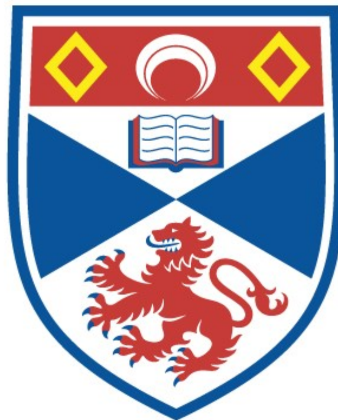
MEDICAL IMAGES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH ART, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM HOGARTH AND THOMAS ROWLANDSON

Isobel Fiona Haslam

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

MEDICAL IMAGES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH ART WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM HOGARTH AND THOMAS ROWLANDSON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF ARTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ISOBEL FIONA HASLAM

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The Wellcome Institutes for the History of Medicine in London and Manchester; the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of London; the Royal Colleges of Physicians of London and Edinburgh; the Print and Drawing Room of the British Museum; the British Library; the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London; the Library of the Society of Medicine; the John Rylands University Library of Manchester; the Whitworth Art Gallery Print Room, Manchester; the Hunterian Library and Museum, University of Glasgow; the Thomas Coram Foundation for Children, London; the Guildhall, London; the Bethlem Royal Hospital, Beckenham, Kent; the Jenner Museum, Berkeley, Gloucester; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Library and Archive Department; St. Thomas's Hospital Library; Guy's Hospital Library; the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; the National Portrait Gallery Archive Department, Lewisham, London; Soames Museum, London; Victoria Art Gallery, Bath; Yale Medical Library, New Haven, Conn. U.S.A.; Bolton General Hospital Dept. of Medical Illustrations; Bolton Medical Institute, and the Art History Department and Library, University of St. Andrews.

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DEDICATED TO MY FAMILY

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to show that a study of medical images produced by British artists in the eighteenth century can contribute to the knowledge of the social history of medicine of the period, and to show that, by careful analysis of the medical images portrayed, some insight may be obtained into the meaning of works of art in which such images might otherwise be dismissed as merely irrelevant or gratuitous details.

The thesis is cast in two main sections preceded by an introductory chapter which provides some background information with regard to the development of medical services in England and sets the scene from which literary and graphic artists drew their images. Works of the artist William Hogarth form the basis of the first section. The artist made extensive and knowing reference to medical imagery in many of his works, some of which are described and interpreted with due regard to the conventions employed, to the world around him, to literary works of his contemporaries and, where appropriate, to contemporary medical literature. Independent control with regard to the validity of the medical images and practices portrayed is provided where descriptions of such practices and images correspond with each other. It is contended that such integration of written and visual sources of medical imagery, in an empirical approach, enhances the information to be gained from either source viewed separately. Although mainly satirical in nature, it is argued that the images must have a foundation of truth and therefore deserve to be examined closely so that the truth of the situation portrayed may be revealed.

The second section discusses the use of medical images from the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, mainly through the works of Thomas Rowlandson, although works of other artists such as James Gillray and George Cruikshank are included. Through their works information may be gleaned about a range of contemporary medical issues including lay perceptions of disease, pain and death, fashions in disease and treatment and the impact that advancing scientific knowledge had upon medical treatment and upon the practitioners involved. In addition, certain contemporary philosophical ideas are highlighted which have some bearing upon contemporary popular and medical opinion.

The nature and function of medical images are discussed throughout the thesis. They are read, not as straightforward documents, but within a framework of recognisable practices. Medical and artistic changes took place throughout the century and the effects of some of these changes are commented upon during the course of the thesis, which concludes by assessing the arguments put forward in both sections and indicates how the two disciplines of the History of Art and the social History of Medicine can be bridged or annexed with benefit to both.

VOLUME 1: TEXT

MEDICAL IMAGES IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITISH ART WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM HOGARTH AND THOMAS ROWLANDSON

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INTRODUCTION

"... of all the senses, the eye ... has the quickest commerce with the soul,-- gives a smarter stroke, and leaves something more inexpressible upon the fancy, than words can ... convey." Sterne.[1]

This research is an inter-disciplinary study involving aspects of the history of art and of the history of medicine, using the study of medical images depicted by eighteenth century British artists as its basis. A predominantly empirical approach is taken setting what is seen in the images alongside medical evidence found in contemporary writings about particular maladies, treatments and incidents. Sources of information for this study include contemporary medical treatises, literary works, journals, newspapers, letters and diaries. The images are considered both in the light of contemporary descriptions of the specific malady illustrated and also according to present day knowledge of the signs and symptoms offered.

Imagery of a medical nature viewed over a specific period of time provides clues about a number of contemporary medical matters. These include information about the kinds of medical treatment and care that were available at a particular time and about the development and changes that occured throughout the period studied. It shows how fashion dictated particular methods of treatment and offers glimpses of the types of medical practitioners available to provide it. The pretensions and relative ignorance of many of the practitioners and the perceptions that members of the general population had of them are graphically portrayed in some of the images as is the gullibility of many members of the population with regard to some of the medical advice offered. General or popular perceptions of disease, life and

death are also presented. In addition, clues to certain philosophical issues under discussion at the time which have a bearing on popular and medical opinion, can be found in some of the artists' works.

The study deals with these portrayals from two aspects. One aspect deals directly with issues that lie within the normal confines of the history of medicine and entails examination of illustrations for evidence of ideas and information of a medical nature. The second aspect deals indirectly with such issues and discusses the exploitation of medical imagery by artists as part of their vocabulary to express meaning in narratives. The use of medical images formed one way of communicating a social, moral or political message which would be widely understood, although the message was not itself necessarily medical in nature. For example, the 'quack', or itinerant medical practitioner peddling his wares to a gullible audience, might be converted by the artist into a politician proclaiming his beliefs in similar fashion. The image of a 'quack' would have to work within a framework of recognisable attributes and characteristics in order to enable the artist to convey his message. Another example might be that of a politician or influential person afflicted with gout - portrayed in stereotypical fashion - alluding to some moral laxity in his make-up, with the affliction his just reward. The visual affliction may also allude to to some unpopular or alleged defect in an area of policy or decision-making attributable to the sufferer. Conventional ideas of morality, such as those in which the just and righteous receive their due rewards and the wrongdoer is aptly punished, led to the use of stock images both for social and moral effect and to enable easy reading of the scene portrayed.

During this period, artists continued to use symbolism, allegory and allusion in the traditional manner. An unusual amount of medical material was incorporated into paintings and prints by eighteenth-century artists as part of this symbolic language and as part of the system of narrative allusion. Attention is drawn to this artistic practice especially where it has a bearing upon any medical issue involved.

Many images, especially those from the later part of the eighteenth century, offended contemporary ideas of good taste with their crudity and vulgarity. However, this reaction formed part of the impact intended and added to the popularity of such images in some quarters. Commonly prescribed medical treatments such as the use of emetics and enemas lent themselves to this kind of familiarisation. Laughing at *John Bull* in discomfort had its own kind of cathartic therapeutic effect.

A selection of material from throughout the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century is examined in various media. Engraved prints form the main source of the imagery, although some of the rarer examples in water colour, oil-painting and sculpture are included.

The study has four aims:-

1. To show that medical images produced by eighteenth century British artists have a significant role to play alongside the more direct and (apparently) less problematical sources of medical information used by scholars in their search for the social history of medicine during this period.

2. To promote an awareness of the nature of particular kinds of medical images in their historical context, so that their content and meaning can be assessed in relation to their functions.

3. To show that a knowledge of the nature and function of the medical images, the conventions used by artists, and the possible parameters of meaning conveyed in the images is essential for their legitimate historical reading.

4. To show that the two disciplines of the history of art and the history of medicine can be bridged or annexed with benefit to both by this empirical form of research.

a. The art historian may be made more aware of aspects of contemporary medicine thus increasing his or her insight into the scenes depicted and enhancing his or her awareness of the way in which contemporary medical concerns were incorporated into narrative works and into political and satirical prints. Control over the portrayal of 'truth' in an artist's work is provided where independent descriptions of medical practices and images are seen to correspond.

b. Medical historians may come to look upon such graphic illustrations not only as decorative adjuncts to their texts or to illustrate some ephemeral concept, but also to help in assessing the contemporary medical climate from a more-or-less popular point of view.

It is recognised that the individual disciplines of an inter-disciplinary study across aspects of the history of art and of the history of medicine over the course of a century cannot be covered in the depth that might be deemed necessary for an adequate analysis of

either in their own right, but it is hoped that the crossing of boundaries may be of value to both fields of study, and that the potential for further investigations along these lines will be apparent.

It has been said that:

> "much more needs to be uncovered about lay perceptions of disease, pain and death during the Enlightenment ... for there are important links between cultural values and systems of medical care."[2]

Analysis of paintings and prints may provide some of the links sought between cultural values and systems of medical care.

Although the thesis is presented in two sections which divide the period chronologically into those years devoted mainly to the works of William Hogarth and those of Thomas Rowlandson, development and changes in medical and artistic practices slowly evolved throughout the century. Some of these changes are visualised through the images and commented upon, where relevant, throughout the text.

The first section of the thesis is devoted mainly to works of the great artist and engraver William Hogarth. This section contains six chapters. The first part of the first chapter outlines the development of medical practice from the sixteenth century and describes briefly the practices prevailing in the eighteenth century and the developments in medical care that occurred during that century. This provides some background information with regard to the

medical profession and its work and of its growth and development and sets the scene in which the artists drew their images. The remaining part of this chapter offers a short biographical survey of the life of Hogarth which gives some indication of his connections with members of the medical profession and his involvement with humanitarian projects - aspects which have obvious bearing upon his portrayals of medically-orientated subjects.

The second chapter looks at Hogarth's early satirical works which were based on topical incidents and personalities and is concerned not only with attitudes of, and to, different medical practitioners and with the gullibility of the public, but also with certain topical philosophical and social issues. In the third, Hogarth's interest and aptitude in physiognomy - a topic of particular interest in the art world at the time - are illustrated in connection with clinical features of disease. These illustrations, shedding light upon his approach to his 'modern histories' are explained in their eighteenth century context and also in twentieth century terminology.

Hogarth's 'Modern Moral Histories' are examined in the fourth chapter in a search for medical images in contemporary themes of morality. The illnesses portrayed in these, such as syphilis and madness, may, on one level, be perceived as just personal reward for moral laxity, but a deeper level of significance is present in these narrative works and the portrayal of illness can also be demonstrated as being of a more complex nature. These views are explored in this chapter.

The place of the surgeon and attitudes towards him, aspects of child care, and of social matters which have health implications, such as alcohol abuse, form the basis of the remaining part of this section. Many of these aspects overlap.

The second section, divided into two chapters, considers the works of artists from the later part of the eighteenth century. Thomas Rowlandson was a prolific artist of this period and his background and medical connections are considered in a similar manner to those of Hogarth. Aspects of his work are subsequently detailed in different spheres of medical practice, including depictions of such fashionable pastimes as 'Taking the Waters', participation in 'quack' treatments - some of these associated with the rising public interest in science and natural philosophy - activities of dentists, surgeons and anatomists and of perceptions and treatment of mental illness. Rowlandson's style of drawing is examined in order to gauge its efficacy in conveying meaning in the resultant image. Rowlandson's images have a more immediate impact upon the viewer than do those of Hogarth, but he also, as occasion arose, depicted illness for narrative effectiveness and implied, for example, defects in character of the gout sufferer. These ideas are noted in the text.

Examples of the work of other artists are detailed covering similar aspects of medical involvement. Changes and developments in medical practice occurred throughout the century, as described in the Introductory Chapter: some of these developments can be seen through the medium of the artists whose works feature such aspects as the increasing involvement of the man-midwife, the effects of alcohol

abuse, changing attitudes towards child care and mental illness, the introduction of smallpox vaccination and of dental care. Some of the prints and the circumstances surrounding their making are described in detail where such descriptions seem warranted in order to provide the background knowledge needed to facilitate understanding of the scene depicted.

Hogarth's autobiographical notes contain the following words:

> "As an entire collection of Mr. Hogarth's Prints, are considered <by some> as a discriptive of the peculiar manners and characters of the English nation, the curious of other Countries frequently send for them in order to be informed and amused with what cannot be conveyed to the mind with such precision and truth by any words whatsoever."[3]

Although today a more critical attitude to the 'precision and truth' of such images may be adopted, the 'indigenous curious' from a distance of 250 years may learn something of the state of medical practice from Hogarth's work and from that of the artists who followed him.

There are, of course, other categories of images which bear upon the theme presented. For example, portraits or likenesses of medical men give some indication of how members of the medical profession saw themselves. These provide some comparison with how they were perceived by members of the general public as shown in satirical works. They can also be compared with portraits of contemporary men in other professions such as law and the church. Such considerations, however lie outside the scope of this thesis. However, some

likenesses are used as points of reference where they are appropriate to the subject under consideration.

Eighteenth century illustrations of hospitals show the development of such institutions during the century and might be considered as part of a study of eighteenth century medical images, but their topographical nature covers a separate artistic theme. Apart from a few examples of London-based institutions which impinge directly upon the topic being discussed, such as the Foundling Hospital and the Royal Bethlem Hospital, or 'Bedlam', this field too is left to one side.

Similarly, illustrations from medical texts are almost totally excluded. These were each produced for a specific, mainly professional purpose, although the development and use of some of the images has led to some debate with regard to their eighteenth century function.[4] This thesis is more concerned with the nature and function of free-standing images which are not wholly dependent upon the supporting written word. Some reference is made to book illustrations, but this field too, lies outside the immediate scope of the study and requires separate treatment.

A discussion following the two sections of the thesis assesses the material studied, drawing attention to some of the problems of representation. It draws attention to some of the advantages and some of the drawbacks to be found in the use of images in a search for documentary evidence of various kinds of information for the history of medicine. An evaluation of the findings is made and

conclusions drawn as to whether the aims of the study have been achieved.

This thesis is based on the premise that images produced by eighteenth century artists which have varying kinds of medical content can offer some vision of contemporary medical practice. The truth of this can be analysed best through the study of contemporary medical writings which can be set alongside the images. For this purpose, medical works from well-recognised seventeenth and eighteenth century practitioners are used as the main primary source material. Works to which reference is made include writings of Thomas Sydenham (1624-89), the greatest clinical physician of the seventeenth century, whose careful observation and recording of diseases still bear scrutiny in *The Whole Works of that Excellent Practical Physician Dr. Thomas Sydenham*, 1705; Francis Glisson (1597-1677), who produced a classical account of infantile rickets in *De Rachitide*, translated by Nicholas Culpepper, 1668; John Freke, surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital and friend of Hogarth who wrote *An Essay on the Art of Healing*, 1748 ; James Parsons, physician and friend of Hogarth who was interested in physiognomy who wrote *Human Physiognomy Explained*; William Cadogan physician appointed to the Foundling Hospital who wrote *An Essay upon the Nursing and Management of Children, From their Birth to Three Years of Age* at a time when child health care was not generally considered separately from that of adults; and William Smellie who wrote *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* - a practical guide for midwives and medical pupils.

Popular contemporary medical reference books such as William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* and Richard Reece's *Medical Guide for the use of the Clergy, Heads of Families, and Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery* prove informative and interesting in this context.

Other primary sources which provide contemporary medical insight include the literary works of Henry Fielding, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Richardson, Samuel Butler, Tobias Smollett, Oliver Goldsmith and Laurence Sterne.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* published between 1731 and 1907 is amongst the contemporary journals used. Items of medical interest and controversy can be found in letters and articles.

Sources of information, especially with regard to Hogarth, from late eighteenth century and nineteenth century interpretations, such as those of Nichols and Steevens, Ireland, Lichtenberg and Trusler are interesting and informative. They provide some insight into contemporary customs and practices and also provide some anecdotes with regard to certain characters to whom attention is drawn. Such anecdotes offer 'verbal caricatures' of individuals ,which may be considered as comparable to the caricatures provided by the artists. Some references are made to these works as noted, but it is felt that such sources generally add little to the medical interpretations sought in this research. Where straight-forward biographical information is required, the recognised scholarly and comprehensive work of Ronald Paulson in *Hogarth, His Life, His Art, and Times* is invaluable. This work has been fully revised recently in a three-volume study, two volumes of which have been published by The

Lutterworth Press in May 1992 and June 1992 respectively under the titles of *Hogarth* Volume I - *The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732* and Volume II - *High Art and Low 1732-1750.* The third volume will be published in the Spring of 1993. In these volumes, Paulson re-assesses Hogarth and the political and social issues of the period. Unfortunately, these works were not available for use during this study.

M.Dorothy George provides useful background material in *London Life in the Eighteenth Century,* and the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* edited by George provides political and social background information with regard to the satirical prints. Recent writing with regard to the state of the medical profession in eighteenth century England is provided by Roy Porter. His work includes *Health For Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850*; *Mind Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency*; *Disease, Medicine and Society in England 1550-1860*; 'A Touch of Danger: The Man-Midwife as Sexual Predator' in G.S.Rousseau and Roy Porter, *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment* and W.F.Bynum and Roy Porter (eds), *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy.*

The material analysed in the thesis suggests that parallels can be drawn between eighteenth-century members of the law profession and of medicine, although the parallels are not explicitly explored in the present context. In each profession a division was made between those who asserted their intellectual and social superiority over the 'mechanics'. The barristers elevated their status over that of the attorneys and solicitors but, at the same time, conferred

business to their 'inferiors', thereby causing less antagonism than did the physicians over their perceived 'inferiors' - the surgeons and apothecaries. A series of historical essays by J.H.Baker in *The Legal Profession and the Common Law*, provides some insight into these circumstances. Sir George Clark in his *History of the Royal College of Physicians*[15] draws attention to the social changes of the time which engendered class-consciousness and social and intellectual snobbery in the professions of medicine, law and the Church.

The Church too had its hierarchical structure. After the Reformation the church in England settled into relative conservatism without having its continuity uprooted. Complacency resulted - only disturbed by the awakening of Methodism and that chiefly through the medium of John Wesley. Bishops, with large revenues from their sees, often led comfortable lives elsewhere whilst relying on resident curates in the parishes. Some of these clergymen fitted pleasantly into society likewise relegating tiresome duties to their juniors.

Members of these professions were also the butt of artists and print makers as can be seen in J.A.Sharpe's *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints 1600-1832*, and John Miller's *Religion in the Popular Prints 1600-1832*. Such images transmit messages about status and power relations in these professions as do those of the doctors and provide further potential for interdisciplinary study.

Notes:-

1. Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, p.356.

2. Bynum, W.F. 'Health, disease and medical care' in *Ferment of knowledge: studies in the Histiography of Eighteenth-Century Science*, pp. 252-3.

3. Hogarth, William. 'The Autobiographical Notes' from *The Analysis of Beauty*, p.201.

4. Jordanova, Ludmilla. 'Gender, generation and science: William Hunter's obstetrical atlas' in *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world*, ch.14, pp.385-412.

5. Clark, Sir George. *History of the Royal College of Physicians*, Vol.2, ch. 31, p.618-619.

SECTION I

Chapter 1

Part 1

History of the Development of Medical Practice.

The aim of this introductory section is to provide some background information with regard to the development of medical services in England, and to give a resumé of the situation prevailing during the eighteenth century. This background sets the scene from which literary and graphic artists drew the medical images which form the basis of this study.

An indication of the state of medical practice in the early part of the sixteenth century is contained in the preamble to the Act of 1511 for the regulation of medical and surgical practice.[1]

> "Forasmuch as the science and cunning of Physick (and Surgery) to the perfect knowledge whereof be requisite both great learning and ripe experience, is daily within this realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; that common Artificers as Smiths, Weavers and Women, boldly and accustomably take upon them great cures and things of great difficulty in which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto the disease as to be noxious and nothing meet, therefore to the High displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculties and the grievous hurt, damage and destruction of many of the King's liege people most specially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning; ..."

Before this time no attempt had been made to regularise the profession. Dr. Linacre, an Oxford graduate and M.D. of Padua, persuaded King Henry VIII - himself an amateur physician - to enact a law whereby only those found duly qualified by the Bishop of London or Dean of St. Paul's should practise physic. However, the basis on which the qualification was determined was generally on the grounds of

possession of a degree from Oxford or Cambridge, which would have been inevitably a classical one ensuring a knowledge of Latin and Greek, Philosophy and Logic, with some studying of ancient medical treatises. It would not include any clinical teaching, but nevertheless, would allow the possessor to practise medicine anywhere in the country. Bishops outside London were also to carry out the duties of licensing and were to be aided by a board of assessors of physicians and surgeons of 'repute'. There were to be practitioners of special subjects also and

> "records of licences granted for phlebotomy, dentistry, bone-setting, green wounds, ophthalmic diseases, mental diseases, gout and cramp, green sickness and sore breasts."[2]

Unlicensed practitioners were liable to a fine of £5 per month.

In 1518 the King granted a Charter to incorporate certain physicians in one body - a Company of Physicians (to become the Royal College of Physicians in 1551). The Company was given the power of making statutes and ordinances for the 'wholesale government and correction' of the college, and the number of persons 'practising physic' in and within seven miles of the centre of London. An Act of 1540 empowered the Company to ensure the purity of drugs sold by apothecaries, who at that time were members of the powerful Company of Grocers. A class of licentiates was added to the physicians already mentioned, who would be of lower status. These would consist of those (men) whose degrees had been obtained from an inferior University (that is, other than Oxford or Cambridge), of other than Anglican religious persuasion, be foreign, considered too young or insufficiently learned.

The surgeons followed the physicians in trying to order their profession. The dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1539 had added recruits to a heterogeneous body of healers. These included many monks who had an elementary knowledge of medicine and minor surgery; barbers who had added phlebotomy and minor surgery, such as lancing boils, setting fractures, reducing dislocated joints, and 'pulling' teeth to their traditional role of shaving in the monasteries where the monks had been forbidden to draw blood; military surgeons who had gained experience in the treatment of wounds and fractures during their wartime exploits; and a few itinerants who travelled from town to town performing operations such as lithotomy, herniotomy and couching for cataracts, who were often skilled practitioners. In an attempt to obtain some order, the previously separate guilds belonging to the barbers and surgeons, which had been under religious auspices, united to form the Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1540. The functions of each group remained distinct and neither was allowed to encroach upon the functions of the other. Those who wished to join had to be registered at the Hall of the Company and to be apprenticed for a period of seven years and had then to undergo an examination conducted at the Hall by a Court of Examiners. The Charter entitled the Company to receive the bodies of four executed criminals each year for the purpose of dissection and study of anatomy.

> "... be it enacted that the said Masters or Governors of the ...Barbers and Surgeons of London and their successors yearly for ever after their said discretions at their free liberty and pleasure shall and may have and take without contradiction four persons, condemned adjudged and put to death for felony by the due order of the King's laws of this Realm, for Anatomies ... for their further and better knowledge

> instruction insight learning and experience in the said science or faculty of surgery."[3]

In 1564/5 the Royal College of Physicians also obtained a grant of four corpses yearly for dissection. The Fellows undertook to perform the dissections publicly in the College in rotation according to seniority or were excused on payment of a fixed sum of money. Some Fellows lectured in anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons Hall where the Barber-Surgeons' Company provided anatomy lectures for its members.[4]

The Barber-Surgeon Company controlled surgery in London for 200 years and by a Charter granted by Charles I in 1629, extended its jurisdiction to seven miles from the centre of London. Existing guilds retained powers outside this area in cities such as Newcastle, Bristol and York. Their functions are graphically displayed in a seventeenth-century woodcut in which the practitioners have simian features. (Plate 1) An explanation for this type of portrayal is offered later in the study.

What came to be called a 'Quack's Charter' was enacted in 1542.

> "Be it ordered ... that at all times from henceforth it shall be lawful to every person being the King's subject having knowledge and experience of the nature of herbs roots and waters or of the operation of the same by speculation or practice ... to practise use and minister in and to any outward sore, wound, swelling or disease, any herb or herbs ointments bathes poultices and emplasters, according to their cunning experience and knowledge in any of the diseases sores and maladies aforesaid and all other like to the same, or drinks for the stone, strangury or agues ...[5]

These 'persons' were exempted from the previous restrictions as long as they only charged for the medicaments used and not for their services. These exemptions were deemed necessary because of the

realisation that there were insufficient numbers of licensed practioners to give treatment.

The physicians were anxious to gain power over the activities of all 'non-collegiate practitioners, sellers and handlers of physic, such as apothecaries, druggists and distillers.'[5] and they nearly achieved this aim in a Charter from James I, but this was never confirmed by statute - a fact which was of significance later. They did achieve a measure of hostility with the apothecaries who were incensed by the physicians' right to oversee their premises. The apothecaries were anxious to obtain separation from the Company of Grocers whose members they felt were usurping their (the apothecaries) sales by selling such things as Oriental spices, mixtures of drugs and 'cordials' which were their prerogative. In 1606 they obtained some separation and were incorporated as a separate section of the Grocers' Company and in 1617 became an entirely separate Society by a Charter granted by James I.

The hostility caused by the physicians was not confined to that with the apothecaries. Some of it remained between the physicians and surgeons regarding their respective duties, partly because members of the College of Physicians claimed that they had a right to practise surgery as part of physic - a claim which was upheld in the 1540 Act. Many of the physicians did not intend to demean themselves by actually performing this manual craft, but wanted to claim superiority over the surgeons who must thus only operate under their direction and should not be allowed to provide medication without their prescription.

The apothecaries maintained that the 1542 Act, 'The Quack's Charter', entitled them to give advice to patients as long as they

only charged for the drugs they dispensed. This led to a practice whereby they could charge exorbitant prices for the numerous drugs which they felt were required for a condition which they had themselves diagnosed, although they modified their charges for poorer clients. The physicians did not approve of this practice of untrained practitioners diagnosing ailments. They tried to remedy the situation in London by opening a Dispensary for the poor in 1678 where the sick poor could receive both advice and cheap medicines. By this means they hoped to under-cut the apothecaries' charges, but the move proved unsuccessful.

The apothecaries gained the legal right to act as advisers, in addition to dispensing, following a Court case in 1703.[7] This virtually allowed them to practise a full range of medical activities themselves and they only called in or consulted a physician in serious cases. In a later Act of 1722, the Apothecaries' Company was empowered to visit the shops of all apothecaries and to destroy any drugs unfit for use. In 1748 additional powers authorised the London Society of Apothecaries to appoint a Board of ten Examiners who would give a licence to anyone allowed to dispense drugs in London and within seven miles. Until then anyone could open a chemist's shop and deal in drugs and poisons. Only in 1815 was the Society empowered to examine and licence all apothecaries in England and Wales. A clause stated that the apothecary must co-operate with the physician in the dispensing of drugs ordered by him. These measures led to a class of general practitioners with the right to practise medicine and also to assist and co-operate with physicians and surgeons.

Before 1815, the education of medical practitioners in England and Wales was variable. Many practitioners had degrees and licences from Universities and Colleges but some of these were bogus and some practitioners had failed to complete their courses. Surgeons and apothecaries trained by apprenticeship and their training was mainly practical, but inconsistent in extent and standard. The physician often had no practical training and his education was mainly academic and classical, but some physicians came from the ranks of surgeons and apothecaries who had practised their trades successfully for many years. The purchase of a degree from such Universities as St.Andrews and Aberdeen entitled them to this change of status. Such a degree could be obtained by examination or on the basis of testimonials from men of medical eminence on behalf of the aspiring candidate. However, unless the degree were conferred by Oxford or Cambridge, the physician could not become a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; he could become a Licentiate of the College. Dr. William Browne, in 1753, said, in defence of the practice of electing only graduates of Oxford and Cambridge as Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, that this was the only way of ensuring that physicians had the necessary "approved learning and morals" and "agreeable and social dispositions" for the proper performance of their duties.[9]

Medical education in Europe had improved with the foundation of a University at Leyden in Holland in 1575 by William of Orange, which was open to students of any nationality or creed. The teaching was in Latin, which was the common tongue of the educated. Many students from England and Scotland went to benefit from the excellent teaching there. Initially very little clinical teaching was done, but when

Herman Boerhaave became Professor of Medicine and Botany in 1709, he instituted a practice of clinical medicine which introduced bedside teaching into the training of physicians. John Monro, who studied at Leyden, was responsible for the idea of establishing a medical school in Edinburgh which was run on similar lines to that of the Dutch school. The foundation of the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh in 1736 provided such a clinical teaching school. There, students were taught a wide range of subjects including medicine, surgery, anatomy, botany, chemistry as applied to pharmacy, and midwifery,[9] thus integrating what had previously been regarded as separate fields of study and opening the way for 'general practitioners'. Glasgow developed a similar school a little later.

As the knowledge of anatomy and physiology increased, the status of barbers and surgeons diverged and a wider education was considered necessary for the latter. Between 1720 and 1745, five great hospitals were set up in London in addition to the already established hospitals of St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's, and in the provinces similar charitable establishments were instituted. Surgeons were appointed to these on an honorary basis as were physicians. The honour and status thus conferred provided welcome publicity, association with wealthy patrons and the opportunity to gain prestigious clients. Surgeons took on pupils and assistants - often from amongst those who had completed a usually recognised period of seven years apprenticeship. They received further training and experience for which the surgeon received an additional source of income.[10] Private lecture courses were established by physicians and surgeons and 'ward rounds' were attended by aspiring practitioners.

The surgeons soon felt that their increasing importance deserved separate recognition from the barbers, and this separation took place in 1745. After the Company of Surgeons was so formed, apprenticeships continued, but were not enforced, and many irregularities were permitted. Restrictions on dissections which had been imposed by the Barber-Surgeons, who had forbidden dissections from being performed outside their own Hall, were lifted and private schools and lecture courses proliferated, but teaching within the College was disappointing. William Hunter established a private school of anatomy in 1746, to which the best students were attracted. Two years later he was appointed with surgeon Percival Pott as Master of Anatomy, but there were no prepared specimens and no systematic course of lectures arranged. Following criticisms and disputes within the Company and irregular proceedings by the Council regarding premises, the Company was dissolved in 1796. This enabled a Royal Charter to be introduced with a new constitution and in 1800 the Royal College of Surgeons (of England) was established.

The Apothecaries Act of 1815 empowered the Society of Apothecaries to enforce the acquisition of sufficient medical education on its future licentiates and this eventually led to the organisation of regular medical schools throughout England.

Prevailing Medical Practices in the Eighteenth Century.

