devotees of quackery who despise living things in a metaphorical hell-on-earth. Meanwhile, his wife amuses herself as the inhabitant of a modern Sodom (the insinuation derives from Hogarth's omission of the wicked city from Le Guernier's Lot, page 120). After the experience of an anti-crucifixion in which anti-Christ is destroyed by a counterpart of St Paul, the lady is left in the wilderness of the sixth picture. Instead of being lifted to heaven in a glorious dormition, a suggestion of which may have been intended in the ambiguous shape on the ceiling, the anti-Magdalen, or Virgin, takes her own life.

There is some evidence to suggest that contemporaries were aware of the implications. Paul Sandby in Burlesque sur le Burlesque (1753) accused Hogarth of stealing figures from the prints of old masters.¹⁰ The poet, in what may or may not have been just a figure of speech, regards marriage as a 'paradise' at best, but 'H-ll spread abroad' when arranged. (Spread abroad is an unintentionally appropriate description of the way Hogarth's analogies work) Ireland saw Silvertongue as a devil, an appropriate foil to an anti-Christ and a consort to an anti-thesis of Mary Magdalen:

Like Satan, whispering in the ear of Eve,
 A black-rob'd, smooth-tongued son of Belial see,
 That would betray his Saviour for a fee.

Hogarth's ingenious and ambiguous turn of mind represented ancient images as shadows of the modern. There is no literal way in which the lord is his own wife's child, or a Christ, or a St Andrew. The Alderman's daughter is not Mary Magdalen nor the lawyer St Paul or Belial. In the same way that the music in the tune book of the second picture resembles many tunes, but is unlikely to derive from a particular one, Hogarth's fifth picture resembles many devout paintings without being a parody of any one of them. His vision is a matter of sustained and unified paradox. The mirror frame which is placed to make the lord's head appear to be his own portrait is the central metaphor; the characters and the figures in the inset pictures merge.

Marriage à la Mode lacks the inner plot of allegory, perhaps because the series was constructed on a picture by picture basis. But the impact of the double-seeing and periphrasis has the feeling of 'allegory in the distance'.¹¹ By means of ambiguity, Hogarth leads his spectator a wanton chase.

VIII: REFERENCES

1. The quotations in this section are taken from I Kings 3, 16-28.
2. HI, p. 488.
3. Lichtenberg, note to p. 131.
4. HI, p. 190.
5. The Art of Hogarth, pp. 38, 39, and 40; figures 16-18.
6. R. L. S. Cowley, 'An Examination and Interpretation of Narrative Features in A Rake's Progress' unpublished MA thesis (Birmingham University, 1972), p. 188.
7. John Russell, Francis Bacon (London, 1971), p. 173. Bacon is reported as being drawn to the formal possibilities of figures set at different levels.
8. E. A. M. Colman, The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare (London, 1974), p. 207.
9. England in the Age of Hogarth, p. 229.
10. HI, p. 488 and included as plate 2 of Burke's edition of The Analysis. J. Ireland II, p. 16.
11. 'The allegory in the distance greatly strengthens, also elevates, the meaning of the poem', B. Jowett's comment on Tennyson's poetry (1859) quoted in Alfred Lord Tennyson, a Memoir by His Son by Hallam Lord Tennyson (London, 1897) I, p. 448.

IX. SOME STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

The chapter is divided into four sections: the first is concerned with the structure of a Hogarthian narrative expressed in terms of drama and music. The second is concerned with rhythm and balance. The third is concerned with the organization of time and space. The fourth is concerned with the relationship between a narrative and its projected spectator.

1. 'Marriage à la Mode' and the Dramatic Analogy

The English dramatists of the Renaissance preferred to develop their own dramatic structure within the familiar five act convention. George R. Kernodle argues that the latter became virtually only a matter of convenience.¹ Their tolerant attitude to their formal structure makes it possible to consider Hogarth's picture narratives in terms of the Senecan dramatic model because they, too, consist of a small number of intricately related units of Hogarth's own devising.

The first picture of Marriage à la Mode compares with an expository first act in that it begins with a ceremony of initiation in medias res. The initial situation is an antithesis to that in Othello, for example, in which an infatuated couple have married secretly against a parent's command. A further source of dramatic conflict is introduced in that the pact is between family interests traditionally hostile to each other in the manner of Romeo and Juliet. The crisis of the work is to follow on from what is only a secondary subject in the exposition picture, that of pleasure seeking, but the family rivalry is to remain as a malign influence throughout, creating and widening the antipathy between husband and wife who might have been drawn to each other under different circumstances.

The second picture offers the equivalent of a second act. It represents a development from the arrangement of marriage to a view of marriage itself (the subject of the series as defined in the title). The rivalry has been relinquished and replaced by the now predominant subject of pleasure seeking. The husband's affair is as yet undisclosed, but established through hints as taking place, whereas his wife appears still to be discovering the possibilities of a new way of life.

The third picture is an initial climax because it shows the marriage contract being broken for the first time. The consequence of

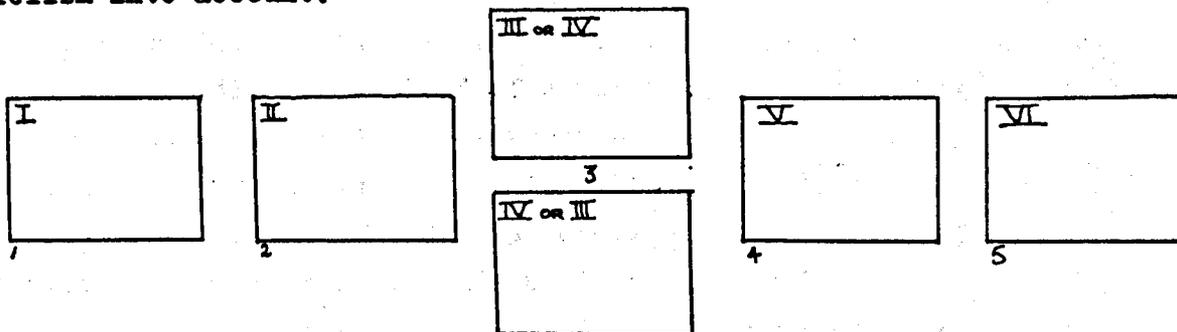
an arranged marriage occurs at an appropriate point in the structure. Othello's trust in his marriage is destroyed and Tybalt is killed in the respective third acts of Shakespeare's plays. Lord Squander's initial confrontation with death comes at the end of the first half of the narrative in preparation for the second in the fifth picture. The Visit to the Quack Doctor represents the equivalent of the moment in tragedy when the mood suddenly becomes serious and the trend of events takes a downward path.

The fourth picture is a further development in which the wife follows the precedent of her husband's behaviour as implied in the second picture and revealed in the third. What appears only as a passing pleasantry in the first picture is developed into as potentially catastrophic a relationship as that between the Venetian wife of a Moorish general and a handsome young lieutenant. The invitation to the masked ball is instrumental in bringing about the destruction of the marriage. The lovers' joyous moment corresponds to the feeling of false optimism in tragedy which precedes disaster. The third and fourth pictures are designed in parallel: they show the husband abroad adopting a paternal attitude to a mistress and the wife at home in a deferential attitude to a lover. The closeness of the parallel is emphasised by the use of ironic counterparts in each, the common miss and the envoy or the Actaeon. The counterparts function as forms of dramatic anticipation.

Kernodle is particularly interested in the dramatists' use of parallelism which he regards as symphonic. The Jew of Malta, Richard II, Edward II, and Macbeth are classed as 'two fold, parallel structure play[s]'. The third act of King Lear has a structure built on the 'contrapuntal balance between the three scenes of Edmund and Cornwall that rise to a terrific climax and the three scenes of Lear in the storm that start as a climax and get progressively quieter'.

Hogarth's medium prevented him from creating the impression of opposing movement that Kernodle describes, but there is an effect of reflective symmetry in the juxtaposition of the third and fourth pictures. The third is elegaic in tone because it marks the effective end of Lord Squander's interest in his common miss in readiness for his apparently abrupt change of direction in the fifth picture. The fourth picture is exalted in tone because it marks the beginning of Lady Squander's affair. The third and fourth pictures provide an inversion comparable to the contrapuntal passages within the third act of King Lear.

The parallel is sufficiently close to suggest that it would be a worthwhile experiment to hang the pictures in a way that takes the parallelism into account:



The arrangement, incidentally, gives the series the equivalent of a five-act structure and by-passes the objection to the third picture as episodic.

The fifth picture, the climax, is appropriately placed near, but not quite at the end of the series. The husband's reappearance is discreetly prepared for in details like the attentive hairdresser or the treatment of the envoy or the Actaeon. There is delicate irony to be found in the making of the lawyer, who probably drew up the contract in the first place, destroy the marriage. There is a further twist in making a victor out of the man of letters who has a duel forced upon him.

The ^{sixth} last picture corresponds to the last scenes of the fifth act which resolves ^{the} play. In separating the climax from the resolution, Hogarth may seem to be actually improving on the five-act structure of tragedy. Instead of following the Shakespearean pattern in which the women usually die before the men, Hogarth reversed his tragic pattern so that his Desdemona commits suicide after the death of both her husband and her admirer. The balance of responsibilities shifts and the effect is perhaps more pathetic as a result.

The Alderman is returned to the narrative in the rôle of a supposedly sorrowful Capulet who performs a last duty for his daughter against a background of recriminations instead of dignified lament. Shakespeare usually offers a positive prospect at the end of his tragedies, if only of a 'glooming peace' with responsibility invested in sadder and wiser people. Instead of reconciliation, Hogarth's conclusion is a triumph of one family over the other with the cold representative of London the guardian over a puny and ailing Westminster.

The narrative ends as it begins in a father's room with a big open window. Hogarth was fond of emphasizing the inherent tendency in a

series for the last picture to govern its predecessors by making the last picture appear to be a particular reply to the first. The cyclic effect in A Harlot's Progress is contained in the idea of the Harlot being mourned by her own kind at the end. The company of mourners is an enlargement on the waggon-load of country girls in the background of the first picture. In A Rake's Progress the Rake begins by dismissing his pregnant mistress. She is still there at the end as he dies, crying once again. The concept of sequence is subverted in an effect which can be seen as both dramatic and musical.

Both early series are histories and their protagonists recur in every picture, although the Harlot's figure is hidden by her coffin in the last. A Harlot's Progress, superficially at least, is picaresque in form because M. Hackabout's career seems dictated more by chance than self-determination. A Rake's Progress, the longer work, is controlled and includes the equivalent of a dramatic or literary sub-plot in the events of Sarah Young's life. Marriage à la Mode is constructed around several recurrent characters and for the first time in a series no one character is present in every picture. The progresses are not so well-balanced. The prison and the death pictures in A Harlot's Progress make effective but similar points. The prison and the mad-house pictures in A Rake's Progress make a double and thus repetitious conclusion. The change from histories to a situation narrative enabled Hogarth to achieve greater coherence and to come closer to or even improve on the traditional five-act structure of drama.

Hogarth introduces music in two pictures of Marriage à la Mode. The concert in the fourth picture is a recapitulation and enlargement upon the ideas in the second picture, particularly because the flautist may be playing the violin accompaniment.

Marriage à la Mode (and A Rake's Progress) anticipates some aspects of sonata form.² The first two pictures offer the visual equivalent of an initial musical statement. The third, fourth, and fifth modulate or recapitulate on it. The sixth is both a recapitulation on the initial statement and a coda to the work. The parallel relationship between the third and fourth pictures resembles counterpoint or musical canon where one voice repeats or reflects what another has sung. The antithetical, inverted structure of Industry and Idleness in which Idle's decline is set against Industry's rise resembles counterpoint or canon

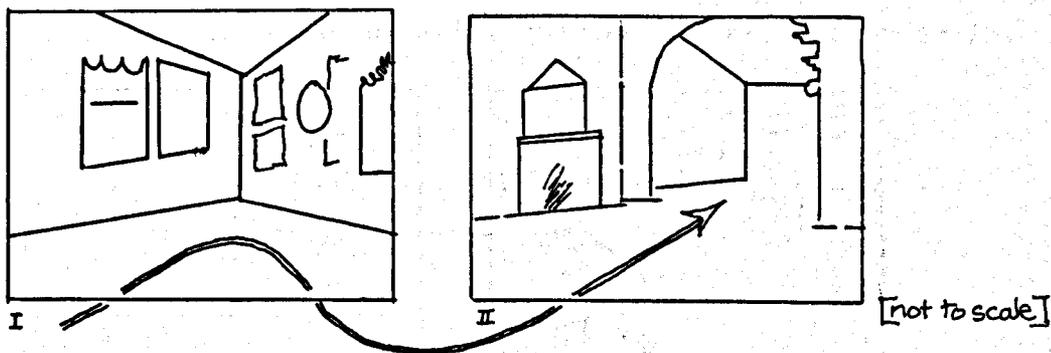
more closely. The climax of Marriage à la Mode resolves itself in a kind of counterpoint in that the expectations of the characters who have come to the bagnio to seek various kinds of personal satisfaction are turned back on themselves, are made dissonant.