During the eighteenth century orthodox medical practice was theoretically conducted on these tripartite lines - in London at least. The physicians, surgeons and apothecaries had separate but undefined roles and feuding between them was common. The first

attempt at compiling a register only occured after the formation of the Company of Surgeons, when a list of freemen of the Company was circulated to churchwardens of every Parish in London and seven miles around, but, otherwise, little supervision or registration was done. Outside this area, 'Visitations' by the Archbishop, who visited his whole Province within a year of his appointment, or by the Archdeacon or Prebendary who visited annually, would entail appearance of those licensed to practice at a church in a central position in the district at a specified hour prior to the Visit. 'Visitation Articles' dictated that,

> "All Rectors, Vicars, Curates, Parish Clerks, School Masters, Physitions, Chirurgions, and Midwives are hereby required to exhibit or cause to be exhibited at the Time and Place aforesaid their respective Letters of Orders, Certificates of Subscriptions, Institutions, Admissions, Dispensations and Licences, upon pain of Law."[11]

The remote London Colleges however, caused little practical concern. In the provinces the division by title had less meaning and the type of practice supplied was more simply on the basis of demand and opportunity. There, the apothecary-surgeon often filled the role of all three types of practitioner and he may have had a more successful practice in the area than the physician.[12] The physicians were the elite of the profession both socially and legally. Only they and a few distinguished surgeons were considered gentlemen, but their numbers were comparatively small. In 1708, there were 67 Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians and 39 Licentiates. By 1740, the numbers were 54 Fellows and 24 Licentiates. The population

of London was about 550,000 in 1708 and 600,000 in 1740, both figures representing about 9% of the total population of England.[13]

The physicians attended the aristocracy, the upper classes and wealthy members of society, and some of them enjoyed Royal patronage. Because they wished to maintain their status in society they had to move in the social circles from which they hoped to gain clients and at least had to appear to be successful.[14] A physician's standards of taste, bearing and etiquette therefore had to be in keeping with his aspirations with regard to his ability to command large fees and of gaining acceptance as a gentleman. This led to satirical stereotyping of physicians. One of the trademarks accorded to them was a cane with gold or silver top. This was sometimes perforated and hollow so that it could contain some sweet-smelling substance with properties which, it was hoped, would act as antidotes to the hazards and smells of the sick-room. One particular cane, belonging to a notable physician, Dr. John Radcliffe, had a gold-mounted cross-piece as a handle. This was handed down to his successor in practice, Dr. Richard Mead. It was then successively passed on to other notable physicians until it was presented to the Royal College, where it is now displayed.

The surgeon and apothecary had a lower social status and income. Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his 'Dictionary' of 1755, defined a 'surgeon' as *one who cures by manual operation; one whose duty is to act in external maladies by the direction of the physician.* Treatment of such external maladies as cuts and bruises, dislocation and fractures of limbs, bleeding, blistering and cutting fell within his province. During the early part of the century, surgery was taught by the Professor of Anatomy merely as a footnote. The state of operative

surgery by 1745 was still crude. Sedation of patients was inadequate and sepsis or gangrene was common following major injuries. Few serious wounds or injuries of the limbs were curable and amputation with a high mortality rate was often the only treatment available. Speed was essential in surgical procedures, plus strong attendants. Surgeon William Cheselden was said to be able to perform a lithotomy operation for the removal of bladder stones in under one minute - his record time being 54 seconds.[15]

Anatomical knowledge was increasing and operating skill improving but the surgeon was often considered as cruel and ruthless in his practice of surgery as he was in that of dissection. With the development of private anatomy schools, sporadic anti-surgeon riots occurred. These were directed at the 'body-snatching' operations which took place in an effort to obtain sufficient dissection material for the classes. Few surgeons however, confined themselves to surgical practice. Some pursued general medical practice with the disapproval of the physicians, especially those outside the London area. Some were also involved in the treatment of venereal diseases or 'the pox' - a practice they shared to a certain extent with physicians and quacks [16] - and some combined their medical work with a literary or artistic career or even discontinued their medical work in favour of the latter (men such as Smollett and Goldsmith.) The army and navy also absorbed a number of surgeons. Surgery, however, retained its inferior status because it was a manual trade.

Midwifery, although closely related to surgery, came under the auspices of the physicians. Men-midwives had attended Royalty and the aristocracy in France since Jules Clement started the vogue in 1690 as

man-midwife to the mistress of Louis XIV and the practice extended to England, but prior to the eighteenth century, midwifery had been in the hands of the female midwife with an attendant surgeon only if absolutely necessary under strict rules dictated mainly by ideas of modesty. Sir Richard Manningham, M.D. (Cambridge) and F.R.S., established the first lying-in ward at the Poor Law Infirmary of the Parish of St. James, Westminster, in 1739, and wrote a manual for use there. The increasing number of men-midwives practising led to advances in care. Other lying-in hospitals were established by voluntary bodies offering poor women and single girls some basic care and bed rest. The increasing presence of the men-midwives, however, caused hostility from traditional midwives who felt that their position was threatened, and by some physicians who thought that the man-midwife was gaining an unfair entré into the homes of 'their' patrons. In the countryside, the 'old wife' continued to be the only available practitioner, with the apothecary-surgeon being called only as a last resort.

After 1703, the apothecary had the legal right to attend and prescribe for the sick as long as he only charged for the drugs dispensed. This led to the practice of the apothecary regularly attending the sick and calling in a physician only if he considered it necessary, or of consulting a physician in one of the coffee-houses where such consultations took place - a kind of symbiotic relationship sometimes being established. Physical examination of a sick person was rarely contemplated or minimal in extent, and treatment was often based upon an interpretation of symptoms described by the patient, friend or relative. Uroscopy was sometimes employed - a practice

surviving from ancient times. The treatment so determined was still based on humoral lines[17] and usually included such practices as bleeding, purging, blistering or producing an issue.[18] The apothecaries were the most numerous members of the profession and their type of practice varied considerably, but they still carried the aura of 'trade' - a rather derogatory term. Nevertheless, in 1747, the publication 'A General Description of All Trades', described the trade of apothecary as a,

> "very genteel business and has been in great vogue of late years ... [some] practise surgery, man-midwifery and many times officiate as Physicians, especially in the country, and often become men of Large Practice and eminent in their way."[19]

Medical care grew rapidly during the century and the general standing of practitioners rose. This was partly due to increasing prosperity throughout the country and to the rise of a comparatively affluent middle class. Money became available to pay for medical care - not only for the upper class and aristocracy.[20]

In addition to the lying-in hospitals, other medical institutions were set up during the century in the form of medical charities, leading to the founding of hospitals and, later, dispensaries for the treatment of the poor[21]. By the end of the century, all sizable English towns had a hospital. Although of benefit to many of the poor, such charities were often seen to engender deference, gratitude and paternalism and were not always well regarded. Overseers were appointed to ensure that parish money provided to aid the very poor was done so on strict economical grounds and payment could be refused

if a medical practitioner charged excessive fees for treatment. With regard to hospitals, Dr. Thomas Percival wrote, in 1771,

> "it is a melancholy consideration that these charitable institutions, which are intended for the health and preservation of mankind, may too often be ranked amongst the causes of sickness and mortality."[22]

Confidence in the treatment offered in the hospitals was not helped by the demand, on admission, of an indemnity for burial charges in the event of subsequent death.

Some specialist hospitals were also established, such as the London 'Lock Hospital' for the treatment of venereal disease and St. Luke's Hospital, which offered a more humane approach to the treatment of lunacy than its forebear had, the Bethlem Hospital, or 'Bedlam'. The Foundling Hospital for the care of abandoned babies was another humanitarian project which was established. This contributed to new perceptions of child care and health which spread throughout the country.[23] The medical profession, too, benefited from the development of these charities through hospital appointments which could prove lucrative in financial and prestigious terms. Pupils were encouraged to attend the physician or surgeon on his 'rounds' and clinical teaching provided useful experience. Medical education improved. Edinburgh provided a medical education second only to that obtained in Leyden, but graduates from Edinburgh were only allowed to become Licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians, not Fellows - a situation which engendered some anger and rivalry between factions of the profession.

It has been argued that the physicians, although the elite of the profession, were dependent upon the fees and favours of their aristocratic patients and that such clients were able to exercise control over the course of medical innovation over the century.[24] The form and content of medical theory of the time thus reflects their interests and obsessions. A succesful practitioner would follow the tide of fashion if this were dictated by such clients. For example, the fashion of 'Taking the Waters' at Bath was a pastime which benefit ed physicians who supported the pursuit. The possession of a medical qualification did not necessarily affect the choice of practitioner whom the sick person sought if some outlandish practice were fashionable. The entrepreneurial skills of such practitioners as Joshua Ward, James Graham and Benjamin Perkins often meant more than any qualifications they might or might not possess.

At a time when an apothecary could charge for numerous drugs to treat a few symptoms - often with poor results - the 'quack' who could offer one universal panacea for all ailments had some appeal.[25] Such quacks or charlatans flourished and peddled their wares round market places and fairs. These itinerants would have found insufficient custom in each place to set up local establishments. By travelling they were able to increase their sales and to escape retribution in the event of failure to provide value for money. Other quacks flourished by means of advertising and selling unique products or 'specifics'. Advertising on bill-boards and posters, in coffee-houses, in newspapers and journals provided them with a wide clientele. Postal sales also provided an outlet, but more popular were sales through such establishments as retail shops, stationers and

printers who often acted as distributors of medicines.[26] Cures for venereal diseases provided a rich source of income for quack and intermediary. Many quacks claimed to provide a cure without the use of mercury - a specific treatment for the 'pox' - which had unpleasant and tell-tale side effects.[27] Bogus degrees, certificates claiming Royal approval and 'authentic' testimonials with regard to the efficacy of products abounded. Some of the nostrums produced contained effective ingredients such as opiates to relieve pain, brandy to promote a feeling of euphoria and mercury for the treatment of syphilis, but many illnesses which were claimed to have been cured by the quack's nostrums would have resolved spontaneously without medication. The quacks were aware of the effectiveness of products which had no recognised curative value, but which nevertheless gratified the consumer and contributed to his well-being. (Similar products are termed placebos in the twentieth century.) Some quacks, particularly in London, became notorious for innovative treatments with exploitation of current scientific ideas, such as Dr. Graham with his 'celestial bed' for the treatment of the barren and impotent and Katterfelto with his magnets - each taking advantage of the contemporary interest in new scientific discoveries with regard to electricity and magnetism.

Many quacks were foreigners who found little restriction to their practice in England. Some even insinuated themselves into the houses of the aristocracy and obtained Royal patronage. They preyed upon the ignorance and gullibility of the public of all social strata. The state collected taxes from the sales of the quacks' nostrums so preferred not to ban them, and the Royal College of Physicians was

powerless to suppress them, partly because advertising and selling medicaments was not confined to quacks.[28] Some respectable physicians who could not advertise their names in other ways recommended nostrums and became associated with particular products. These nostrums sometimes became well-known preparations without which no household was properly stocked. For example, 'Dr. James's Powder' and 'Dr. Radcliffe's Famous Purging Elixir'.[29]

Self-medication was common and books recommending remedies for all ills were widely available, for example, Edinburgh physician, William Buchan's, *Domestic Medicine* - first published in 1769 - which enjoyed great popularity and was published in 142 separate editions[30]. The advent of such a publication was commented upon later by a nineteenth century writer as

> "a treatise which I have frequently heard reprobated by gentlemen of the Faculty, for laying open to the world, in language so perspicuous, those mysterious secrets which had been before disguised in dog Latin:"[31]

John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* was published in 1747 and went into twenty-three editions by 1828. In it, Wesley prescribed home-made remedies for the treatment of 288 specific ailments. The *Gentleman's Magazine* also offered advice on medical matters. Ready-stocked medicine chests for males, females or horses included such items as laudanum, antimony, guiacum and lead, along with many other items for self-administration. Daily doses of certain drugs or even use of enemas was commonplace and became habitual. Tony Lumpkin complained to his mother in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*,

> "... you have been dosing me ever since I was born. I have gone through every receipt in the Complete Huswife ten times

over; and you have thoughts of coursing me through Quincy next spring ..."[32]

This satirical reference to home medication was based on reality. One Thomas Turner, a Sussex grocer of the 1750's, is said to have thought that a bath should be taken every spring, along with the annual blood-letting.[33] Such domestic medicine survived out of necessity because of the impracticability of obtaining professional medical care in remote areas and because of the related expense. Other home-made remedies and advice were offered by the 'lady of the manor', wise-women, herbalists, midwives and those condemned in the 1511 Act who still flourished in some areas. The Methodist Minister was often an amateur physician as well as preacher, Wesley being the most notable example. Buchan stated in his *Domestic Medicine* that almost all rural clergymen knew "something of medicine. Almost all of them bleed, and can order a purge ..."[34]

Social and environmental conditions were the cause of much distress, and the failure of the medical profession to remedy many of the resulting ills whilst seeming to profit by them caused distrust and lack of respect for the profession. Overcrowding, insanitary conditions, poverty, slums, lack of public and personal hygiene, prostitution, the prevalence of cheap gin, lack of medical care and ineffective remedies for the treatment of infectious diseases such as measles, typhus and smallpox were all part of the London medical scene during the earlier years of the eighteenth century. Other areas did not escape from these problems which increased as industrialisation resulted in migration of many people to the provincial towns. It was not until the end of the century that

schemes for public health and sanitation took shape with recommendations that the government of a country should be responsible for the public health measures with regard to water supplies, sewage disposal and school hygiene. [35]. The importance of good ventilation in hospitals and prisons was a health factor appreciated by Rev. Stephen Hales and he invented a ventilator system which was used in Newgate prison with consequent decline in the prevalence of gaol fever. Conditions in the navy improved with the appreciation of the effectiveness of lemon juice or lime juice in the prevention of scurvy and the comfort and health of army troops received attention. Vaccination against smallpox became more widely acceptable and more effective drugs came into use: for example, the use of cinchona bark from Peru in the treatment of ague or malaria was extended and a decoction from the foxglove was found to be effective in the treatment of dropsy due to cardiac disease. The public health measures made more of an impact upon the general health of the nation than any other factors, but general medical care improved and this improvement continued and advanced more rapidly during the ensuing century.

Throughout this study attention is drawn to many of the circumstances described above as seen through the artists' works. To summarise, these include:

The perceived roles of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries and the presence and antagonism felt towards the man-midwife and the growth of his practice; the rise of specialist hospitals and charitable institutions including the foundation of the Foundling Hospital and the development of child care; the development of anatomy

schools and subsequent anti-surgeon riots; the treatment of and changing attitudes towards mental illness; perceptions of alcohol abuse; the introduction and suspicion of the practice of vaccination against smallpox; the existence and changing practices of the 'quack' or 'fringe' practitioner; fashions in medical treatment; and the experiments and developments in dental care.

The contemporary artists' images of medicine generally reflect a lay view of the profession and its accomplishments, but one artist in particular provides a greater insight into these than most. This artist is William Hogarth. The following section of this chapter presents some biographical details of the life of Hogarth, whose work forms a major part of this study, particularly with regard to those areas where contact with medical men and their activities could have had some bearing upon his interpretation of the medical activities of the time.

Chapter 1 Part 1. Notes and References.

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3. Act of 1540, *conc'ning Barbers and Chirurgians, Statutes of the Realm.*, ch.XLII p.794.

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12. Loudon, Irvine S. 'The Nature of Provincial Medical Practice in Eighteenth-Century England', *Med.Hist.* 29 (1985), 1-32.

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14. Jewson, N. 'Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in Eighteenth Century England', *Sociology*, XIII (1974), 369-85.

15. Guthrie, Douglas. *A History of Medicine*, p.239.

16. Bynum, W.F. 'Treating the Wages of Sin:', in Bynum & Porter (eds.) *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy*, pp.9-12.

17. Doctrine of Humours. Early Greek philosophers had recognised four natural elements with associated qualities i.e. hot, cold, dry

or moist. These were equivalent to four humours.
Hot & moist = blood, cold & moist = phlegm,
hot & dry = yellow bile, cold & dry = black bile.
These became associated with human temperaments - sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic and choleric. Imbalance of humours caused disease and treatment was designed to restore the correct balance.

18. An issue was an artificially produced ulcer or wound which was kept open and discharging by means of inserting small objects such as pieces of thread. The resulting discharge was supposed to be the bad humours from the blood draining out.

19. Campbell, R. 'A General Description of all Trades', 1747 re. 'Apothecary', quoted in Loudon, *The Nature of Provincial Medical Practice*, p.21.

20. Porter, Roy. *Disease, Medicine and Society in England 1550-1860*, p.34.

21. ibid. p.35.

22. George, M. Dorothy. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p.62. Quotation from Percival, *Essay on the Internal Regulations of Hospitals*, *Works*, iv. p.170.

23. McClure, Ruth. *Coram's Children*.

24. Jewson, 'Medical knowledge and the Patronage System', p.379.

25. Johnson, Samuel. *Dictionary of the English Language*, 1785.
'Quack'=(v.) To chatter boastingly; to brag loudly; to talk ostentatiously.
(n.)1. A boastful pretender to arts which he does not understand.
2. A vain boastful pretender to physick; one who proclaims his own medical abilities in publick places.
3. An artful tricking practitioner in physick.
(to physick = to purge; to treat with physick; to cure.)

26. Porter, Roy. *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850*, p.116.

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Chapter 1

Part 2

Hogarth and Medicine: some Biographical Notes.

WILLIAM HOGARTH (1697-1764).

> "Ocular demonstration will carry more conviction to the mind of a sensible man, than all he would find in a thousand volumes; and this has been attempted in the prints I have composed."[1]

To understand Hogarth's use of medical imagery and to be able to assess its value as being of historical or documentary significance, it is useful to establish the nature of his relationship with medical practice by considering some aspects of his life and background.

William Hogarth was the son of a north country schoolmaster who taught classics. His father, Richard, moved to London in an attempt to improve his condition and endeavoured to continue teaching from his home there, supplementing his income by writing texts allied to his interests in Latin. William was born in 1697 in Bartholomew's Close near Smithfield Market - a busy city area where trades of all descriptions flourished and where holiday entertainment was provided by visiting fairs in the local market place. Some features of the latter were probably incorporated into Hogarth's painting 'Southwark Fair'. Nearby was the Church of St. Bartholomew, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Richard was of Presbyterian origin and the neighbourhood had a strong non-conformist element but the close proximity of orthodox and non-conformist communities in the area offered different views of society.

Richard's teaching did not appear to have succeeded as anticipated and he opened a coffee-house - 'Hogarth's Coffee-House' - in nearby St. John's Gate in 1703/4 where Latin speaking was

encouraged and possibly taught. London coffee-houses at the time provided gathering places where for one penny admission any man who was reasonably dressed could drink coffee, smoke his clay pipe, read the newsletters of the day, converse and even conduct business from the premises. They were considered as the centres of communication for news and information. Runners were sent round to the coffee-houses to report major events of the day; newsletters, gazettes and journal were distributed; bulletins on the walls announced sales and auctions; playbills advertised current theatrical events; prospective sailings were listed; 'quack' nostrums were recommended and visits such as those of itinerant corn-cutters were detailed. One such advertisement or broadsheet read:-

> "*John Hinge*
> Operator for Corns,& Nails
> Attends at Peel's Coffeehouse in Fleetstreet, Every Morning at Eight of the Clock, (Sunday Excepted). He also attends Tuesdays, Thursdays, & Fridays at the Royal Exchange, during Change Hours, & from thence goes to the Portugal, Rainbow, Jerusalem & Cardina Coffeehouses all near ye Royal Exchange. Likewise attends on Mondays, Wednesdays & Saturdays at Wills Coffeehouse, near Lincolns Inn & George's Coffeehouse in Coventry Street, near ye Hay market To Receive the Orders of those Gentlemen & Ladies who please to honour him w^{ith} their Command."[2]

In some coffee-houses, physicians saw patients and held consultations. Rules were laid down by individual houses regarding standards of acceptable behaviour and fines could be incurred for non-compliance. Many coffee-houses became identified with special groups and it was in this manner that Richard Hogarth wished to identify his with his 'Latin-speaking' aspirations.[3]

Until the age of about 11 years, William lived in this area and attended school there. He observed the local scenes and absorbed the local atmosphere, saying later:-

> "I had naturally a good eye shews of all sort gave me uncommon pleasure when an Infant and mimicry common to all children was remarkable in me. an early access to a neighbouring painter drew my attention from play evry opportunity was employed in attempt at drawing."[4]

One example of a colourful sign and an indication of a local medical practice at that time not far from where Hogarth lived as a child was in Clerkenwell Close where "at the Surgeon's sign" with "figures of Mad people over the gate", lived a chemist and a surgeon who, according to their advertisements,

> "by the blessing of God cureth all Lunnetick, Distracted and Mad people; they seldom exceed three Months in the Cure, several has been Cured in a fortnight, and some in less time; they have cured several from Bethlem, and other Mad-houses in, and about this City; there is Conveniency in their House for all People, of what Quality soever.... No Cure, No Money"

They also professed to cure dropsy "without Tapping."[5]

At this time, William's father was sent to the Fleet Prison for Debtors following the failure of his coffee-house venture. His effects were sold to enable the family to live "within the Rules of the Old Bailey" rather than in conditions associated with a 'common debtor'. This allowed for some payment to be made for lodging within the precincts of the Old Bailey, although the debtor himself was not allowed to work to provide this support. Presumably in an effort to help to support the family, Mrs. Hogarth, in common with other

advertisers, was advertising home made remedies for childhood ills. Her advertisement in the 'Daily Courant' states:-

> "In pity to Infants that cannot tell their Ails there is now publish'd (having been many Years in Private Practice) a most Noble and very Safe Medicine, call'd the GRIPE OINTMENT, which by outward use only and in the very moment of Application, Cures the GRIPES in Young Children, and prevents FITS, One half Crown Pot whereof will bring up a Child past all danger from either. Sold only by Mrs. Anne Hogarth next Door to the Ship in Black and White Court, Old Bailey."[6]

The condition of debtors on the 'common side' was appalling and William incorporated some aspects of this in the Rake's Progress which is discussed later in this study.[7] The inhabitants of the prison ranged from innocent victims of fraud and those there as a result of living beyond their means, to thieves, rogues and vagabonds. Impressions from this time may have contributed to William's continued concern with his own security, success and prestige. The family remained there for five years at a vulnerable period of young Hogarth's life.

At the age of 17 years, he took up an apprenticeship with a silver-plate engraver, but failed to complete it. The work included making heraldic and decorative engravings, but he found the restrictions with regard to the work and social life irksome. On leaving, and following the death of his father, he set up his own shop at his mother's house and worked on announcement and business cards and book illustrations whilst endeavouring to improve his skill with copper engraving. He made use of his knowledge of heraldry on several occasions, including his engraving of The Arms of the Company of

Undertakers - which is examined later - in which he satirised some of the medical practitioners of the day.

From an early age he had shown a natural aptitude for comic and satirical drawing, but he was anxious to obtain some formal art education. With this in mind he joined the newly formed 'Vanderbank' Academy of Art. This step led to further connections with the art world, including acquaintance with his future father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill, a leading artist of the time. The surgeon and anatomist William Cheselden (1688-1753) was also a member of the Academy. He gave anatomy lectures and demonstrations from his home for which he was criticised and fined because they were said to entice people away from the public dissections being held at the Barber-Surgeons Hall. These lectures were well advertised and Hogarth may have attended both these and the public dissections, a parody of which is depicted in one of his prints The Reward of Cruelty - also examined later.

Hogarth continued his work on illustrations and engravings, but encouraged and contributed to a trend away from orthodox paintings of idealised historical subjects and formal portraiture to concern with real life and every-day subjects. He exploited topical situations such as that in 1726 in connection with Mrs. Mary Toft, a Surrey woman said to have been delivered of seventeen rabbits.[8] His early satirical prints, some of which, including that of Mary Toft, are examined in detail in Chapter 2 of this study, tended to be social and moral rather than political and he attacked church and government in general terms according to the state of the country as he saw it.

He showed an acute awareness of prevailing conditions and his social and moral awareness was enhanced by his close associations with

literary and intellectual friends and colleagues who frequented such coffee-houses as 'Old Slaughter's' where "the decorators, craftsmen, scene-painters, writers, actors and Doctors " gathered[9] Garrick, the actor, Gay, Rich and Fielding were amongst the number of close friends with whom Hogarth associated and discussed ideas. The theatre and its atmosphere had a profound influence on Hogarth's work.

In eighteenth century England, many professional men, including doctors, supplemented their incomes by literary work; men such as Smollett and Goldsmith. Such men, in addition to some of the physicians who conducted 'coffee-house' consultations, would frequent the same kind of establishment as the artists and playwrights. One such physician was the renowned Dr. Richard Mead, an important collector of art, who carried out consultations at 'Tom's Coffee House' in Covent Garden.[10] For the sum of half a guinea, an apothecary could seek advice on behalf of a patient for whom he would then dispense the appropriate drugs. Some collaboration could be of mutual benefit to physician and apothecary.[11] Insight into aspects of medical practice would have been gained from association with such men.

Anxious to seek advancement and prestige, Hogarth sought to prove himself as an artist rather than as a shop-keeper and engraver. His elopement with Thornhill's daughter caused temporary alienation from the artist, but the connection with Thornhill later provided him with introductions to a world containing Members of Parliament, members of the aristocracy and other men of standing in society. He had some success in painting 'Conversation Pieces' as informal group portraits and his facility for portraying a true likeness was noted,

and apparent in later engravings in which notorious characters were recognised in satirical guise.

In 1723, St. Bartholomew's Hospital was undergoing radical change and plans were being discussed concerning the erection of the present building. Hogarth was averse to the prospect of a foreign artist being commissioned to paint the new Hall and staircase and he therefore offered to paint these without fee in 1734. Following this, he was made a Governor of the Hospital. The staircase paintings of The Pool of Bethesda and The Good Samaritan whilst offering him the opportunity to paint religious subjects indicate, as is shown, Hogarth's awareness of types of afflictions from which patients suffered at the time and illustrate his interest and skill in portraying clinical appearances associated with disease (pathognomy). This was associated with contemporary interest in physiognomy. Hogarth probably became familiar with the sight of many sick people during the time in which he lived and worked in the vicinity of the Hospital. Other hospitals and charitable institutions with which he became involved included the Foundling Hospital for abandoned children, the London Hospital, the Lock Hospital for Venereal Diseases and the Royal Bethlem Hospital or 'Bedlam' - a mental asylum - portrayed in the final scene of the Rake's Progress.[12]

Hogarth was interested in humanitarian projects leading to reform, including those in connection with Prisons in 1729 and with the 'Gin Act' of 1751. His thoughts on these matters were in line with those of his friend Henry Fielding who became a lawyer and Westminster Magistrate in addition to pursuing his career as a

dramatist and author. Hogarth's popular prints of Beer Street and Gin Lane of 1751 are his graphic comments on the evils brought about in society by the availability of cheap gin which is discussed later. This concern was shared by the medical profession and ultimately led to the 'Gin Act' being passed in that year.

Hogarth had many friends and acquaintances amongst the medical fraternity and doctors and their families were amongst his sitters for portraits.[13] One friend was John Freke (1688-1756), surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He is portrayed in the presiding chair overlooking Tom Nero's dissection in Plate IV of the Reward of Cruelty - a scene offering a moral judgement upon certain members of society. Some of the physicians of the same hospital have been identified amongst the number portrayed in Arms of the Company of Undertakers, along with notorious quacks of the day.[14]

Hogarth's connection with the Foundling Hospital arose through his friendship with the Founder Captain Coram, whose portrait the artist painted. Hogarth's relationship with the Foundling Hospital was a symbiotic one. Hogarth became a Governor in 1739, in company with members of the aristocracy, famous merchants and bankers and the physician Dr. Richard Mead, and was able to institute an arrangement whereby he and fellow artists could display their work there to the mutual benefit of the hospital to which subscribers were attracted, and of the artists. Hogarth took a personal interest in the children at the hospital and he and his wife, who were childless, actively engaged in supporting some of them. A drawing of his, which is described later, was used to head the subscription letter and

indicated the fate of many children who were abused or abandoned at that time.

Another friend was Dr. James Parsons (1705-1777). He was Assistant Secretary to the Royal Society about 1746. Hogarth profited from the work and research of Parsons on physiognomy which showed how the changes in facial muscles determined facial expression.[15] Hogarth maintained that the actions of the muscles left permanent marks on the face but that judgement of character could not be based solely on that observation. The facility with which Hogarth was able to depict meaningful expressions in his characters is shown in many of his paintings.

Hogarth, however, failed to become a fashionable portrait painter. He partly solved this problem by producing 'conversation pieces' in which he used more natural poses and settings than was usual. Some of these were in the form of satires: for example, The Christening which included or 'captured' the Orator John Henley in the comic scene. This topical scene, described later, gives an indication of how a baby at that time might be confined in its swaddling clothes, and demonstrates the indifferent attitude of the nurse and the post-natal state of the mother. Although these aspects are not central to Hogarth's theme they offer some insight into contemporary life in connection with the care and health of vulnerable members of society.

Hogarth, with his associates, probably closely followed the newspapers, journals and magazines, for example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Spectator*. Items from such sources plus contemporary literary ideas gave him inspiration for his series of

engravings which combined elements of truth, opinion and hearsay and clothed them in satire. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was first published in 1731 and appeared monthly, attaining a peak circulation of about 10,000 copies

> "Avoiding party politics and sectarian religious squabbles ... it offered a middle-of-the-road viewpoint, reflecting moderate, enlightened common sense."[16]

In the eighteenth century, the word 'Magazine' meant a periodical purporting to reprint the best material which had already appeared in contemporary newspapers, with additional items such as poetry, essays, notices of births and deaths, marriages, and Court and social news. In addition, items of medical interest and controversy might be discussed and letters from readers were often welcomed and published. There was frequent inclusion of the lay public in medical debate. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was the most famous and ran from 1731-1907. Its main rival was the *London Magazine*. References to such magazines are made in this study.

A particular interest of Hogarth's, namely the theatre, led to the development of the paintings which he termed 'Modern Moral Subjects' which presented themes from contemporary Georgian life in theatrical guise - each scene of a story being represented in one picture to be read like a book from left to right in the engraved versions. These paintings were intended to teach people the rewards of virtue and the wages of sin. The scenes are in satirical vein with recognisable types of characters playing the parts rather than caricatures of individuals, although notorious individuals were often portrayed. Hogarth wished to attract the attention of those people

who he felt could help to remedy situations which he portrayed or who he thought were, in part, responsible for them.

The first of these series, which is examined in some detail, is _A Harlot's Progress_ which was a reflection of and on a society in which supposedly humanitarian professional men such as clergy and doctors ignored what was going on around them. This series was issued by subscription whereby "half a guinea being ye first payment for six prints" was followed by a half guinea on receipt of the print (about £175 in present day terms). The subscription ticket for _A Harlot's Progress_ was _Boys Peeping at Nature_ (1730). This was an allusion to the lifting of a veil in order to seek out the truth. This method of payment released Hogarth from the bonds of patronage. Hogarth expected the prints to be taken both literally and allegorically. In order to do this, they would have to be seen to contain elements of truth. The sophisticated ticket and the relatively high price charged for the prints indicate that Hogarth was aiming this series at a knowledgeable audience. Publicity was by word of mouth and through well-known contacts such as Members of Parliament, Freemasons and literary acquaintances and sometimes by advertisement in the newspapers. His satires had hidden depths. Although often seeming to implicate other individuals, the reader himself could be the butt of the folly depicted, whether he were a member of the aristocracy or of the merchant class.

The series of the 'Harlot' was a success and nearly 2,000 sets were bought by subscription, but its production was partly to blame for the failure of Hogarth to obtain a Royal commission to paint a

portrait of the Queen, since it was considered unseemly for the Queen to be painted by the 'Harlot's' creator.

Other paintings and engravings followed, many of which are described in the course of this study, but following a series on 'high life', Marriage à la Mode, Hogarth turned his attention to an audience of a lower, though larger, social class, which included merchants, shopkeepers, apprentices, porters and clerks. Industry and Idleness, Beer Street, Gin Lane and The Four Stages of Cruelty were the results of this period of his work. The subscribers would probably be amongst those with authority, but the prints would be seen by the poor in shop windows and places of work. These prints contained crude popular themes and were produced more cheaply than the earlier series of prints, but they again proved popular and again provide evidence for some of the prevailing conditions in society. These, like many of Hogarth's works, are not to be interpreted literally as straightforward documentations, but as illustrations which carry their meaning by direct reference to recognisable realities. As such, the hyperbole existing in such prints as Gin Lane can be properly assessed.

Hogarth himself became an object of satire following the publication of an art treatise, *The Analysis of Beauty*, in which he proclaimed that a curved line, as seen in nature, termed the 'serpentine line', was the epitome of perfection rather than the geometric ideal, portrayed through simple solids and shapes, that was usually regarded as such. By this time (1753), he was relatively rich and had achieved fame and popularity, but was also called arrogant, a

fool and a madman[17] - characteristics which provided other satirists with material for castigating Hogarth and his work.

He continued to paint and published his last big series The Election, in 1758. This series also contains some incidental medical images to which attention is drawn. Then, when he was aged sixty, Hogarth's health was deteriorating and during the last four years of his life his work decreased. Some political controversy inflamed his passions briefly towards the end of his life, but, in 1763, he suffered a transient paralytic seizure. He wrote his will on 16th August 1764, remained too ill to carry out his duties as Serjent Painter to King George III, a position to which he had been appointed in 1757 in the previous reign, and died in October, 1764.

Information about what personal knowledge he had of the treatment accorded by the medical profession is scant. His personal physician was Dr. Isaac Schomberg, a Leiden doctor, whom Hogarth remembered in his will.[18] Schomberg had been involved in some controversy with the Royal College of Physicians in connection with his right to practise as a physician.[19] His attitude to the leaders of the medical profession was in some ways similar to that of Hogarth in relation to the leaders in the field of art. Both opposed some of the accepted traditional practices of their chosen profession. Hogarth is also said to have been a patient of William Hunter at one time and the latter is known to have collected some of his prints.[20] It has been suggested that Hogarth's sudden death was the result of a ruptured aortic aneurism.[21] Aortic aneurysm was often a late sequela of syphilis, which could also cause cerebral arteritis. The latter could account for the transient partial paralysis reported in 1763.

However, there seems to be insufficient evidence to support this conjecture conclusively.

Hogarth's works have often been cited by historians seeking illustrations of the manners and morals of the age. They do not, however, seem to have been studied from a specifically medical standpoint. The ensuing chapters of this section draw attention to some of the medical imagery that he used. Detailed study of Hogarth's paintings and engravings from this point of view necessitates reference to the world around him, to literary works, to the traditional use of artistic conventions and the prevailing ideas of acceptable artistic practice, to the influence of European Art on the development of his work, and, where appropriate to contemporary medical literature. Perceptions of the standards of care offered to the public can be gauged in part by reference to the popular contemporary journals and newspapers, diaries and letters. Hogarth offers another source of information.

Notes for 'Hogarth and Medicine: some Biographical Notes:-

1. Quoted from William Hogarth's original MSS. compiled by Ireland, J. & Nichols, John. in 'Hogarth's Complete Works', Chatto and Windus, London n.d. Vol. III p.30.

2. Keevil, John. 'Coffee-house Cures', *J.Hist.Med*: 1954 p.192.

3. Pelzer, John & Linda. 'The Coffee Houses of Augustan London', *Hist.Today*: Vol.32.1982.Oct.pp 40-47.

4. Burke, J. ed., *Hogarth's Autobiographical Notes from The Analysis of Beauty*, with the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes.

5. Advertisement from 'Post Boy' 6-14th Sept.1699 quoted in Paulson, R. *Hogarth, Life, Art, and Times* Vol.I p.24.

6. Advertisement in 'Daily Courant' 13 Jan. 1708/9 quoted in Paulson, *Hogarth, Life, Art, and Times*, Vol.1 p.30.

7. Plate VIII 'The Rake's Progress', June 1735.

8. The Rabbit Woman is portrayed in 'Cunicularii or The Wise Men of Godliman in Consultation', Dec.1726.

9. Paulson. *Hogarth, Life, Art, and Times*, Vol.1 p.347.

10. i) King, Lester S. *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, p.23
    ii) Pollack, Kurt.& Underwood, E.Ashworth. *The Healers*, p.133.
    iii) Guthrie, Douglas. *A History of Medicine* p.255.
    iv) Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1745) studied at the University of N.Netherlands and travelled widely. F.R.S.1703:F.R.C.S.1716; Distinguished Physician of the day who became Physician to King George II in 1727; also a great connoisseur and art collector.

11. Jameson, Eric. *The Natural History of Quackery*, p.41.

12. Hogarth designed a head-piece for subscriptions to the London Hospital in 1740: He painted a portrait of the Founder of the Lock Hospital, Daniel Lock. This hospital was founded in 1746 for the relief and rehabilitation of V.D.patients: He was elected Governor of the Royal Bethlem Hospital (Bedlam) in 1752 following consultations regarding the painting of an altar-piece there. (see Paulson, *Hogarth, Life, Art, and Times*, Vol.II, p.55).

13. Amongst the sitters were:- Dr. T.Pellett, President R.C.P.(London) 1735-1739; Sir Caesar Hawkins, Serjeant-Surgeon to Kings George II & III; the Graham children, whose father was a physician; Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, son of Bishop Hoadly

(1676-1761), Bishop of Winchester.

14. Ireland, J. & Nichols, John. *Hogarth's Complete Works*, Vol.II p.259.

15. Parsons, Dr. James. *Human Physiognomy Explained* in the Cronian Lectures on Muscular Motion for the Year 1746, 1747.

16. Porter, Roy. 'Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Gentleman's Magazine', *Med. Hist.* 1985, 29: p.141.

17. Gowing, Lawrence. *Hogarth*, The Tate Gallery 2 Dec.1971-1972, with a biographical essay by Ronald Paulson, p.9.

18. Paulson, *Hogarth, Life, Art, and Times*, Vol.II, p.470, note 40.

19. Clark, Sir George. *History of The Royal College of Physicians of London*, Vol.2, pp.548-551.

20. Paulson, *Life, Art, and Times*, Vol.II, p.471, note 42.

21. ibid. p.344/345 An anecdote concerning Hogarth and his drinking and eating companion Hayman placed him in a brothel where "they observed two prostitutes quarrelling: one of them, who had taken a mouthful of wine or gin, squirted it in the other's face." The truth of this is not verified, but a similar incident appears in Plate III of 'A Rake's Progress'. The reference to Hogarth's life-style may be relevant to the cause of death.

Chapter 2

MEDICAL IMAGES IN HOGARTH'S LONDON: EARLY SATIRES

> "From Guildford comes a strange but well-attested Piece of News, That a Poor Woman who lives at Godalmin, near that Town, was about a Month past delivered by Mr. John Howard, an Eminent Surgeon and Man Midwife, of a Creature resembling a Rabbit ..."[17]

Works of Hogarth's which might be termed 'Early Satires' are the first to be examined for their medical imagery. If political satires can be seen as selective mirrors of events and attitudes for the time in which they were produced, the same might be said of those centred on medical imagery in the eighteenth century. Medical concerns appear to have occupied a particularly prominent place in eighteenth-century 'mores' in Britain and print-makers were not slow to take advantage of the interest displayed in such matters. Nor were they slow to exploit topical situations and *causes célèbres* to their advantage. If the resulting prints are examined in conjunction with written evidence about particular maladies, treatments or incidents, they present a rich field for analysis, not only with respect to the more obvious issues of medical practice but also with respect to the use of medical images in other spheres of contemporary concern. An example of this combination of circumstances is provided by Hogarth's early print of Mary Toft, the 'Rabbit Woman', whom he depicted with attendant doctors in Cunicularii, or The Wise Men of Godliman in Consultation. (Plate 2)[1] Although this might be considered as a comparatively minor work of Hogarth's, it warrants careful examination - not only with regard to medical issues - but also with regard to certain topical philosophical

issues which were under discussion at the time and which have a bearing on popular and medical opinion.

(i) The Rabbit-Woman

Man had long been considered as superior to all other aspects of nature; only he combined matter, intellect and soul. The fundamental distinction between man and animals underlay man's behaviour and any departure from the "fixed and immutable" bounds between man and brutes was regarded with a mixture of horror, suspicion, curiosity and anxiety.[2] To be associated with brutes was debasing. Behaviour which was unacceptable in any form was popularly referred to in animal terms; man's 'animal nature' was implicated and, as such, should be subdued. Child-bearing was associated with the baser, more animal aspects of behaviour, and pregnant women were commonly said to be breeding. Mary Toft instantly fell into this category, and lust - with which she was said to be consumed - compounded the charge. However, the anthropocentric tradition was being questioned increasingly as the study of natural history which was taking place at this time offered new visions of the natural world. The occurrence of monstrous births such as those attributed to Mary Toft threatened the dividing line between man and animals.[2] Were the bounds between man and animals absolutely immutable? Opinion about the matter was divided.

Further problems arose over the persistent question of the effect of a pregnant mother's mental state and perceptions on the unborn child. In satirical fashion, Laurence Sterne drew attention to this unresolved question later in the century in his masterpiece *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, which he began in 1759. In this,

Tristram's father felt that the unhappy circumstances of his son's conception would make him even more vulnerable than usual to "sudden" starts, or a series of melancholy dreams and fancies for nine long months together." Tristram lamented:

> I wish either my father or mother, or indeed both of them, as they were in duty both equally bound to it, had minded what they were about when they begot me: had they duly considered how much depended upon what they were doing; - that not only the production of a Rational being was concerned in it, but that possibly the happy formation and temperature of his body, perhaps his genius and the very cast of his mind; - for aught they knew to the contrary, even the fortunes of his whole house might take their turn from the humours and depositions which were then uppermost.

The fact that the state of the clock and the completion, or otherwise, of its monthly winding, had been uppermost in his mother's mind at a critical stage of his 'begatting' worried Tristram:

> - I tremble to think what a foundation had been laid for a thousand weaknesses both of body and mind, which no skill of the physician or the philosopher could ever afterwards have set thoroughly to rights.[3]

The question as to whether Mary Toft had been affected so that her offspring bore a resemblance to the animals which had startled her in early pregnancy seemed a very real one at the time. Reports of such occurrences had been published before.[4]

Hogarth, an intelligent man who was alert to contemporary issues, lived in this climate and would have been aware of the questions and debates taking place and of the interest that was aroused by the astounding claims made by Mary Toft and her associates which were supported by supposedly learned men.

Another contemporary interest to which Hogarth subscribed and in which he already showed some aptitude was that of physiognomy. Charles LeBrun, one of the foremost history painters of the seventeenth century, who helped to found the French Academy, worked to establish a framework of rules for academic art, in particular a system for the depiction of character and passion as displayed in the expression and features.[5] LeBrun had looked for inspiration to the works of Old Masters such as Raphael and Leonardo and felt that the passions depicted by these artists were essential for the production of a dramatic and dignified historical picture - the highest art form. Hogarth, however, rebelled against what he saw as the stultifying influence of copying Old Masters - a practice expected of aspiring young artists. He was well conversant with the works of Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo, but, in non-conformist style, he subverted them for his own ends. His skill in physiognomy is apparent in his print of Mary Toft, in which the characters are given appropriate expressions and gestures. The print is composed along classical lines involving a traditional bedside drama depicting heroism in the face of adversity, but the bizarre subject-matter and the mock-heroic type of bedside drama demonstrate his subversive tendencies, as does the title of the print associating the arrival of the medical 'wise men' at the birth with those traditionally associated with the Biblical theme.

These are not the only controversial issues highlighted in Hogarth's print. The rise of man-midwifery was an area fraught with charges of professional and sexual misconduct. A woman who succumbed to the ministrations of a man-midwife was charged with immodesty and the man-midwife with immorality. Traditional midwives felt that their

position was threatened by the man-midwife, and physicians who claimed that midwifery came within their purview - although the subject seemed more naturally aligned to surgery - opposed the intrusion of the surgeons in this area. The surgeons as men-midives might gain access to the physicians' patients and take over their general treatment.

It is traditionally said that Hogarth was paid by some of the surgeons to produce his print.[6] If this was so, it might indicate a willingness and even some eagerness on the part of these gentlemen to expose the failings of some of their superiors. Physicians were generally recognised as being superior both in social class and professional status.

A readiness on the part of various groups to exploit the commercial media to further their own ends is demonstrated by other events surrounding the Toft case. Some prints of the affair were offered as an inducement to buy a necklace 'guaranteed to ward off the congenital effects of syphilis in chidren' and possessing specific curative powers.[7] Prints were part of a rapidly expanding industry of popular communication in eighteenth-century Britain and they could be used profitably. Through this new medium entrepreneurial quacks found a novel way of advertising their nostrums.

Playwrights and literary artists also used the events surrounding the Toft affair to criticise others and to make money. Popular entertainment exploited the popularity of themes which revealed professional men or officials as dupes. It was an arena in which to display a rising scepticism with regard to popular beliefs, medical accomplishments and institutional pomposities. Theatrical productions

about a topic such as that of Mary Toft, who duped members of the medical profession, were commercially successful.

The affair and the publicity accorded to it expose another contemporary problem which persisted throughout the century, namely, the difficulty that the public experienced in differentiating between legitimate (or orthodox) and quack medicine, both in terms of the practitioners involved and the medical procedures employed. Reference is made to this later in the thesis, when the question of smallpox vaccination is discussed.

Hogarth's print offers an opportunity to assess the contemporary climate in relation to the issues mentioned. The occasion arose in 1726 when Mary Toft, an illiterate woman from Godalming (or Godlyman) in Surrey, professed to have given birth to a number of rabbits. Hogarth received popular acclaim for his print, which was his contribution to the extensive debate on the subject which embraced popular, literary, medical, theological and philosophical opinions. It was published on December 12th, 1726, a few days after Mary Toft had made a full confession of fraud. The title 'Cunicularii' (cuniculus is Latin for 'rabbit') implies that Mrs. Toft is the equivalent of a rabbit-burrow. The word could also be used to mean an underground passage, and vulgar associations would not have been lost on Hogarth's readers. The 'Wise Men in Consultation' at her 'confinement' are portrayals of well-known participants in the affair. Hogarth provides clues to their identities by means of attributes given to the lettered characters in the print which correlate with the letters in the underlying key. Each individual represents a major figure in the affair. Identification of these key figures is an

essential first step in any detailed reading of the print. Effective satire had to be based on the truth, and the identification of well-known characters connected with the affair was an essential ingredient to the success of the print. Thus, if the attributes of those most concerned in the events are considered in conjunction with those provided by Hogarth in the print, there seems to be little doubt, in most instances, about the identity of the individual being satirised.

A is described as 'The Dancing master or Praeternatural Anatomist'. This character might be considered in conjunction with Mr. St. André, who was closely involved in the Toft affair. He was an adventurer who had come from Switzerland to London as a menial servant. He taught French, German, dancing and fencing and had then been apprenticed to a surgeon following treatment for a wound he had received. He was appointed as anatomist-surgeon to the Royal household in 1723 - partly because of his ability to speak German - and he held the post of local surgeon to Westminster Hospital Dispensary. Hogarth's illustration depicts a character with a fiddle, or violin, under one arm and displaying a specimen of a 'praeternatural' rabbit in one hand - its ears overhanging the board or card on which it is held. A fiddle alludes to musical prowess, as does the right leg raised in dancing posture offering an association with dancing. The left hand holds up a scalpel or stiletto in preparation for a dissection such as might be carried out by an anatomist. Undoubtedly, character 'A' is Mr.St.André.

B is described by Hogarth as 'An Occult Philosopher searching into the depth of things'. This description draws attention to the prevalent search for deep philosophical truths with regard to

generation and the distinction between man and animal, and to the physical search for the true nature of Mary Toft's deliveries. Two individuals might be considered for this rôle. The most likely candidate would seem to be Sir Richard Manningham - a widely respected physician and man-midwife - who, in 1739, was to establish the first lying-in Infirmary in London as a school for midwives and medical pupils. Sir Richard was sent by the King to investigate the proceedings at Guildford. It was said of him in one scurrilous publication that he was the wearer of a "grate blak wig".[8] Hogarth's character has such an attribute. In addition, the character's transvestite appearance in female gown in the print implies that this individual is usurping the traditional female role of midwife. As has been explained, this was at a time when men-midwives were increasing in number in London amidst controversy. Opportunities to make fun of the man-midwife were rarely missed. The physician's search beneath the voluminous skirt of Mrs. Toft can be seen as a parallel with a Dutch print depicting a man-midwife performing a blind delivery with a sheet tied round his neck in order to preserve the lady's modesty. (Plate 3)

One alternative suggestion for character 'B' is Molyneux, Secretary to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who accompanied Mr. St. André to Godalming to deliver a rabbit. This suggestion was made in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1842,[9a] which states that the comments made about this character (B) were not in keeping with the sedate Manningham, but rather in accordance with 'novice and experiment-seeking' Molyneux who prided himself on philosophical investigations and

"was the inventor or improver of a Telescope of which he boasted not a little."

Yet another suggestion is that Hogarth conflated the two characters, Molyneux and Manningham, into the one individual portrayed.[9b]

C is described as 'The Sooterkin Doctor Astonish'd'. Mr. Maubray, a surgeon and man-midwife, was also involved in the 'rabbit affair'. He had described the delivery of 'Deformed Conceptions' in his book, *The Female Physician* which was published in 1724 and which includes descriptions of some births which occurred especially in Holland. These were:

> "often attended and accompany'd with a Monstrous little Animal, the likeness of any thing in shape and size to a MOODIWARP, having a hooked snout, fiery sparkling Eyes, a long round Neck and acuminated short Tail, of an extraordinary Agility of FEET. At first sight of the World's Light, it commonly Yells and Shrieks fearfully; and seeking for a lurking Hole runs up and down like a little Demon ..."[10]

Following one such delivery, Maubray heard some of the company call it 'de suyger'. Its conception was traditionally held to be due to a woman spending too much time near her stove, the heat and associated dirt of which resulted in a 'Sooterkin'. However, the words 'soot erkinds' in Dutch mean 'sweet children' and 'de suyger' also means 'sweet' - a misconception on Maubray's part exploited by Hogarth![11] This serves to illustrate the belief that the outcome of a pregnancy could be influenced by external ante-natal events.

The figures 'A','B', and 'C', one shown 'bearing gifts', one bending a knee and one raising his hands in ecstatic wonder are a

satirical representation of the Biblical characters in the traditional Nativity Scene - a theme of true art such as those produced by the great Old Masters of the Italian Renaissance.

D is described as 'The Guildford Rabbet Man-Midwife'. Mr. John Howard was a surgeon and man-midwife from this town. He was the first medical attendant to see Mrs. Toft at Godalming and was subsequently suspected of complicity in the fraud. In the print he is rejecting a rabbit on account of its size. "It's too big," he says, as he is offered a specimen by a man who has his finger to his nose, in a conspiratorial gesture.

E 'The Rabbit getter', is probably Mr. Joshua Toft, the lady's husband - the words being intended to portray him as both begetter and procurer of rabbits.

F 'The Lady in the straw', is Hogarth's representation of Mrs. Toft herself. The implied connection between Mary Toft in the straw and animal behaviour in similar circumstances would have been deliberate at this time of debate over the rôle of man in nature. In many country districts farmers and poor people made little distinction between themselves and their animals; a woman expecting her baby was said to have 'got upon the nest'.[12] Mary is seen lying supine on a tester bed with an expression of agony and martyrdom on her face in mock-heroic style. The rabbits at her feet range in size and state of dismemberment. For Hogarth the fact that rabbits - or 'coneys' as they were sometimes called - were involved in the deception gave an opportunity to use another visual pun: the verb 'coney' means 'to dupe'. Rabbits were traditional artistic symbols of lust and fecundity. The lust - a type of animal behaviour - attributed to Mary

Toft was for financial gain and she duped many people in her attempt to attain this goal. Her fecundity or the prolificness of her deliveries was the cause of her downfall. A verse in a contemporary broadsheet contains the lines:

> "Had breeding Seventeen Rabbits satisfied
> Poor Mary Toft the plot had still been hid:
> But fond to make the Number up a Score,
> The prying World the Secret did explore. (Plate 5)

The last verse in this publication refers to the "Coney-Warren being no more" when the deception was exposed. The numerous rabbits which Hogarth employs in his print are visual allusions to both the facts of the case and to the symbolic and verbal uses of the words 'rabbit' and 'coney'.

Longing or lust is also implicit in the desire, or pica, Mary was said to have for rabbits in her early pregnancy.

G is described as 'The nurse or Rabbet Dresser' and represents Mrs. Toft's accomplice - the one who helped to look after her and to prepare or 'dress' the rabbits for their specific purpose.
The subscription beneath the print,

> 'They held their Talents most Adroit
> For any Mystical Exploit.'[13]

comes from Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* for which Hogarth produced engravings. These, like 'Cunicularii', contrast, in mock-heroic style, the traditional composition of the scene with the common nature of the participants.

To understand how fiction and reality became entangled in the circumstances surrounding the intrigue of the 'rabbit woman', it is

necessary to look more closely at the background and details of the case, some of which are described below, and to consider them in the context of the time in which this episode occurred.

A letter written on November 9th 1726 by a gentleman at Guildford to his friend, a physician in Ipswich,[14] describes how a woman, (Mary Toft) saw two rabbits, "one black and one gray", in a field where she was weeding when she was five weeks pregnant. She and a companion ran after them but were unable to catch them. In the following 'Hopping Season' (August),

> "something came from her, which the Surgeon [Man Midwife] by he Description judged to have been a Mole."

A mole was described in 1698 as:

> "the Moon-Calf, which is a lump of flesh for the most part like the guisern of a bird, greater or lesser according to the time of its being there, which is commonly not above four or five months."[15]

An association with an animal is again apparent in this description of an abnormal pattern of behaviour. In another source, a mole is described as being a fleshy mass caused by either defects in the 'informing faculty', or in the seed or menstrual blood.[16] In the twentieth century it is thought to be an abnormality of the early developing placenta which becomes cystic and degenerates. The embryo does not continue to develop and bleeding with expulsion of clots and all or part of the 'mole' occurs sooner or later.

In Mary Toft's thirty-first week, the letter continued:

> "the Liver of a Rabbet came from her, which her Husband brought to Mr. Howard."

Mr. Howard, the man-midwife - 'D' in Hogarth's print, refused to attend Mrs. Toft, as he thought the story was a hoax, but the next day Mr. Toft brought further pieces of the thorax of a rabbit to him. Mr. Howard went to her and during the next few days delivered

> "three legs of a Cat of a Tabby Colour, and one leg of a Rabbet; the guts were as a Cat's and in them were three pieces of the Back-Bone of an Eel ... The cat's feet supposed were formed in her imagination from a cat she was fond of that slept on the bed at night."[14]

John Maubray had written in *The Female Physician* that if an animal such as a cat happened to jump upon a pregnant woman, it would, in his opinion, impress a corresponding mark upon the child she was bearing unless that part were immediately wiped.[10]

On Friday, August 28th, Mrs Toft went to church to give thanks for her recovery, but the following Sunday she became ill again. During the next few days pieces of rabbit were delivered of different sizes and colour,

> "all bones broken, but no more cat's feet."[14]

The Weekly Journal of November 19th. informed the public of events in these words,

> "From Guildford comes a strange but well-attested Piece of News, That a Poor Woman who lives at Godalmin, near that Town, was about a Month past delivered by Mr. John Howard, an Eminent Surgeon and Man Midwife, of a Creature resembling a Rabbit but whose Heart and Lungs grew without its Belly, about 14 Days since she was delivered by the same Person, of a perfect Rabbit; and in a few Days after of 4 more; and on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, the 4th, 5th, and 6th instant, of one in each Day; in all nine, they died all in bringing into the World. The woman hath made Oath, that two Months ago, being working in a Field with other Women, they put up a

> Rabbit, who running from them, they pursued it, but to no Purpose: This created in her such a Longing to it, that she (being with Child) was taken ill and miscarried, and from that Time she hath not been able to avoid thinking of Rabbits. People after all, differ much in their Opinion about this Matter, some looking upon them as great Curiosities, fit to be presented to the Royal Society, etc. others are angry at the Account, and say, that if it be a Fact, a Veil should be drawn over it, as an Imperfection in human Nature."[17]

The letter and article in the *Weekly Journal* illustrate the nature of the debate which was taking place with regard to man, animals and nature and to the effect of the mother's imagination on the foetus.

Mr Howard moved Mrs. Toft to Guildford and confirmed all the rumours by inviting anyone who doubted the story to deliver a rabbit personally. This offer was accepted by Mr. Nathaniel St. André - 'A' in Hogarth's print - who set off to Guildford with Mr. Molyneux, to deliver rabbit number fifteen. (Molyneux, Secretary to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, is the alternative character suggested for 'B' in Hogarth's print.) St. André duly delivered the trunk of this animal, following which he immersed a small piece of its lung in water to see if it would sink or float. The piece floated indicating the presence of air in the lung and thus the likelihood of breathing having occurred. No blood or liquor amnii (fluid which normally surrounds a foetus in the uterus) was apparent at the delivery nor later when he delivered the head and fur. (Rabbits are usually naked at birth). These findings however, were not sufficient to convince Mr. St. André of the true nature of events.

Another Surgeon to His Majesty's Household, Mr. Cyriacus Ahlers, went to Guildford on Sunday, November 20th to see events for himself.

He had no knowledge of delivery, but under the guidance of Mr. Howard, delivered a rabbit which he was convinced came from the uterus, and he demonstrated the presence of milk which could be expressed from Mrs. Toft's breasts. Before returning to London, he presented the lady with a guinea and a promise to secure a pension for her from His Majesty. In his own *Observations concerning The Woman of Godlyman in Surrey*[18] he said,

> "I desir'd Mr. Howard to let me take the Skin, with the Fore and Hind-part of the Rabbet along with me, to shew them to His Majesty, which at first he would not consent to: but having promised him that I would take care to send them back again, he permitted me to take them, and so I put them in an Ox's bladder, which I had sent for, and turn'd Inside out."

An abstract of a letter from Mr. Howard dated November 22nd. 1726, stated that,

> "On Sunday last came hither Mr. Ahlers, Surgeon to the King's household (by His Majesty's Orders) who took Part of the 16th Rabbet from this poor Woman, and carry'd it to the King at Kensington ... The Tuesday before I had Mr. St. André ... who took part of one Rabbet from her which weighed 22 ounces, and these Gentlemen were both fully satisfy'd in the Truth of this Wonderful Delivery: as was also Mr. Molyneux Secretary to the Prince, who was here also, ..."[19]

Examination of the rabbit taken by Mr. Ahlers showed that there were marks of a sharp instrument in the muscles round the vertebrae, lung parts floated in water and the rectum contained several hard pellets with bits of hay, straw and corn in them, but the foramen ovale (a foetal anatomical feature of the heart) was open.[18] The absence of some of the guts and feet of the rabbit were explained to him by Mr.Howard as having probably fallen to the ground and been trampled underfoot.[20]

Mr. Howard kept parts of the animals in Spirits of Wine as a preservative and on November 26th gave a demonstration in London before His Majesty and members of the Royal Society, at which the parts were shown and to which reference was made in *The Weekly Journal.*[17] The fact that some of the features demonstrated were those of foetal rabbits and some of adult rabbits convinced some observers including Mr.St. André that these were praeternatural rabbits.

After another delivery, George I notified Sir Richard Manningham – 'B' in Hogarth's print – and requested his attendance at Guildford with Mr. St. André. In his Diary of the event Sir Richard wrote,

> "I found her in Bed, and after asking her several Questions in the presence of Mr. St. André, Mr. Limborch [Surgeon], and several Women and Midwives, I proceeded to examine her Breasts, wherein was a small Quantity of thin Serous Matter like Milk; I then felt her Belly all over carefully, which was soft, and not much larger than ordinary, and by no means like a Woman with Child; the Right side of her Belly, indeed, was somewhat bigger than the Left, with a Hardness across it, which when I press'd, she said it gave her Pain.

The latter findings may be explained as being due to some infection caused during nefarious operations, the nature of which are divulged later. Sir Richard continued:

> I afterwards diligently search'd the whole Vagina, and being well assured at that time all was clear from Imposture, I touch'd the Os Uteri, which was close and contracted in such a manner that it would not receive so much as the point of a Bodkin into its Orifice ..."[21]

(The closely contracted os uteri precluded the possibility of imminent delivery and would seem inconsistent with a recent delivery.)

Sir Richard visited her again in the evening. No movements had been observed from the so-called presence of rabbits during his visits

but he was assured that these sometimes resumed if hot cloths were applied to her Belly. The diary continues:

> "Upon applying the first Cloth the Motion began, which they called the leaping up of the Rabbet, it was indeed a Motion like a sudden leaping of something within the right side of her Belly, where I had before felt that particular Hardness and as I sat on the Bed in Company with five or Six Women, it would sometimes shake us all very strongly."

Sir Richard left Mrs. Toft and with Mr. St. André and Mr. Limborch went to the White-Hart-Inn, but less than an hour later Mr. Howard brought a piece of membrane, which he said he had just removed and believed more was to come. Sir Richard thought that it was a piece of bladder although Mr. Howard insisted that it was a piece of Chorion (foetal membrane) and that he had more at home. At about 8 p.m. a messenger arrived to say that Mrs. Toft was in pain. They found her sitting in a great chair by the fireside and in her vagina found a piece of 'Skin'; the Os Uteri however was closed as before. This 'Skin' was similar in appearance to a piece of Hog's bladder, and when Sir Richard asked for one with which to compare it, one was brought "fresh blown up" which was in the house; both smelled of urine, and the only difference was the thickness of the 'Skin'. Sir Richard said that he would not be satisfied that the affair was not a fraud unless he received something from the uterus himself. Arguments ensued between Mr. St. André, Mr. Howard, Mr. Limborch and Sir Richard; Mr St. André stated,

> "that he was convinced of that Truth by examining the Rabbet he had taken from the Uterus; which at the same time had the exact Appearance of Animals, like such Creatures as must inevitably undergo the Changes that happen to adult Animals by Food and Air; and that they carried within them the strongest Marks of Foetus's."

He claimed that this proved to him that they were not bred in a natural way (therefore were praeternatural) and that this might explain the state of the bladder and that it might be part of the chorion. Sir Richard agreed not to publish his own opinion until events were completed.

On Tuesday, November 29th. Mrs. Toft was taken to London and lodged at Mr. Lacy's Bagnio in Leicester Fields, where many eminent people visited her. On December 3rd. Lord Hervey, a Courtier in the Royal Household, wrote to his friend Henry Fox:

> "I was last Night to see her with Dr. Arbuthnot, who is convinced of the Truth of what St. André relates, every Creature in town, both men and women have been to see and feel her; the perpetual emotions, noises and rumblings in her Belly are something prodigious; all the eminent physicians, surgeons, and man-midwives in London are there Day and Night to watch her next production."[22]

Hervey concluded:

> "the whole philosophical world is divided into two partys ... and between the downright affirmation of the one hand for the reality of the fact, and the philosophical proofs of the impossibility of it on the other, no body knows which they are to believe their Eyes or their Ears."