Kernodle also argues that the patterns of prefiguration and recapitulation in King Lear anticipate principles of symphonic form.³ Although Hogarth knew Shakespeare's plays, could apparently compose playable music himself, and was friendly with Handel and Huggins, it is unlikely that there were conscious influences at work. The affinities with musical form and dramatic structure come about perhaps because the inner logic of any kind of artistic statement creates features comparable to those in other narrative forms; perhaps a "deep grammar" underlies the surface conventions. The viewing structure of a series like The Four Times of the Day with no recognizable source of unity other than duration itself may be best appreciated in terms of variation form in music.

2. Other Underlying Patterns

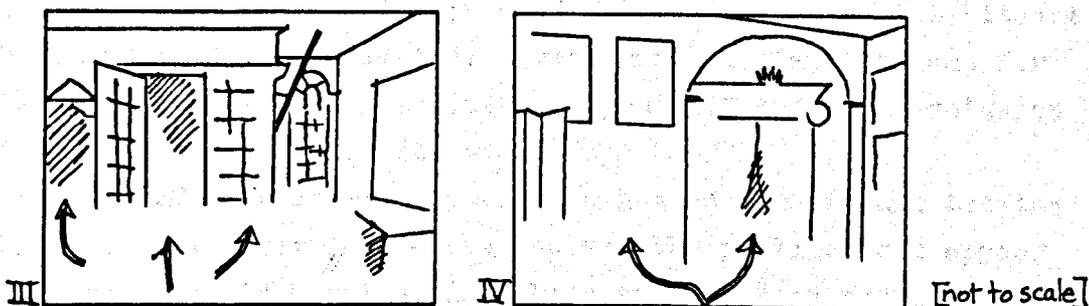
If Marriage à la Mode is considered in terms of its variations in mood, then an alternation of stronger and weaker moods is apparent: the fathers' authority dominates the first picture, depression and quiet amusement the second, comic aggression the third, a mutual satisfaction the fourth, violence the fifth, and gloom the sixth. The alternation provides a rhythm similar to musical beat or poetic metre, trochees rather than iambs. The unfamiliar stress is perhaps dissonant to Western ears and appropriate to a work concerned with disintegration.

The rhythm is supported by variations in the composition: the first two settings are corner structures aligned with the direction of the viewing sequence. The eye is encouraged to pass in and out of the pictures in a sinuous path which ends somewhere in the obscured recess of the further room. The effect of hiatus or pause at the point between the second and third pictures is heightened by the obstacle of the steward who blocks the right-hand margin. The legs of the overturned chair, directed against the movement of the viewing sequence, also invite a reflective and retrospective reaction:



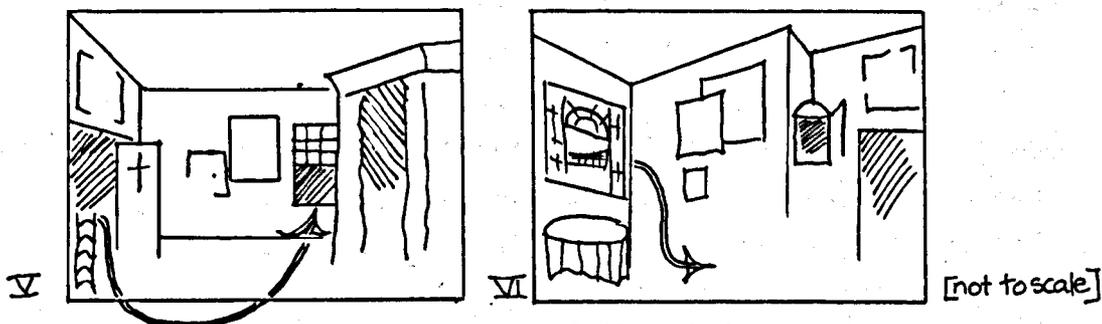
Although the steward checks the movement, as one of the few moving figures in the series his departure is also a definite invitation to follow. The back walls of the third and fourth pictures are more or less parallel with their frontal planes. The elliptical arch to the right of the fourth picture is to some extent a repetition of the shape of the window in the second. The tester bed within the archway is an echo of the bed canopy in the first picture. The echoes also encourage a comparative and retrospective process of appreciation. In addition, the doorway of the cupboard and the contents of the inner laboratory in the third picture, both set at right-angles to the frontal plane, invite the eye to investigate recesses and so delay.

Both pictures are flanked by solid walls at their right-hand margins. The prominent figures of the quack doctor and the castrato with their heads turned to the left, set before these walls, encourage the eye to turn back more than the steward does. After the comparatively easy movement between the first and second pictures, the halting effects isolate and identify the middle pictures in the series as a pair, while the alignment of the backwalls literally supports the idea that they run parallel.



The settings in the fifth and sixth pictures are dissimilar, but the juxtaposition of large, open windows set close to each other on either side of the fifth interval gives an impression of a route behind the scenes from the bagnio into the Alderman's house. The effect is heightened by the facts that Silvertongue scrambles out of one window

and the other is open as if to have let news of his death flutter in.



The pairing suggested by the proximity of the windows and the sense of ending enacted in the physician's departure to the right is confirmation that the paintings were prepared with the prints in mind.

The similarly angled corner structures of the first and last pictures with their open windows in the back walls and triangular ceiling areas not only heighten the cyclic effect, but also provide the basis for another pairing within the structure; a kind of reflective symmetry as expressed in the formula A B C C B A. The second and fifth pictures provide the least obvious pairing, but both are concerned with the relationship between the married couple. The fifth is a measure of the deterioration in a loveless marriage first shown in the second. Both pictures are built on the imaginative enactment of the concept of squandering with elements exploding outwards from the centre. The formula represents a prefiguration and recapitulation at a structural level which underlies the series and supplements the use of the same strategy among the elements within the structure.

A Harlot's Progress also divides at the interval between the third and fourth pictures; seeming success is balanced against failure. A Rake's Progress divides at the mid-way point of a series of eight pictures. It offers a balanced rhythm of gains and losses: inheritance and death (I and VIII respectively); squandering and imprisonment for debt (II and VII); orgy and gambling paroxysm (III and VI); avoidance of arrest and enforced wedding (IV and V).

The pattern of characters' appearances has no significant bearing on the rhythm of the early progresses because the protagonists appear in every picture, but in Marriage à la Mode and Industry and Idleness their appearances are intermittent and so provide a pattern. The delayed reappearance of the Alderman helps build up the antithesis between the wings of the series. In that Lord Squander appears in the first three pictures, but his wife does not, the first half belongs to him, whereas the second half belongs to his wife, although she is never

to occupy the predominant position to the left of a picture. Silver-tongue is a minor figure on his first and last appearances, but he is allowed one moment of hollow glory in the fourth picture. Because his appearances are subordinated to the idea of marriage as the third figure of the triangle, his appearances are the most erratic.

In Industry and Idleness, the exposition brings the apprentices together. They then alternate over the course of eight pictures before coming together in the critical tenth picture. They go their separate ways in the last two, an ironic double resolution, brilliant in its treatment because their contrasting destinies look so similar. There are further sophistications in that Idle has his whore and gang and Francis Goodchild is accompanied by his wife and father-in-law, all of whom have a degree of independence as characters and offer hints of contrasting sub-plots.

The various pairings add to the unity of a series and in Marriage à la Mode they contribute to the shifting effect of the analogical relationships without disturbing the tragic pattern. The parallels make Kernodle's use of the term symphonic applicable to Hogarth because each picture prefigures or recapitulates on the structure of at least one other. The balancing of elements and pictures enabled Hogarth to keep the themes of squandering and disintegration under control. The underlying harmonies would have appealed to the contemporary search for the ultimate sense of symmetry which underlies the variety of existence. In this respect, Hogarth's vision is positive.

3. The Organization of Time and Space⁴ (1) Time

In Marriage à la Mode the settlement is made and the undisclosed wedding ceremony seem to have been performed all in one day. Overnight apparently, the couple's dissatisfaction with each other is complete — a not altogether improbable experience. At least another day and night is required for the wife to organize a gaming session and to arrange a music lesson, and for the husband to acquire the trophy in his pocket. Another morning is required for the consultation with the quack and for the wife's levée; these events can be imagined as taking place at the same time. The change from day to night in the fifth picture suggests that the events leading up to the duel take place later on the same day, perhaps a Saturday (page 169).

The disclosed events of the first four pictures suggest a deliberately slow tempo: they are concerned with negotiation, recuperation,

inspection, and attendance. Events between the fourth and fifth pictures in contrast seem to move rapidly from an idyllic state to disaster within the space of a day. Given a quick arrest, a short trial, and a summary execution (a satirically appropriate impression of haste), there is just time for the wife to appear to commit suicide within a week of her dowry being presented!

All Hogarth's series span a similar period of about six days; their protagonists seem to crumble in a frenzy of activity similar to the experience of events in a speeded-up film. The impression of haste is added to by the fact that the time taken with a first viewing of a work is almost certainly shorter than the reading time of a novel or the playing time of drama (Shakespeare reckoned on two hours for a performance of Romeo and Juliet). Thus even in Industry and Idleness with its twelve pictures, the narrative appears to span a period from one Saturday to another; the church scenes in the second and third pictures provide the clue. The contrasting night pictures in A Rake's Progress also keep the passage of apparent time to within a week.

The main difference between a film or a play and a series is a matter of control over events. The film dictates the tempo of the work to the audience, whereas the spectator controls the pace at which he moves through the experience of the work. The unobtrusive temporal detail in all the series slows the tempo. Thus in Marriage à la Mode, the contract is signed on a day warm enough for a window to be open behind a gouty pampered man. Only shortly after the marriage, the day is chilly enough to require a fire. Lady Squander and the die-away lady are lightly clad, yet the servant provides hot chocolate. The indeterminate evidence suggests the coming of autumn. The fifth picture shows a night sufficiently wintry for a big fire and plenty of fuel. The 'sneezing draught' from the window is strong enough to blow the candle flame horizontal.⁵ The last picture shows a return to a day warm enough for a window to be open in a chilly, damp house — a suggestion of spring to succeed winter and to complete the cycle begun in the first picture. Pig's head was a lenten dish and there is a tradition (unsubstantiated) that spring is the season of suicides. A Rake's Progress also suggests the passage of about a year, beginning in May and passing through winter in the fifth picture where berries are used to decorate the church.

Hogarth, like Defoe, Swift, and the contemporary novelists delighted in making use of actual dates, times and numbers in his work

in order to give a convincing impression of history. Not only do the titles reflect the passage of time (from Before and After to The Tail-piece), but the word progress itself signifies an advance through time. In the age of clock-making, Hogarth included more 'clocks than any other artist' in his work to emphasize time's power; to indicate 'yet another object of furniture people put in their rooms to govern their lives by'; to stress the primacy of now over then.⁶

M. Hackabout died in 1731 at the age of 23, according to her coffin-plate, a fact that perhaps makes her a minor in the first picture. According to his father's diary, the Rake came down from Oxford in May, 1721. The introduction of his daughter in the penultimate picture suggests that he lived for several years after he had received his legacy. The placing of A Rake's Progress on a time scale over ten years before its first publication date may have been precautionary because it contains allusions to the royal family.

The presence of the hair in the last picture of Marriage à la Mode shows that a period of several years elapses between the drawing up of the contract and its dissolution. The steward's receipt puts the series on a time scale, June 4, 1743 in the painting and 1744 in the print. The wedding, incidentally, was probably intended to have taken place in the inauspicious month of May. The dating shows that Lady Squander dies at a point in the future well in advance of the delayed date of first publication (April, 1745). Subscribers could believe in the historical truth of the progresses as readers are reported to have believed in Robinson Crusoe or Gulliver's Travels. But the attentive subscriber could have been in no doubt that Marriage à la Mode was make-believe and not intended to reflect real events or people.

The Earl lives in a world without clocks, surrounded by monuments. Time is ridiculed in the absurd French clock in the second picture. The plain watches of the common miss and Lady Squander suggest that time is the servant of women rather than the men who attend them. Time is absent from the bagnio as if to confirm the universality of this moment of suffering. The shadow cross and the presence of a gopeller connect the picture and the series with the basis of history itself. Time regulates life in the Alderman's household. The sonorous alarm clock, the almanac, the account books, especially a day book, all show that the Alderman, in contrast to the conservative Earl, is a man of his time. It is ironic that the father who venerates images of time-

lessness should die within the span of the narrative, whereas he who is ruled by time survives, as it were, immortal. Lady Squander, who is the mistress of time in the fourth picture, becomes time's prisoner by the end. Her suicide represents a seeking for a refuge from her father's unendurable regulation.

(ii) Space

Two unusual features are apparent in Marriage à la Mode: first, Hogarth, consciously or unconsciously, arranged the elements of individual pictures in such a way that their recessional planes seem to correspond to the traditional hierarchies of being; secondly, there seems to be a correspondence between the sequence of settings in the series and an East-West path through London.