Again this highlights the interest and controversy engendered by the affair and points to the philosophical questions raised.

On December 4th, delivery again seemed imminent. Dr.James Douglas, a respected Scottish physician, man-midwife and anatomist, Dr. Mowbray (Maubray), man-midwife - 'C' in Hogarth's print, - and Mr. Limborch all examined her in the presence of Sir Richard and all agreed that something would soon issue from her uterus. Many other

persons of distinction who were present also examined her, but her pains ceased.

Events changed dramatically in the evening when a porter to the Bagnio made a statement to Magistrate Sir Thomas Clargis concerning a rabbit which Mrs. Toft had clandestinely procured with his assistance. Her sister, who nursed her, insisted that this rabbit had been for eating purposes only. This episode was reported in the *Whitehall Evening Post* of December 6th:

> "The Woman who was said to bring forth Rabbits, was Yesterday committed by Sir Thomas Clargis to the Custody of the High Constable of Westminster for a Fortnight and she had been sent to Bridewell, but that the Patrons to this Imposture contend still, that she is near her Labour of more Rabbits; tho' some Discoveries have already been made, during the Strict Examination she has been under in the Town. We hear that the Surgeon of Guildford who delivered her of 17 Rabbits, is bound over. Doctors and Surgeons are permitted to visit her, but not under Three at a Time."[23]

A full confession of fraud was obtained from Mrs. Toft on Wednesday, December 7th. Following her early miscarriage, an accomplice had placed the claws and body of a cat with the head of a rabbit into her womb whilst the opening still allowed such access. Later, parts were inserted into her vagina. The purpose of the deception was in order to obtain a good livelihood which the accomplice would share in return for the supply of rabbits. Others admitted to the sale of rabbits to Joshua Toft. Mrs. Toft, according to a report in the *Weekly Journal* of December 17th,[24] was

> "ordered to be prosecuted upon a Statute of Edward III, as a vile Cheat and Imposter."

An additional comment said:

> "We hear a certain Person of Note, has lately appeared to have gone distracted."

- a remark that referred to Mr. St. André. It took some time for medical reputations to heal, and statements, letters and advertisements were published to vindicate the conduct of those who had been duped.[25] Mr. St. André, who had previously issued a pamphlet proving that the rabbits were praeternatural human foetuses in the form of quadrupeds bought the remaining copies himself. He apologised in a public advertisement on December 8th pleading on his own behalf,

> "He's half absolv'd, who has confest."

Rabbits were never permitted to be served at his table thereafter. It was said of him that,

> "The additional celebrity of this man arose either from fraud or ignorance, perhaps from a due mixture of both."[26]

His wealth still ensured him some faithful friends who in due deference to him forebore to have rabbit on the menu in his presence, and he retained his post in the Royal Household. One Mr. Dillingham, an apothecary in Red Lion Square, had laid a wager with St. André that within a limited time a cheat would be detected. He won his bet and with the money bought a piece of plate on which three rabbits were engraved for use as a coat-of-arms.[27]

The readiness of various groups to exploit the situation was soon apparent. Many other publications appeared in the wake of the affair. The themes were generally concerned with the 'praeternatural' event and the gullibility of the medical practitioners who were ridiculed as

the truth emerged. Publications included the Ballad 'The Discovery: or The Squire turned Ferret' by Alexander Pope, which consists of twenty-two verses describing the story. (Plate 4.)[28]

Another ballad, published in 1727, was named 'St. André's Miscarriage' or 'A Full and True Account of the Rabbit Woman' to be sung to the tune of 'The Abbot of Canterbury'. The seventeen verses in this ballad included the lines:

1.
'Physicians, and Surgeons, and Midwives draw near,
Married Women, and Widows, and Virgins give ear,
For it is a Woman, a Woman I sing,
Who Rabbets sev'nteen from one C---y did bring.
2.
Monsieur St. A-d-e, that Anatomist rare,
Says all these same Rabbets praeternatural were;
And faith we must own there is something in that,
For the first that came out, did prove a black Cat.
6.
He dissected, compar'd, and distinguish'd likewise,
The Make of these Rabbets, their Growth, and their Size;
He preserv'd them in Spirits, and .... a little too late,
Preserv'd (Vertue sculp.) a neat Copper-Plate.'[29]

The last line of the ballad contains a reference to a drawing which may have been originally executed as early as November 28th 1726. This was designed by George Vertue and engraved by his brother James. It was entitled The Surrey-Wonder an Anatomical Farce as it was dissected at ye Theatre-Royal Lincolns-Inn-Fields.[30] Prints from this Plate were published on December 23rd.(Plates 5 & 6) and were advertised in the *Daily Journal* of that day, eleven days after the publication of Hogarth's print. It illustrates a room in which Mary Toft, wearing a black mask, is producing rabbits, one of which Mr. St. André is attempting to catch. Mr. Molyneux is shown raising his hands in disbelief or disgust. Mr. Maubray is entering the room and

displaying a bottle containing a preserved specimen of 'De Suyger' or 'Sooterkin'. The figures portrayed in the scene are identified in the second state of the print by letters above the characters in a similar fashion to that used by Hogarth in his 'Cunicularii'. The scene in turn is a reference to one which had been topically introduced into a play called *The Necromancer: or Harlequin Dr. Faustus* currently being played at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.[31] In this, Harlequin was converted into a female, pretended to be in labour, and was delivered first of a pig and then of a 'Sooterkin'. At the time there was some conflict in the theatre about the popularity of pantomime and its production in the place of serious works such as those of Shakespeare and Marlowe. Dr. Faustus was popular and well known to theatre-goers. Producer Rich staged his burlesque version of *The Necromancer* in 1723. It was received with acclaim from the theatre-goers but with dismay from exponents of serious work. Rivalry existed between the two theatres in Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields leading to the production of a pamphlet reflecting upon these circumstances.[32]

An advertisement in a Journal of December 17th. shows that members of the Playhouse joined in the general ridicule of St. André:

> "Last week the entertainment called 'The Necromancer' was performed at the theatre in Lincolns Inn Fields, wherein a new Rabbit Scene was introduced by way of episode; by which the Public may understand as much of that affair, as by the present controversy amongst the Gentleman of the Faculty, who are flinging their bitter pills at one another, to convince the world that none of them understand anything of the matter."[33]

Prints from Vertue's plate may have been those advertised in *Mist's Weekly Journal* of Saturday, January 11th 1727, and published by the purveyors of the 'Anodyne Necklace':

> "The Rabbit affair made clear, in a full account of the whole matter: with the Pictures engraved of the pretended Rabbit Breeder herself, Mary Tofts, and of the Rabbits, and of the persons who attended her during her pretended deliveries, shewing who were and who were not imposed on by her. 'Tis given gratis no where, but only up one pair of stairs at the sign of the celebrated Anodyne Necklace recommended by Doctor Chamberlen for Children's teeth, etc." [34]

This is an early example of a popular print being offered as a free gift to attract trade. Purveyors of quack remedies did not lose opportunities to take advantage of the publicity accorded to Mrs. Toft, and artists employed on their behalf would receive due recompense for their work.

The images of Hogarth and Vertue were not the only ones to enter the market. A popular broadsheet containing twelve scenes illustrating all the circumstances of the fraud was produced entitled The Doctors in Labour; or a New Whim Wham from Guildford. Being a Representation of ye Frauds by which ye Godliman Woman carried on her pretended Rabbit-Breeding; also of ye Simplicity of our Doctors, by which they assisted to carry on that Imposture, discover'd their own skill, and Contributed to ye Mirth of His Majesties Liege Subjects. Each scene is accompanied by a verse printed beneath it describing the story. Mr. St. André is depicted throughout as the Harlequin or Merry Andrew who ends up manacled and seated on a repenting stool whilst Mary is led away by two constables.(Plate 7)[35]

None of the doctors involved in the affair was free from attack by writers of Grub Street - the hack writers of the day. Dr. Douglas was vilified in a pamphlet entitled *A shorter and Truer Advertisement .... of Dr. D-g-l-s In an Extasy at Lacey's Bagnio December 4th 1726*[36]. This was written in nine verses by 'Flamingo', a *nom-de-plume* chosen as an allusion to Douglas's particular interest in this bird.[37]

Dr. Arbuthnot, who had possibly been duped by Mary Toft like many of his colleagues, was a respected physician - and is also remembered as the inventor of John Bull as the archetypal English man. He is credited with writing a poem which was entitled *Bunny's Dad*. This was issued in pamphlet form on December 16th. 1726, and much of it is obscene.[38] Vulgarity was prevalent in many of the verses produced at the time, the word coney - pronounced 'cunny' in the eighteenth century, and often printed 'c-n-y', or 'c---y' - lending itself to association with female external genital organs and the sexual act.

The main character in the drama, Mrs. Toft, was remanded to Bridewell to await trial at Surrey Assizes, but the trial never took place. After a period in Bridewell where she was 'on view' to the public and where she had her portrait drawn by John Laguerre holding a rabbit on her lap, she was released. *Mist's Journal* of January 21, 1727 reported how:

> "The pretended Rabbit-breeder, in order to perpetuate her fame, has had her picture done in a curious mezzotinte Print by an able hand."[39]

This episode is not the last that was heard of her. Her life of deception evidently continued, and in 1740 she was imprisoned for receiving stolen goods. Her death was reported in 1763. Hogarth re-

introduced her into a theme of mass delusion in A Medley Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism in 1762, a print in which he attacked both secular and religious credulity.[40] (See ch.4 and Plate 51.)

The *Daily Post* of January 9th 1727, describes Mr. Howard's fate,

> "Mr. Howard appeared before the Bench of Justices last Saturday and was obliged to enter into recognisances of £800 ... concerned in the cheat and conspiracy of Mary Toft, a constable having made an affidavit of an odd sort of conversation he heard pass."

As has already been indicated, what might be considered as ignorance with regard to conception and generation in the twentieth century should be understood in the context of medical understanding in the early eighteenth century. A publication which came in the wake of the Toft case draws attention to the continuing controversy with regard to the effect of the mother's imagination over the foetus.[41] This was designed to attack

> "... a vulgar Error, which has been prevailing for many Years, in opposition to Experience, sound Reason, and Anatomy; I mean the common Opinion, that Marks and Deformities, which Children are born with, are the sad Effect of the Mother's irregular Fancy and Imagination."

Blondel, a medical practitioner and the author of this publication, aimed his attack against a treatise written earlier by another member of the medical profession, Daniel Turner, M.D., who had written as recently as 1723 about diseases in the foetus arising from the force of the mother's imagination.[42] The foetus could supposedly be influenced by such things as - a strong longing by the mother for something in particular in which the desire of the mother was either gratified or disappointed, sudden surprise, the sight and abhorrence

of an ugly and frightening object, the pleasure of looking upon or of contemplating some delight, fear and consternation, excess anger, grief or joy. Turner had provided many instances to support his thesis, one of which was quoted by Blondel under the heading of 'Bartholin's cat':

> "At Leyden in the Year 1638, a Woman of the meaner sort, who lived near the Church of St. Peter, was delivered of a Child well shaped in every Respect, but had the Head of a Cat, Imagination was that, which had given Occasion for this Monster; for being big with Child, she was frightened exceedingly by a Cat gotten into her Bed."

As has been described, many of the circumstances which some thought to be associated with the begetting of 'monsters' were evident during Mary Toft's 'pregnancy', the result of which might not have seemed completely incomprehensible at a time when 'monster' births were alleged to have occurred under similar provocation.[43]

A learned clergyman, Whiston, wrote a pamphlet to prove that Mary Toft's 'monstrous conception' was the completion of a prophecy of Esdras. This had included the omen that:

> "... wild beasts shall change their places, and menstrous women shall bring forth monsters."[44]

What were people to believe?

Another contemporary event which spawned various artistic ideas and entered the Toft controversy was the publication of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* pseudonymously on October 28th 1726 "By Lemuel Gulliver" shortly before Mary Toft claimed public attention. The book was written in the style and format of a genuine travel book and was instantly popular. In it, Swift made many satirical

references to the medical profession using Lemuel Gulliver, a young surgeon, as the vehicle for these. The name of Gulliver was therefore in the public mind. A lampoon ascribed to Jonathan Swift entitled The Anatomist dissected or the Man-Midwife finely brought to Bed, being an Examination of the Conduct of Mr. St. André Touching the late pretended Rabbit-bearer as it appears in his own Narrative.[45] contains Gulliver's reflections on the gulliblity of St. André. He describes how

> "our Lilliputian would have distinguished [the rabbit pellets] to have been nothing but a Parcel of mere Rabbit's Dung."

adding:

> "But if I am rightly inform'd as to the Nature of Mr. St. André's Education, I am strangely surpriz'd that He, of all People, should appear so unacquainted with the Materials of which the Strings of a Fiddle are compos'd."

Gulliver suggested that St. André's rightful place would have been on the floating island as Anatomist extraordinary to the Court of Laputa.

The pun on the word 'Touching' on the title-page of the lampoon would have been appreciated by many of Swift's and St. André's contemporaries - a word popularly associated with malpractice on the part of a man-midwife and a highly-charged sexual issue. The orthodox physician rarely examined his patients physically apart from palpating the pulse: there did not seem to be any necessity. History-taking and outward appearances provided most of the information required. Any physical examination was regarded as disturbing and threatening - especially one so intimate.[46]

In the aftermath of the affair, but still in topical terms, Surgeon Thomas Braithwaite wrote:

> "It's well known that the Town has lately been amused with idle Relations by the Gullivers, St. André's and Howards of the Age; and it is as certain that these Amusements have been carried on in their respective Capacities, of Surgeons, Captains, Dancing-Masters, Anatomists, Men-Midwives, Warreners, Coney-Catchers, etc. and they don't stick to tell us that there are Men of the size of one's little Finger, and others Sixty Foot high - and there are Flying Islands and Rational Horses; and that Human Excrements may be changed into Porraceous Matter, and that Mary Toft of Godliman has been delivered of Seventeen Rabbets; and that notwithstanding the Fraud is detected, an Account of the Delivery of the Eighteenth will be soon publish'd. When I reflect upon this strange Gallimatias, I am chagrin'd to think that the valuable Arts of Surgery and Anatomy must necessarily be brought into Contempt by such monstrous Relations..."[47]

He proceeds to point with scorn at the facts which had deluded St. André.

The description of the events surrounding the 'Rabbit Woman' demonstrates the high level of public interest engendered by this 'medical prodigy' and shows the rapid response and counter-response which followed from all kinds of popular media - newspapers, journals, pamphlets, poems, stage plays and prints. The medical profession did not emerge with much credit. Hogarth, amongst others, highlighted the ignorance and gullibility of some of the medical men who could thus be exploited by lesser mortals. He indicated the different social status of those involved by their dress, mannerisms and expressions, and he particularly ridiculed the rôle of the man-midwife.

The print also provides a stimulus for a study of contemporary practices and beliefs which have a wide bearing on the issues portrayed and which, as has been illustrated, embrace a wide range of

social and scientific concerns. Without a full understanding of the parameters of its meaning, this work of Hogarth's might be dismissed as merely a minor production of a young artist. His satirical skill is directed not only at those involved in the Toft deception but also towards subverting the grand rhetoric of history painting. Hogarth's mature means and ends are already apparent. In a more developed form his subversive tendencies can be seen in his 'modern moral histories', which are discussed later.

As has been shown in connection with the 'Rabbit Woman', some background information on medicine in society and some knowledge of artistic conventions is necessary in order to clarify some of Hogarth's imagery and to provide information which adds to its inherent value as source material. Such knowledge would have been assumed of the better educated of his 'readers'.

(ii) The Punishment of Lemuel Gulliver

Exploiting the popularity of Swift's book, Hogarth, on his part, undertook a political satire in 1726 which was aimed at Walpole's Ministry and represented England in decline. This was entitled The Punishment of Lemuel Gulliver (Plate 8), and later changed to The Political Clyster on re-publication in 1757. Swift, through Gulliver, had discussed how several kinds of public administration were subject to diseases and corruptions caused by the vices and infirmities of those who govern as well as by the licentiousness of those who obey. Similar types of treatments, he argued, should therefore be accorded to both the natural and the political body.[48]

Hogarth's Gulliver is at the receiving end of an enema as punishment for urinating on the Royal Palace of Mildendo - an act which he performed in order to extinguish a fire which threatened to destroy it. A clergyman is officiating from his chamber-pot pulpit and the First Minister is observing the operation from his thimble carriage whilst other evils in society are perpetrated and largely ignored. Gulliver is apparently tolerating the indignity and the iniquity of his situation without sign of dissent. Gulliver represents England stupidly tolerating the circumstances prevailing. The ubiquitous enema syringe would have been familiar to Hogarth's readers, the contents offering the stock remedies available for many physical complaints and some psychological ones. The syringe in fact, was an instrument of approximately eighteen inches in length and was commonly made of pewter. Hogarth's example appears to be a true likeness. The jibe in this print was against the medical profession whose remedies often seemed useless and unwarranted punishment, as well as against the corruption and negligence often to be seen in connection with the Church and State.

The use of enemas varied according to the perceived needs of different parts of the body, and might be employed for such diverse problems as colic, diarrhoea and worms, bladder complaints, kidney or uterine symptoms, relief of headaches, treatment of fevers and of Venereal Diseases. With such diversity of ills supposedly relieved by the enema syringe, many artists found occasion to use it to treat the 'body politic' in the hands of politicians in their satirical prints. In addition it was sometimes used as a symbol of abuse or as a phallic symbol associated with erotic intentions. The context of the print

provides the clue to the meaning of the presence of the syringe, and its functions could be multiple. Further examples of its artistic use by Hogarth and other artists are shown in this study.

Hogarth, who was no respecter of persons, continued to expose the doctors' weaknesses and to air the perceptions that many of the general population had of the profession - perceptions that had probably been fuelled by the revelations with regard to the 'Rabbit Woman'.

(iii) The Company of Undertakers

'Et Plurima mortis imago.'

The early eighteenth century was a period in which a new-found freedom of expression flourished with regard to subjects ranging from politics and religion to such topics as hypocrisy in society and contemporary social and moral values. Traditional class systems were questioned with the rise of a middle class which had evolved following the Revolution of 1688. The professions, including that of Medicine, did not escape scrutiny. A Journal, *The Craftsman*, first published on December 5th 1726, professed to be "A Critique of the Times" and one of its aims was to expose "how craft predominates in all Professions." It described the 'Faculty of Physic' as one which

> "... abounds with Imposters, Cheats and ignorant Pretenders ... in which number I include, not only those who call themselves regular Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, but likewise all persons who make it their business to preserve health and repair human conditions ... they are for ever abusing one another as Quacks, Empirics, and ignorant Pretenders, recommending their own remedies to us as the only original and truly prepared specificks; at the same time they kindly forewarn us to beware of Imposters, trumpt up in

> imitation of their approved rememies [sic]; for which purpose they direct us to their shops or houses, and seal their preparations with their own Coats of arms to prevent counterfeits."

The writer continues:

> "... I shall enquire into the true nature of Quackery ... wherever I find it, from the great Leeches of State, down to the humble astrological Physicians in Barbican and Moorfields: ... whether they are Graduates, or not; Fellows of the College, or Licentiates only; whether they loll at ease in Spring Chariots, or plod the Streets in a thread-bare Cloak; whether their Fee is a guinea or a shilling; whether they kindly invite you to their houses at certain hours, or will hardly come to yours, if you send for them; whether they are favourite Court-Opicers, Stage-Mountebanks, itinerant Horse-Doctors, Peripatetick Tooth-drawers, Oculists, Corn-cutters, or Barber-surgeons; whether they are old Men or old Women; first-born or seventh-born Sons; English, French, or High German Doctors; ..."[49]

This extract gives some idea of the variety of people who were involved in medical practice. Nine years later, Hogarth produced his comment upon the prevailing situation in his engraving The Company of Undertakers (Plate 9), which seems to encapsulate the commonly held attitude to the medical profession - that it was not always easy to distinguish the orthodox medical practitioner from the quack or charlatan and that, in fact, the dividing line between the two was rather ill-defined and the result of their ministrations similar. This was again a topical engraving. The print consists of "portraits" of contemporary 'orthodox' practitioners and three notorious 'unorthodox' practitioners. The latter are represented as a "trinity of Doctors" and appear in the upper part of the picture, which is designed as an escutcheon. The three were frequently in the news in the autumn of 1736, although each had been mentioned individually

earlier. A brief description of the exploits of the characters depicted and of the meaning of the heraldic terms used in the print goes some way towards explaining its meaning and the reason for the commonly held attitude towards the medical profession.

The etching and engraving for the print was completed by Hogarth in 1736 and prints were published on March 3rd of that year, priced 6d. Hogarth's early years working as an engraver on heraldic designs and decorations provided him with the background knowledge necessary for this satire on the medical profession, which is presented as a coat-of-arms for it. Originally, Hogarth had intended to call the print "A Consultation of Quacks", but he changed this to its present title; both titles however, express his cynical opinion of the profession. The "arms" as presented follow generally the rules used in heraldry but with some satirical additions, intentional puns and contemporary allusions. Topicality with regard to the occupants of the coat-of-arms was an important factor with regard both to the publicity which this would engender and in order to portray a message realistically. Play is also made on the historical connection between heraldry and the organisation of funerals. In early modern England the fellowship of the College of Heralds had laid down rules regarding the numbers of mourners and types of armorial display allowed in the event of the decease of a member of the nobility. Their control encompassed the use of heraldry or monuments and commemmorative plaques. These employed visual signs in a symbolic way to identify individual members of families and to indicate their rank. The heralds symbolised the stability and order of the State.[50] From the late seventeenth century the heralds were challenged by men now

called 'undertakers' - tradesmen with skills associated with funerals who took over the whole 'undertaking'.[51] Hogarth drew upon this theme using the undertakers' mock-solemn expressions whilst holding their batons - traditionally carried by those marshalling funerals - and allying them with the doctors' canes and solemn expressions when 'in consultation'. Hogarth again makes mockery of the use of heraldry in the funeral scene of 'The Harlot's Progress'. (see later)

The coat-of-arms provided by Hogarth is enclosed within a black border on which cross-bones are placed in such a position as to represent 'supporters'. Supporters are usually figures placed in a position of 'defence' on each side of an escutcheon. They are regarded as a great honour in heraldry and only granted in special cases, although originally their appearance was a means of filling in blank spaces at each side of a round seal. Artists fulfil this need by depicting beasts supporting or holding up the shield.[52] The black border signifies recent death as do the cross-bones, and these, with the underlying motto 'Et Plurima mortis imago' (Everywhere the image of death)[53] are used by Hogarth to convey the impression that the contents of the shield - in this case, the physicians and quacks - are associated with death no less than are the undertakers. Swift too, had satirically associated doctors with death. Gulliver, whilst on his 'Travels' described how the accurate prognostication of death was always within the doctors' power - when recovery was not:

> "... rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world by a seasonable dose."[54]

Underneath Hogarth's coat-of-arms, making play with the technical language of heraldry, is written:-

> "Beareth Sable, an urinal proper, between twelve Quack-Heads of the Second and twelve Cane Heads Or, Consultant. On a chief Nebulae, Ermine, One Compleat Doctor issuant, checkie sustaining in his Right Hand a baton of the Second. On his Dexter and Sinister sides two Demi-Doctors, issuant of the second, and two Cane-Heads, issuant of the third, the first having One Eye couchant, towards the dexter side of the Escutcheon, the second Faced per pale proper and Gules, Guardent."

These words contain clues to the meaning of the print, and a knowledge of them is essential to proper understanding of Hogarth's satirical comments.[55] Some explanation follows:-

'Beareth Sable an urinal proper' - means that the field or background of the coat-of-arms is sable-coloured or black when used in heraldry and displayed by cross-hatching when portrayed in black and white, and the urinal on this field is the first, central and most important detail to be noted. (see Plate 10) 'Proper' is the natural colour and has no hatching or shading. One of Hogarth's medical men is holding the urinal or urine flask to which reference is made, inspecting it through his eye glass, whilst a colleague is dipping his finger into the contents.

'Between twelve Quack Heads of the second and twelve Cane Heads Or, Consultant' The syntax in this phrase indicates that the Quack heads (meaning those of the medical men in the lower part of the escutcheon) and the cane heads are judged equal in importance. By convention in heraldry, the word for a colour must only be used once. Thereafter, its appearance is referred to by number. 'Proper' is the second colour mentioned (that is the natural colour portrayed without

hatching) and becomes 'Of the second' - meaning that the Quack Heads in the print are portrayed without hatching or shading. 'Or' means 'Gold' - referring to the gold-headed canes held by the 'Quacks'. This colour becomes 'Of the third' at subsequent mention. The word 'Consultant' is not a recognised heraldic term, but Hogarth may have introduced it to account for the activities of the occupants of the coat-of-arms as seen 'in consultation' around the urine flask. It was customary for more than one doctor to be consulted and disagreement with regard to diagnosis and treatment was often the result. If this were so, the junior was expected to defer to the senior colleague. In 1753 the Royal College of Physicians gave a ruling that this was the expected practice. If it were unacceptable, a third practitioner should be consulted.[56] This multiplicity of doctors in consultation is part of Hogarth's comment upon the practice.

The upper part of Hogarth's coat-of-arms is separated from the lower by the type of wavy line termed a 'Nebuly' or 'Nebulae', and the part above this line is termed the 'Chief', the background of this being 'Ermine' (as marked in Plate 10). The incumbents of this section of the escutcheon are therefore 'on a Chief Nebulae, Ermine'.

Johnson's Dictionary[57] describes the word 'compleat' literally, meaning complete or finished and this applies to the central figure in this upper part of the escutcheon whose upper half is drawn facing forwards and is described in the words 'One compleat Doctor issuant'. The word is not part of usual heraldic terminology. 'Checkie' refers to the chequered outfit worn by the central figure and the baton or cane held in the right hand of this figure is a bone 'of the second' (natural) colour. The bone in question is a large humerus (upper arm

bone) and may represent an extension or superior power accorded by Hogarth to the natural member of the holder in the print who was a bone-setter by trade. It also represents an imitation of the canes held by the orthodox practitioners and by the funeral marshalls.

Dexter and sinister are words which indicate the right and left sides as depicted facing outwards and the 'Demi-Doctors' in these positions are presented partly obscured by the central figure, each forming half a 'complete' doctor. The term also describes their upper halves in heraldic terms. These characters are in their appropriate colours. The first 'demi-doctor' has an eye 'couchant' meaning lying down or 'sleeping'; his eyelid is closed and the eye has been transferred to the head of this individual's cane. Hogarth is possibly employing the closed eye as a visual pun for the operation of couching which was carried out by the character depicted - who was an oculist - for the treatment of cataracts. The resultant wink given to his features may be associated with his ability to hoodwink his clients.

'Faced' means looking outwards, as does the character on the left hand side of this part of the escutcheon, but may also refer to the features of his face which are described in the ensuing words. 'Per pale' is a description of a vertical line or division in heraldic terms, and 'Gules' refers to the colour red. Hence, the phrase 'Faced per pale proper and Gules' means that the left half of the face of the second 'demi-doctor' is of natural colour and the right half red. 'Guardent' means facing to the front. The individual portrayed by Hogarth in this way had a port-wine stain birthmark on his face to

which he owed his pseudonym 'Spot Ward'. Hogarth has illustrated this in heraldic terms.

The 'Ermine' background is placed on an azure or blue colour according to heraldic markings, and to the dexter (right) side is a type of hatching which indicates orange colouring. This may imply the glowing success and esteem pouring upon the occupants of this section of the escutcheon who are head and shoulders above the rest, their heads being in the sky above the clouds which are signified by the Nebulae. Hogarth's footnote says that 'The bearing of Clouds in Armes doth impart some excellence'.

Towards the left hand side of the field is a circular area named a 'roundle' in heraldic terms which has been interpreted as a 'pellett or ogress'.[55] The former meaning which would indicate a pill, seems a possibility; its large size is in keeping with the large quantities of medication dispensed without apparent benefit, but its resemblance to a door or archway may denote the ease with which the occupants of the two regions might be interchanged both physically and metaphorically.

Further understanding of the scene and of the possible reasons for the inclusion of the contemporary figures depicted can be obtained by considering the characters and backgrounds of those whom Hogarth chose to occupy his coat-of-arms.

The twelve quack heads are said to portray some of the physicians of the day,[56] one of whom is supposedly Dr. Pierce Dod (1683-1754).[59] This gentleman was an Oxford graduate and became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1720. He had been appointed as Censor for the College on two occasions before the publication of Hogarth's print

- in 1724 and 1732 - and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1730. He held a position of Physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital from 1725 until his death. He was generally regarded as a pompous man and he was a determined opponent of smallpox inoculation.[60] These qualities may account for his inclusion in Hogarth's print. Smallpox was prevalent during the eighteenth century and inoculation was introduced by Lady Mary Wortley, wife of the British Ambassador in Turkey, in 1717 and was widely practised.

One of the other occupants is Dr. John Bamber[60]. He trained as a surgeon and practised as such in the City of London for many years, amassing a fortune in the process, by which means he acquired large estates in the County of Essex. Then he practised as a physician, for the practice of which he received a dismissary letter from the Company of Barber-Surgeons, who disenfranchised him from their Company in July 1724. He became a Licentiate of the College of Physicians on October 5th 1724 and obtained an M.D. from Cambridge in 1725. He was also connected with St. Bartholomew's Hospital as an anatomist, physician and man-midwife. The latter occupation was the subject of some controversy and perhaps accounts in part for his presence in the print. Subsequently, he resigned as lithotomist at the hospital in 1731 because the Board of Governors would not elect his son-in-law as his assistant. Hogarth had been appointed to the Board of Governors on July 25th 1734 and it is probable that he was aware of this incident and of the man in question.

Physicians were seldom seen without their gold or silver-topped canes, the heads of which often contained vinaigrettes of pomanders with supposed disinfectant properties. Their fifteenth century

predecessors had used a sponge impregnated with similar substances and held to the nose, as is indicated in a woodcut from a medical text of 1493.[51] (Plate 11). The pose of cane to nose was later stereotyped as being an affectation adopted by the profession and indicative of their arrogance and unwarranted superiority. It has been said that there were three criteria by which physicians could be recognised - their gravity, their cane heads and their periwigs.[52] Hogarth's physicians fulfil these criteria. Nine of them are sniffing their cane heads, whilst an urinal (an emblem of medical themes used by artists for centuries and seen in many Dutch genre scenes) is being scanned by three others, two of whom are holding eye-glasses. The contents of it are being tasted by the third. Urinoscopy, or water-casting, was a mediaeval means of diagnosis based on the state of the stars and the inspection of the urine. However, Dr. Thomas Willis (1621-1675) anatomist and physician, discovered diabetes by detecting the sweet taste of urine, and the print may allude to this practice.

Above the Nebulae, the term itself indicative of the nebulous dividing line between the different types of practitioners illustrated, are three figures who would have been familiar to Hogarth's viewers. It is significant that Hogarth refers to them as 'doctors' in his escutcheon. (He refers to the real doctors in the lower part as 'quacks'). Mrs. Mapp or 'Crazy Sally' as she was sometimes called, was a notorious bone-setter who had learnt the trade from her father who was a farrier and bone-setter in Wiltshire. Hogarth has awarded her the 'Chief' or central position in the escutcheon. He explains this position in his footnote to the print which states:

"A Chief betokeneth a Senatour or Honourable Personage, borrowed from the Greeks, and is a word signifying a Head, as the Head is the Chief Part in a Man, so the Chief in the Escocheon should be a Reward of such only, whose High Merites have procured them Chief Place, Esteem, or Love amongst Men."[63]

On Mrs.Mapp's left-hand side, Hogarth has portrayed Joshua 'Spot' Ward (b.late 17C.-1761). He was a notorious figure who rose to fame and fortune by the dispensing of a 'Pill' or 'Drop' of dubious composition. He, like Mrs. Mapp had no medical training; he had started his working life in a drysalter's business. He was mistakenly elected as a Member of Parliament in 1716 due to an error in returns and later fled to France at the time of the Jacobite uprising. Whilst there, he acquired some knowledge of medicine and chemistry and 'invented' the medicine which made him famous and wealthy. The third member of the trio 'honoured' by Hogarth to be head and shoulders above the conventional medical practitioners was known as 'Chevalier' John Taylor. (1702-1772). This gentleman possessed a medical degree and had studied under surgeon William Cheselden (1688-1752) at St. Thomas's Hospital. He became an oculist but he eschewed a conventional life-style and practised in itinerant fashion. His flamboyant life-style and colourful vocabulary earned him his place above Hogarth's Nebulae.

Hogarth depicted the extent of Mrs. Mapp's ignorance by dressing her in a checked outfit such as was often worn by a quack's zany or assistant. She was, however, a highly successful bone-setter - hence her ossified baton to the head of which she points purposefully - her profession more in keeping with a farrier of the time than a surgeon

and dependent upon strength and possession of the knack or art. Sarah Wellin, as she was then called, wandered from her home and settled in Epsom. Epsom in 1736 was a watering place and a centre of fashionable and gay company. Epsom water had been known for its medicinal properties since the early seventeenth century. These were first described by Dr. Nehemiah Grew, F.R.S. (1628-1711). He extracted the salt and patented the process in 1698.[64] Young Sarah, according to a 'London Magazine' of the time,

> "had wrought such cures as seem miraculous in the bone-setting way."[65]

She was briefly married to Mr. Hill Mapp, who soon parted company from her in possession of much of her newly acquired wealth, but she quickly recovered from this temporary setback in her fortunes and became remarkably successful. She was even consulted by the Queen. At the height of her popularity she travelled to London once a week in a coach with four horses and outriders and footmen to the Grecian Coffee-House where she made her headquarters for these visits and where she carried out some of her cures. One of these was upon the niece of Sir Hans Sloane, to the satisfaction of all parties. In spite of her ugliness and obesity (Hogarth has provided her with a strabismus - or squint), poets versed her praises and ballads were sung about her.

Artists, playwrights and journalists made use of these three individuals and their activities in a similar fashion to the way in which they had exploited the events surrounding Mary Toft.

The *Daily Journal* of October 18th. contained the following notice:-

> "On Saturday Evening there was such a Concourse of People at Lincolns-Inn-Fields to see the famous Mrs. Mapp, that several Gentlemen and Ladies were obliged to return back for want of Room. She came there about Eight o'Clock in her Coach and Four ... The Confusion at going out was so great, that several Gentlemen and Ladies had their Pockets picked."[56]

Plays which were enacted on that evening "By Desire of Mrs.Mapp, The Famous Bone-Setter of Epsom" were *The Wife's Relief: or The Husband's Cure* and *The Worm Doctor*. The cast of the latter included 'Harlequin Female Bone-Setter' and a 'Doctor Pestle'[57] The following epigram and ballad were rendered during the performance:

"While Mapp to th' actors shew'd regard,
On one side Taylor sat, on th'other Ward
When their mock persons of the drama came
Both Ward and Taylor thought it hurt their fame;
Wonder'd how Mapp cou'd in good humour be -
Zounds! cries the dame, it hurts not me,
Quacks without art may either blind or kill,
But demonstrations shews that mine is skill.

. . . .

You surgeons of London, who puzzle your pates,
To ride in your coaches, and purchase estates,
Give over for shame, for pride has a fall,
And the Doctress of Epsom has out-done you all,
Derry Down.

In physic, as well as in fashions, we find,
The newest has always its run with mankind;
Forgot is the bustle 'bout Taylor and Ward,
And Mapp's all the cry, and her Fame's on record.
Derry down.

Dame Nature has given her a doctor's degree,
She gets all the patients, and pockets the fee;
So if you don't instantly prove it a cheat,
She'll loll in her chariot whilst you walk the street.
Derry down.

As Hogarth's print preceded this production, it would appear that his juxtapositioning of the 'Trinity of Quacks' in his print led to their association in other artistic, literary and even social spheres. The *London Daily Post* of October 21st. made the comment that

> "... yesterday she [Mrs. Mapp] was elegantly entertained by Dr. Ward, at his house in Pall Mall."[68]

George Cruikshank produced a print of Mrs. Mapp, but this likeness seems to have been taken from Hogarth's print. (Plate 12)

A partiality to drink led to Mrs. Mapp's downfall and she died in obscurity and poverty in December 1737

> "Died last week at her Lodgings, near the Seven Dials, the much-talked-of Mrs. Mapp, the bone-setter, so miserably poor that the parish was obliged to bury her."[69]

Joshua Ward, who is portrayed on Mrs. Mapp's left hand side in Hogarth's print, returned to England from his exile in France in 1733 following a pardon from George II. His arrival back in Britain was heralded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the heading of 'Monthly Intelligence', July, 1733 thus:

> "There was an extraordinary Advertisement this month in the Newspapers, concerning the great cures in all Distempers perform'd with one medicine, a Pill or a Drop, by Joshua Ward, Esq; lately arriv'd from Paris, where he had done the like Cures. 'Twas said our Physicians, particularly Sir Hans Sloane, had found out his secret, but 'Twas judged so violent a Prescription, that it would be deemed Male-Practice to apply it, as he does to old and young, and in all cases."[70]

The controversy which his prescription aroused was apparent in that announcement. The prescription for his 'Drop' and 'Pill' are contained in a letter to the *Grubstreet Journal* of December 1734 -

said to have been in a communication from the French King's Physician.[71] The active ingredient was antimony. Antimony salts act as expectorants, cathartics, antipyretics and emetics, but their action is unreliable. Allegations of fatalities resulting from its use also appeared in the Journal, for example:-

> "... a Person who had a Palsy several Years on one Side, who four Hours after taking these Pills, was seized with a violent Fit of vomiting and purging, under which he died the same Evening.[72]

The same Journal published an essay 'of Quack Doctor" in January 1735 in which a reference to Dr. Ward was made in the following terms:

> "... whose Abilities and great Success are too well known amongst the Undertakers, Coffin-makers, and Sextons ... If he can kill by one Drop only, whilst others must fill Vials and Quart Bottles to do it, it shews him the greater Artist."[73]

In defence of Dr. Ward, the Magazine printed the following commendation,

> "...I will also suppose that 1000 persons come weekly to my Friend Ward, most of whom have tried the Doctors before to no purpose ... to me and to many Thousands, it [the Pill or Drop] has been the Restorer of Health."[74]

Pope wrote a couplet and a verse which mentioned him and also a respected member of the medical profession, Dr. Radcliffe. Many highly- respected members of the profession produced remedies which became common 'household names', such as 'Dr. Radcliffe's Bitter', and anecdotes relate to the admission by these gentlemen while in their

cups, that most of their medicine or therapy was useless.[75] The couplet reads:

"Of late, without the least pretence to skill,
Ward's grown a famed physician by a pill."

and the verse:
"He serv'd a 'Prenticeship, who sets up shop:
Ward try'd on Puppies and the Poor, his Drop;
Ev'n Radcliff's Doctors travel first to France,
Nor dare to Practise till they've learn'd to dance."

The reference to 'learning to dance' is a reflection upon a profession whose social accomplishments were often deemed as important as practical medical knowledge. This attribute was noted with regard to St. André whom Hogarth portrayed in dancing posture in his print 'Cunicularii ...'.

In spite of all the allegations, Ward's influence and career prospered - probably because of his personality. He even obtained privileges from George II after successfully reducing a dislocation of the Monarch's thumb. In lieu of payment, at his own request, he was permitted to ride his carriage through St.James's Park, an honour usually granted only to persons of rank. This would no doubt have been good for publicity. The King also allowed him an apartment in the almonry office, Whitehall, where he could tend the poor at his (the King's) expense.[76] Charitable acts, including the dispensation of his Pill and Drop at houses which Ward set up as hospitals, became fashionable amongst the aristocracy. When an apothecaries' act was introduced into Parliament in 1748 to restrain unlicensed practitioners from compounding medicines, a clause was inserted specifically exempting Ward from the restrictions contemplated because

patronage. This rendered ineffective any efforts on the part of the Royal College of Physicians to censure him. A measure of his self-esteem is apparent in his Will in which he requested that he should be buried in front of the altar in Westminster Abbey, or as near to the altar as possible, a wish which was not granted. However, a measure of the esteem in which he was apparently held by many is indicated in a portrait of him painted in allegorical terms, which is discussed later.

A full length statue of Joshua Ward by Agostini Carlini (not dated) can be seen in the Society of Arts in London (Plate 12a). This was presented to the Society by a nephew of Ward. A statue usually represented a particular mark of respect and esteem accorded by a commissioning body: sculpture was expensive, enduring and usually 'Roman' or classical in design and with features which 'endowed' the subject with an aura of wealth, status and ambition. The statue fulfilled the latter criteria but it was commissioned by the sitter himself for advertising purposes. Carlini was a friend of Ward. The latter paid Carlini £200 a year to keep the statue in his studio and appear to work at it when visitors or patrons were about. After Ward's death his executors promised to continue the annuity, but this lapsed and the figure was relegated to a stable in Westminster until Ward's nephew, Ralph, presented it to the Society in 1793.[77]

The third member of Hogarth's trio styled himself as

> 'The Chevalier John Taylor. Ophthalmiator, Pontificial, Imperial and Royal, who treated Pope Benedict XIV, Augustus III, King of Poland, Frederick V of Denmark and Norway and Frederick Adolphus, King of Sweden.'

He knew several languages and had travelled widely. He possessed a medical degree and, as previously stated, had studied under surgeon William Cheselden at St. Thomas's Hospital. He later became an itinerant oculist and toured Britain in that capacity. He returned to London and was, in fact, appointed oculist to George II in 1736. He seems to have been a colourful character and extravagant tales of his exploits have been written.[78] Members of the medical profession were more sceptical about his claimed attributes, but he did have a good deal of ophthalmic knowledge. Hogarth obviously thought him a suitable companion for Mrs. Mapp and Joshua Ward in his print; his use of extravagant language, bizarre clothes and claims for cures 'whether curable or incurable' earned him this place.

The 'Chevalier' Taylor was also portrayed by Thomas Patch, (1725-1782) (Plate 13), an artist who was born in Devonshire but spent most of his life in Italy, where he studied and worked. As part of his work he engraved genre scenes and caricatures which were popular amongst English collectors making the 'Grand Tour'. His patron, Sir Horace Mann, described how

> "... the young English often employed him to make conversation-pieces of any member, for which they draw lots; but Patch is so prudent as never to caricature anybody without his consent, and a full liberty to exercise his talents."[79]

On this basis, Taylor must have agreed to the resultant caricature of him which was produced by Patch in 1770. This illustrates a masked character holding a patient firmly in his arms whilst the Chevalier removes an eye which he holds aloft on a dinner fork. Other eyes decorate the front of the quack's frock coat - a

satirical reference to the fact that he obtains his livelihood at the expense of other people's vision, or because of their lack of vision.

In the same year that Hogarth's engraving of the 'Arms of the Company of Undertaker's' was produced, an epistle 'To a young student at Cambridge, written by a Friend in Town' satirises the gullibility of the population through the medium of this trio, and questions the value of any learning.[80] It contains the following lines:

> "Whilst you, dear Harry, sweat and toil at College,
> T'acquire that out-of-fashion Thing call'd Knowledge.
> Your time you vainly mis-employ, my Friend,
> And use not proper means to gain your end.
> If you resolve Physician to commence,
> Despise all learning, banish common sense;
> Hippocrates and Galen never follow,
> Nor worthy Aesculapius or Apollo;
> But to bright Impudence oblations pay,
> She's now the goddess, bears resistless sway,
> Instinct by her vile Ign'rance gains applause,
> And baffles Physick, Churchmen and the Laws.
> By her such quacks as Ward have cur'd and slain;
> How! Cur'd you cry. Yes, daring Ignorance
> Can cure, as well as kill by perfect chance,
> As fools by prating, such have often hit
> Upon a Thought, and blunder'd into wit;
> So drugs, that learned Mead would not endure,
> Dispensed by Ward incautellous may cure;
> From dangerous Revulsions now and then
> May save one wretch, and next day poison Ten;
> That one in ten, perhaps may be enough
> To raise a name and furnish out a Puff.
> And when a quack or thief gets once in vogue,
> There still are Idiots to caress the Rogue,
> Nay in this wise, polite and well-bred Nation,
> Some Fops will poison take to be in fashion.
> ...
> In this bright Age, three wonder-workers rise,
> Whose operations puzzle all the wise,
> To lame and blind, by dint of manual slight,
> Mapp gives the use of limbs and Taylor sight,
> But great Ward, not only lame and blind
> Relieves, but all diseases of mankind.
> By one sole Remedy removes, as sure
> As Death by arsenic, all disease can cure."

It seems that Hogarth had grounds for his scepticism with regard to the medical profession and its practices. His show of scepticism is compounded in the print by the exchange of the titles of 'Quacks' and 'Doctors' contrary to their appearances. It was not always easy to differentiate between the two.

(iv) The quack at Southwark Fair and in the City

Hogarth perhaps considered that the medical profession merely offered an illusion of success and questioned whether the orthodox practitioners offered any more of reality than did the quacks. They might even be compared with artists or playwrights, who, in their own fields offered a world of make-believe.

Hogarth was concerned about the illusory aspects of life - with the apparent desire of many people to escape from reality - and with a world which abounded with folly, vice and ignorance. He had grown up in areas which had given him ample opportunity for observing the ways of the world and he intended to expose them. This was his aim in his painting of 'Southwark Fair' - painted, signed and dated 1733. (Plate 14). It was originally advertised as 'A Fair' or 'The Humours of a Fair' and prints of the subsequent engraving were to be delivered to subscribers of the as yet unfinished 'Rake's Progress'[8]. The generic title 'A Fair' widened the net in which to embrace the folly of mankind, but by later identifying a specific fair, Hogarth was able to incorporate realistic details in the surroundings which lent credence to the activities depicted in the scene.

Fairs travelled from town to town for Saints' Days and holidays and were popular forms of entertainment although originating as markets. Southwark Fair was an important one, only St. Bartholomew's

Fair being considered more so, and was held on September 7th, 8th and 9th each year. By 1733 it was being seen as a haunt for beggars, idlers and prostitutes. The main theme of this painting is the dominance in the affairs of man of illusion over reality and Hogarth shows how fragile this illusion can be. The scene itself is set like a theatre with real life as centre stage surrounded and dominated by an illusory world of theatrical backcloths and play-acting, including actors, a tight-rope walker, an acrobatist and a juggler - many of whom were recognisable figures of the day. The collapsing stage on the left illustrates the fragile nature of these illusory pursuits and indicates the repercussions on other aspects of society which may be expected from such activities. At the time, the theatre itself was being trivialised as mentioned in connection with Mary Toft and Mrs. Mapp, and this trivialisation was leading to its demise.

Part of the illusory world is the 'quack' or mountebank who can be seen standing on his own special platform in the centre of the crowd (Plate 15). Such a person travelled round to fairs and markets selling his nostrums or medicines. This character is dressed in a laced hat, long periwig and embroidered coat with lace cuffs and is attended by his zany or 'Merry Andrew' who is wearing a chequered outfit and is 'quacking' or 'puffing' his master's wares. No seventeenth or eighteenth century mountebank was complete without his zany or 'Merry Andrew' - a term originally applied to Dr. Andrew Boorde, Physician to King Henry VIII, who was noted for his ready wit and humour and was the subject of many Broadside Ballads. The mountebank relied upon his wit and repartee with extravagant language which often contained Latin-sounding words invented for the occasion

in an attempt to imply knowledge which he did not possess. His dress was sometimes equally extravagent. Hogarth's quack has the added accomplishment of fire-eating, enacted by means of lighted tow in his mouth which smouldered and allowed him to puff out the impressive smoke - another illusion. The smoke in this case is equivalent to blinding gullible members of the public or obstructing their true vision with pseudo-scientific jargon.

Part of a contemporary verse describes the scene:

> "And Merry-Andrews, joking Swell the train,
> To tempt the Gazers to flock in amain."[92]

Hogarth inveighed against the illusory aspects of life and man's blindness to the folly of his ways. At the same time he equated the attitudes of some of the artists and the artistic conventions of the time with similar aspects of unreality. He sought to convey his social and moral messages through his paintings in his own realistic fashion. He was concerned with the truth of a situation. One of his aims declared at a later date was to create works which

> "may be instructive to future time when the customs manners fasheons and humours of the present age may [be] changed."[93]

In 'Southwark Fair' the character of the times was evoked, and some of the real characters portrayed.

The quack in 'Southwark Fair' may have been part of an illusion created by Hogarth, but he was based on reality. Such a quack was embodied in the person of Dr. Rock - a notorious individual who features in a number of prints. One, by W.Shaftoe,[94] shows him at his usual site in Covent Garden c 1740, on a raised platform in front

of the Church of St. Paul's (Plate 16). In this print, he is standing in the centre of the platform holding an open book in his hand from which he seems to be reading. The book symbolises his knowledge. If this represents the extent of his wisdom, the monkey ap ing him may be presumed to be similarly equipped. Both are dressed in wig and stylish dress. Harlequin, or Merry Andrew, is also on the platform, wearing a large pair of spectacles underneath a mask. He dances attendance upon his master in order to attract the audience, as does the tight-rope walker performing overhead. The large box on the right of the platform contains the quack's nostrums or medicines.

Dr. Rock frequented the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Church offering his 'Incomparable Electuary', the "only venereal antidote", as one of his specific nostrums. He offered others for such inconveniences as 'stone', 'tooth-ach', 'claps', 'gleets' and 'itch', as can be verified by perusing the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the time.[95]

By including contemporay figures in his drawings, Hogarth was able to draw attention to certain aspects of contemporary life. Dr. Rock thus appeared in one of his scenes of every-day life The Four Times of the Day, etched and engraved from a painting in 1738. In Morning (Plates 17 & 18), he can be seen in Covent Garden one winter's day displaying his bill-board advertising his product beneath a Royal coat-of-arms, suggesting Royal patronage - the practice decried in 'The Craftsman' (see page 72). Goldsmith, referring to notorious quacks and to Dr. Rock in particular, described him thus:

> "The first upon the list of glory is doctor Richard Rock, F.U.N. This great man, short of stature, is fat, and waddles as he walks. He always wears a white three-tailed wig nicely

combed and frizzed upon each cheek. Sometimes he carries a cane, but a hat never... He is usually drawn at the top of his own bills sitting in his arm-chair, holding a little bottle between his finger and thumb, and surrounded with rotten teeth, nippers, pills, packets and gallipots. No man can promise fairer than he; for, as he observes, 'Be your disorder never so far gone, be under no uneasiness, make yourself quite easy; I can cure you.'"[86]

Dr. Rock is depicted in Hogarth's print as part of the general vulgarity of the London scene and is surrounded by an interested audience. The venue is the same as the one in the previous print, but Hogarth has transposed 'Tom King's Coffee House' from its real site in the Piazza to a site in front of the Church to emphasise the contrast between two aspects of society.[87]

A poster or hand-bill advertising one of Dr. Rock's nostrums can be seen in one of Hogarth's later paintings, The March to Finchley (1746) (Plates 19 & 20). A man urinating and grimacing in obvious discomfort nearby may well be contemplating the nostrum's effectiveness. Such advertising on bill-boards and posters was common practice and commented upon by Daniel Defoe in his *Journal of the Plague Year*(1722), in which he said,

"... it is incredible, and scarce to be imagin'd how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plaster'd over with doctors' bills, and papers of ignorant fellows, quacking and tampering in physick, and inviting people to come to them for remedies..."[88]

Defoe was describing the scene as it was just before the great plague of 1666, but the practice continued in the eighteenth century. Dr. Rock is also seen in attendance upon the dying Harlot in Scene 5 of 'A Harlot's Progress', which is described later.

Hogarth himself was portrayed as a 'quack' by artist Paul Sandby in a print entitled A Mountebank Painter published in March 1754. (Plate 21) The subscription reads,

> "O Will thy Impudence is the certain consequence of thy Ignorance."

This print was one of eight etchings which Sandby produced to discredit Hogarth, whom he distrusted.[89] His satire was aimed at what he considered Hogarth's self-conceit in seeing himself as a 'great art painter' of religious, historical or epic themes, and he attacked Hogarth's one complete book on art, *The Analysis of Beauty* - published in 1753 - in which Hogarth claimed that a curved line was more graceful than a straight one. In this, Hogarth reduced his arguments to the basis of this line - the 'serpentine line'. In Sandby's print, Hogarth, (H) is shown with his pug dog. He has been given the role of a 'quack' or mountebank, Sandby thus equating him with one who talks nonsense, and who is, by Samuel Johnson's definition, a "boastful pretender to arts which he does not understand", one who chatters boastingly, brags loudly, and talks ostentatiously.[90] Sandby also sees him as advocating the use of non-orthodox practices, producing worthless products and of having some associates to support him in the same way as a quack might have accompanying his 'performance'. In this role in the print, Hogarth is said to be demonstrating to his admirers and subscribers that 'Crookedness is most Beautiful'. He is accompanied by his associates - the trumpeter, who has been likened to Benjamin Hoadly as his 'Puff' or zany, and musical accompanist who has been likened to Joshua Kirby.[91] The 'fidler's pose and instrument

demonstrate the line admired, and 'Hogarth' holds a stick of similar shape and points to the offending book which is resting upon a 'Fool'(S). Sandby draws a gullible audience which demonstrates satisfaction with the 'quack's' product and he graphically illustrates the grotesque consequences of following the quack's advice.

At an earlier date Hogarth had accused some of the French portrait painters in similar, though verbal, terms:

> "I laughed at the pretensions of these quacks in colouring ..."

His words were aimed at artists such as Vanloo, who came to England in 1737 and who was one of many painters who employed assistants to paint the drapery and background to his paintings.

> "If a painter comes from abroad, his being an exotic will be much in his favour; and if he has address enough to persuade the public that he had brought a new discovered mode of colouring, and paints his faces all red, all blue, or all purple, he has nothing to do but to hire one of these painted tailors as an assistant, for without him the manufactory cannot go on, and my life for his success."[92]

The quack appears in some of the political satirical prints of the eighteenth century, as is seen later.[93] His role fitted him for the artists' satirical personification of one - such as a politican - who was considered an arrogant, boastful pretender who did little good for the country.

Sometimes orthodox members of the medical profession were equated with both quacks and politicians as men who did little to relieve suffering but made a good living for themselves.

Butler's *Hudibras*, illustrated by Hogarth, contained the following lines:

> "The Quacks of government (who sate
> At th'unregarded helm of state),
> . . .
> And therefore met in consultation
> To cant and quack upon the nation
> Not for the sickly patient's sake,
> Nor what to give, but what to take;
> To feel the purses of their fees,
> More wise than fumbling arteries;
> Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
> And from the grave recover--gain.[94]

In 1734, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* compared politician Edmund Burke with the quack Joshua Ward in these terms:

> "... Do not the Populace attend Mr. Ward in Crowds, and hath not his Pill been triumphant by the clearest Proofs of the Sense of the People? And hath not B...ke the same Mobfollowers, and Mob-applause?
>
> There is the strictest Analogy between Ward's Pill and B..ke's Politicks; the regular Dose of either does not weigh a Grain; 480 Doses of each are not worth a Penny; they have the same Poisonous Effects in Alehouses, and Brandy Shops; they have killed an incredible Quantity of Chairmen, etc. too much addicted to irregular Physic and irregular Politick ..."[95]

The 'Quack' played a useful artistic rôle.

(v) The Barbers and Surgeons

The article in *The Craftsman* quoted on page 72 referred to the existence of tooth-drawers and barber-surgeons in addition to quacks. The activities of a practitioner who combined these pursuits are illustrated by Hogarth in his painting Night from The Four Times of the Day (Plates 22 & 23). This gentleman's establishment is next to 'The New Bagnio', a place of ill-repute. Public Baths were practically unknown until the end of the seventeenth century, when public bagnios

or sweating houses began to be established in London. They were commonly used as retreats or places of rendezvous for lovers as well as for their bathing purposes. It was also common practice to be 'cupped' at these establishments, a practice which was regarded as being beneficial to health and as a means of balancing the body humours by drawing the humours of the underlying structure into the skin - thus relieving 'congestion'. Excess blood made a person 'over sanguine'. Cupping was prescribed for practically every symptom or disease. Glass or brass cups were popular for this purpose and the sign on the 'New Bagnio' of a glass, the type of which was termed a rummer, may indicate the dual benefits which could be obtained there in the form of liquor for enjoyment and 'cupping' for its medicinal value. The card of one Wilcox, the cupper at the 'Royal Bagnio', informed the public that,

> "he now liveth at the 'Turk's Head' in Newgate Street over against Butcher-Hall Lane where he hath very good conveniences for sweating, bathing, shaving and cupping after the best manner."[96]

The apparatus for cupping consisted of a set of glass or metal cups, a spirit lamp and a lancet. Air was extracted from the cup by means of a lighted lamp or piece of wool or tow used as a wick and soaked in spirit. An incision was made in the skin at a selected site or sites with a lancet or scarificator, which was sometimes a spring-loaded instrument which was released by pressing a trigger, which then penetrated the skin to a depth of about one eighth of an inch. The cup or cups were then pressed over the site(s) to collect the blood which exuded as the cup cooled and a vacuum formed.[97] Dry cupping was

a similar process without scarification - a bruise or blister resulting.

Hogarth juxtaposes his bagnio next to the Barber-Surgeon's establishment, the intermingling of signs indicating a combination of activities. The apparently intoxicated barber is seen through the open window shaving a customer. His sign illustrates his other accomplishments, namely as Bleeder and Tooth-drawer, and as proof of the former, six dishes containing 'blood' lie on a table outside the window.

Although the Companies of the Barbers and Surgeons combined in 1540 and remained so until 1745, the members retained their respective roles. The Act of 1540 stated that:-

> "Wherefore it is now enacted ... that no manner of psonne within the cittie of London, subburbes of the same and one myle compas ... using barbery or shaving ... shall occupy any surgery letting of bludde or any other thing belonging to surgery, drawing of teeth onely except ... And furthermore in like manner whosoever that usith the mystery of crafte of surgery within the circuite aforesaid, as long as he shall fortune to use the said mistery or Crafte of Surgery, shall in no wise occupye nor exercise the feate or craft of barbarye or shaving ...[and] shall have an open signe on the strete side where they shall fortune to dwell that all the King's liege people there passing by may knowe at all tymes whether to resorte for (theyre) remedies in tyme of their necessitie."

According to this, the barber should not carry out the operation of bleeding. The lawlessness on this particular barber's part may be a deliberate demonstration by Hogarth to fit in with the lawless activities proceeding outside where chaos is seen to reign. Bloodletting apparently went on both inside and outside the establishment. The barber's pole traditionally represents bloodied bandages wrapped round a lance - an indication of the barber-surgeon's

original combined activities on the battle-field. The poet John Gay (1685-1732) wrote about the barber-surgeon thus:

"His pole with pewter basons hung
Black rotten teeth in order strung,
Rang'd cups, that in the window stood,
Lin'd with red rags to look like blood,
Did well his threefold trade explain,
Who shav'd drew teeth, and breath'd a vein.[98]

The oak boughs on the barber's sign indicate that the date is May 29th, the anniversary of Charles II's restoration to the throne in 1660. This day was a Jacobite celebration, 'Restoration Day', one on which the law was frequently flouted.[99]

Hogarth's aim in this painting was to draw attention to the hypocrisy, drunkenness and corruption which were perpetrated in society under the cloak of darkness ('Night'), not least by those who were supposed to uphold recognised values. The figure in the foreground wearing an apron and with a set-square on a ribbon round his neck was a Freemason and Bow Street Magistrate, said to represent Sir Thomas de Veil. He had vigo rously condemned drunkenness and had had his house burnt down by a mob as a result, but he could not escape from the charge of corruption in some of his own dealings nor from Hogarth's satirical references in this picture.[100]

The presence of the barber-surgeon, although not central to the theme of the painting, offers an interesting side-light into his activities as perceived by observers such as Hogarth.

Not all of Hogarth's work in connection with medical images was in satirical vein,as is seen on examination of the paintings which he

executed for the staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. As has been already stated, he was particularly interested in aspects of physiognomy, a subject which engaged the attention of many of his contemporaries. The Hospital provided him with the opportunity for displaying both this interest and his skill in recording associated and realistic clinical details of patients. He incorporated these aspects into traditional Biblical scenes which are examined in Chapter 3.

Section 1. Chapter 2. Notes and References.

1. Seligman,S.A. 'Mary Toft the Rabbit-Breeder', *Medical History*, vol.5, 1961, pp.349-360. This paper consists mainly of a narrative account of the affair. See also, Wall,L.Lewis, 'The Strange Case of Mary Toft (Who was Delivered of Sixteen Rabbits and a Tabby Cat in 1726)', *Medical Heritage, vol.1, No.3. May/June 1985.*

2. Thomas,Keith. *Man and the Natural World*, p.35-39. Further discussion on this topic can be found in this book.

3. Sterne,Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, p.37.

4. Turner,Daniel. M.D. *De Morbis Cutaneis*, 1723. ch.12.

5. LeBrun,Charles. 'Conference de M.LeBrun sur l'expression generale et particuliere'.

6. Nichols & Steevens. *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, Vol.1. p.37.

7. The 'Anodyne Necklace' was advertised as in the *Craftsman* of December 2nd. 1732 in which it was said to have 'curative powers for Children's Teeth, Fits, Fevers, Convulsions etc. and the great specific remedy for the Secret Disease.' See also Hogarth's print 'The Death of the Harlot', Plate 5 of the series A Harlot's Progress, (Plate 37).

8. Seligman,S.A. *Mary Toft the Rabbit-Breeder*, p.359. In another publication *Much Ado About Nothing*(? by Jonathan Swift) - supposedly a 'confession' made under the pseudonym 'Merry Tuft', 'in her own words' - Manningham is described as 'an ugly old gentleman in a grate blak wig'.

9a. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1842, (1) p.367. Molyneux (1689-1728) constructed a reflecting telescope in 1724 - one of the earliest in England. He was a fellow of the Royal Society and also a politician. The writer to the magazine thus equates him with the 'occult philosopher searching into the depth of things'. He also refers to verse XIII in Pope's broadsheet *Discovery: or the Squire turned Ferret*, which includes the words "Molly had ne'er a midwife been." (Plate 3).