In Marriage à la Mode, Hogarth almost invariably represents his important characters as sitting rather than standing. The Earl, as the first character in the viewing sequence, sets a trend which suggests that the middle ground belongs to the aristocracy. A measure of his enforced condescension is implicit in the fact that he permits commoners to sit with him and his heir. Silvertongue, a social inferior, stands, but he bends over and towards his social superiors in a pose which suggests that he at least does not regard the social gap as impossible to bridge. The movement also prepares for the lover's usurpation of the husband's seat in the middle ground on his next appearance. Appropriately, the gods, heroes, and saints fill the upper layer of the picture with Pharoah in the highest plane of all. The most inferior beings, the pointers, occupy the lowest place along with the money bags and the single gold coin.

The pattern is repeated in the second picture, with amusing variations. The saints and the cupid are in their rightful places, as befits demi-gods, but inferior beings, the cat, the fish, the heavy pagod have been lifted out of their rightful places. In addition, members of the nobility, indifferent to the conventions, permit servants to express their disapproval and boredom in front of them and a lap dog is allowed to challenge for its master's place.

Only Lord Squander is seated in the third picture. In spite of his concern for the common miss, he does not allow her the courtesy of a seat. The doctor's disagreeable expression may be due in part to the fact that he, a proud man, is forced to stand in his own room while an unwelcome client takes the only chair. Representations of most of the

orders of being have been gathered into the quack's museum (page 98). Part of the humour derives from the incongruous placing of reptiles and "creeping things" in the highest plane: an ostrich's egg, for example, is placed just beneath the ceiling. By its placing, the trade model is deified and Pharoah's counterpart, ingeniously, is the crocodile of the Nile itself.

Condescension occurs in the fourth picture. Not only has the lawyer been invited to sit before a countess, but he has also been allowed the liberty of lifting his feet from the floor. Whereas his portrait has been elevated, the husband's counterpart, the Actaeon, has been relegated to a lowly level below that of a kneeling black boy. The statuette tilts precariously as if poised to descend further.

Lord Squander rises to his feet for the only time in the series at the climax in order to collapse. His wife is reduced to a level below that of either her husband or her lover. Silvertongue, in spite of his lack of dignity, is still held to an intermediate plane with his feet off the floor. The placing prepares for his final descent and reduction to the lowest level, as represented by the discarded paper in the last picture. His end is a logical consequence of and a punishment for condescension. The intruders, social inferiors, stand, but their heads are raised by means of perspective to the level of the sinking figures in the foreground. The see-saw effect reflects the fact that they, as representatives of law, are about to assume control. The inset pictures of St Luke and the Moll, ironically in the context, are placed at the appropriate level of saints and angels above and to the side of the shadow of the cross on the door. The mysterious patterns of reflected light, gaining in significance from being at the highest level, balance with the firelight at the lowest; the polarities compare with that between heaven and hell.

At the end of the series, the wife is returned to the middle level, but, as a recumbent corpse her position is a false one. The infant Earl has to be supported in order to maintain his position and the implication is that he is soon to be put down. The husband's counterpart, the servant, is held up not of his own will, but by an angry dwarf. The Alderman is confirmed as a standing and thus servile figure at the end. The cur invades the middle plane, assumes his master's seat in the middle ground, and steals the prize. The essentially vulgar pitcher man, the toppers, and the contents of the cupboard are set at the level of the saints and angels. The evidence of money transactions has been

promoted to an appropriately high plane. The picture is dominated by the overruling presence of an alarm clock and a fading patch of river damp.

Because the movement through time of the series is multi-layered and ironic, it is reasonable to expect that the movement through geographical space is so, too. M. Hackabout, a wanderer by name, for example, begins her career in Bell Inn Yard and passes through the Jewish quarter, perhaps in Spitalfields, to live and die in the Drury Lane-Covent Garden district. The Rake's career follows a suitably erratic path: he returns home to his merchant-father's house presumably just east of William Tothall's shop in Tavistock Court. He moves to a grand house, presumably further west, and carouses at the Rose Tavern in Drury Lane. He is arrested in St James's Street, married in Marylebone, imprisoned in the Fleet, and dies in Bedlam. As might be expected of a work with a split plot, the idle and industrious apprentices range over London from Spitalfields to the docks and from St Martins-in-the-Fields to the Guildhall and Tyburn.

Hogarth, perhaps deliberately, was less informative in his references to identifiable settings in Marriage à la Mode. Tradition identifies the second picture with Arlington Street so that it is reasonable to suppose that the Earl's mansion with its old and new buildings is meant to be identified with Westminster or just to the north. The identification of M. de la Pillule's laboratory with St Martin's Lane takes the narrative east within comfortable carrying distance for a sedan chair. The identification of the bagnio with Chancery Lane or thereabouts is another step further east. The Alderman lives down by London Bridge within walking distance of Threadneedle Street and the Guildhall. Trusler imagines him as having come west through Fleet Street and Temple Bar to visit the Earl.⁷ If the logic of Trusler's imagination is followed through, the Alderman presumably called for the Counsellor on the way.

It is to be wondered whether it was coincidence alone that the viewing structure of Hogarth's most carefully planned series should offer such an orderly path from the West End to the East. The recent studies of John Dixon Hunt and Paulson have been concerned with the way in which eighteenth-century gardens were landscaped on narrative principles. The choice of a walk would bring a variety of horticultural or

stylistic effects or 'encounters' discovered in a "narrative" sequence.⁸ Hogarth knew the "garden" of the metropolis intimately. The ordered path adds to the almost classical unity, the verisimilitude, and the irony of the series. The setting of the crisis picture in the common ground of central London adds to the humour and the elegant balance of Hogarth's design.

4. Hogarth's 'Created Self': the Rôle of the Spectator

George Vertue described how Hogarth developed the idea for a series, as if by accident, from the painting of what was to become the third picture of A Harlot's Progress: 'this whore's dishabillé careless and a pretty countenance and air. — this thought pleased many. some advis'd him to make another. to it as a pair. which he did'.⁹ What pleased the 'many', other than the careless 'dishabillé', was the portrait painter's old trick of making the 'pretty countenance' engage the spectator's eye from wherever he stands. The Harlot thus is aware of his presence and effectively accosts him. Her gaze ~~effectively~~ defines him as a client and an accessory to the theft of the watch or a prospective fence. The gesture and the look also warn the spectator that he, too, might lose something if he does not take care.

The spectator's feeling of omniscience is thus undermined and his self-confidence is only partially restored when he becomes aware of the subsidiary figure of the arresting magistrate in the background. Mr Justice Gonson was famous for terrorizing the harlots of the time, but his tentative approach and wondering expression contrast with his reputation for hardness. The situation provides a measure of the Harlot's powers to move the most unrelenting of men even before he has looked her full in the face. His attitude is that which a spectator might be expected to adopt when confronted with a familiar figure in the unfamiliar context of a skilful painting. It is not surprising that Hogarth's ambiguous, teasing effect 'pleased many'.

The ploy is used again in the fourth picture: the Harlot gazes in the spectator's direction as if hardly aware of his presence. Another woman immediately behind her fingers the fine clothes, winks, and puts out her tongue at the spectator. A combined effect of surprise and uncertainty is experienced when the unobtrusive detail is discovered. The spectator can either respond to the Harlot's apparently unconscious plea for sympathy or share her colleague's derision. The invitation casts him in the rôle of a judge, a visiting Gonson perhaps, positioned

to consider the effects of his ruling on the Harlot and another inmate's response to her.

In the last picture, a clergyman surreptitiously fondles a harlot at the wake. As he does so, she eyes the spectator and places her hat as if to hide the clergyman's behaviour from him. He is to appreciate how she has to suffer the attentions of a drunken clergyman — at a wake. At the same time, her hand is tucked through the clergyman's arm as if in acceptance of her professional duty. Although the spectator is assumed to be a worldly person (he, too, is present at the funeral of a harlot) he is to be protected by the hat from the implications of the incident.

The harlot who peers with a mildly distasteful expression into the coffin reflects the spectator's supposed sense of curiosity as Hogarth visualized it, and, again, the spectator is protected, this time from the full effect of the dead face. In these three pictures, Hogarth demonstrates that he could predefine the rôle and something of the psychological attitude of a projected spectator and, as a spectator on his work, he could explore his own attitude towards his characters. Geoffrey Grigson talks of the 'peculiar imaginative quality of Hogarth's visualizing self' because the various shades of unqualified approval, disapproval, and indifference on the faces of his characters represent the artist's view of the critical reception to his own work.¹⁰

The Laughing Audience (1733), the subscription ticket to A Rake's Progress, is Hogarth's most remarkable example of a confrontation between the figures in a picture and its spectator. None of the figures looks directly at the spectator, but the situation defines him as a supporting actor, or, more humbly, as someone peeping from the wings during the performance. The spectator or the artist is regarded by the audience with a mixture of attitudes typical of Hogarth's ambivalence towards his own art.

The Laughing Audience is reproduced on the dust jacket of John Preston's book, The Created Self, a source for the title of this section.¹¹ Preston is concerned to explore the concept of 'the reader invented by the author in order to make his fictional world work'. The concept is examined in relation to Moll Flanders (a possible source for the Harlot's characteristic pose in the third picture and for the harlot portrait in Marriage à la Mode), Clarissa, Tom Jones, and Tristram Shandy. The writer and the reader are thought to make a 'strange bargain' with each other in which the writer 'reaches out to an unseen and

unforeseeable reader, and the reader wishes to respond to an absent writer who has already said his last word'. The text is ambiguous, both an address to someone and a message from someone: 'it presumes both a writer and a reader; it really creates a writer and a reader'. A writer thus creates a second self both of himself and a reader. The experience for the reader represents an enlargement of his self-concept for the period of reading at least.

The self-defining experience of The Laughing Audience is an 'exact parallel to Fielding's procedure in Tom Jones'.¹² Its plot is to be understood in terms of the way it is read, as a structure of successive responses to the novel which exists in the reader's attention rather than in the written sequence. The foregoing survey of A Harlot's Progress suggests that the viewing structure of a series can also exist in the spectator's attention. The effect in both forms of narrative is epistemological ^{as well as} ~~instead of~~ moral.

Surprisingly, in view of the fact that Hogarth was enthusiastically to explore the possibilities of a confrontation between the figures and the spectator in single pictures during the 1730s, only one figure makes his 'bargain' with the spectator in A Rake's Progress. A bored fencing master in the second picture invites the spectator to engage with him in a match while they both attend on the Rake. In addition, the various milieux of the progress define the projected spectator according to the setting as a witness (I), a carousing harlot (III), a passer-by (IV), a witness at a wedding (V), a gambler (VI), a debtor (VII), and a madman (VIII). This last role was made more emphatic in the alteration of 1763 when Hogarth made Bedlam a microcosm of all England. The lack of eye-to-eye contact between the figures and the spectator may be explained by means of the relationship between the subscription ticket and the progress. The Laughing Audience provides a definitive view of a proscenium theatre and by implication A Rake's Progress takes place behind a barrier which requires an actor to pretend that an audience is not there.

The projected spectator is a patient in The Company of Undertakers (1736). He is apparently so ill that, terrifyingly, he needs a bone-setter, an oculist, a fever doctor, and twelve other medical 'undertakers'. His role is elevated to the mock-heroic level of "Everypatient". In Scholars at a Lecture (1736-7), the spectator has to share the complacent lecturer's viewpoint. He is forced to feel the effect of the students' boredom and derision which the scholar avoids by concentrating

The Goggle-Eyed Trade Model

(Free Standing)

Note the curving femur behind
the model.

on his text. From the artist's viewpoint, his success lay in making his creations appear as bored with him as possible, a symbolic act of self-criticism. In Strolling Actresses, the actress, a Diana, seems suddenly to have become aware of a curious spectator as if in mid-rehearsal. He is cast in the rôle of an inquisitive and over-eager member of an audience curious to know what goes on behind the scenes. Diana reacts to being spied on with an inscrutable expression which is disturbing because of its enigmatic effect. A similarly inscrutable milkmaid in The Enraged Musician (1741) calls on the spectator to buy her milk.

The profiles of Characters and Caricatures in contrast to the heads in The Laughing Audience are laid out for a clinical and safe inspection. Expression is merely a concept and the spectator is undefined, unless as one of a myriad. As can be expected after such a precedent, there is no eye-to-eye contact between the spectator and the main characters in Marriage à la Mode, but he is nevertheless observed in unobtrusive ways by unexpected figures.

In the first picture, the pointer's beady eye is fixed steadily on the spectator. The effect is potentially unnerving because of the permanence of the gaze in an unimportant creature. Such a profound awareness on the dog's part is also an implicit criticism of the people in the picture who are too busy to be aware of who overlooks them or of what they are. The projected spectator is defined generally as a witness to the signing of the contract, an attendant waiting for as long as the haggling lasts, or, more particularly, a possible master of the dog. His composure indicates that the spectator makes no move, but that he needs to be eyed carefully.

The cat and the fat pagod below it grin in the spectator's direction in the second picture. Placed as they are to the side, they seem to invite him to share their amusement at the marital situation. Their smiles appear to redirect the force of the wife's sly glance at her husband as if to make the spectator experience the look which the husband does not notice. The context defines the spectator as another attendant whose counterpart is the slovenly and pretentious servant in the inner room opposite; the master and the mistress behave as if both are not there.