9b. Todd,Denis. 'Three Characters in Hogarth's *Cunicualrii* - and some Implications', *E.C.S. 16.1982. p.43.*

10. Maubray,John. The Female Physician, 1724, p.375.

11. British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol.II, No.1778.

12. Thomas,Keith. *Man and the Natural World*, p.98.

13. Butler,Samuel. *Hudibras*, Part III,Canto I.Lines 365-366.

14. 'In a letter from a Gentleman at Guildford, to his friend a Physician in Ipswich, Suffolk, The Wonder of Wonders: or, a True and Perfect Narrative of a Woman near Guildford in Surrey, who was delivered lately of Seventeen Rabbits and Three Legs of a Tabby Cat, etc.' Ipswich,1726. From *Tracts Relating to Mary Toft.*

15. Boucé,Paul-Gabriel. 'Imagination, pregnant women, and monsters, in eighteenth-century England and France', in *G.S.Rousseau and Roy Porter eds. Sexual underworlds of the Enlightenment,* Manchester Univ. Press,1987. p.58, quotation from man-midwife John Pechey's 'The Compleat Midwife's Practice Enlarged', 1698.

16. ibid. p.86.

17. 'The Weekly Journal', Nov.19th.1726 London. from *The Caledonian Mercury* No.1036.Edinburgh. Monday Dec.5th.1726.

18. Ahlers,C. *Some Observations concerning the Woman of Godliman in Surrey, made at Guildford on Sunday, November 20,1726.Tending to prove her extraordinary Deliverance to be a Cheat and Imposture.*

19. Howard,J.'An Abstract of the Letter from Mr. Howard, the Man Midwife and Surgeon at Guildford dated November 22th,1726.', from *Tracts Relating to Mary Toft* B.M.

20. Seligman,S.A. 'Mary Toft the Rabbit-Breeder',*Med.Hist.Vol.5 1961*

21. Manningham,Sir R. *An exact Diary of What was Observed ... 1726, from Tracts relating to Mary Toft.*

*22. Halsband,Robert. Lord Hervey,18th.,Century Courtier,*p.16.

23. 'The Caledonian Mercury' No.1036.extract from the *Whitehall Evening Post*,London.December 6th.1726.

24. *Weekly Journal*, December 17th.1726.

25. (i) James Douglas, *Remarks on some Passages in Sir R.Manningham's Diary.* London.Dec.16th.,1726. in which he wrote 'I begin by declaring it to have been always my firm opinion that the report was false.'In the draft MS.for the printed version of his Remarks', he states '... people may be led to believe that for one time at least I was of the same opinion, of which he [Manningham] candidly enough acknowledged himself to have been ...',dated 12th December 1726.Sp.Coll.Glasgow University Hunterian Library.
(ii) Cyriacus Ahlers,'Some Observations ...',(see Note 18.).

26. Ireland,J. 'Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth', 1781.p.16.see Nichols,J.and Steevens,G.*The Genuine Works of William Hogarth.*

27. Nichols, John. & Steevens, George. *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, Vol.11. p.52.

28. W--lk--r' may refer to Middleton Walker, a surgeon and man-midwife who was summoned before the censors of the Royal College of Physicians c.1728 because he was not a Licentiate of the College. See Sir George Clark, *History of The Royal College of Physicians of London*, Vol.2. p.502.

29. 'St.André's Miscarriage or A Full and True Account of the Rabbit Woman', in *Tracts Relating to Mary Toft*, Brit. Lib.

30. British Museum Cat.No.1778, p.633.

31. ibid. p.637.

32. Nichols & Steevens. *The Genuine Works...* Vol.1.pp.28-30
West, Shearer. *The Theatrical Portrait of Eighteenth-Century London*, Ph.D. Thesis, St.Andrews Univ. 1986. p.22-23. In 1724, Hogarth issued a satirical print, *A Just View of the British Stage*, in which he ridiculed Cibber, Booth and Wilkes at Drury Lane for their obsession with the profitable but soulless pantomimes. Ben Jonson's ghost rises in horror. In Hogarth's print, *Masquerades and Operas*, the plays of Congreve, Shakespeare and Jonson are consigned to the waste-paper basket as the public flock to see *Harlequin Dr.Faustus*.

33. Nichols & Steevens. re Advertisement in 'Mist's Journal', Sat.Dec.17,1726.

34. *Mist's Weekly Journal*, Sat.Jan.11th.1727.

35. British Museum Cat.No. 1781.

36. British Library, *Poetical Ballads* London, 1726.

37. Thomas, K.Bryn. *James Douglas of the Pouch and his pupil W.Hunter*, Pitman, London, 1964, p.198, refers to Douglas's presentation of 'The Natural History of the Flamingo' to the R.S. and the publication of this lecture in *Phil.Trans.xxix, 523, 1714/16.*

38. *British Museum pamphlet* 1178,h,4Sp. Collection of Douglas's writings in Glasgow Univ. Library M.S. D336(2).
Todd, Denis. 'New Evidence for Arbuthnot's authorship of the "Rabbit-Man-Midwife", *Studies in Bibliography*, 1988, 41: 257-267.

39. 'Mist's Journal', January 21, 1727, quoted from Nichols & Steevens p.51.

40. Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times*, Vol.11 p.354.

41. Blondel, J.A. M.D. *The Power of the Mother's Imagination over the Foetus Examin'd*, 1729.

42. Turner, Daniel. *De Morbis Cutaneis*, 1723.ch.12.

43. Boucé, Paul-Gabriel. 'Imagination, pregnant women, and monsters, in eighteenth century England and France', pp.86-99.

44. *Apocrypha* 'Book II of Esdras', ch.5.v.8.

45. [Swift, Jonathan] *The Anatomist Dissected ...*, 1727.

46. 'Touching' refers to the clinical vaginal examination of a woman patient by "introducing the foorefinger lubricated with pomatum, into the vagina, in order to feel the Os Internum and neck of the uterus; and sometimes into the Rectum to discover the stretching of the Fundus ..." quoted from William Smellie *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery*, London, 1752. See 'A touch of danger: The Man-midwife as sexual predator', by Roy Porter, in *Sexual Underworld of the Enlightenment*, pp.206-232.

47. Braithwaite, Thomas. *Remarks on A short Narrative of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbets, perform'd by Mr.John Howard, Surgeon at Guildford. As publish'd by Mr.St.André Anatomist to his Majesty with a proper Regard to his intended Recantation* London. 1726.

48. Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726, pp.232-234.

49. *The Craftsman* Vol.I No.III, "Being a Critique on the Times", ed. Caleb D'Anvers, London. 1727. Nicholas Amhurst, editor, was an associate of Hogarth's and may have solicited his help with the production of the plate 'The Punishment of Lemuel Gulliver' see Paulson.'Hogarth, His Life, Art, and Times', Vol.I. p173.

50. Llewellyn, Nigel. *The Art of Death*, p.61.

51. ibid. p.74.

52. Mackinnon, Charles. *The Observer's Book of Heraldry*, p.30.

53. transl."Everywhere the image of death" (Aenied Bk.II,1.369 tr.Humphries quoted from Paulson,R.'Hogarth's Graphic Works', p.173.) and is an allusion to the Greeks and Trojans who senselessly killed each other amid the ruins of Troy.

54. Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels* pp.301-2

55. Gwyn, Norman B.'An Interpretation of the Hogarth Print "The Arms of the Company of Undertakers"', *Bull.Hist.Med*:1940.pp115-127.

56. George, Dorothy.M. *From Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social change in Graphic Satire*, p.92.

57. *Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd.Edition 1827.

58. Paulson. *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p.174.

59. Foster,F.'William Hogarth and the Doctors', *Bull.Med.Lib.Assoc.*1944.Vol.32.p.363. and Ireland,J. & Nichols,John *Hogarth's Complete Works*, Vol.II p.259.

60. *Munk's Roll*,Royal College of Physicians, 1878.

61. Ketham,Johannes de. *Fasciculus di Medicinae*,1493.

62. Ireland,J. *Hogarth Illustrated*, p.340.

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68. *London Daily Post*, October 21st.1736.

69. *Gentleman's Magazine* 'Grubstreet Journal'December 22nd.1737.

70. ibid. 'Monthly Intelligence',July 1733.

71. ibid. 'Grubstreet Journal' December 19th 1734. No.260. p.665."The 'Drop.Recip.Butyr.Antimon.Unc.2.Crem.Tartar. Unc.4.M.et Coq.in Aq.Com.q.s.per octo horas.deinde adde gradatim Ol.Tart.p.Deliq.Unc.4.Cola & Evapora ut paretur Sal.quod Fluat. p.Deliq.Capiat hujus a gut.j.ad plures, in hansiulo vini albi cujuslibes mollioris."" The Pill is said to be no other than the Vitrum Antimonii, formed with the Drop into small Pills, each of a Grain weight."

72. ibid. December 19th.1734. p.665.

73. ibid. 'Grubstreet Journal', January 1735, January 9.No.263. p.10.

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97. *Kouskoukis,Constantine E.& Morris,Leider. 'Cupping,The Art and Value', Am.J.Dermopath*: Vol5.3.1983. pp235-239.

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Chapter 3

'MEDICAL 'HISTORIES' AND CLINICAL APPEARANCES'

Hogarth at St.Bartholomew's Hospital

Hogarth's ambition had been to be a painter of 'great art' - that is, a recognised painter of grand themes of an historical, religious or classical nature considered worthy and acceptable by the art theorists. Success at this, he felt, would help to place artists on a level with moral philosophers and epic poets in stature. English art had suffered under Puritan rule and, apart from the production of 'likenesses' and works of Thornhill, little work of any consequence was produced by native artists. Fashionable gentlemen wanted paintings by famous Italian masters, not unknown native artists. Hogarth had studied Italian masters and understood tradition and careful composition, but he was not taken seriously by connoisseurs of the period.[1] He determined to show that he could produce works comparable with those of foreign artists. Part of his attempt to attain recognition as a painter of 'great art' led to the production of the paintings proposed for the staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as he explained:

> "I entertained some hopes of succeeding in what the puffers call the great stile of History Painting: so that without having had a stroke of this grand business before... I commenced history painter, and on a great staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, painted two Scripture stories, the Pool of Bethesda and The Good Samaritan with figures seven feet high. These I presented to the Charity."[2]

These paintings provide a remarkable illustration of Hogarth's facility for accurate observation of clinical appearances associated with disease whilst operating within established forms of artistic reference. Hogarth admired the tradition of the 'great stile' and

refers to it visually in many of his paintings, even though he often subverts the traditions with his originality. This originality is seen in the St. Bartholomew's paintings as in most of his work. Some of the background to the circumstances surrounding his interpretation of the Biblical themes puts them into their eighteenth century context.

Hogarth had always claimed to be self-taught, but he had received some formal art training at the St. Martin's Lane Academy and had gained further knowledge through the association with his father-in-law, Thornhill, whose work on the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral and on the ceiling of the Great Hall at Greenwich he had admired. The earliest private school of art was established by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1711 and its first meeting was held in his house. Thornhill became one of its twelve directors. Hogarth described this as an enterprise started by "some gentlemen of the first rank, who in their forms imitated the Academy in France." When Kneller died in 1723, Thornhill opened a school in his own house. Ambitious plans for this failed however, and it remained small. Other private schools opened including one in St. Martin's Lane in 1720 by Louis Charron and Vanderbank of which Hogarth and the surgeon Cheselden were members.[3] Life-drawing was taught there on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday from October to Spring each year at a fee of two guineas, and female models were available. After Thornhill's death in 1734, Hogarth opened a class in Peter Court, St. Martin's Lane, furnished with equipment from Thornhill's house, and this became known as the St. Martin's Lane Academy at which all members enjoyed equal status.

Its exclusive purpose was for life-drawing and it became a popular venue.[4]

Conventional training for artists had involved copying 'Old Masters' and drawing from life. Dr. Richard Mead, a well-known physician and art collector, allowed copying at his house in Gt. Ormond St. This continued until his death in 1754. Hogarth began in this way until:

> "it occur'd to me that there were many disadvantages attended going on so well continually copying Prints and Pictures, altho they should be those of the best masters nay even drawing after the life itself at academys ..."[5]

He felt that this method was inhibiting to free style and thought.

A combination of circumstances probably led to his new venture at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Financial security and some measure of fame had resulted from the prints of his 'Modern Moral Histories' which are discussed in Chapter 4. In addition, his sympathetic interest in charitable works, his association with medical friends, connections with St. Bartholomew's Hospital (which had begun in childhood whilst he was living in its vicinity), and his aversion to the idea of a foreigner executing the work - the services of Jacopo Amiconi, a Venetian painter, were said to have been sought for the commission for the staircase - culminated in his offer to paint the staircase free of charge. His motives included the desire to promote the interests of native artists as opposed to the importation of foreigners such as Amiconi, and, not least, his wish to succeed at such high-ranking work. The result was not considered an overwhelming artistic success by his contemporaries and did not lead to the number

of commissions for which Hogarth had hoped. He commented regarding the lack of encouragement that he had received following his venture, that he

> "dropped all expectation of advantage from that source and returned to the pursuit of his former dealing with the public at large."[6]

The paintings, however, did become one of the sights to be seen on a visit to London and Hogarth was made a Governor of the Hospital. They are now regarded as Hogarth's most successful venture into this style of painting.

To conform with tradition, Hogarth drew upon the past for the themes for his paintings and to the 'Old Masters' for the rendering of the figures portrayed. He followed certain rules which had been established in European art, but he added his own interpretation where he felt justified in so doing.

Thornhill had been working on studies of 'Heads' from the Raphael Cartoons whilst Hogarth was staying in his house in the early 1730's and Hogarth was preparing a set of engravings for these (Plate 24). Raphael's skill in physiognomy had been admired and this was a field in which Hogarth expressed interest and at which he excelled in practice as was mentioned in connection with the 'Toft' affair. "The Head," LeBrun had proclaimed, "may well be said to be the Epitome of the Whole Man".[7] He produced numerous stereotyped and classified heads to show the depiction of characters and passions - certain types of heads representing the varied 'passions' to which man was subject. Hogarth generally supported the basis of LeBrun's theory and had recommended the French academician's drawings of the passions for

their order, simplicity and distinctness.[8] The preface to LeBrun's work, 'Conference de M.LeBrun sur l'expression generale at particuliere'(1734)[9], begins with an assertion that knowledge of mankind necessarily includes that of the Passions,

> "which are the main spring of every emotion of the heart, and which influence all our Actions ... Philosophers have treated of them ... and Physicians with a view to effecting a cure of the distempers They create, which alter the constitution of human bodies: but no one has hitherto thought of making it his particular study with an eye to Painting, in order to Express all those emotions which outwardly manifest themselves."

Passions attributed to 'animal spirits' or juices emanating from the cortex of the brain had been described by ancient philosophers, the seat of such passions being lodged in the part that they ascribed to the soul. Simple passions were those of Love, Hatred, Desire, Joy and Sadness, whereas more complex ones included Fear, Boldness, Hope, Despair, Anger and Fright. In order to produce a dramatic and dignified Historical picture, it was felt that the traditions of the Old Masters should be maintained, and Lebrun, in his codification of expression looked to such Old Masters as Raphael and Leonardo for inspiration. Hogarth's friend, Dr. James Parsons(1705-1770), studied and described the movements of the facial muscles 'passion by passion' to explain the different features resulting from their use.[10] Hogarth was interested in the actions of the muscles of the face in producing expressions, but he recognised that other agents might also make their mark upon the features, such as ill-health and constitutional factors - appearances now termed pathognomy. He warned that judgement of character should not be based merely on expression. He shows awareness of these factors in the facies (general demeanor) of the afflicted who seek healing at the 'Pool'. The employment of his acute

observational powers in the precincts of the Hospital may have contributed to this conviction. It has been said that Hogarth "rarely ventured to exhibit scenes with which he was not perfectly well acquainted."[11]

Examination of the 'patients' at the 'Pool' in the light of the artistic traditions and of the contemporary medical knowledge provides some insight into both these aspects.[12]

Hogarth was prepared to continue the tradition which Thornhill had maintained, and his artistic production in the St. Bartholomew works was in keeping with those traditions. Thus, working within the conventions of the grand style used in previous Biblical illustrations, he developed his religious, caring and compassionate theme in a way that was fully in keeping with the hospital's rôle and synonymous with its professed attributes. As part of tradition, and in order to make full use of the important site in the new prestigious building, the work had to be on a large scale and painted in oils or fresco. The 'Pool' is believed to have been painted in St. Martin's Lane, in oils on canvas, and pulled into position on the stairway; a stout peg still in situ may have been used for this purpose.[13] 'The Good Samaritan' was painted on site - possibly to ensure colour toning with the 'Pool' - and scaffolding removed on July 14, 1737. The 'Pool' measures 20ft. by 14ft. and 'The Good Samaritan', 17ft. by 14ft. each with figures measuring about 7ft. high.(Plates 25 & 26). The pictures are framed in the ornamental Louis XV style, and on the surrounding landing there is more ornamental work of a similar kind. Underneath the painting of the 'Pool' are three small monochrome paintings representing St. Rahere, the Founder of the Hospital, who

rose from humble origins as a street entertainer to be the King's favourite entertainer and eventually founded the hospital for the poor. A dog jumping from the 'Pool' scene to the lower monochrome painting of Rahere connects the two - the divine and the secular. One of the paintings of Rahere depicts the Saint receiving a sick man who is being carried on a litter. The appropriate Biblical texts are also presented within ornamental surrounds, and an inscription bears the words,

> The historical paintings of this staircase were painted and given by Mr. William Hogarth, and the ornamental paintings at his expense. A.D.1736

A gilded oak chandelier hanging over the stairwell which illuminates the scenes was presented by John Freke, surgeon at the Hospital and a friend of Hogarth, in 1735 and bears an inscription attesting to this presentation.

The Biblical passage from St. John's Gospel ch.5 vv 2-9 (King James' version) describes the scene and the circumstances surrounding 'The Pool of Bethesda':

2. "Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.
3. In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind,halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water.
4. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.
5. And a certain man was there, which had an infirmity thirty and eight years.
6. When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case,
7. he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole?
8. The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled to put me into the pool: but while I

am coming, another steppeth down before me ..."

The word 'Bethesda' has been interpreted as meaning 'Place of the Alkaline Salt' and the stirring of the water may have been due to the intermittent bubbling of a natural spring.[14] Hogarth, probably under the guidance of his friend Bishop Hoadly, whose preaching on the topics of compassion and caring were in line with Hogarth's own views, developed the theme in a way that is relevant to its contemporary context. His Biblical story is set as if on a stage. The scenario broadly accords with the Biblical text, but the individual characters are ones that could have been seen in the eighteenth century hospital environment, and each provides his or her own story in true Hogarthian fashion in which detailed observation enriches convention.

Centre stage is a rather bland Jesus, looking serene, calm and tranquil in LeBrunian (and Raphaelesque) style, directing his compassionate gaze and outstretched hand to the 'impotent' man at his feet (Plates 25 & 27). The latter gazes back at Jesus with an expression of esteem and veneration (Plate 27). His well-developed muscles belie his apparent paralysis and support the twentieth century diagnosis of Myotonia Congenita. This condition is manifested by difficulty in initiating the action of walking, which may become normal after a few steps. Muscles are well developed or unusually large, resulting in an athletic build. Symptoms become worse during emotional upset or exposure to cold. This man, in his answer to Jesus, implied that it took him a long time to get down to the pool "while I am coming, another steppeth down before me...". His conception

seems to be of three-fold origin in this painting. He may owe his well-developed frame to a model from the life-class school at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, his expression to LeBrun and his pose and situation to Raphael's 'Healing of the Lame Man in the Temple' (Plate 28). In Hogarth's painting the expression of veneration of the lame man is exceeded only by that of the angel hovering overhead who is to 'trouble the waters'. His features approach those regarded as ecstatic (Plate 27).

The small group in the background towards the right-hand side of the painting, consisting of woman and child with a man deterring her from entering the water before his mistress does, may also have come from Raphael's 'Healing of the Lame Man'. The mistress for whom he seeks preference is 'beauty unadorned' in Venetian fashion and is said to be in the shape of Nell Robinson, a celebrated courtesan known to Hogarth and living in the Chiswick area where Hogarth had his country residence.[15] This academic study of the nude, ideally portraying moral and physical perfection, is marred by her stiffly held, swollen and inflamed knee, which would be recognised by many as being the result of her promiscuous life style and its retribution in the form of gonococchal or syphilitic arthritis. Her naked presence at the Pool in this pose seems to advertise her way of life. Articular complications of early syphilis most commonly involve the ankles, foot joints, elbows and shoulders, but may affect hands, wrists, knees and ankles, causing acute inflammation (periostitis) with pain, swelling, tenderness and limitation of movement. Arthritis following an infection with gonorrhoea two to three weeks previously usually affects many joints at once and is accompanied by fever. Only one

knee appears to be affected here. The lady's expression is one of sadness "arising from the uneasiness the Soul feels at some evil or defect, which the impressions on the Brain represent to her " - according to LeBrun's interpretation (Plate 27)[16]. A similar sadness pervades the pale features of the young girl behind Jesus. She modestly veils her head, but her breast is partially exposed with a red area of inflammation clearly visible.

The mother on the right-hand side with her baby looks pleadingly towards her assailant. Her sick baby may be suffering from either rickets or congenital syphilis. The two presented some similar features. Dr. Francis Glisson (1599-1677) had described the signs of rickets in the seventeenth century,[17] and John Freke wrote about it in an essay in 1748.[18] Both referred to the flexibility of the joints which were unable to sustain the body, and to weakness. Glisson said that if children were affected

> "within the first year of their age or thereabouts, they lose the use of their feet later by reason of that weakness."

Later they

> "totally lose the use of their feet; yea, they can scarce sit with an erected posture, and the weak and feeble neck doth scarcely, or not at all, sustain the burden of the head."

He cites

> "unusual Bigness of the Head"

and says that

> "certain swellings and knotty excrescences are observed about some of the joynts. These are chiefly conspicuous in the wrists, and somewhat less in the ankles ... some bones wax crooked."

Freke follows his description of Rickets with one of a Scrophulous Disease of the Bones which did not affect infants "till

they are completely formed." This caused swellings of bones and led to bony destruction. Venereal Disease led to similar destruction of the bones according to Freke who wrote:

> "many are liable to reckon them one species, from the Effects they produce, but an account of the Numbers of Children who are descended from worthy Parents, being greatly affected with Scrophulous Complaints, I shall suspend my sentiments upon it."

Hogarth's infant's pallor, large unsupported head, swollen wrist and flaccid body seem to present a picture of Rickets, which was prevalent at the time. The child in the foreground who apparently requires a crutch to enable him to walk and whose spine is curved and arm bandaged may represent Freke's Scrophulous condition.

Sadness and Dejection are evident in the features of the old man on the right of the painting. He looks ashen-coloured and ill. He is leaning on a crutch and resting his hand upon his swollen ascitic (fluid-filled abdomen). Freke wrote 'Of Tumours proceeding from Melancholy':[19]

> "... the Blood at certain Seasons is liable to become void of all Floridness, appearing almost as black as Ink, which the Antients have termed the 'atra Bilis' or Melancholy of the Blood. When it is in this State, carcinomatous and cancerous Diseases are said to be occasioned from thence."

LeBrun described the features with

> "the Nostrils drawing downwards, the Mouth somewhat open and the corners down; the head seems negligently hanging upon one Shoulder, the whole Face of a wan lead colour, and the Lips entirely pale." (Plate 27)

The advanced state of malignant disease of this man would have been recognised by many eighteenth century observers in the context of the Hospital.

The blind man on the left hand side of the painting would also have been recognised by his pose and long stick. His presence was dictated by the Biblical text, but was also a reference to one of the charitable functions of the Hospital. Freke had been appointed as the first Eye Surgeon there in 1727 "Through a tender regard for the deplorable state of blind people ...".[20] His appointment was to

> "couch and take care of the diseases of the eyes of such poor persons as shall be thought fit for the operation and for no other reward than the six shillings and eightpence for each person so couched as is paid on other operations."[21]

'Couching' was an operative treatment which had been performed on the eye, especially for cataracts, since ancient times. The opaque lens was manipulated by a sharply hooked needle and broken up to displace the pieces below the level of the pupil. The opacity was thought to be 'inspissated humour' between the lens and the iris and not opacity of the lens itself. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the true nature of the cataract was recognised, and the couching operation continued throughout the century.[22]

Interest in the philosophical problems of blindness surfaced in the eighteenth century with questions concerning the perceptions of the blind and their ability to see normally if their vision was restored. Were perceptual abilities innate or acquired? The surgeon Cheselden reported the result of a cataract operation in the 'Philosophical Transactions' of 1728, on a boy who had been born blind

or had become blind at an early age so that he had no recollection of sight. Cheselden couched him at the age of 13-14 years, following which he could distinguish shapes, but not name them. Estimation of distance and understanding pictures he found difficult after the operation on the first eye. After operation on the second eye, things seemed larger. He imagined that what he saw touched his eyes in the same way that what he felt involved touching his skin. He asked which sense deceived him, seeing or feeling?[23]

The rather angry-looking woman on the blind man's left views the latter with sidelong glance. Jaundice, such as she displays, was supposed to indicate a choleric disposition (choler = bile) in line with the humoral theory of medicine, and Hogarth provided the apt physiognomy indicating an irascible temperament.

The pallid cachectic woman on his right, looking frail, emaciated and fearful illustrates both the 'passions' of 'Hope' and the possible effects of a scrophulous tubercular condition (Plate 27). The colour of her face with its greenish tinge provided the contemporary label of the 'Green Sickness' - a generic term for all anaemias, and termed 'Chlorosis' by Jean Varandal in 1615. In 1731, Friedrich Hoffman recognised an iron deficiency anaemia often associated with a 'Virginal pallor' for which the physician, Sydenham (1624-89) had advocated the use of iron. Sydenham suggested that "the Sick must drink some mineral waters, impregnated with the Iron Mine such as Tunbridge Waters."[24] This might explain the presence of this 'patient' at the 'Pool'.

Pain is expressed in the features of the man with the bandaged arm as he tries to protect it from the pressing crowd. 'Gout' as

is suggested for this sufferer was a common complaint in the eighteenth century.[12] It is an affliction which does not usually appear before the age of 40 years and is usually confined to males. Dr. Thomas Sydenham was an important physician in the seventeenth century and had built up a practice in London which was famous throughout Europe. His main interest was in the natural history of disease, and his approach along these lines is evident in his description of gout, from which he himself suffered for thirty years:

> "The Gout most commonly seizes such Old men, as have liv'd the best part of their Lives tenderly and delicately, allowing themselves freely Banquets, Wine, and other Spirituous Liquors, and at length by reason of the Sloth that always attends Old-Age, have quite omitted such Exercises as young Men are wont to use. Moreover they who are Subject to this Disease have large Skulls, and most commonly are of gross Habit of Body, moist and lax, and of a Strong and lusty Constitution, the best and richest Foundation for Life."[25]

Hogarth must have been familiar with the spectacle of gout sufferers experiencing the excruciating pain which is a feature of this condition, and LeBrun described the method to be used for the expression of bodily pain (Plate 27). Although in the early stages the first joint of the big toe is the usual site of affliction, repeated attacks result in the involvement of other joints, one of which is the wrist. Mineral water therapy had been advocated by the Greeks, and throughout the Middle Ages certain Holy Wells were famous for their healing powers for certain diseases. Such a fashion was becoming established again in the early eighteenth century as, for example, at Epsom where Mrs. Mapp the bone-setter had found employment, and the presence of this man with gout at the 'Pool' was appropriate for this condition.

The mentally handicapped girl displaying features now recognised as being due to thyroid deficiency (cretinism), such as stunted growth, obesity, coarse features, thick lips and 'dull' expression in keeping with her mental faculties, would not have had her condition understood. The presence of such a person was not uncommon in European paintings and Hogarth's character is not a stranger to such surroundings.[26]

The landscapes surrounding the 'Pool' and 'The Good Samaritan' were painted by John Lambert, and the ornamental surrounds, in late Baroque style, by artist Richards.[27] In the latter painting, the Good Samaritan represents the caring attitude associated with the hospital which is equated with the Inn where the traveller will stay until he is well. Convention and LeBrunian physiognomics again dictate the style and demeanor of the participants, pain being clearly demonstrated upon the face of the injured man. The Biblical text for this is St. Luke ch.10 v.30-.[28]

Although Hogarth made other forays into the realms of 'Great Historical Painting', he reverted to his more popular style in the form of 'Modern Moral Histories', but the 'Pool of Bethesda' and 'The Good Samaritan' give an indication of how Hogarth seemed to be involved with real-life contemporary events even in his "great stile of history painting", which necessarily made direct reference to academic conventions. His remarkably accurate observations of people and medical circumstances gave a sense of immediacy to pictures which otherwise could have become merely minor examples within the long-established tradition of Biblical history painting.

Thomas Bardwell and his 'Hogarthian' Allegory of Joshua Ward

Clinical appearances associated with disease are evident in an eighteenth century oil painting by Thomas Bardwell which is displayed in the Royal College of Surgeons (Plate 29) It was engraved by Baron and published in 1749. This painting is an allegorical one in which a moral regarding an individual is conveyed through symbolic language - a practice normally reserved for Royalty or higher nobility. The individual so described is Joshua Ward (of 'Drop' and 'Pill' fame), who appeared in Hogarth's 'The Arms of the Company of Undertakers'. However, his portrayal in this painting offers a different concept of his activities and of how they were perceived by those who had cause to be grateful for his Charity. A verse underneath the engraving of the painting reads:

"'Tis thou, O Gen'rous Ward, thrice bless'd we see
Crouded with those that seek thy Charity.
The Poor distress'd, the sick, the lame, ye blind,
Here seek relief from thee relief they find.
If volumes have been wrote on Faith and Hope,
Sure Charity deserves a greater scope.
O, happy Ward! thy charity's so great.
It wants not words to make it more compleate
The multitudes that daily croud thy door
Loudly proclaim thee
Father of the Poor."

In the painting, 'Britannia' is shown leading a crowd of poor and sick people and is offering Ward a purse as a reward for his services to them. He is pointing to the figure of 'Charity' - represented as a woman suckling her baby and with two naked infants by her side - indicating that the money should go to her. Behind him 'Time' is holding back a curtain so that he may see what is preventing the sick and poor from entering his domain where one mother and her

baby are already in the shadow of 'Death'. Ward appears as a successful and benevolent practitioner, well but soberly dressed, exuding confidence and solicitude and standing between the poor and 'Death'. The portrait emphasises his charitable role in society.

The engraving and the accompanying verse are in line with the testimonial and advertisement regarding Ward's activities which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in December 1734, referring to the 'Thousand people' weekly whom Ward restored to health (quoted on p. 85).[29]

Perhaps in an effort to curtail the influx of these people an advertisement from the 'Daily Advertiser' reads:-

> "... Mr. Ward intimates that he ...will not for the future give his Medicines gratis to any Person, except such as send or come in an Afternoon, with a Certificate sign'd by the Minister and Church Wardens, or Overseers of their Parish, setting forth their Circumstances and Distempers; and that those who are Deaf, Blind or have Disorders in the Head, must come on Mondays and Thursdays in the Morning fasting."[30]

It is not known who commissioned this painting or the engraving, and Ward himself may have done so. Bardwell has been described as a well-known copyist,[31] and examination of the painting or print shows that some of his crowd of poor and sick people are similar to some of Hogarth's characters. Individuals with similar gestures and physiognomy are evident, and the use of contemporary scenes of personal tragedy within a classical or allegorical theme are Hogarthian. The man on the left with his stick, holding his ascitic abdomen, the woman behind him with her sick baby, the woman with hand to her brow and the blind man with his stick seem to have come from

'The Pool of Bethesda', and 'Charity' might be seen breast-feeding her baby in Hogarth's painting 'The March to Finchley' (Plate 19).

Clinical Appearances at Hogarth's 'Polling Scene'

A later scene in which Hogarth again exhibits his observational talents on behalf of the sick is the Polling Scene of The Election series of paintings (1755)(Plates 30 & 31) In this series of electioneering bribery and corruption, the maim, sick and mentally handicapped, are being used for their votes. The illustration of the man with cerebral palsy (twentieth century terminology) displays his unco-ordinated hands and distorted facial features. He is offered a pen with which to record his vote and directions on how to do so. He is secured into a wooden chair by a bar across his knees to prevent him from falling. Behind him, an invalid swathed in blankets appears pale and ill. This elector is being carried to the polling booth by two porters who seem to be sympathetic to his plight, but possibly concerned that their arrival may be too late to enable this voter to cast his vote before his demise. One of these carriers in the final state of the print displays an enlarged nose, or rhinophyma, a condition now known to be caused by acne rosacea but still, as in the eighteenth century, popularly thought to be associated with excessive alcohol consumption. The other carrier is minus most of his nose, a misfortune consistent with the baser habit of promiscuity, resulting in syphilitic disease. In this, the nasal cartilage is destroyed by the disease leading to collapse of the bridge of the nose. This group is being followed by a blind man with his stick. One of his hands is resting upon the shoulder of a young person ahead of him on

the staircase who is acting as his guide. Questions seem to arise regarding the validity of the oath being sworn by the gentleman on the right who has placed his hooked prosthesis on the profferred book. This man has survived leg amputation in addition to the loss of his left hand, and has hobbled to the booth with the aid of a wooden peg. His right hand is absent and a shortened arm secures his hat against his chest.

LeBrunian features are apparent on the faces of many of the occupants of this scene, which combines realism and topicality with Hogarth's facility for portraying physiognomy and the effects of illness and disease on the faces and bodies of those afflicted. The observational accuracy which Hogarth displays in recording such details with regard to the clinical features of his characters is an indication of the care and attention which he gave to his work. This care and attention to detail, whether of expressions, actions or scenes is an important feature of his work. In the next chapter, in which themes of morality are examined, Hogarth's use of detail is again shown as an important and integral part of the theme which he presents.

Notes and references for Chapter 3.

1. Gombrich, E.H. *The Story of Art*, p.364.

2. Ireland, J. *Hogarth Illustrated*, III ch.2.
   see also, Godby, M. 'The First Stage of Hogarth's Harlot's Progress, *Art History*, 10, 1987. pp23-27. re. retrospective autobiographical thinking.

3. Hutchinson, Sidney C. *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968*, p.28.

4. Pevsner, N. *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, p.125.

5. Burke, J. *Autobiographical Notes from 'Analysis of Beauty'*.

6. Ireland, J. *Hogarth Illustrated*, III.

7. Williams, John. 'An Abridgement of a Conference of M. Lebrun on Physiognomy', London. 1734. from *The Augustan Reprint Soc. No. 201*, 1980, p.52.

8. Hogarth, William. *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke p.138-139.

9. LeBrun, Charles. 'Conference de M. LeBrun sur l'expression generale et particuliere'.

10. Parsons, Dr. James. 'Human Physiognomy Explained', in the *Crounian Lectures on Muscular Motion for the year 1746*.

11. Ireland, J. 'Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth' p.30.

12. The key at the site of the painting gives the 20C. diagnoses of the afflictions of sick people at the 'Pool' from left to right (with some clarification added in parenthesis).
    1. Cretinism (Hypothyroidism).
    2. Chlorosis (severe iron deficiency anaemia)
    3. Blindness.
    4. Jaundice.
    5. Gout.
    6. Mastitis (Breast inflammation).
    7. Rickets.
    8. Myotonia Congenita (weak enlarged muscles with secondary sores)
    9. Congenital Syphilis (baby).
    10. Gonorrhoea - gonococchal arthritis.
    11. Carcinomatosis (Disseminated malignant disease).

13. Medvei & Thornton (eds.) *The Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew's 1123-1973* p.335.

14. Morris,Leon. *New International Commentary* Gospel according to St. John', note 10.p.301.

15. Rosser,E. 'Hogarth and the Hospital Staircase', *J.St.Barts.Hosp.* 1973.Vol.77.p.232.

16. LeBrun, 'Conference', p.40.

17. Glisson,Francis. *De Rachitide*, transl.by Nicholas Culpepper: 'Glisson on Rickets'.

18. Freke,John. 'An Essay on the Art of Healing', Section II *Of the Rickets*.

19. Freke,John. 'Of Tumours proceeding from the Melancholy', from *The Art of Healing*, ch.XIII.p.175.

20. Minute in *Hospital Journal*, St. Bartholomew's Hospital. 1727.

21. Medvei & Thornton, p.350.

22. Singer,Charles. & Underwood,E.Ashworth. *A Short History of Medicine*, 2nd.Edition, p.644.

23. Morgan,Michael J. *Molyneux's Question:vision,touch & the Philosophy of perception*.

24. Sydenham,Dr.Thomas. *The Whole Works of that Excellent Practical Physician, Dr.Thomas Sydenham*, 4th.Edition, p.322.

25. Sydenham,'A Treatise of the Gout and Dropsie', from *The Whole Works*, p.340.

26. e.g.Velásquez 'Las Meninas', 1656, The Prado Museum, Madrid.

27. Tait,James.'William Hogarth and the Pictures He Painted in St.Bartholomew's Hospital', *J.St.Bart's Hosp. April* 1954. Vol.58.p.89.

28. The Gospel according to St.Luke, ch.10 vv 30-34. (Authorised Version)
    30. "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead,
    31. And by chance there came a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
    32. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.
    33. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
    34. And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him."

29. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1734. p.670.

30. The 'Daily Advertiser', in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 27th. 1734. p.670-671.

31. Bennett,H.Selfe. 'Joshua Ward, 1685-1761', *Proc.Roy.Soc.Med.* Vol.9. pt.II 1916.p.105.

Chapter 4

THE 'MODERN MORAL HISTORIES': MEDICAL IMAGES IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THEMES OF MORALITY.

Hogarth did not wish to depend upon patronage for his living and found the practice of painting portraits and 'conversation pieces' (small informal group-portraits) stultifying to a man of his temperament. In a bid for independence, he embarked upon a series of paintings from which he sold prints by subscription. In keeping with his theatrical interests, these 'Modern Moral Histories', as he termed them, were designed as theatrical 'productions'. Each scene of a series was a 'set' based on real-life surroundings, and the events depicted were based on what Hogarth saw as reprehensible occurrences in society to which he could draw attention through the medium of his art. Characters were sometimes recognisable individuals or, at least, recognisable as character types. This gave his paintings and prints topicality and publicity value as viewers sought familiar faces. The controversial nature of his work when considered in relation to that which the connoisseurs considered as acceptable art form also gave them added interest to his contemporaries. Here again, Hogarth subverted the 'High Art' traditions by including allegorical pictures on the walls in the background of his scenes as a convenient and significant means of expressing or reflecting the image that he was producing in a more realistic and up-to-date fashion. Traditional art was supposed to be moral and uplifting and to give value and dignity to human nature. Hogarth used it here to draw parallels between what was perceived as 'good' but was not necessarily so on close inspection and what was happening in contemporary society. He deliberately set out to create a new style of painting for a new

public. His audience of a mainly upper or middle-class educated clientele would have been well versed in the Biblical, historical and mythological themes used and of the meaning of emblems and symbols used traditionally. Comparable twentieth century messages on the television screen or in satirical or social cartoons might include pictorial reference to such incidents as Nelson holding a telescope to his blind eye, or to the sinking of the Titanic. No explanation of these events would be deemed necessary to an educated audience in the context of the scene presented. Whereas historical painters had depicted important and distinguished people, Hogarth chose to people his paintings with dissolute characters whose actions were to be deplored.

Hogarth did not use details gratuitously. Each had a part to play in disseminating his message, but some of the details are in coded form. The language and codes of expression in which a book is written must be understood before the book's meaning can be ascertained. Similarly, the language or emblematic codes incorporated into a painting or engraving must be understood before its full meaning can be appreciated. Emblems and symbols provide the equivalent of metaphors or similes used by literary artists and these, respectively, form part of the language of either graphic or literary art. Such 'codes' or 'language' are evident in the 'Modern Moral Histories'.

Although the scenes depicted in these 'Histories' cannot be taken literally as being true to life, the ways in which they were presented drew much of their efficacy from their realistic frame of reference. If the message being portrayed were to be taken seriously, the

incidents enacted would have to be plausible to the viewers. Where Hogarth exploits aspects of medical care and treatment, therefore, his portrayal warrants careful attention with respect both to details and to general concepts and attitudes.

This chapter examines the 'Histories' from these points of view.

A Harlot's Progress

In the first of the series, A Harlot's Progress , which was produced in 1732, six scenes show how the painter inveighed against the kind of society which lured innocent victims to destruction, allowed exploitation of the poor and helpless by the rich and influential and put self-interest before humanitarian principles. Hogarth deplored affectation and pretentiousness in any form. The country girl who aspired to be a lady embodied such pretensions and her behaviour with its rewards of loss of liberty, poverty and disease reinforced Hogarth's moral injunctions against prostitution. Her untimely end may be seen as apt punishment for moral laxity and as a warning to others of the consequences of this way of life. The attitude of the doctors involved 'in consultation', the treatment offered to their patient and its ineffectiveness, also receive their share of attention from Hogarth's barbed brush.

The harlot, who in the first scene of the series (Plates 32-38 & 41-45) is presented as an innocent country girl is propositioned by a notorious bawd on her arrival in the city. A well-known pimp leers in the background, whilst a clergyman ignores the proceedings. He is too engrossed in his own affairs to be concerned with the fate of this young girl. From early beginning as a prostitute in the bawd's

establishment, she becomes the mistress of a rich Jew living in the style of a lady with a black servant and a pet monkey apeing her frivolous ways. This existence comes to an end as another lover makes a hasty retreat from the room - the end symbolised by the over-turned tea-tray and the broken china. Cast aside by the Jew because of her duplicity, she becomes a common prostitute in Drury Lane. Her medical fate is hinted at in Plate III of the series (Plates 34 & 35) in which two medicine bottles and an ointment jar can be seen standing on the window sill. The maid-servant with 'saddle nose' (a manifestation of syphilis), is also an indication of what fate may have in store, but her immediate fate is imprisonment for the offence of prostitution and she is taken to Bridewell, the House of Correction, where her punishment is to beat hemp to make rope in the company of more disreputable miscreants. Her finery helps to contrast her illusions of gentility with the reality of her situation, but its deterioration is synonymous with the deterioration in her physical condition (Plate 36).

The drama continues and in Plate V of the series (Plate 34) the harlot is dying of syphilis whilst two doctors argue about the merits of their respective treatments and whether it is more effective in liquid or pill form, the difference being indicated by the appropriate containers (Plate 38). These two doctors are said to be Dr. Rock(seated), who is associated with the paper bearing his name on the close-stool nearby in state 3 of the print, and to whom reference has already been made, and Dr. Jean Misaubin.[1] The name of Dr. Misaubin, the 'Pill Doctor', was frequently in the papers. He was a French doctor and had received a Licentiate in 1719 and was therefore not a

'true' quack, but he qualified as such in the eyes of many of his contemporaries because of his arrogant and vain boasting. Fielding wrote about him in his novel 'The History of Tom Jones' stating that:

> "The learned Dr. Misaubin used to say that the proper direction to him was, 'To Dr. Misaubin, in the World', intimating that there were few people in it to whom his great reputation was not known."[2]

And he satirised him in his play 'The Mock Doctor', which opened on June 23. 1732, and which he dedicated to him. Misaubin died in 1734 and was rewarded with an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which described him as "Dr. Misaubin, the noted physician."[3]

A portrait sketch after a drawing by Watteau published in 1733, inscribed with the words 'Prenez des Pilules, prenez des pilules', shows Misaubin armed with a clyster pipe and surrounded by the remains of his clients in their various worldly resting places (Plate 39). Hogarth also drew him in the company of Joshua Ward (Plate 40).

Rock and Misaubin, in Hogarth's scene of the dying harlot, are complete with wigs, buckled shoes, lace cuffs, canes and pretensions. The maidservant entreats them to attend to her mistress and to stop arguing.

The harlot is swathed in sheets or blankets and towels in consequence of yet another remedy which was often tried for this disease - vapour baths:

> "get a shallow pan with a broad bottom, pour boiling water into it, to the depth of between two inches; having made a brick or large stone red hot in the fire, place it (half covered only) in the water. A perforated seat must be placed over the pan, on which the patient must sit, naked, with a good sized blanket wrapped all around him, letting it reach the floor, and excepting the head, covering the body entirely ..."[4]

The fire has been stoked up to aid this 'sweating' process and in order to heat the brick.

Mercury was the treatment of choice for syphilis and had been for about 3000 years. It was supposed to have specific powers over syphilis. Its use promoted salivation and this salivation along with the vapour baths which induced sweating was thought to assist nature to open pores and let out the disease. Thomas Sydenham wrote:

> " ... and truly I can think no instance can be produced where this Disease was eradicated any other way than by Salivation with Mercury."[5]

He described his own method of application:

> " ... I prescribe an Ointment made of two Ounces of Lard, and one Ounce of Quicksilver, nor do I mingle any of the hot Oyls or any thing else, ... I order the Sick anoint with his own hand his Arms, Thighs, and Legs, three Nights following; but he must neither touch his Groins nor his Arm-Pits, and his Belly must be carefully defended from the Ointment by a Flannel wrapt about it, and sew'd behind. After the third Unction, his Gums most commonly swell, and the Salivation rises ... when the Salivation is come to a due height, that is most commonly, when 2 Quarts is spit in the Space of a Night and a Day, or if the symptoms vanish, tho' he spit less, which most commonly happens four Days after the Salivation comes to its height, his Shirt, and Sheets must be changed ... Sometimes it happens ... that after the first or second Unction, as soon as the Blood begins to be affected with the Quicksilver, Nature presently endeavours to expel the Enemy through the Bowels."[5]

Evidence of this latter expulsion is provided in Hogarth's print by the presence of the bed-pan placed in close proximity to a close-stool (a stool or box in which a chamber utensil, usually made of pewter or brown earthenware, is enclosed). One of the unfortunate consequences of taking mercury was mentioned by Sydenham:

"The Sick beginning to grow well, only that his Mouth is yet ulcerated (which is the genuine Fruit of Salivation)."

This led to loosening of the teeth, and in this scene, the Harlot's teeth can be seen lying on the paper which is bearing Dr. Rock's name and is directly associated with his specific remedy. On top of the close-stool next to this are a spittoon and a pipe (Plate 42).

The mantelpiece sports evidence of other tried remedies in addition to a clyster pipe with which to administer the inevitable enema. Although a syringe for the administration of an enema had been in general use by the fifteenth century, older methods were still frequently employed in the eighteenth. These consisted of a bag prepared from animal skin or pig or ox bladder to which a tube - formed originally from a reed or hollow stem - was attached. The bag was emptied by pressure with both hands.[6] This contraption was a clyster-pipe, and through the one illustrated, the Harlot may be supposed to have received an appropriate enema to assist in the expulsion process.

Hanging from a nail by the door are 'prophylactic cases' (condoms or French letters, by which names they were also known). These were made from dried intestines (usually the caecum which has a blind pouch) of such animals as sheep, lambs, calves and goats. They were rather stiff and became brittle unless stored in water. Some, used by army officers, were decorated with their regimental colours. Similar items, the necessity of which is implicit in the context of the scene, are present in another of Hogarth's works, A Garret Scene, a drawing executed about 1726 (Plate 43). In this the table is littered with

remedies for the occupational hazard to which the resident of the garret is evidently exposed. Syringe, medicine bottles, ointment jar, condoms and plasters are in evidence on the table and window-ledge, and the harlot is bandaging her arm in order to treat or conceal some lesion. Her cheerful peg-legged servant, a bunter, or one who collects rags, and a small cat contribute to a striking similarity to the later harlot scenes.

On the floor in the later scene, lies a paper on which the words 'ANODYNE NECKLACE' appear. This was a well known device 'guaranteed' to ward off the congenital effects of the disease in children, and advertised daily, as in the *Craftsman* of December 2, 1732, where it promises

> "curative powers for Children's Teeth, Fits, Fevers, Convulsions etc. and the great specific Remedy for the Secret Disease."

It was with such a device that a print of Mary Toft and her attendants had been 'given gratis' in 1727 (see p.59).

Religious and mysterious properties were incorporated in the necklace, which was supposedly made from the bones of St. Hugh.[7] A later article published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the heading 'Of Quack Doctors' refers to

> "Dr. Anodyne ... His Necklace might be of great Use to those that breed Geese, to hang about the Neck of every Gosling, to make them breed their Teeth without pain. And however some may say he buys broken Marrow bones of the Butchers to make his Necklaces, I rather think he drills them out of the Jaw-bone of an Ass."[8]

The child by the fire for whom the Necklace may have been purchased, and against whose existence the badly stored condoms have been ineffective, is more concerned with his head lice and his dinner than with his own or his mother's plight. A nurse showing a similar disregard for the patient is engaged in rifling through the contents of a trunk to see what she can personally salvage from the situation.

The doctors' remedies proving ineffective, a funeral scene takes place in Plate VI.(Plate 44) Only one attendant here, however, appears to show any regard or compassion for the deceased; this one perhaps seeing her mirror image in the coffin. The others continue their selfish or dissolute ways. The presence of sprigs of yew and rosemary scattered amongst the mourners may illustrate the belief that these had disinfectant properties. They were also symbols of remembrance. At the time of the engraving, custom dictated that a sprig of rosemary was given to each mourner.[9] In this scene one girl is sadly displaying one of her fingers to a colleague and seeking advice or commiseration (Plate 45). The swelling or peri-articular nodules which can be seen on the offending digit indicate another manifestation of syphilis. Sydenham commented upon such complications:

> "if there be a Tumour upon any Bone, commonly called an Exostosis, which had continued so long, that the Bone is become carious, it is altogether in vain to attempt the Cure, either by Salivation, or any other method, unless care be taken of the Swelling, wherefore the Bone must be laid bare by Caustick, and the Exfoliation of it ... must be endeavoured by proper Remedies."[10]

There appear to be grounds for the girl's tears.

The heraldic emblems on the shield on the wall consisting of three spigots inserted into three faucets are apt symbols of the whore's trade, but the escutcheon is specious and acts merely as a sign of pretension on the part of their owner. The child's position as chief mourner also defies tradition. The whole scene ridicules the ostentation and expense attendant upon some funerals.[11] However, the escutcheon provided by Hogarth symbolises the whore's trade and the coffin contains its 'memento mori' or consequence.

The Rake's Progress

A Rake's Progress seems to have been a sequel to 'A Harlot's Progress' as a 'Modern Moral History'. It is a series of eight plates in which the Rake leads an increasingly dissolute, or 'mad' life-style, starting from his rejection of a young pregnant girl when he inherited a fortune previously hoarded by his miserly father. His aspirations to lead a 'high life' result in his imitating the aristocracy by indulging in costly, unnecessary extravagances. He holds a fashionable levée and is seen in a sordid drinking scene where whores abound. In the latter, a hint of his impending medical problems appears in the form of an overturned box of pills on the floor close by him, implying his contraction of syphilis or the risk to which he is exposed (Plate 46). Debt follows, but he does not choose to eschew folly and return to his loyal former love, but marries an ugly elderly crone for money. Gambling comes next, leading inevitably to the debtors' prison in this moral tale, leaving the mad-house and death as the ultimate means of escape. All this was in keeping with a generally held belief that the result of miserliness on the part of a parent would engender profligacy in an offspring.

In addition to offering glimpses of the 'high life' which could be led by those with money, the series points at folly and madness and conveys eighteenth century ideas of madness or states of 'unreason' through the medium of the Rake.

The first sign of madness, or disorder of mind, in the Rake's countenance is present in Scene VI (Plate 47), where the young man's fist is raised and he is seen cursing Fate for the loss of his fortune at the gambling tables.

> In heartfelt bitter anguish he appears,
> And from the bloodshot ball gush purpled tears!
> He beats his brow, with rage and horror fraught;
> His brow half bursts with agony of thought![12]

This raving with total lack of concern for the fire in the surrounding ceiling - a lack of vision shared by fellow gamblers - is in contrast to the melancholy suffered by the loser on his right by the fireplace. Both these attitudes are seen as extremes of behaviour occasioned by the mad life-style being followed. Deviations from reason were seen as deviations into madness.

Sarah, his loyal mistress, was also associated with a lack of judgement akin to madness in her faith and trust in the Rake. She is seen 'falling into fits' in Scene VII in the Fleet Prison (Plate 48). This was a common state of 'unreason' especially amongst young females in society and said to be caused in some circumstances by "passions of the mind".[13] Samuel Richardson's Pamela was subject to such 'fits',

> "I knew nothing further till afterwards, having fallen down in a fit ... he coming in, I fainted away again; and I was two hours before I came to myself."[14]

Mrs. Jervis gave Pamela her smelling-bottle and "cut her laces". Sarah likewise is offered a smelling-bottle. These usually contained some volatile aromatic spirit such as Spirit of Hartshorn or Sal Volatile.[15] Sarah is having her hand slapped in an effort to restore her to 'reason'. This scene also shows the Rake descending further into the depths of despair and 'unreason', whilst his elderly wife 'madly' harangues him - another example of the extremes of behaviour which were the result of 'madness' or folly. His mind is dwelling in the realms of fantasy - a fantasy of escape through mad schemes graphically illustrated by images of Icarus's wings over the bed and the alchemist in the background attempting to make gold (Plate 49).

The final scene in the series, Scene VIII, shows how his descent into melancholy - the opposite extreme to raving madness - is complete (Plate 50).

In the early eighteenth century, the idea was prevalent that dark melancholy was the result of self-denial and self-righteousness, a cold dry temperament with too much thick, black and sour bile 'purged from the spleen' and too little blood - in keeping with humoral theories - and that a remedy might be obtained by a change to riotous living. George Cheyne M.D.(1671-1743) opposed this idea and thought that the latter was the cause of the melancholy, as he had found from personal experience.[16] Decadence corrupted the passions. Hogarth's Rake supports this view.

The Rake's pose in the final scene of Hogarth's painting is purposely reminiscent of Caius Gabriel Cibber's statue 'Melancholy Madness'. The statues 'Melancholy Madness' and 'Raving Madness' peered down from the entrance gates of Bethlem Hospital (Bedlam, as

the mental hospital was known), and were both a familiar landmark to the citizens and a grim foretaste of the sight of afflicted inmates. (Plate 50 & 53) Alexander Pope described the statues in the first book of *The Dunciad*:[17]

> "Close to those walls where Folly holds her throne,
> And laughs to think Monro would take her down,
> Where o'er the gates, by his fam'd father's hand
> Great Cibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand."

James Monro (1680-1752) was elected Physician to Bethlem Hospital in 1728 and was mentioned several times by Pope. He devoted himself to the treatment of insanity and was said to be a skilled and honourable physician. Physicians at Bethlem were criticised by William Battie M.D. in his *Treatise on Madness* (1758),[18] but James's son, John, who joined his father at the Hospital in 1751 and remained in sole charge after his father's death, refuted the criticisms, although confessing that

> "Madness is a distemper of such a nature that very little of real use can be said concerning it."

Lack of knowledge with regard to the cause of madness was equalled by the lack of knowledge with regard to its management. For treatment, Monro claimed:

> " I will venture to say that the most adequate and constant cure of it is by evacuation"

and for this,

> "vomiting is infinitely preferable to any other."

He also advocated bleeding, purging and "issues between the shoulders". These methods, he felt, would restore the humours to their proper balance. He added, however, that knowledge of the subject could only come through observation - a sentiment shared by Battie in his 'Treatise'.

In the engraving of Hogarth's painting, the Rake is in Bedlam. He has a patch below his right breast, possibly as a result of an attempt at self-destruction. Suicide represented the extreme expression of melancholy and was so prevalent in England in the eighteenth century that it was often referrd to as the 'English Malady'. An essay published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in May 1737, 'On English Suicides: By a Foreigner', included the following lines:

> " I could not, in several Weeks after my Arrival in this Metropolis of England, master the Astonishment it gave me, to hear of such frequent Self-Murders as happen here almost daily. ... All the Reflections they make, before their coming to that frantic Extremity, are purely the Consequence of a black, gloomy, troubled humour, and a savage Disposition, unable bravely to support the Reverses of Fortune."[19]

The French adopted the word 'suicide' into their language as an Anglicism.

An advertisement in the same magazine in 1755 treated the topic in a light-hearted manner. It offered three "remedies against life (with the King's patent)". These would enable the partaker to commit suicide even when in company, without causing distress or inconvenience to anyone. It recommended it to "men of pleasure", who, by fast living, sporting, whoring and drunkenness, or who had spent their fortunes and ruined their families so as to "render life intollerable" - those such as the Rake.[20]

Violent or destructive outbursts are also manifestations of late or tertiary syphilis, and the Rake's distress may indicate that this self-destructive attitude is a suitable reward for his life-style. Such behaviour would have been seen in Bedlam but not recognised as being due to syphilis.

Bethlem Hospital was named from the original priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem founded in 1247, when it opened as a religious house. It was seized by Henry VIII in 1547 and granted revenue to the Mayor, commonalty and citizens of London, and became a 'Hospital for the Cure of Lunatics'. Initially, no provision was made for the patient except confinement and 'medical relief'. Relatives or friends, if they were able, or the parish from where he came - which might be from any part of the country - were obliged to contribute to his support. "Comfortable subsistence, tender care and the blessing of the Divine Providence" were relied upon to restore the sufferer to his family in an improved state of mind. In April 1675, work began on a new hospital at Moorfields, London and this was finished in July 1676 and described as "an illustrious monument of British Charity." Ned Ward, in *London Spy*, remarks to his guide with reference to Bethlem Hospital:

> "I conceiv'd it to be my Lord Mayor's Palace, for I could not imagine so stately a structure could be design'd for any Quality inferior; he smil'd at my Innocent Conjecture, and inform'd me this was Bedlam, an Hospital for Mad-Folks: In truth, said I, I think they were Society."[21]

Two more wings were added in 1734 for 100 incurables, 50 of each sex. These were in addition to the 175 patients in the main building who were "capable of being relieved", of whom "an average of nearly two

out of three are restored to their understanding."[22] When a patient was admitted, he was delivered to a steward, who, under the direction of the physician, assigned him to "such degree of care and confinement as his case may require."

The wards were described as spacious and airy (321ft. by 16ft.2ins. by 13ft. high) and leading from these were 275 cells, each 12ft. by 8ft. César de Saussure described these in 'A Foreign View of England' (1676):

> "you find yourself in a long and wide gallery, on either side of which are a large number of little cells where lunatics of every description are shut up, and you can get a Sight of these poor creatures, little windows being let into the doors. Many inoffensive madmen walk in the big gallery. On the second floor is a corridor and cells like those on the first floor, and this is the part reserved for dangerous maniacs, most of them being chained and terrible to behold." [23]

According to the History:

> "Every patient is indulged with that degree of liberty which is found consistent with his own, and general safety."[22]

and Rule ix of the 'General Orders for Bethlem Hospital' stated:

> "No patient be confined in chains without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Apothecary."

(The apothecary was the medical attendant in residence who was supposed to visit the wards each day.) The Rake is being chained by the Keeper according to the rule that

> "The frantic maniac, and the desponding lunatic must be secured from doing violence to themselves, and others."[22]

His nakedness is symbolic of his state of mind; poverty and madness were kindred spirits, nakedness being attributed to both states. Thomas Tryon (1634-1703), 'student in physick' and writer on philosophical, social, religious and medical subjects, wrote in the 1680's:

> "... For when men are so divested of their *Rational Faculties*, then they appear naked, having no *Covering*, *Vail* or *Figg-leaves* before them, to hide themselves in, and therefore they no longer remain under a Mark or Disguise, but appear even as they are, which is rare to be known in any that retain their Senses and Reason ..."[24]

Hogarth portrays the Rake with shaved head and 'stripped' of clothes, status and mental faculties. His pose in the original painting may be seen as an allusion to the Christ in a Piéta, whilst Sarah, his loyal mistress, weeps over him like the Magdalen. [25]

According to Rule 11 of the General Orders, patients had to be stripped and examined on admission in the presence of their friends, and, if necessary, the surgeon, and anything with which they might cause injury to themselves or others, removed. The gentleman standing behind the Rake in the painting may thus be the surgeon. His presence, that of the Keeper applying the chains to the Rake's ankle, and that of Sarah, in conjunction with the Rake's nakedness, may indicate his recent arrival on the premises following attempted suicide. The compassionate touch of the 'surgeon', who, in later states of the print is portrayed as a clergyman who seems to unite the two characters by his hands (Plate 54), does not comply with the usual references to a Bedlam in which inmates were treated in inhumane fashion. Confinement of the Rake 'for his own safety' was one of the 'treatments' available and being applied here.

Hogarth illustrates a large ward or gallery from which open individual cells with grated windows, such as were described by de Saussure. Gates with open iron-work were erected in 1729 to separate violent patients from others. (At the time that the print was published, the wings for incurables were still under construction.) Other inmates in both the gallery and in two of the cells represent forms of madness in the setting of the mad-house which Hogarth, like Ned Ward, implied were equally prevalent in the world outside.

At one time, Dementia Paralytica, or General Paralysis of the Insane (G.P.I.) accounted for nearly 20% of mental hospital admissions and was the first major organic disease found in asylums, although the cause and effects were not fully understood until well into the nineteenth century. John Haslam, apothecary to Bedlam from 1795 to 1816, is said to have described a case of G.P.I. in his *Observations on Madness and Melancholy* in 1798, which included clear clinical descriptions of those afflicted with mental disorders - such as alcoholics, melancholics, puerperal psychotics and schizophrenics - but made no differentiation between miscellaneous cases.[26] G.P.I. is a manifestation of the third stage of syphilis and could become manifest many years after the inital infection. Overt sufferers of syphilis were not admitted to Bedlam under the general orders, but many of those condemned to this third stage were probably admitted unknowingly.