In contrast, the spectator is clearly involved in the next three pictures. He is threatened by the goggle-eyed stare of the trade model in the third picture. The model seems awestruck by the discovery of the

spectator's presence — an attitude reflected in the expression of the wolf to the right (Hogarth, incidentally, was to write that 'a large full eye' suggests feelings of 'fierceness and astonishment'¹³). The spectator has the status of a creature, suitably undefined, who is capable of arousing wonder among even the most bizarre of curios. He, too, experiences the effect of being stared at speechlessly as a curio himself by a curio in the strangest museum of all.

The black boy leers at the spectator in much the same way that the jeering woman does in A Harlot's Progress. The spectator is called on to be a tolerant conspirator who can take a joke about cuckoldry from a puckish little boy. The black boy's gesture implies in turn that the spectator is also not wholly absorbed in the concert.

The spectator is placed in the unsettling position of being almost a counterpart of the fire in The Killing of the Earl. The effect is particularly striking in the painting because the light shines from a point near the left margin of the picture. In a way, it is the spectator's light which illuminates the picture and he is responsible in part for the fatal blinding of the lord. The sleight of hand with the mirror makes Lord Squander's head the reflection of what can only be the face of the projected spectator. In so far as a spectator is anybody and everybody, Lord Squander at his death becomes another image of Everyman. 'Sooner or later the time will surely come when your mirror will look back at you like this one', warns Lichtenberg.¹⁴ Ironically, Lord Squander does not "see" the spectator in the same way that he does not see the reflection of his killer in the first picture. As a comic check to the elevation of the spectator to a mock-heroic plane, the harlot eyes him fearlessly from the back wall. To some extent his vantage point behind or beside the fire protects him from the full effects of her leer and the challenge of her out-thrust bosom. He is no longer as unprotected as he is when confronted by M. Hackabout in the third picture of A Harlot's Progress.

In contrast to the attention paid to the spectator in the fifth picture, he is ignored in the last. The turned backs of the pitcherman and the physician are ^{acts of} a symbolic rejection. The pitcherman's gesture is an act of contempt. Fielding asks for a considerable degree of concentration from his reader and repays those who are 'sensible' with a certain amount of flattery, confidentiality, and guidance. Hogarth's relationship with his spectator is equally demanding, but far less friendly. A spectator is required to perform a variety of rôles, to

wait for and upon the characters, to be eyed, goggled, and leered at, and eventually to be spurned. The experience can be defined in Brecht's terms as a deliberate attempt to alienate a spectator in order that a greater critical awareness of his own nature may come about.

Because verbal narratives are usually related in the past tense, a reader is detached from the immediacy of events by the working of the grammar. The spectator enters the ever-present tense of art in a picture narrative. The experience is closer to a play than most novels, therefore, but because the movement through the viewing structure remains under the spectator's control, the experience is as potentially contemplative as that of a novel and more faithful to the medium than the experience of reading a play. By implying that the later events take place in the future for subscribers, Hogarth made the impact of Marriage à la Mode in particular more immediate than in other series.

The confrontation between the figures and the spectator is a rhetorical device which corresponds to the use of the vocative case in language. The Harlot's engagement with the spectator in the third picture has the force of a soliloquy, whereas in Marriage à la Mode the effect is like that of a sharp, dramatic aside. The device is made more disturbing because only servants, animals, or art-figures take any notice. As in a play, the concept of a narrator as a direct participant or voice does not exist for a picture narrative. Hogarth prefers to communicate with a spectator through ironic juxtapositions and periphrastic sequences. Because the 'author' of a picture narrative can only approach the inner world of thought and feeling through externals as in a play, then his method approximates to that of the most impersonal of third-person narratives. The comparisons with one narrative form or the other only hold up to a point and are negative proof of the fact that a picture narrative is an autonomous form.

SOME STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS IX. REFERENCES

1. The passage draws on 'The Symphonic Form of King Lear' by George R. Kernodle in Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays in Honour of George F. Reynolds, series B II 4 (Boulder, 1945), pp. 185-91.
2. R. L. S. Cowley, 'An Examination and Interpretation of Narrative Features in A Rake's Progress' (Birmingham University, unpublished MA 1972) Part III, pp. 172-199.
3. George R. Kernodle, 'The Symphonic Form of King Lear' in Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays in Honour of George F. Reynolds, series B II 4 (Boulder, 1945), pp. 185-91.
4. The subject is well surveyed in Shesgreen, Introduction, pp. xviii-xxi.
5. Lichtenberg, p. 132.
6. Emblem and Expression, p. 45 and the Introduction to this thesis, pp. 5 and 7.
7. Trusler, p. 5.
8. John Dixon Hunt, editor, Encounters: Essays on Literature and the Visual Arts (London, 1971): in particular, Ronald Paulson 'Hogarth and the English Garden: Visual and Verbal Structures', pp. 82-93. See also J. D. Hunt 'Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden' in Eighteenth-Century Studies (Berkeley, 1971) IV 3, pp. 294-317.
9. George Vertue, Notebooks III in Walpole Society (Oxford, 1933-34) XXII, p. 58.
10. Geoffrey Grigson, 'Hogarth as Literature', Listener, Volume 86, 2280, (23. 12. 1971), p. 878.
11. John Preston, The Created Self (London, 1970), p. 2, p. 6, and p. 11.
12. John Preston, The Created Self (London, 1970), pp. 119-20.
13. The Analysis, p. 138.
14. Lichtenberg, p. 137.

X. SOME THEMATIC CONSIDERATIONS

The first section is concerned with fire because it is the most pervasive ^{imaginal} theme in Marriage à la Mode; because it is an important feature in all Hogarth's narrative art; because its treatment provides an insight into the interrelation between a picture narrative and poetry. A consideration of the other traditional elements leads on from fire and so the second section is concerned with a schema built round the four elements, the humours, and the physical senses.

As early as 1941, Edmund Wilson drew attention to the poetic unity of the novels of Dickens and established his reputation on grounds other than joviality or social realism. Both Richard D. Altick in 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II' and Kernodle in 'The Symphonic Form of King Lear' came to the analogy between drama and music as the result of an interest in the recurrence of imagery in Shakespeare's plays.¹

It is likely that any sophisticated novelist or playwright, consciously or unconsciously, creates underlying imaginative patterns in his work. Even in that least romantic of eighteenth-century novels, Tom Jones, Blifil is treated as of the devil's party.² He speaks with 'one of those grinning sneers with which the Devil marks his best beloved'. Fielding allows the 'profligate' exile from Paradise Hall, the son of a man called Summer, to share in his Sophia's angelic imagery as the story draws to its end. Jones is an 'angel from heaven' in Mrs Miller's opinion and, on several occasions, is her 'good angel'.

Visual metaphor is used sparingly in Hogarth's narrative art, perhaps because it is a feature which is more readily represented in the grotesque style of cartoon than in realistic picture narratives. On the assumption that his are sophisticated narratives, however, it is reasonable to expect that the recurrence of detail, irrespective of whether it is used "figuratively" or not, creates effects comparable to those of iterative imagery.

1. The Poetic Parallel and the Imagery of Fire

Hogarth was to quote Lamazzo in The Analysis for arguing that the most fitting form of motion is found in the 'most active' element, 'the flame of fire'.³ The conical shape of a flame is beautiful, therefore a picture of a flame-like shape is also beautiful. Hogarth was to describe the interplay of serpentine lines as 'twisting together in a

flame-like manner'. The imagery of fire is considered first because of its relevance to Hogarth's theories of beauty and because it appears to have had a central place in his imagination.

(i) Fire Imagery in 'A Harlot's Progress'

Direct references to fire are absent from all but the fifth picture in Hogarth's first series. The hot water for the tea is imported from outside in both the second and third pictures. Only as the Harlot dies from venereal disease does a fire blaze and a pot over-boil. As early as the twelfth-century, citizens were forbidden by law from having anything to do with whores suffering from the 'burning'.⁴ The Harlot's dying is illuminated by a traditional image of her occupational disease.

The firelight at the climax is prefigured indirectly, however, in several details. A picture in the Jew's room shows Jonah awakening to feel the heat of the sun. The Harlot is not saved from the heat of disease by her lovers, her beauty and finery, or her imprisonment. The decorations in the third picture show her as drawn to fire. Her bundle of twigs above the bed shows her interest in flagellation and she herself is threatened with a beating in the fourth picture. The portrait of 'Dr Sacheveral' by her bed shows her admiration of a fiery orator. Her medallion shows a deity crowned with an aureole. Most significantly, the largest inset picture is of the angel staying Abraham's hand; no such figure is to prevent the Harlot's sacrifice as a metaphorical burnt offering.

The progress ends with a bottle labelled 'Nants' in the bottom right hand corner of the last picture. An upturned glass beside the bottle confirms that the bottle is empty and its spirit, like the Harlot's, is gone. Several harlots examine themselves for the signs of the burning which, although it has burnt out in one of their number, is to continue in the cycle of the living.

(ii) Fire Imagery in Hogarth's Other Early Series

In the engravings of Before and After, the lovers' desire is transposed to the image of cupid lighting a rocket which ascends in the first picture and hangs spent in the second. Fire is equated with sexual energy.

In The Four Times of the Day, the prude stops to watch the lovers who do not need to warm themselves at the fire unlike the beggars in front of them. Only an ardent woman is thinly clad in Noon. On a very

hot evening, two drinkers smoke contentedly in a stuffy inn. (As denizens of heat, they anticipate the carousal picture in The Suicide of the Countess VI.) The street fire in Night illuminates a noisy, turbulent picture. The fire seems to have caused the coach to overturn and threatens to burn it. The freemason is superimposed on the fire as if to suggest that he staggers away from it. The juxtaposition makes the fire an externalization of his recent brawling, bloody, confused mood. The cascade from the chamberpot douses his drunken "fire". In contrast, the patient tyler of his lodge holds a lantern, a benign and moderating guide, like the watchman in Marriage à la Mode.

Fire imagery is introduced in the first picture of A Rake's Progress by means of the disused fireplace, the firewood, and the discarded implements. Although the Rake's father has avoided the cost of fire, he has not been able to part with the redundant materials. They are kept along with the swords, boots, and punchbowls in the cupboard as emblems of a previously convivial life. The fire is to be lit at the son's command as a sign that the old order is replaced not by a new, but an even older one.

No direct evidence of fire is found in a room in which Hogarth could easily have put a fireplace or a sconce (A Rake's Progress II). The Rake is surrounded by personifications of fieriness in the bully's bravado, the fencing-master's aggressive stance, the blast of the huntsman's horn, and the music of a violent erotic opera. The largest inset picture shows Paris giving the golden apple to Venus, a symbolic gesture which anticipates the effloration of fire in the next picture where the Rake carouses with the women of his choice, the harlots of the Rose Tavern. From one point of view, Hogarth did not need to include direct evidence of fire in the second picture since the Rake's energy is being squandered on fashionable and costly pursuits.

A dramatic transition occurs between the second and third pictures: firelight in Orgies illuminates the whole cellar, the cracked mirror has candles burning in front of it, and the posture woman prepares to dance with a burning candle on a table, a celebrant of sexual fire. A circle (the platter) within a circle (the table) in a cellar is a structure reminiscent of the circles in Dante's inferno. Because the fire itself is not disclosed, the mystery encourages a view of it as something beyond its literal self. Fire imagery elsewhere in the picture also has mock-heroic connotations: the company has broken the portraits of the emperors but, magnanimously, has spared the fire-raiser,

Nero. A bored "Helen" sets fire to a map of the 'Totus Mundus' instead of the ancient world.

The Arrest IV, as Hogarth first composed it, lacks fire, but a lamp-lighter, in replenishing his street-lamp, spills oil on the Rake in an act of comic renewal; ironically, the renewal is succeeded only by a wintry marriage. In later states of the engraving, a bolt of lightning was added as if to strike the gaming house in the background, a prefiguration of the Rake's downfall as a result of gambling in a house also threatened by fire in the sixth picture.

The theme of fire in The Wedding V is transferred to indirect ideas in the anger of the Youngs in the background and the golden "glory" behind the bride's head. The Rake eyes the bridesmaid as if to suggest that his renewed energies might be released in her direction, but the next picture shows that they have been dissipated in another direction.

At the climax of A Rake's Progress, the gamblers are protected from the fire in the grate by a wire fireguard. The Rake's paroxysm is reflected in a mysterious, free-burning fire which spreads from behind a partition. The transfer to a final coldness is more gradual than in either A Harlot's Progress or Marriage à la Mode because of the double coda. Huge, feathered wings droop in the upper corner of The Prison VII because they have been unable to fly to the sun. Fire burns futilely: literally in the alchemist's heavy furnace and metaphorically in the haggard wife's pointless anger. The Rake's play has been rejected by the impresario and the fire of his imagination, having failed to lead to his release, is in the process of turning destructively in on himself. The cold griddle in the bundle draws attention to his exhaustion and prepares for the fit of burning madness which overtakes him at the end.

Fire does not burn in The Madhouse VIII; instead, spilling liquids accompany the end of life. The maniac in the cell to the left takes fright at the shadow of a crucifix and the sun, moon, and a comet are represented in a madman's drawings. The fire of art itself is reduced to the level of an insane, academic exercise.

(iii) Fire Imagery in 'Marriage à la Mode'

Although Marriage à la Mode is closer to A Harlot's Progress in terms of structure, it is closer to A Rake's Progress in its imaginative treatment of fire. The Earl's glittering clothes make him a person-

ification of le roi d'or which a miserly man, the Alderman, of necessity must adore. The imagery in the Jupiter portrait is a mixture of martial and sexual fire. The Earl's veneration of the fire in the smaller pictures is ambiguous: it is not clear whether he admires St Lawrence and St Agnes for their saintliness or for the sadism of their torture; Prometheus for giving fire to man or the bird for savaging him; the pity of Abel's murder or Cain's daring in having taken fire from man in the form of his brother's life.

The gout and the scrofula, both irritants, are the outward symptoms of an inner burning in the father and the son. In so far as gout was regarded as a self-willed disease, then it can be argued that they both wilfully seek the pleasure and pain of fire (the son is about to inhale the snuff). Fire is also alight in the flame of the candle on the table. Along with the inkstand, bell, and sand caster, it is set ready for the signing and the sealing of the contract. A number of commentators have seen an impurity in the candle, a thief, which makes the flame burn wastefully. The suggestion adds to the theme of flawed magnificence, but an examination of other burning candles in Hogarth's pictures does not show a marked difference. The response seems to be a literal example of seeing a picture-in-the-fire, a consequence of the pressure of a major theme.

Lichtenberg saw the intertwining of the sconces which hold the long, unlit tapers in front of Medusa as a 'betrothal'.⁵ Their common source suggests that the basis of the marriage is similarly monstrous and is also to lack both vitality and warmth.

The smoking stumps of candles are set on the tables of the further room in the second picture. The candle in a heavy stick now serves the cause of gaming, an amusement which puts the marriage at risk. A playing card or a visiting card is tucked under the pedestal of one candlestick to show how the value of the burning candle has lessened. Instead of being guarded by a watchful broker, these candles are neglected by an indolent servant. Other guttering candles on the chandelier indicate the couple's disregard for their rank. The smokiness which surrounds the coronet is as much an external representation of the viscount's depression as it is of the steward's vision.

The fire burns quite brightly in the hearth, but it cannot warm such cavernous rooms and it is dominated by the heavy fireplace. As a symbol of domesticity, the fire divides rather than unites the family. The tall tapers continue unlit and are to disappear from the series

just as the possibility of marital affection is to disappear before it is generated. As Lichtenberg observes of them in the first picture, they 'burn just as little as the two hearts beneath'.⁶

Whereas the theme of fire is brought to an early climax in A Rake's Progress (in the third of eight pictures), the absence of fire from the doctor's laboratory makes an anti-climax which comments on the sexual exhaustion and sadness of two feeble people. An alembic was originally included under the table, but it was subsequently overpainted as if Hogarth had decided to exclude all associations of fire from the laboratory. Only the tripod remains as a metaphor which associates the heat of the fire with death by hanging. Some associations with fire are present in the heavy furnaces and enclosed stills of the inner room, but they are set as far away from the characters as possible. 'No cooking is ever done' in this 'chemical kitchen'.⁷ The figures suffer from an inward burning (of disease and pride) which makes real heat unnecessary.

The fourth picture is as subdued as the third in its associations. The lovers are set before a blank mirror, a cold symbol of appearances. The hairdresser puts fire to use also for the sake of appearances, but, by definition, it has to be harmless. Like the characters in the preceding picture, the lovers have no need of external warmth.

The ironic implications of the pinch of snuff in the first picture are realized in the fifth. According to Grose, to take snuff meant to take offence; Lord Squander has died as the result of an offended pride.⁸ The shadow-tongs are a literal fore-shadow (was the pun intended?) of his dying in front of the fire and the faggot, a counterpart, suggests that he is the fuel of this fire. It symbolizes the hollow pride which blinds him. It has illuminated the lovers' activities and thus symbolizes their desires. It is the fire of agony, remorse, and fear. It is a representation of the fire of sin, hell, and sacrifice (in the allegorical context). Its irradiance is an enactment of the wastefulness, the squandering, of tragedy. It is the light of perception itself; for Hogarth, the beautiful essence of art.

A solitary candle on a table returns to the narrative. Unlike the candles in The Gaming House (A Rake's Progress VI), enhaloed in the frowsty atmosphere, this flame is on the point of blowing out as if to reflect on the dissolution of the contract. In contrast, a moderate, protected flame burns in the watchman's lantern. It provides a useful, responsible light and a significantly shaped shadow; but it is pallid in

comparison with the power of the fire. In so far as Hogarth's sympathies are with his sufferers, then his preference is for the romantic, the disorderly, and the eccentric.

No fire burns in the last picture of Marriage à la Mode. The pig's head substitutes for the candle on the round table. The Alderman risks a small pipe, but its attendant dangers are perhaps nullified by the dampness of the house, the open windows, and the fire buckets. The carousal picture is a celebration of fire and is perhaps important because it is the last view of fire in the series. Lichtenberg wondered whether Hogarth had Falstaff's gibes at the expense of Bardolph's nose in mind. Falstaff called it an 'Ignis fatuus', a 'link light', a 'salamander', and a 'death's head or memento mori'.⁹ The jokes suggest that Shakespeare was alluding to the nose as a multiple image of the burning of disease, alcoholism, and death. A nose had phallic connotations and there was a long-standing belief that tobacco could cure syphilis. The unhealthy-looking whiteness about the faces of Hogarth's toppers adds to the ambiguities.

The passing of fire from one person to another can be seen as a parable of the influences at work on the characters. The Earl's building mania feeds off the Alderman's gold and he in turn catches an enthusiasm for collecting from the Earl: London is "fired" by Westminster and Westminster depends on London. Lady Squander acquires a passion for the fashionable life after sitting in the Earl's presence. The husband's place is surrendered to a lover and a mistress takes the place of a wife. Disabilities, particularly associated with fire, pass from a father to a son and to a grandson. The passing of fire is a comic enactment of the Imagist principle whereby a theme passes from one statement to another without explanation or obvious cause. This was Hogarth's underlying poetic principle, too.

Fire is present in a variety of forms and with a multiplicity of meanings as a Promethean image is bound to have. The members of the middle generation in Hogarth's narrative art as a whole seek out the experience of fire and squander it as they squander the vitality of their youth. The Harlot dies of the burning, the Rake raves because fire is denied him, Lord Squander is engulfed by it, having inhaled snuff. Silver-tongue runs away from the glow of his opposing element. Lady Squander dies because of the loss of passion.

The elderly men are beyond sharing directly in the physical

experience of fire. The Earl suffers from the consequences in his gout and can only recreate the experience of fire vicariously in his choice of clothes and in the sadism of his art. In the first picture, the Alderman has been sufficiently dashing to wear his sword and to risk his money on behalf of an admired rival. The setbacks which result from the fathers' attempts to control their children's energies push the Alderman in the direction of a longer lasting meanness. The Rake's father hid his swords, boots, and bowls in a cupboard. The Alderman seems to have donated his sword and his wig to the physician behind him and has already displaced his punchbowl to the top of a cupboard. Both these grasping fathers live or have lived a chilly existence without fire. The Alderman's acquisition of three coats instead of two represents a significant step.

The Alderman's least admired picture is fiery and his more recent acquisitions reflect his denial of fire. The Rake's father gloats over his treasure in the portrait in The Heir, but the Alderman has rid himself of treasure, preferring paper transactions only and a vulgar back view of a man making water.

The imagery of fire is introduced in A Harlot's Progress. It is used extensively in A Rake's Progress with its twin, firelit climaxes and with greater variety in Marriage à la Mode. Lichtenberg was aware of the significance of fire. In considering The Marriage Contract I, he wrote, 'here glimmers the spark which by and by becomes the glow and finally the blaze through which the whole structure collapses'.¹⁰ The long tapers are seen as 'not yet burning, but [as] quite ready to do so. To light them, only night is needed, which will come'.

Was Hogarth similarly aware of the poetic features in his work? A certain deliberateness is indicated by the fact that fire burns strongest in the climax pictures. Other imaginative patterns can be discovered: A Harlot's Progress is dominated by a variety of containers and rectilinear shapes. These twin themes combine in the single image of the coffin which contains the Harlot at the end. Crosses and haloes support and combine with the fire imagery in A Rake's Progress. Ominous, gallows-like structures or scaffolds precede the view of Tyburn tree in Industry and Idleness. A variety of violated bodies make a gruesome pattern throughout The Four Stages of Cruelty. Flaws, physical deformities, kinds of topsy-turviness, mirrors, clocks, swords, and sticks reiterate in Marriage à la Mode.

Hogarth's heightened awareness of the physical nature of existence,

his interest in the interior structure of things which support the shell, and his professional sensitivity to the dynamism of light would have made it difficult for him not to be drawn to a theme of fire and not to be consciously aware of its presence in his art. The process which required him and his team of engravers to labour over details for many months would have forced them to dwell on minute detail and to be acutely aware of how it might relate to the whole of a work on display in its entirety. Finally, it should not be a matter of surprise that a play, a novel, or a series should be poetic. A study of iterative images is a means of studying the nature of imagination itself.

2. The Other Elements, the Five Senses, and the Humours

A recurrence of water imagery is also present in Marriage à la Mode to complement and contrast with that of fire. In the first picture, the Red Sea, an aptly named image, is ironically placed to swamp the inset pictures, the candle flame, and the glittering Earl, as well as Pharoah and his army. The comic conflict between images of fire and water is continued in the second picture where the frog-like creatures on the chimney piece are set above the fire and the fish are set above the long tapers. In the third picture the crocodile, the whale's baleen and the bone (if it is antediluvian), the urinal, and the barber's basin hang high and dry. Wet medicants are set above dry on the shelves. Fire is supreme in the fifth picture, but water returns to dominate the last. The shops dealing in dry goods set above water are a reply to the placing of the Pharoah in the first picture. The triumph of water over fire is made more certain by the addition of the full jug of water, the overfull pitcherman, and, indirectly, the presence of the sand buckets. Lady Squander, having been bathed in the fire of the Earl's presence and of the bagnio, dies by swallowing a bitter liquid.

As a variation and an elaboration on this kind of interplay, each picture in the series is dominated by a particular combination of elements indicative of the prevailing atmosphere, or humour, in the picture. Although humour-psychology should have been discredited by the beginning of the eighteenth-century, it persisted both in medical theory and as a matter of popular belief.¹¹

The first picture is dominated by a combination of fire and air (under threat from water). The airiness is conveyed through the general spaciousness, the open window, the vista, the cosmic machinery in the portrait, and so on. The combination suggests that the atmosphere is

choleric, reflecting the Earl's temperament, the humour of warriors, drunkards, and summertime.¹² The last element of the four, earth or stone, is also present in the façade and the implications of a gorgon's stare. The Earl as a representative of fire and pride is foolish in believing that he is impervious to the effects of stone, yet, in attaching too much value to an incompatible element, he has brought himself to the point of bankruptcy. The inclusion of stone completes a spectrum of elements in the first picture to balance with and complement the parade of deadly sins.

Each picture in turn is also an exemplification of one of the physical senses (an idea perhaps deriving from Bosse's series, Les Cinq Sens). The predominant sense in the first is sight to complement themes of fire and air. Medusa's stare is perhaps the representative image. It is supplemented by the Alderman's use of his spectacles, the lawyer's marvelling at the façade, which he compares with the plan, and Silver-tongue's seeming to fall in love at first sight. The Earl and his son gaze for the sake of it and the latter fails to see what he should.

The second picture is dominated by the stone archway and fireplace. The cupid serenades the plaster bust from among the ruins of a stone building. The stress on music in another spacious interior suggests that the predominant atmosphere is of (cold) stone and (dry) air, a melancholic combination. The sense of smell, dependent on air, is represented in the sniffing of the lap dog, the mended nose of the bust, and the general frowstiness of the room with its dying odours of the night before.

The third picture includes an interplay of dry and cold things to contrast with the inward burning of disease. A combination of dry and cold or hot themes suggests the presence of an unfavourable combination of melancholic and choleric humours. The predominant sense is touch. Every gesture is potentially hurtful and therefore a tactile experience (page 91). The sense of touch is continued in the presence of the generally bony, jagged, and sharp objects. The poet sees the wolf's head as an exemplification of touch (to contrast with the medusa):

High o'er them stood a stuff'd wolf's-head
To tell you, "If you touch you're dead".

The trade model with a pill in its mouth is the representative image of a touching cure-all (or kill-all). Beneath it, the skeleton repeats the point in a mockery of a kiss.

The inset picture of Jupiter and Io conjoins the elements of air and water in the love of a cloud for a water nymph. Airiness is also indicated in the music which charms the general ear as Silvertongue's voice charms the lady. The picture is an unexpectedly noisy one: apart from the music, which defines the sense of hearing, characters giggle, sip, sigh, snore, and whisper! The implications of the rape pictures, the motives behind Silvertongue's proposal, the heat of the chocolate and the curling tongs provide a mixture of literal and metaphorical forms of heat. The combination of warmth, air, and water makes the predominant mood sanguine. The humour is cleverly summed up in the person of the die-away lady whose hair is fiery and whose characteristic attitude is vaporous. In addition, she is about to be served a hot, melting drink to keep her warm.

As might be expected, the heat and draught in the bagnio reintroduce a choleric mood. The eyes in the picture stare (with the exception of the dying lord); the mouth of the hat cries out dumbly; the brawl has been heard; the agony is felt. The picture is an appropriate consummation of sensuous experience with the understandable exception of the sense of taste which is reserved for the end.

The Alderman's home is characterized by wet and cold things, the signs of a phlegmatic temperament, exemplified in the pitcherman and a river-side house. The mood is complemented by the sense of taste (phlegmatic people were thought of as gluttons). The dog steals the food; drink and tobacco are ready; Lady Squander has drunk bitter poison; the pitcherman and the toppers have caroused and still carouse; the still-life is a study of wasted food.

Because setting is a metonymic view of character, the predominant moods in the picture provide an insight into the psychology of the characters. The Earl is readily identified as a choleric man (an apt mood with which to begin a narrative) and the Alderman as a phlegmatic man (an apt humour with which to end). The poet, incidentally, suggests that he smokes to clear his throat of phlegm. Although Hogarth does not regard his Alderman as stupid, the spider's web comments on the phlegmatic man's cunning, suspiciousness, carefulness, and outward impassivity. His concern for a valuable rather than a daughter is consistent with the dullest and most material of humours. His daily food is egg, a dish traditionally believed to be an aphrodisiac. Only a cold man perhaps could eat egg regularly and remain unaffected. ^{So the superstition would run} A phlegmatic temperament accounts for his being drawn to the volatile personality of the Earl in

the first place.

The appropriate temperament for the wilful child of a stolid man is sanguinity, the warm and moist humour. The warmth of Lady Squander's personality is reflected in the soft pinks and golds of her clothes. Her temperament provides a cause of her initial impatience, her willingness to listen to and then respond to a gallant advance, her erotic taste in art, and her dissatisfaction with a melancholic husband (below). Her lover, whose name associates him with the air, the moon, and night, is also a sanguine type. Subscribers would perhaps have recognized that like was drawn to like, especially since sanguine people were thought to form the strongest bonds of affection. For Shakespeare, the sanguine personality seems to have been closest to the ideal type. Hogarth seems to have agreed with him in his ironic way since he idealizes the lovers' poses in the fourth picture. Sanguine characters were often the victims in Renaissance drama because they were hopeful, courageous, trusting, and thus vulnerable to the schemes of the villainous. A superabundance of blood, however, was thought to turn them towards a melancholy characterized by deceit, lust, and passion. An excess of blood provides an explanation for the lovers' heedlessness and desire, and Silvertongue's rôle as an intriguer and Lady Squander's turning to suicide.

Lord Squander's indifference, depression, irascibility, his latent suspiciousness, bad-luck, and ill-health are typical of black choler, the most miserable form of melancholy. His pastel-shaded and black clothes harmonize with his temperament, the appropriate humour for the son of a choleric father. The melancholic was believed capable of oscillating between extreme states of choleric violence, which could turn towards madness, and states of depressed, but not phlegmatic quiet. The earlier pictures show Lord Squander in a gloomy and, potentially, dangerous mood. He is only aroused from it by a need to protect his Dulcinea, a need which stems from a quixotic melancholy. The common miss's passivity suggests that she is phlegmatic — as women generally were expected to be. A liaison between a melancholic husband and a phlegmatic woman could only be miserable. Cutters and surgeons were deemed melancholic because of their association with iron. Lord Squander has come across kindred spirits in the quack and the procuress. The climax of the narrative shows the cuckold suffering the consequences of an impulsive, choleric violence.

Because poets and artists, as Dürer shows, were characteristically

melancholic, it is appropriate that the lord should die framed as his own portrait, bathed in the fire of artistic inspiration.

The interplay of the elements, humours, and senses gives the series an underlying system and a well-established psychological rationale for Hogarth's theory of character. These features add to the poetic unity of the work and the images weave in and out of the narrative like the melodies in a developing passage of music. Hogarth shares an ability with Shakespeare to make one image convey a multiplicity of meanings and associations. The terms image and imagery can be returned to their origins in art and used anew.

SOME THEMATIC CONSIDERATIONS X. REFERENCES

1. Richard D. Altick, 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II' PMLA LXII (1947), p. 339 ff.
2. Henry Fielding, Tom Jones (New York, 1963). The references are from XIII. 10, XIV. 9, and XV. 10.
3. The Analysis, p. 6 and p. 135.
4. Guy Williams. The Age of Agony, The Art of Healing c. 1700-1800 (London, 1975), p. 128.
5. Lichtenberg, p. 90.
6. Lichtenberg, p. 90.
7. Lichtenberg, p. 109.
8. Francis Grose, A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, edited by Eric Partridge (third edition, 1963), p. 319.
9. Lichtenberg, p. 150, and Henry IV Part 1, III 3 from lines 24-45, edited by J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1968), p. 66.
10. Lichtenberg, p. 90.
11. Guy Williams, The Age of Agony, The Art of Healing c. 1700-1800 (London, 1975), pp. 7-8, and England in the Age of Hogarth, p. 207 and p. 211.
12. The discussion of the humours draws on J. W. Draper, 'The Humors, Some Psychological Aspects of Shakespeare's Tragedies' in The Journal of the American Medical Association Volume 188 (1964), pp. 259-262, The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters, also by Draper (Durham N. C., 1945), E. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London, 1943, reprint 1964).

CONCLUSION TO THE THESIS

The following aspects are considered in the conclusion: some of the more important subjects at work in Marriage à la Mode; narrative mode and structure; some aspects of narrative method; those features of Hogarth's imagination and personality which have bearing on his narrative art. The conclusion is relatively brief because Marriage à la Mode is set in relation to the wider context of Hogarth's art in the Introduction and because the body of the thesis represents an attempt to discover how far the series is a coherent work. To some extent, it is its own conclusion: the plot permeates the obscure corners.

1. Subject in 'Marriage à la Mode'

Several important subjects interrelate: a vanity which masquerades as great pride; selfishness and a consequential disregard for others; an implicit criticism of 'High-Life'; squandering as a profound concept; the rivalries between two cities; the contrast between the immediate and the topical on one hand and the historical and the universal on the other.

The Earl introduces inflated vanity as a first cause of events in Marriage à la Mode. The difference between his person and the figure in the portrait defines the extent of his delusions of grandeur. The fathers command a marriage in order to complete a defective monument and to buy a way into an unsound nobility. A deformed and powerless orphan is all that remains of these ambitions at the end. In the meantime, marriage is treated with indifference and contempt. The husband acts to protect his marriage only when his pride is endangered in public and his wife's regret at his death soon passes.

The wife's vanity is an unforeseen consequence of her father's ambition to match the lawyer's unexpected gallantry and her husband's more predictable fastidiousness. She discovers the delights of a fashionable life and is thrown off balance by it in much the same way as her supposed acquaintance, Lady Townly, is. In deciding to make her a sanguine personality, Hogarth presented a character most likely to be dissatisfied with a lonely, boring, domestic life and a melancholy husband. In keeping with her temperament, she seeks adventure regardless of the consequences.

Silvertongue plays more on Lady Squander's desire to be fashionable than on her carnal desire, presumably to satisfy the vanity and shallow-

ness implicit in his name.¹ It is revealing of his approach that Le Sopha is an analysis of the codes of sexual behaviour rather than an analysis of sexual activity. The distinction helps account both for the sanguine personality's guilt at being discovered and her suicide when the hope of a glamorous life is denied her. The endings of both The Provok'd Husband and Marriage à la Mode point out the hollowness of fashionable life to the spectator, but, while Lady Townly is made to discover this for herself before it is too late by sympathetic friends, Lady Squander is isolated from such positive influences. Neither woman, however, possesses the splendid eccentricity for which Lady Henrietta Maria Stafford is remembered. Lady Squander's tragedy is partly due to the limitations of her own upbringing.

Hogarth's view of high-life is characterized by its mediocrity and ugliness of taste, a view which is made more disturbing by the delicacy of his painting and engraving. Outwardly respectable citizens identify themselves with forms of sadism, masochism, rape, incest, infantilism, etc.. In spite of these gothic interests they themselves can only "achieve" a commonplace adultery and murder occurs by accident rather than design. A desire to possess is characterized by a disregard or even a positive dislike of wholeness. Potentially beautiful images are cut, branded, broken, unsoundly constructed, diseased, marred, clumsily mended, deformed, and turned upside down. The topsy-turviness of Marriage à la Mode is indicative of a folly which extends to the hierarchies of beings themselves.

The disregard endangers life, health, and status. One character, a glutton, stakes the welfare of his family against its monument. Another, apparently a shrewd investor, lays out a fortune on a marriage. A bored and unloved son and husband becomes involved in prostitution and quackery. His wife consorts with a glib lawyer and a legendary card sharp. They all sit unconcernedly before a gorgon who, alone, responds with terror to what she sees. As in all Hogarth's narrative art, the middle generation proves to be the least stable; expensive fads are taken up and discarded. The young gamble, attend masquerades, routs, drums, auctions, and meet in a bagnio. The lawyer risks the wrath of powerful families. The indolent lord believes that he can reshape a neglected marriage at the point of the weapon which befits his rank, but which suits him least. The wife stakes her reputation on not being found out and her life on a reprieve. The impression of haste, giddiness might be the appropriate term, is accentuated by the intrinsic nature of a narrative

form which can show a lifetime in six pictures.

Hogarth's depiction of high-life could not have been a flattering attempt to seek preferment. Marriage à la Mode is a challenge to both the aristocracy and the oligarchy. By 1733, Hogarth had lost his chance to paint the royal family to Kent and Rigaud. The series is part of an unforgiving and unforgetting process of revenge. His disappointments did not prevent Hogarth from continuing to seek preferment. He was always inspired to his best work by subjects that he feared, envied, and lacked himself.

Although the characters in Marriage à la Mode act as if independent of any external constraints, they are circumscribed by their own desires. The Earl is immobilized by gout and represented as if imprisoned between the crutches of which he is proud. The Alderman rules his household with a self-imposed regularity. Marriage, as predicted in the shackling of the pointers, brings its own constraints. They are exemplified in the wife's boredom with domesticity and the husband's acquisition of disease. Attempts to break away in terms of an interest in social inferiors are punished by ignominious death. Ironically, the most foolishly tyrannical character, the Earl, is allowed to disappear almost unnoticed from the series.

The constraints do not end with death; the degradation of the husband and the lover is continued in the dying speech. Both become the topic for the seekers after sensation and the wife's family continues to make demands on her. The skeleton, which leans over to kiss the muscleman in the most prison-like picture of all, sums up the paradox of Hogarth's art, that to be alive is to be a prisoner of death. Holbein, too, had found the grim jest fascinating; perhaps artists respond to the paradox because motion is suspended and constrained within the rigid confines of a picture frame. Ironically, Hogarth, whose early life was beset by the extremes of freedom and constraint, staked his own talents against the bookseller's monopoly and won. He died in the modest comfort and security of his own home, something his characters do not do.

The universal significance of the concept of squandering is not readily recognized in the twentieth-century. The dissipation of talents (including money), the vitiation of taste which a passion for collecting brings, the carelessness and false pride, the persistent greed, the hastily fulfilled desires, the destruction of the marriage, and the organizing principle behind the composition of two of the pictures all

contribute to the essential theme. So comprehensive is the wastefulness, the 'pill-age' which makes the quack doctor such an appropriate consultant, that it is remarkable that the family has survived until the 1740s. Without a lineage, of course, there would be no narrative and it is Hogarth's point that the fashionable life brings even a history of squandering to the point of destruction.

In the same way that the primary meanings of to squander have been lost (to Hogarth's disadvantage), so, too, has the force of the City rivalries. London versus Westminster supplies a topicality, a local history, and a dramatic conflict more familiar to an eighteenth-century English spectator than that between the Montagues and the Capulets. The horror at the end of Marriage à la Mode lies in the London Alderman's unawareness of his own inhumanity. Hogarth's point is that degenerateness is not a quality only to be found in the distant otherworld of myth, legend, and folklore, but also in a recognizably present day London and beyond (on the evidence of the internal dating).

The series is not as up-to-date as the title or the make-believe chronology suggests. Both Habakkuk and Allen demonstrate the length of the tradition of marriages, supposedly à la mode. The old-fashioned values, clothes, architecture, and art make the series about an out-moded way of shaping the future. The end of the narrative is reactionary rather than revolutionary; the enlightened author, who married for love without the wholehearted consent of the bride's father, really married à la mode.

The more that the implications of the rivalry between London and Westminster are considered the more fundamental and universal the contrast appears. Not only are cities matched against each other, but French values against native (with an underlying hint of support from the competitive Dutch), property against money, spendthrift against miser, the folly of Jupiter's representative against the cunning of the spider, choler against phlegm, fire against water, the timeless against the timebound. Such cosmic antipathies are aligned behind the local and the particular in a remarkable effect of comic enlargement, the metaphorical weight of which is too much for the puny heir of the rivalry, enfeebled as he is by his legacy.

Marriage à la Mode was intended to be followed by The Happy Marriage, a pastoral series, but it only reached the planning stage (two or

perhaps three, oil-sketches survive from c. 1745). The project did not develop perhaps because the drama of London's rituals and crowds commanded Hogarth's imagination instead of the benign festivities at Paradise Hall. A clue to Hogarth's part-admiring, part-contemptuous attitude is found in the Apology for Painters. He was to ask himself what was the point of studying to be a painter when a next door neighbour, 'perhaps a brewer <or porter> or <an> haberdasher of small wears shall accumulate a large fortune become Lord Mayor member of Parliament and at length get a title for his heirs'.²

The events in the career of this hypothetical neighbour seem to have been distributed among Marriage à la Mode, Industry and Idleness, and the Election. In the latter he is a Whig and 'Sir Commodity Taxem' is his name. The presence of a representative of a decadent Westminster supplies the neighbour with a different, but equally well-tried way of getting a title for an heir and adds another social dimension to Hogarth's city narratives. Both Westminster and London are anticipated in A Rake's Progress: London in that Rakewell is the son of a City merchant; Westminster in that his journey down St James's Street is halted by his arrest. Marriage à la Mode is not an interlude, but part of a developing interest and its last picture, especially its moral connotations, leads directly to the subject of Industry and Idleness. The Happy Marriage would have been the digression.

2. Aspects of Narrative Mode and Structure

Ireland was puzzled by the contradictions in Marriage à la Mode: 'I do not know in what class to place [Hogarth's] pictured stories. They are too crowded with little incidents, for the dignity of history; for tragedy, are too comic; yet have a termination which forbids us to call them comedies'.³ Ireland's puzzlement derives from the paradox on which all Hogarth's narrative art up to and including Marriage à la Mode is founded.

The situations at the centre are pathetic and sympathetically presented, but their treatment in relation to their settings tends towards the comic. Hogarth wrote that 'even stories of the utmost horror' by means of 'ridiculous connection' become 'matter of laughter and jest'.⁴ It is Hogarth's awareness of incongruities rather than his attention to detail which prevents the series from having the 'dignity of history'. The dichotomy between the seriousness of the subject matter and its humorous treatment compares with the experience of

Shakespeare's problem comedies. (Ireland recognized that both Shakespeare and Hogarth have the 'power of exciting laughter or grief' in one work.) The hybrid category tragi-comedy appears right for both authors.

Hogarth's medium accentuates the ambiguity: a narrative form which represents behaviour as a sequence of suspended actions makes action appear grotesque to the inexperienced eye. The portrait painter's art is a compromise between the need to imitate and to avoid the comic implications of the suspense of action; hence the passive connotations of the term, composure. Hogarth's insight and integrity forced him to acknowledge that his form gives a comic dimension to tragedy. Conversely, the form encouraged him in the belief that existence is itself absurd as The Bathos (1764) was to show.

Because Hogarth was required to juxtapose contrasting states of being, his art is melodramatic as well as tragi-comic. The power and surprise characteristic of much drama and fiction is virtually absent from a structure likely to be on display in its entirety. Hogarth attempted to compensate for the limitation by emphasizing the sensational. Rooms are littered with clothing, weapons, trophies, papers, and machines. Fire and smoke are commonplace. Characters' expressions, physical attitudes, status, and surroundings change apparently without warning. Events occur in the present tense, making them seem more immediate and closer to drama than fiction. The span of fable time and the viewing equivalent of reading or playing time are much shorter than for either a play or a novel. Speed, therefore, is an essential characteristic. The characters are mercurial beings even when their temperaments are phlegmatic or melancholic.

Hogarth experimented with picaresque forms in the progresses. (He achieved the near-impossible in making a narrative incident out of only a pair of pictures in Before and After.) The Four Times of the Day depends on an abstraction for its unity. Marriage à la Mode uses both principles: it is concerned with a concept, the institution of marriage, on which the "histories" of various characters are made dependent. The equivalent structure is that of a situation comedy or tragi-comedy. Hogarth's predilection for formal experiment perhaps accounts for some of the objections to the third picture. It is typical of situation drama that some scenes present contrasting aspects of the central idea without there being an immediate causal relationship between one scene and the next. Subscribers may have found it difficult to adjust to the

new variation after the more familiar precedent of the "historical" progresses.

The situation structure of Marriage à la Mode may account for a difference of opinion among twentieth-century critics. In the biography, Paulson argues that Marriage à la Mode is a more oppressive and narrow work than the progresses.⁵ In his review, Summerson takes issue with Paulson over the question of how far the protagonists do have a freedom to choose. Summerson argues that the husband and the wife 'ought to have known a great deal better'. Theirs is a 'promising alliance of rank and wealth which would have worked well, as many such marriages did, but for the parties' sheer irresponsibility'. Marriage à la Mode is concerned with a situation, a balance between determinism and freedom of will. Both critics are partly right; the weight of responsibility is distributed between the fathers, the couple, the lawyer, marriage itself as an imperfect institution, the differing styles of city life, the deadening effects of degenerate art, and so on.

The references in the series to restoration and contemporary theatre show Hogarth to be as interested in a response to other art as well as a criticism of life. The logic which led him to a bloody and depressing conclusion is an affirmation of his belief that Dryden had avoided the serious implications of his plot. In a period before the futuristic novel was invented, Marriage à la Mode was set partly in a historical future in order to avoid the romance of the past and to guarantee the fiction.

In spite of its sentiment, theatrical comedy provided Hogarth with his stock-in-trade (rôle-playing and disguise, marital conflict, acts of comic chivalry) and some of his characters (a gouty Earl, a suspicious cuckold, a hypocritical dissenter, a skinflint merchant). His originality lay in a willingness to take the stock ideas further than the dramatists perhaps dared to go. The promise to avoid indecency and inelegancy in the 1743 advertisement is a sign of Hogarth's awareness of his own daring and concern not to overstate his case.

The placing of characters in an imaginary relationship with those in The Provok'd Husband shows Hogarth's confidence in the autonomy of his form. The ironic use of song, music, drama, opera, and the tales of Crébillon fils shows that he could turn the limitations of his medium to his advantage, to make the dumb cry out and the persuasive be silent. At first sight, Hogarth's use of prefiguration and recapitulation, parallelism and analogy, allusion, antithesis, and apparent circularity

appears to have been borrowed from drama, poetry, or music. But, while he must have been influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the precedents of other forms, these features are perhaps part of the deep grammar of all narratives, a linguistic term of which Hogarth, who sought 'the grammar rules' of objects, would have approved.

The study of Hogarth's pictorial narratives teaches that the fear of denigrating art as the result of what at first sight appears to be a literary approach is unfounded. Such study has a discipline of its own and there is neither more nor less danger of fictionalizing about the contents of one of Hogarth's series than there is about any other form of narrative.

3. Aspects of Narrative Method (i) Characterization

Marriage à la Mode shows the depth to be found in the lives of silent, unmoving figures as represented in six pictures. Hogarth's characterization cannot match Shakespeare's or that of the nineteenth-century novelists, ultimately because of the limitations of the medium. The characters are best regarded as 'unique social stereotypes' soundly based in an old-fashioned, but still current theory of psychology.⁶ The settings and the characters' relationship to them contribute a greater "roundness" than the interrelationship of characters alone can provide. Ironically, the detail which supplies the depth also takes interest away from the figures on which the detail depends and its representation makes their suffering humorous.

The traditions of romance, drama, popular ballad, and folk-tale had proved over and over again that the lives of kings, knights, and heroes on the one hand and criminals, harlots and rakes, animals, and fabulous beasts on the other made exciting entertainment. Fielding's encouragement spurred Hogarth to demonstrate more forcefully than he had done with A Rake's Progress that intermediate classes of people with only modest attributes or achievements could be as interesting. The association of Marriage à la Mode with high-life is to some extent misleading; Hogarth's characters fail to live up to the expectations of their rank. Without relinquishing their measure of individuality, these outwardly dull, ordinary people acquire a significance beyond themselves as representatives of archetypal humanity, pride, greed, suffering, penitence or wickedness. Their choice of curios and furniture reveals them as connoisseurs of all the sins. By means of the setting, the non-heroic becomes the mock-heroic.

Hogarth was responsible for introducing new theories concerning the representation of humanity in art. He recognized that the suspense of action in art represented a major distortion and that a viewing public needed to be educated about the implications of the fact. His concern to avoid 'personal applications' led him, it is to be suspected, to a clearer understanding of the concept of fiction and its relationship to history. Although Hogarth publicly acknowledged his debt to Fielding in Characters and Caricaturas, the progresses and The Four Times of the Day had also been a source of inspiration for the novelist. Hogarth perhaps should not have remembered his modern subjects as original for their morality alone, but also for the independence of his characterization and the uniqueness of the relationship between his characters and their setting.

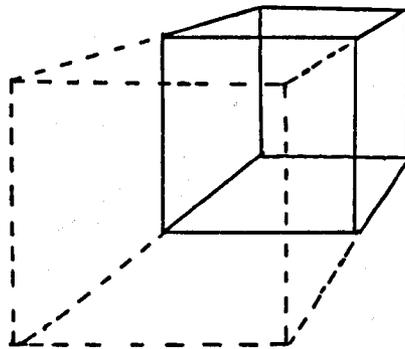
(ii) The Spectator's Rôle

Because a spectator's view of the characters and their situation is likely to change as the result of investigation, an effect of uncertainty is created; Fielding properly termed the scene as delusory. Hogarth's narrative possesses that attribute of metaphor which undermines or even destroys the expectations brought to a work. The experience is also constructive in that the spectator has the opportunity to reshape his understanding in new patterns as with a kaleidoscope. Both a kaleidoscope and Hogarth's narratives in their differing ways invite an active and participating response in the viewer. Unlike a member of an audience at a play, Hogarth's spectator has the opportunity to reshape his understanding at leisure so that the response is contemplative.

The theory of beauty which suggests that a deep pleasure derives from leading the eye in 'a wanton kind of chase' is an unsettling idea in itself. The adjective, wanton, has erotic associations of invitation, teasing, caprice. The image of pursuit invites a spectator to be active, calculating, and persistent. Hogarth's aim is, to use his own metaphor, to create the hunter in terms of the hunted, the spectator in terms of the artist. The combination of ideas can create the mixed feelings of hope, uncertainty, and exasperation. The course to be run is full of pitfalls and false trails. There is no guarantee of a successful end to the hunt because the art lies in the chase itself and its limits cannot and should not be fixed.

If Vertue's account of the composition of A Harlot's Progress is

to be relied on, Hogarth set out from the first to lure and to bewilder his subscribers. In Marriage à la Mode figures peep, grin or goggle at the spectator. Their, at times, unflattering responses define the attitude he should adopt. The milieux define his rôle and standpoint — as a witness, a servant, a curio, a member of an audience, an associate of fire. In the last picture he is summarily and vulgarly rejected. Almost as a consequence it seems, he is ignored in Industry and Idleness as if to suggest that Hogarth had lost interest in the idea of an attentive spectator. His exploitation of the projected spectator may have come about by accident. The picture which represents an identifiable milieu automatically defines the spectator's standpoint as an extension of the perspective:



The projection is fixed for each picture in a narrative so that the spectator has the opportunity to visualize his relationship to a work more vividly than for a novel or perhaps a play since the projection of the proscenium on the audience's side is everchanging. Hogarth's attitude to his projected spectator is more challenging than Fielding's to his reader. Hogarth's reference to Joseph Andrews in his subscription ticket could not have failed to draw the novelist's attention to Marriage à la Mode. The work must have provided him with several instructive precedents for Tom Jones.

(iii) Elements of the Composition: the Inset Pictures

Thirty pictures enliven the rooms in Marriage à la Mode, twice as many as in the nearest rival, A Rake's Progress. For the first time in Hogarth's narrative art, they are mostly identifiable allusions. The impulse to imitate or to parody is transferred from the figures to the décor. Perhaps in consequence, the inset figures react expressively and therefore critically to the situations in the rooms below. The ploy seems to have occurred to Hogarth for the first time in relation to Marriage à la Mode. He was to return to A Rake's Progress (c. 1747) to replace the faceless portrait of Julius Caesar with that of the

tavern keeper, Pontac. He surveys the mess in his cellar with a disgruntled expression.

The inset pictures perform several functions other than those discussed in the Introduction. The inset figures respond to the situations either in or out of character: St Luke is attentive; Silvertongue's portrait looks complacent; Moll in the harlot portrait is hard and knowing. The Medusa is terrified by what she sees and King Solomon is dismayed by the consequences of judgement. These original variations act as a satirical measure of the characters' inadequacies. At the same time, the choice of subjects represents the supposed preferences of their owners. They provide an insight into the workings of the subconscious, a means of making an external feature reflect on the inward life.

The inset pictures provide parallels to the situations in the series, not necessarily in the same picture. St Lawrence's torture anticipates the husband's suffering by firelight and the seduction of Io anticipates that of the wife, both with the appropriate ironic variations. At certain points, the juxtaposition of one inset picture with another creates almost independent effects as in the case of the relationship between the harlot portrait and the Jewish soldier behind. Jupiter's leer in the direction of Medusa is a typically Hogarthian twist. The juxtapositions can extend to involve the characters themselves: the eagle's hooked beak finds a counterpart in the flautist's nose; St Sebastian's curving back resembles Silvertongue's; St Paul's sword seems to stab the steward; Lord Squander appears to be drawn into the mirror.

The differing styles chart the ebb and flow of the principal influences at work in the series. Westminster is associated with examples of the historical sublime, especially Titian's more brutal works, and London with nondescript genre pictures in the Dutch or Flemish manner. The married couple, but particularly the wife, takes up the Earl's taste. She reveals her truer preferences in the fourth picture as represented in more obviously erotic, but less weighty works than Titian — by Romano, Correggio, and Caravaggio. Evidence of the Alderman's taste reaches out perhaps as far as the chandelier in the second picture, the leather screen in the fourth, and the crude mural in the fifth. The interplay of styles, artists, and identifiable pictures shows that Hogarth was as interested in a response to other art as he was to drama, literature, or life.

The inset pictures contribute a cultural range, an erudition, and

a comic dimension which reaches to the centres of Christian and classical myths. The Judgement of Solomon and the Lot, itself a visual summary of topsy-turviness, provide keys to the shifts of identity and rôle which make the characters seem not what they appear to be. In turn the shifts of identity provide the series with the force of fluid allegory. In making Lord Squander metaphorically at one with the inset pictures as he dies, Hogarth attempts to break down the barrier between the image and the reality.

The cramming together of the pictures and in two places their being placed on top of one another is a variation on the theme of squandering. The inset pictures are the external representation of the evil in the series which masquerades as the ideal, as Paulson suggests. Even if Hogarth did not intend a reference to Christopher Cock's daughter in Marriage à la Mode, it is a sign of the auctioneer's magnanimity that he was prepared to display the work in his rooms. Hogarth's attitude to the original artists is ambivalent. He reproves them for their interest in the violence and sensationalism that he, decorously, avoided in his own serious history painting. Imitation even in miniature, however, is a form of flattery. Their work was a source of admiration, inspiration, and a touch of fear.

(iv) Elements of the Composition: The Periphrastic Sequences

It is thought that the most controversial feature to emerge from this review is the periphrastic sequence. The less elaborate sequences occur in the first two pictures: the knife, the ring, and the snuff are grouped correctly to predict that the marriage is to end with a stabbing and a roasting. The line of saints offers a similar restatement about the chain of events in the series. The metaphorical enactment of the stabbing is transposed from Silvertongue's pen to St Paul's sword.

The more elaborate sequences are found in the third, fourth, and fifth pictures. The pill boxes, handkerchief, cane, bistoury, and spectacles seem to have grammatical equivalents. The nominals are divided into two groups by the upraised cane. The pause has the equivalent force of a comma. The contents of the cupboard are drawn into a subordinate relationship with the main sequence through the alignment of the cane. The sequence enunciates the central truth of nearly all Hogarth's series that the vanity of human wishes leads to death. The figures on the screen offer a variation on, and make a similar point to, the line of saints. Silvertongue, in pointing to the friar, is the

nearest any of the characters comes to a recognition of the existence of a sequence. Ironically, he does not turn to contemplate the implications of his gesture. Sr. Timy. Babyhouse's Catalogue provides an ingenious gloss on the "parade" of auction lots. Their ordering sets out the chain of ideas from the marriage itself, as represented by the basket, to its final consequence, the introduction of the puny heir, as represented by the mouse-like creature at the end of the chain.

The periphrasis consists more of strings than sequences in the disorderly climax picture. They recapitulate on recent events, restate the triangular relationship at the centre of the narrative, and provide a suggestion of how the scandal might be spread abroad. The crossed sticks in the close foreground to the right redirect the movement of the main string back towards the husband and wife. This rhetorical device acts as a reminder that Hogarth's purposes are moral as well as beguiling and that the moral is for the spectator's benefit because he alone is placed to appreciate it.

No periphrastic sequences have been detected in the last picture perhaps because the proverbial associations supply the lack. The sequences do not add anything new to what is known of the narrative as might be expected of secret messages. Because they themselves are constituents of the narrative, they can only reiterate on what is already there. Their main purposes are to make events appear inevitable; they act to repeat and so emphasize essential ideas; they make the surface reality ambiguous.

The top-heavy structure of Characters and Caricaturas is worth reviewing in terms of an analogy with grammar (Illustration 3). The profiles are packed together rather like words in a dictionary; the subscription ticket assembles the range of expressions available to the artist-author. The heads, chosen from the "dictionary" as it were, and placed in the band beneath offer the visual equivalent of a sub-title with characters set to the left and caricatures to the right.

The limitations of the grammatical analogy were recognized by the inclusion of a verbal caption placed directly below the visual sub-title: '3 Characters' and (the conjunction is inescapable) '4 Caricaturas'. The words and and numbers underline the direction in which the sub-title should be read. The combined effect of the sub-title and the caption offers the equivalent of a copular sentence, both verbal and

visual in form. The combination might read, "characters (by virtue of their priority in the sequence) are more important than caricatures (although there are more of the latter)". The visual-verbal structure is further underlined by the invitation, 'For a further explanation of the difference betwixt Character and Caricatura see ye Preface to Joh. Andrews'. Although Hogarth was conceding a limitation, the invitation assumes that Fielding's discussion is no more than an extension of what Hogarth was doing in the subscription ticket, that is offering a visual explanation.

It is argued in the Introduction (page 1) that Hogarth saw art in terms of language with a grammar of its own. The persuasiveness of the analogy may have prevented him from recognizing the independence of his narrative form in his writings, but it did not prevent him from discovering it confidently in his practice. The periphrastic sequences in Marriage à la Mode seem to be an attempt to show how far the analogy could be taken without disturbing the naturalistic fabric of the pictures. The periphrasis adds to the subtlety, the irony, the ingenuity, and the moral purpose of Marriage à la Mode. The famous assertion that 'other pictures we see, Hogarth's we read' has a special truth in the case of Marriage à la Mode.⁷

The design of Characters and Caricaturas is an attempt literally to demonstrate the precept of ut pictura poesis and a strange picture it is. The subscription ticket rather than the series shows the interpenetration of words and images (as Jarrett sees it) and the tension between the linearity of the book and the simultaneity of a picture (as Paulson sees it).

4. Hogarth's Achievement and the Personal Cost

Hogarth's achievement as a narrator lies in his ability to control disparate material; he called the result, 'composed variety'.⁸ The tag allows for the combination of intelligence and energy which Ezra Pound was to admire in a poet and which are Hogarth's greatest attributes as a narrator.

Yet they are insufficient, however; in the testiness of his old age, Hogarth claimed that London contained all that was required for the aspiring artist. There was a measure of desperation about the claim, but Hogarth had good reason for making it on his own behalf. His knowledge of the baroque, classical story, Christian symbol, heraldry, and emblemature, popular song and theatre, masquerade and opera, tales

and satires, contemporary cant, broadsheets, fashion, architecture, and folklore not only gave him an acute awareness of the ancient as it fore-shadows the modern, but also the erudition of a scholar.

The antithetical structure of a picture narrative enables one picture or detail to be placed against another for effect without the necessity of explanation. In addition the narrative voice, or the "poetic I" are withdrawn. It is not altogether a matter of coincidence, therefore, that an awareness of T. S. Eliot's poetic methods should offer an insight into Hogarth's. Eliot also was an ingenious man whose scholarly and popular allusions give depth and irony to his poetry. Harry Blamires explains that the 'throwback of meaning and the forecasting of meaning are as consistently natural to the poetic practice of Eliot in Four Quartets as they are to that in Ulysses' and that 'the poem is about echoes; the poem utilizes echoes; the poem is echoes'.⁹ Hogarth's use of allusions and echoes of echoes within his series anticipates Eliot's 'multi-dimensional allusiveness'.

Because metaphor is of central importance to the Imagist poet, it is worth considering Hogarth's own use of imagery in the literary meaning of the term. Metaphor is found, for example, in the knot of the Harlot's bed curtain; the haloes and crosspieces in A Rake's Progress; the clasped gloves and the unwittingly constructed cadaceus held behind Idle (Industry and Idleness IV and X respectively). In Marriage à la Mode metaphor occurs only a little less rarely: in Silvertongue's turning of the pen against his own heart; the barber's pole of the narwhal's tusk; the mirror which frames Lord Squander's head. Metaphor is only sparingly used partly because of its tendency towards the grotesque as in the example of the toper taking fire from a friend's nose. The organization required to arrange elements so that their coincidence or apparent fusion seems natural to the context is considerable and the needs of a single metaphor could dictate the composition of a whole picture.

Hogarth preferred to create analogies, a form of visual simile which his medium encourages. His similes range from the multiplicity of analogies between the characters and the art figures to a witty detail like the interplay of hooked noses, a form of visual alliteration, too. As a compensation perhaps for the relative lack of metaphor, Hogarth used established emblems or objects which could fit into a naturalistic context and which could also be invested with semi-personal significance: a pen, a candle, a lantern, a pinch of snuff, a

sword, a pair of stays, and so on.

The use of counterparts, the common miss for Lady Squander and the envoy or the imbecile for her husband, is a form of personification by substitution. Personification is a favoured device, ranging from the amorous skeleton and the malefactor's head of the wig block to the armies of inset pictures, parades of ornaments, and the chimera of the French clock. Animals are almost invariably treated anthropomorphically; the introduction of dogs in Hogarth's narrative art supplies a measure of the growth of Hogarth's embitterment as he aged. The gambler's terrier in A Harlot's Progress IV is little more than a perky reflection of its master. The nuzzling dogs at the wedding more obviously offer an insight into the Rake's making up to an elderly woman. An ill-omened black dog stares like the Rake in The Gaming House. In Marriage à la Mode, the shackled pointers comment on the marriage; the presumptuous lap dog begins to invade man's territory; the hungry cur usurps his master's place at the table. A man and a dog share the bone in Gin Lane and the dog eats a human heart as The Reward of Cruelty.

Such figurative effects were not Hogarth's invention. Kunzle's book shows that the broadsheet tradition also depended on visual analogies, metaphors, personifications, connotations, emblems, and puns for its humour and irony. Hogarth's originality lay in combining the irony of the popular tradition with the skills of the sublime tradition in a naturalistic and topical context. Lord Shaftesbury would have been in a position to approve of the way that Hogarth made his potentially allegorical elements appear part of the furniture.

Shakespeare, Dickens, and Hogarth worked under particularly demanding physical constraints: the demands made on an author by the repertory company, the serial novel, and the copperplate engraving. Hogarth's task was easier in only one respect; a process which requires the subject to exist in paintings, various drawings, rough pulls, and prints all in one place and at the same time encouraged the addition of detail which was never irrelevant. Lichtenberg has described the accretive method in terms of a war of attrition:

But a work of art like this one is not just flashed onto the canvas by a single coup de main. Each separate line of the attack must be planned and visualized before it is executed, and afterwards it must undergo still more aiming and planning, for days, even weeks, and it would be a queer thing indeed if the besieger were not to see what he wanted to take by storm.¹⁰

Hogarth must have become familiar to the point of weariness with the figures and the feelings at the centre of a work as elaborate as Marriage

à la Mode especially if he made at least two painted versions of the work as rumour has it. It would have been hard for him not to treat the feelings at the centre with increasing humour as the process distanced him from the original impulse.

Shakespeare may have gained respite from his sharing of the responsibilities with others and from his own acting. Once Dickens had managed to meet a deadline, he was not usually called upon to publish his own work. Hogarth planned, drew, painted, and engraved his own work. He searched for and supervised temperamental French engravers and was his own entrepreneur. Although his physical energy was prodigious, the demands on it were also exceptional.

The psychological disorders which characterize the last years of both Dickens and Hogarth represent the cost in personal terms, in part at least, of holding to the tragi-comic mode throughout long careers. Paulson refers to a 'schizophrenia between moral and aesthetic experiences' in Hogarth's art.¹¹ In Hogarth's case, the continuous working with images and their reflections would have aggravated the psychological divisions in his personality. His interest in formal beauty as well as moral, his preference for vitality and suffering over orderliness and acceptance make Hogarth a forerunner of the Romantic Revival. The sympathetic response is always checked by the comic sense and dulled by the effects of a painstaking method.

For Hogarth, his sources of inspiration were to be both admired and disliked, and feared a little, and ridiculed. It is believed that he could not stand the strain on his imagination of reconciling the many opposites which are unified in Marriage à la Mode. The split-plot of Industry and Idleness was to keep Goodchild and Idle apart except for one dramatic moment of 'living contact between man and man'. As cyphers, they both are swamped by crowds at the end. In Marriage à la Mode, Hogarth said farewell to his characters.

CONCLUSION: REFERENCES

1. The Ingenious Mr Hogarth, p. 128.
2. Apology for Painters, pp. 89-90.
3. J. Ireland I, p. cxviii.
4. The Analysis, p. 80. J. Ireland II, p. 54.
5. Sir John Summerson, 'Hogarth's Progress', review article in the Observer (14. November, 1971) and HI, pp. 484-5.
6. Shesgreen, p. xvii.
7. quoted Hazlitt, p. 139.
8. The Analysis, p. 35.
9. Harry Blamires, Word Unheard: A Guide Through Eliot's 'Four Quartets' (London, 1969), pp. 1, 3, and 6.
10. Lichtenberg, p. 103.
11. HII, p. 415.

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