Hogarth's study of some of the inmates of Bedlam shows his close observation of the way in which madness could affect individuals although he was ignorant of the cause. In the same manner as that

which he used at The Pool of Bethesda he portrays classical features of mental disorders with appropriate LeBrunian expressions. Signs of clinical significance are present in the subjects (interpreted in twentieth century terms). Delusions of grandeur often show themselves as a feature of G.P.I. - elements of fashion being associated with the delusions. Hogarth alludes to regal and religious subjects and to contemporary figures in his deluded inmates. The man in the cell behind the Rake is consumed with religious fervour. Such enthusiasm in preachers outside the Hospital was regarded as madness with destructive and chaotic effects - a kind of mania. Dr. Thomas Willis wrote in *An Essay of the Pathology of the Brain and Nervous Stock* in 1672,

> "After Melancholy, Madness is next to be treated of, both which are so much akin, that these Distempers often change, and pass from one into the other ...if in Melancholy the Brain and Animal Spirits are said to be darkened with fumes and a thick obscurity; in Madness, they seem to be all as it were of an open burning or flame."[27]

The religious maniac's cell is decorated with images of saints. He is naked and holds a cross fashioned out of straw. His bed is of straw and manacles are attached to it in case his behaviour requires further restraint. (One of the Rules for the Steward and Matron at Bethlem was "To see that the straw on which the patients are laid, is changed when damp or dirty.") His face has been modelled on the second of Cibber's 'brainless brothers' - 'Raving Madness'.

The second cell houses a 'king', naked except for straw crown and sceptre, whose deterioration in behaviour and lack of inhibition (features of G.P.I.) are shown by his act of urinating against the wall

in full view of the female visitors. Hogarth may be seen as condemning the madness of the State symbolised by this 'king'.

Between the two doors numbered 54 and 55, in the first state of the print, is a lunatic writing on the wall and calculating the longitude. A diagram of the earth is on his left, marked out with its poles and lines of longitude illustrating a contemporary interest. Jonathan Swift, who visited Bethlem and became a Governor in 1714, at one time tried to commit a friend, Jo Beaumont, to the Hospital because he had gone mad from "thinking too long about the problems of calculating longitude."[28] A plan proposed by William Whiston (1667-1752) which involved discharging a bomb from a mortar to aid in a similar calculation of longitude was regarded with scepticism. Hogarth changed this design in his later print edition of 1763 in which he placed a medallion of a deranged Britannia in place of the earth, indicating that Britain itself, symbolised by Britannia, was mad. A chain connects this medallion to the door of cell number 54 (Plate 54).

An astrologer in the form of a blind man looking through a paper telescope, musician with flattened nasal bridge, and Pope holding a triple cross and wearing a dunce's 'mitre' add to the picture of deluded inmates. The mad tailor with tape measure is perhaps the same tailor who contrived to set the Rake up in suitable style in Plate I of the series. He is now present to measure up his downfall. His own style of dress concerns him no longer. Tailors were proverbially supposed to go mad with pride, and pride proverbially comes before a fall. The mask-like features of the depressed individual on the stairs who disregards the barking dog and the noise and activity

around him could be exhibiting another late feature of syphilis along with his nasal depression, although his melancholia has been attributed to his unrequited love for 'Charming Betty Careless' - the name of a contemporary prostitute which is carved on the stair rail next to him. She could be responsible for his plight. Dr.Parsons had referred to the physiognomy of madness indicating that the madness was involuntary and the countenance not dependent upon wilful actions of the passions; the mad had no settled intention to produce a 'Passion'.[29] This man's lack of any expression illustrates this point.

The two young visitors next to the door of cell number 55 represent the kind of people who went to see the inmates. The '1783 History' describes how

> "The hospital used formerly to derive a revenue of at least £400 a year, from the indiscriminate admission of visitants, whom, very often, an idle and wanton curiosity drew to these regions of distress. But this liberty, though beneficial to the funds of the charity, was thought to counteract its grand design, as it tended to disturb the tranquillity of the patients."

A letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1748 requested an end to this practice of allowing visitors to view the inmates at Bethlem:

> "But those are fallen yet lower, who resort to an hospital, intended for the reception and for cure of unhappy lunatics, purely to mock at the nakedness of human nature, and make themselves merry with the extravagences that deface the image of the creator, and exhibit their fellow creatures, in circumstances of the most pityable infirmity, debility and unhappiness."[30]

A letter to *The World*, in 1753, included the following reference to a visit to Bethlem:

> "It was in the Easter-week that I attended my friend there; when to my great surprise, I found a hundred people at least, who having paid their two-pence a piece, were suffered unattended to run rioting up and down the wards, making sport and diversion of the miserable inhabitants ... I saw the poorer wretches, the spectators, in a loud laugh of triumph at the ravings they had occasioned."[31]

The practice was discontinued in 1770 and attitudes towards mental illness became more sensitive. Until this date, the hospital was a popular site for such visitors who, under the guise of charity, could assuage their curiosity with regard to the inmates. Samuel Johnson and Boswell visited, and Steele took three schoolboys to see

> "... the lions, the tombs, Bedlam and other places which are entertainment to raw minds, because they strike forcibly upon the imagination."[32]

On one visit, Steele remarks that he encountered "five duchesses, three earls, two heathen gods, an emperor and a prophet."

Who were the more deranged, those from outside the hospital walls or the inmates? Hogarth's image of the asylum reflects the world and its passions in eighteenth century terms. Decadence might corrupt the passions, but mad or decadent behaviour is prevalent in the world in general and is only masked by the conventions of society. Thomas Tryon asks if the world is not "a great *Bedlam*, where those that are *more* mad lock up those that are less."[34] The activities of the inmates portrayed by Hogarth are characterised to mirror those considered normal in different circumstances in society outside Bedlam. In the 'Progress' of the Rake as a complete story, Hogarth indicates that the young man's eventual madness represents a moral and a social judgement. The Rake is stripped of the social

conventions, symbolised by his nakedness, in the same way that his mental faculties have been stripped of reason.

In addition to his commentary on the social life of this period of the eighteenth century, Hogarth has provided an insight into the attitudes held by society towards mental suffering and its perceptions of madness. His insights are 'of the period' and adopt a characteristically sceptical stance, attributes which give him his special rôle as a commentator.

Towards the end of his life, Hogarth again illustrated his attitude towards the 'madness' of religious enthusiasm represented by the 'Saint' in Cell number 54 at Bethlem. This was evident in 'A Medley, Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism' (Plates 55 & 56), part of which purported to show the manic or melancholic effects that such fanaticism could induce. A barometer emanating from a dismembered brain to which only an ear is attached and focussed in the preacher's direction, is resting on two books, one by Joseph Glanvill on witchcraft, and the other containing the sermons of John Wesley. It shows a scale ranging from raving madness at the upper extremity to despair, madness and suicide at the lower end; ecstacy, lust, love, sorrow and agony come between. The congregation exhibits varying degrees of this barometric pressure. A thermometer above the barometer speaks for itself. In this print Hogarth attacks secular as well as religious credulity by again referring to Mary Toft and her rabbits in addition to other 'incredible' contemporary topical events.[33]

Hogarth was himself lampooned and put in chains in 'Bedlam' by Sandby in one of his etchings of the painter. This one is entitled

'The Mad Artist in Chains' (1753) (Plate 57) and was one of the prints produced by Sandby following the publication of Hogarth's book *The Analysis of Beauty*. In this print, 'Hogarth' is drawing on the wall in the manner of one of his own madmen in A Rake's Progress, and is holding up a stick fashioned in his recommended 'serpentine' shape. The satire is aimed also at Hogarth's conceit in aspiring to be a 'great art' painter. His pride and conceit have earned him the place in Bedlam in the print where his delusions of grandeur can have full rein. In the background, he can also be seen at the top of the ladder, "knocking of [sic] others who aspire to his mantle."[34]

Marriage-à-la Mode

The third 'Modern Moral History' which exploits general concepts and attitudes towards medical care and treatment is Marriage-á-la-Mode. As with A Harlot's Progress and The Rake's Progress, some decoding of the emblems and symbols used is essential for proper understanding of the meanings embedded within the scenes.

Marriage-a-la-Mode (1745),[35] is a series which follows the history of the two main characters whose marriage has been arranged on the basis of the interests of the couple's respective family fortunes. The weakening of the perceived importance of the basic institution of marriage by some of the customs of high society through the arranging of such matches is one of the social comments that Hogarth makes. Some of the consequences, which include the contraction of syphilis, form the medical interest. It is also of interest to note that defects in character or life-style are displayed as analogous to physical defects.

The first scene (Plate 58) is set in a room in Lord Squanderfield's house in which he is seen posed amongst possessions, many of which are branded with the mark of his coronet and denote his importance. These include his crutches and his footstool, both apparently necessary because of his affliction with gout, which is stereotypically indicated by his heavily bandaged and elevated foot. Here, being gout-ridden is analogous with being debt-ridden. He fits the physical picture described by Sydenham regarding the typical sufferer and previously discussed in the description of The Pool of Bethesda (see p.121). A branch on the family tree is being negotiated in return for funding from a merchant for the completion of the partially constructed building which can be seen through the window, but the two young people whose future is being arranged on this basis are not consulted during the process. The Earl's defective physical health matches his lack of sensitivity to the feelings of the young couple involved in this contract. His foppish son, gazing into the mirror, carries a black patch on his neck which hints at some health problem. This is probably scrofula, a tubercular condition affecting the lymph glands especially in the neck, which was prevalent and thought to be passed on in families. Hogarth seems to be using this sign as a means of showing the transmission of disease and of character defects from father to child, and later in the series associates the sign with a venereal source of infection: the child of the union bears a similar patch in the final scene. The young lady involved in the marriage contract plays desultorily with her kerchief and listens to the murmurings in her ear provided by the young lawyer Silvertongue.

In Scene II, after the marriage, the young couple proceed to follow their own interests regarding 'high life' amid symbolic signs of hypocrisy and the breakdown of their marriage relationship; candles burn low, Cupid's bow-string is broken in the picture over the mantelpiece and signs of infidelity are evident. The bust on the mantelpiece has had its nose broken and repaired but is still disfigured as if by disease (Plate 59). John Freke observed with regard to Venereal Disease of the Bones, including that of the nose:

> "[It] oftener begins its Mischief externally, first raising and thickening the Membrane by the Poisonous Medulla or Oil that lies under it. When the Os Nasi or Os Palati are at all affected, it seldom or never happens but that the whole of them is destroy'd. And although the Patient be quite clear in all other Respects, yet if the Compages of these Bones have been destroy'd, they will moulder away a long time after."[36]

Hogarth makes his moral point in this symbolic fashion. Neither the marriage nor the nasal repair can be complete in such circumstances. The defect beginning externally, becomes deep, permanent and disfiguring.

The clock shows the time to be noon, but the candles are still burning - an indication of night merging with day and of chaos and disorder in the household. The steward leaves the room in despair carrying unpaid bills - another indication of a disordered household. A sign of hidden impropriety is indicated by the picture, over which a curtain is partly drawn exposing only a naked foot. The full truth of a situation is often hidden from society whereas here it is partially exposed.

Plate III involves a visit to the quack doctor by the young nobleman (Plate 60). He is accompanied by a young girl who is holding

a kerchief to the corner of her mouth. Her youthfulness magnifies the extent of his debauchery. The kerchief problably conceals a chancre or syphilitic sore for which aid or retribution is being sought via the quack. The nobleman holds out a box of pills towards the quack to indicate their uselessness, though he seems to display little concern. The woman behind him with open razor seems to dispute any challenge that he is making, but the razor may represent the danger associated with visiting such a practitioner. The quack's title of 'Monsieur de la Pillule' is displayed as the author of the books in the left foreground of the picture. (The name 'Dr. Pilule' was often applied to Dr.Misaubin, one of the 'doctors' in attendance upon the Harlot in <u>A Harlot's Progess</u>. [37]) The woman is said to have been modelled on Misaubin's Irish wife and the office on his room at 96 St. Martin's Lane.[38] In this scene 'Monsieur' is portrayed as an unprepossessing person: his physiognomical imperfections may reflect Hogarth's suspicion and animosity towards the French in general (in keeping with many of his countrymen), but may also be an allusion to the defects inherent in 'quacks', many of whom were foreigners. Syphilis or 'Pox' was also known as 'French Gout'; this allusion would not be lost on Hogarth in connection with his quack or 'Pox Doctor'. This quack regards his client through myopic eyes as he wipes his spectacles. His edentulous gums, depressed nasal bridge and bowed legs add to his unbecoming appearance. The woman poses an equally unprepossessing zany or assistant.

> To Galen's great descendant list, - oh list!
> Behold a surgeon, sage, anatomist,
> Mechanic, antiquarian, seer, collector,
> Physician, barber, bone-setter, dissector.
> The sextons, registers, and tombstones tell,

By his prescriptions, what an army fell;
Med'cines - by him compos'd will stop the breath,
And every pill is fraught with certain death.[39]

Hogarth seemed to work by looking at a problem or an issue, analysing its aspects carefully so that he could characterise the relevant signs and symptoms and then amalgamate different aspects of the issue to make a composite whole. In Plate III, the quack and his surroundings seem to represent quackery in general, the scene as a whole offering a background to quackery - its origins, its associations, its ineffectiveness, the type and gullibility of its patrons and the manner and personality of its practitioners.

There was a close link between magic and quack medicine which Hogarth had previously indicated in an illustration which he undertook for Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. Although Sidrophel, the magician in this poem, was a fictional character, aspects of his magic were reflected in beliefs and attitudes held by many members of society. Sidrophel's room contains objects and books suitable to one of his kind, as astrologer and magician. These include an alligator hanging from the ceiling, dried insects pinned to the wall, and a skeleton hanging in the cupboard (Plate 61) It, and the quack's office in Marriage-a-la-Mode , bear some resemblance to *The Dispensary* described by physician Dr. Samuel Garth in a poem which was widely read in the eighteenth century:

"Long has he been of that amphibious fry,
Bold to prescribe, and busy to apply.
His shop the gazing vulgar's eyes employs
With foreign trinkets, and domestic toys.
Here mummies lay most reverendly stale;
And there the tortoise hung her coat of mail;
Not far from some huge shark's devouring head
The flying fish their finny pinions spread;

> Aloft in rows large poppy heads were strung,
> And near, a scaly alligator hung;
> In this place, drugs in musty heaps decay'd;
> In that, dry'd bladders and drawn teeth were laid."[40]

The quack's room is allied to the fashionable pastime of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of forming 'Cabinets of Curiosities' from 'odds and ends to excite wonder', particularly as interest in the discoveries of the Americas and East Indies grew. Curiosity rather than good taste dictated fashion

> "Almost every collection had monsters in it ... when the collection was displayed, it rarely had any order in it. Stuffed birds stood on top shelves ... mammals and fish hung from the rafters."[41]

Such collections attracted the public to the apothecary and the medical man. They acted as an advertisement and improved his social status. In Shakespeare's time too, the apothecary was apparently recognised in this fashion. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare's Romeo says

> "I do remember an apothecary
> And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
> An alligator stuff'd and other skins
> ...
> were thinly scatter'd to make up a show."[42]

In Hogarth's print, such curiosities add to the air of mystique and magical powers often accorded to quackery. Many of them have symbolic and medical connotations. A skull was an obligatory part of a quack's equipment, but its defective or diseasesd state in this instance specifically symbolises death. Powdered skull was still used as an ingredient of some remedies. The book on which the skull rests is equated with learning, but the presence of only one slim volume

indicates how limited the quack's has been. The superimposition of the skull on the book indicates that the doctor is an authority on venereal disease.[43] - a pox doctor. The padlock on the book may indicate that his secret remedy lies within.

The back of the room in the painting lies in shadow. Here, in the shadows, a quack's historical background can be visualised. If the items illustrated on the frieze above the cupboard are read from left to right - as Hogarth often intended his 'theatrical' productions to be read - the beginning of quackery or its monstrous birth is heralded by the picture of an abnormal infant. A scarab illustrated below this infant, such as was used in ancient Egypt to ward off evil, was ineffective in preventing its conception. The sword and shield represent a background of conflict, while spurs and tall hat might indicate a wandering or peripatetic scene of action. Many odd items such as old shoes, crushed lice, insects and crocodile dung had been used in the past as ingredients of drugs, and were still used by the unscrupulous. Most would do no harm, as they were pharmacologically inert.[44] Illustrations of these perhaps portray the original nature of the quack's armamentarium. The next item on the frieze is similar to the broken remains of a vertebral column belonging to a large fish. This, with the large femur, may refer to the practice of bone-setting, an occupation often dependent upon strength rather than medical knowledge. Hogarth had previously illustrated Mrs. Mapp in such a role as described in The Arms of the Company of Undertakers.

In front of the femur is a model head with a pill in its mouth. Such a head was used as a shop model and usually displayed outside an apothecary's shop in order to advertise his wares. An animal or monster's head holding a ring in its mouth symbolically depicts a 'guardian of the way', and an open mouth is the gate of death.[45] The 'pill' in the open mouth of this model's head looks like a ring thus indicating that the pills prescribed in this establishment would lead one to death.

An urinal represents the practice of urinoscopy whereby diagnosis of illness was made by examination of the urine - with or without the benefit of astrology. Some quacks still practised in this field. Hogarth possibly equates the large size of the urinal and the femur with the magnitude of the claims made by the practitioners associated with these items.

The activities of the barber-surgeon are represented by the shaving bowl. Such a bowl was used by him during the operation of bleeding or shaving. The narwhal's tusk to the right of this is the equivalent of a barber's pole, but it may also represent the mythical unicorn's horn, which was a highly prized and expensive medieval remedy and supposed aphrodisiac. Its use persisted throughout the sixteenth century in this capacity in addition to its professed ability to act as an antidote to poison when mixed with food.[46]

The pile of pill-boxes or tea-bricks on the frieze are more difficult to identify and various alternatives may be proposed. Tea was a popular but expensive stimulant, newly fashionable and obtained in brick form but usually prescribed in paper folders in small quantities;[47] pill-boxes were usually much smaller, such as that

proffered by the nobleman. Any druggist could set up shop and sell stimulants and cordials, so if these are containers they may represent unlicensed trading. An alternative function for the articles as building bricks could be to indicate Hogarth's intention of building the quacks' foundation or background in the frieze.

The vertebrae and the femur point towards a tripod shaped like the gallows at Tyburn in the centre of the frieze. This hangs over a cupboard which contains a skeleton making amorous advances to a human anatomical model, while a wig-holder, with painted face supporting the quack's full-bottomed wig and simulating an executed decapitated malefactor, looks on. The allusion may be that the quack is to be identified with the decapitated wig-holder. The position of the nobleman's cane pointing to the face of the bewigged head in imitation of a physician's stereotyped and recognisable pose is no perspectival accident on Hogarth's part; it 'elevates' the simulated quack to the status of such a practitioner. The skeleton is signifying death by its lecherous advances in 'Dance of Death' tradition, whilst the physician can only offer a similar outcome. Hogarth may again be making the point that in his view only a wig and cane distinguish the orthodox physician from the quack. An alternative theory suggests that the naked fellow represents a patient and the others are two physicians consulting,[49] but the former interpretation seems more coherent in the context of the scene.

Pictures of abnormal individuals hang on the wall as part of the oddities and exotica displayed. There was a great deal of interest in monsters, as we saw in the case of Mary Toft. Dr. James Parsons, Hogarth's friend and Secretary of the Royal Society, wrote a paper on

Hermaphrodites and another concerning tumours of the head of a young labouring man "now in St. Bartholomew's Hospital".[49] Contemporary interest, specimens from the Royal Society museum and information from Parsons may have provided the inspiration for these pictures. The picture nearest to the door illustrates a figure with two heads representing the two faces of Janus. Janus was a Roman deity who symbolically represents the desire to master all things. His faces were supposedly turned towards the past and the future. Hogarth uses the picture here to point to the quack's past and to his future - the flawed skull on the table.

Pharmaceutical vessels and jars, such as might be expected in an apothecary's shop, line the shelves of a cabinet on the right of the picture. Above these a 'guardian' in the shape of a wolf with open jaws again symbolises the gate of death. Closed drawers beneath the shelves hide their contents from public view - another comment upon 'secret' remedies.

A stuffed crocodile or alligator is suspended from the ceiling with an ostrich egg likewise suspended from its under surface. These are symbols of quackery, used in many Dutch genre paintings of the seventeenth century and mentioned in Garth's poem. This reptile is equivalent to the salamander, a creature accredited in alchemic theory with the 'elixir vitae' and believed to live in fire. An ostrich egg was supposed to ward off the 'evil eye' and was associated with miraculous conception.

An open door at the rear left of the picture reveals the quack's laboratory, containing distillation apparatus such as an alchemist would use. One of the alchemist's chief aims had been to discover an

elixir of life, a universal medicine which would cure all ailments and provide eternal life. Medicine had been considered as a magical or sacred art prior to the existence of alchemists. Astrology, magic, alchemy and medicine were often linked, and a large number of charlatans became involved. By the seventeenth century, alchemy was not uncommonly the subject of derision, although such serious scientists as Newton continued to be attracted by its potentialities. Hogarth depicts a typical scene of one such 'mad' alchemist reduced to penury in the Fleet Prison in The Rake's Progress (Plate 49) His last penny (or gold coin) has gone into his crucible as a starter in his search for the philosopher's stone, but his search goes on. An allusion to charlatanism with regard to the quack's laboratory is apparent.

Two machines lying on the floor are explained in the adjacent books. One is shown to be for adjusting or setting shoulders and the other for pulling corks. Both are thus attributed by Hogarth to 'Monsieur de la Pillule', the office's incumbent and the author of the volumes. The two large tomes indicate his verbosity on the subjects (another characteristic attributed to quacks). The inventions have been 'seen' and 'approved' by the Royal Academy of Science of Paris. They furnish signs of the quack's skill and ingenuity, aspects which were also attributable to some notorious charlatans.

Surgeon Freke read a description of an instrument that he had invented for the reduction of dislocation of the shoulder joint to the Royal Society on June 23rd 1743, and this invention may have inspired Hogarth to design one for his quack. The second instrument has lewd

connotations, which, it has been suggested, refer to Pope's *Rape of the Lock*

> "And maids turn'd bottles call aloud for corks."[50]

This may be more in keeping with the enacted scene. It is also a reminder of an apothecary's role of corking medicine bottles.

Two mummy cases stand behind the quack. Their presence can be explained in two ways, both of which Hogarth might have intended as allusions. First, powdered mummy was a valued ingredient of medicines held in high esteem in the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries. It was an almost universal but expensive remedy, mostly adulterated or faked, but may have had value as a placebo, and was otherwise harmless. Secondly, the mummy cases seem to signify haughty orthodox, disdainful, superior and antique medical practitioners whose mouths were closed in the face of events such as those proceeding in front of them, while each prominently displays a large ear, indicating that they hear about such practices. Pox doctors were regarded with some contempt in the field of contemporary medicine, but they could pose serious competition to the orthodox practitioners for whom this field could provide a lucrative practice.

The London Tradesman of 1747 relates how there is

> "... one Branch [of medical practice], belonging to the Doctor, which the Town Surgeon has almost monopolized to himself; that is, the cure of Venereal Disease; upon which alone the subsistence of three parts in four of all the Surgeons in Town depends; and three parts in four of the Practice depends upon the Ignorance in this very Distemper, which they all pretend to cure..."[51]

Hogarth's picture illustrates the position of influence that the quack held in society, where members of the nobility, represented here by the Earl of Squanderfield, went to him for advice. Those who claimed to cure syphilis, such as the quack in this Plate, were aided by the natural history of the disease in which clinical manifestations resolve spontaneously and late sequelae may appear only after an asymptomatic interval of up to thirty years. One third of infections end in spontaneous cure.[52] All classes of society consulted the quack, and his practice was not confined to the market-place.

The contents of the room are used by Hogarth to draw attention to a quack's pedigree, his pretentiousness in aspiring to the position of physician from such humble and diverse beginnings, the dangers inherent in such practice and the gullibility of the public. All classes of society, including members of the nobility - as portrayed by Hogarth -, were impressed by the outward trappings of pseudo-scientific knowledge and respectability and were prepared to expose themselves to the dangers associated with quackery.

The Countess has not been idle during her husband's exploits and we are led to believe in Plate IV of the series that she has had a child - indicated by a rattle hanging on her chair. This is in the form of a 'coral' or necklace believed to act as a charm or amulet to ward off evil. Without this, it is implied, the child is exposed to danger. But double standards prevail. Whilst the young Earl has his liaisons with dubious characters, his wife's association with the lawyer, when discovered by her irate husband, results in the death of the latter by her lover's hand. Plate VI follows the lover's execution at Tyburn. The Countess takes an overdose of laudanum and also dies.

The Countess's death takes place in Plate VI (Plates 62 & 63). A servant has been bribed by the gift of one of her father's greatcoats to get the Countess some laudanum (opium),[53] a substance which was freely available from druggists' or apothecaries' shops; the overturned bottle lies on the floor along with a broadsheet recounting a speech given by her lover on the occasion of his execution. The servant's cut-down coat has buttons missing - synonymous with his lack of mental facilities, a lack indicated also by his features and expression. The attending apothecary, who berates the servant for the transaction, is identified by a bottle of 'Julep' and a syringe protruding from his pocket.[54] A nosegay takes the place of a physician's cane with its pomander in the head and serves a similar traditional function. Hogarth places the apothecary on a par with the servant; both are drawn in the same picture-plane and are of similar stature. The apothecary's stocky build and his stance are not those of a gentleman. Receding through the door is the physician, recognisable by his wig, cane held to nose and three-cornered hat underneath his arm. His services have been equally ineffective.

The merchant is engaged in the task of removing his daughter's ring from her finger, as, following suicide, the practice was such that the ring would be forfeited to the Crown if left in place. Pecuniary interests are still uppermost in his mind.

Only the old nurse and child appear to show concern for the Countess. The child depicts a sad end to the marriage contract. Boys and girls wore skirts until the former were breeched at the age of three or four years of age; girls usually wore bonnets even indoors.[55] This child, although dressed in skirts - known as 'coats' in the case of a boy - may therefore be male, but his diseased state indicates a shortened life-span with the

subsequent end to this branch of the family tree. A female child would also denote the end of the branch, but sickness would not be necessary in such circumstances. The patch on the child's face imitates the one which can be seen on his father's neck throughout the series, illustrating a supposed congenital nature of the affliction, scrofula, which Hogarth has linked to syphilis in this series. Implicit here is a reminder of the Biblical warning that the sins of the father will be visited upon the children. The congenital nature of the Pox was mentioned by Moll Flanders in the book of that name written by Daniel Defoe in 1722, in which Moll reproached her 'gentleman' for associating with a whore:

> "... how would he be trembling for fear he had got the pox, ... and how would he abhor the thought of giving any ill distemper, if he had it ... to his modest and virtuous wife, and thereby sowing the contagion in the life-blood of his posterity."[56]

Alexander Pope also referred to this aspect of syphilis in *An Essay on Man* in the words:

> "When his lewd father gave the dire disease."[57]

The stigmata of congenital syphilis that the Earl has passed on to his 'posterity' include a large bossed forehead and sunken nasal bridge. A leg brace is evident as an attempt to correct rachitic effects also caused by this disease.

Hogarth made frequent allusions to syphilis in his paintings and engravings. Although gonorrhoea, known as the 'clap', was more prevalent than syphilis in the eighteenth century, its nature did not

lend itself as readily to graphic illustration. Probably for this reason, as well as for the more devastating results of syphilis - lending it obvious educational possibilities - Hogarth's moral delinquents usually suffered from syphilis. This is an example of how Hogarth and other artists selectively emphasised those aspects of a subject which were adapted to pictorial and moralising narratives. Even so, syphilis was present in society, the effects were real and could be as devastating as those portrayed so accurately by Hogarth.

Numerous maidservants with 'saddle-noses' appear in Hogarth's prints. The Harlot's servant, the bunter in the garret, and the whore in the series 'Industry and Idleness' all provide examples of this particular effect of the disease amongst those whose life-style held the risk of such an occupational hazard. This would be well recognised by his readers. An example is the servant who appears in Plate IX of the series Industry and Idleness, in which the idle apprentice is betrayed by his whore and captured in a Night Cellar with his accomplice. The artist shows how a leather patch was used to conceal the ultimately resulting deformity (Plate 64). In his novel *Amelia*, Henry Fielding described the face of an unsavoury character named 'Bleary Moll' thus:

> "... Nose she had none; for Venus, envious perhaps of her former charms, had carried off the grisly part ..."[59]

The physical defects of 'Monsieur de la Pillule' in Marriage-à-la-Mode include secondary syphilitic effects. His nasal bridge is depressed - a feature emphasized by the removal of his spectacles - and the bowing of his legs can be attributed to recurrent inflammation and thickening of his shin bones which could be caused by this

venereal infection. They were then sometimes referred to as 'sabre shins' because of their appearance.

As has been shown, the signs of syphilis portrayed by Hogarth could be used in the literal sense in connection with the disease and allusively in connection with life-styles such as prostitution and infidelity; it was useful as a means of offering moral judgement, as a reward for the wages of sin. Defects of character could also be alluded to in terms of such a disease, either defects in the character of an individual or collectively with reference to a number of individuals carrying out a practice such as quackery; the practice and the practitioner were 'diseased'.

The complex nature of Hogarth's 'Modern Moral Histories' means that they were aimed at an audience which had the necessary intellectual knowledge and understanding to appreciate them fully. Although his later series of prints were generally aimed at a less sophisticated audience, they still offered a challenge to the 'cognicenti' who could search behind the scenes for meanings of deeper significance than were superficially apparent. As we shall see in the next chapter, a scene from the series 'The Reward of Cruelty' - which shows the role of the surgeons - provides a comparable example of how the topicality of the medical subject matter provides Hogarth with an opportunity to express a moral message within a realistic frame of reference.

Section 1. Chapter 4. Notes and References

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2. Fielding, Henry. *The History of Tom Jones*, Bk.13 ch.2. p.609. Another comment attributed to Dr. Misaubin in the same novel states "Bygar, me believe my pation take me for de undertaker: for dey never send for me till de physician have kill dem." Bk.5 ch.7 p.225.

3. *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1734. Obituary, p.218.

4. Gould, S. (Medical Herbalist 18C.) *Special Ailments*.

5. Sydenham, Dr. Thomas. *The Whole Works of that Excellent Practical Physician Dr. Thomas Sydenham*, p.258. For further information on the treatment of venereal disease see Bynum, W.F. 'Treating the Wages of Sin: Venereal Disease and Specialism in Eighteenth Century Britain', in *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy 1750-1850. pp.5-28.*

6. *Friedenwald, J. & Morrison, S. 'History of the Enema', Bull.Hist.Med.* 8 1940. pt.I p.68, pt.II p.239.

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13. Reece, Richard. *The Medical Guide for the Use of Clergy, Heads of Families, and Practitioners of Medicine and Surgery*, p.315.

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19. *Gentleman's Magazine*,Vol.VII May 1737, from 'Fog's Journal', May 14.No.443 p.289-290.

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21. Ward,Ned.'London Spy', quoted from Byrd,Max. *Visits to Bedlam: Madness and Literature in the Eighteenth Century*, p24. Ned Ward was a Journalist who produced 'London Spy' of 1699 in monthly instalments. It was published in volume form in 1703 incl. section on visit to Bedlam.

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28. Kromm,J.(Dissertation) *Studies in the Iconography of Madness.1600-1900*,1984. (Ph.D thesis Emory University).

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30. *Gentleman's Magazine* Vol.XVIII 1748 p.199

31. *The World* No.XXIII Thurs.June 7.1753 p.138

32. quoted from Haggard,Howard. *Devils, Drugs and Doctors,* p.372.

33. Paulson,Ronald. *Hogarth, His Life,Art,and Times,* Vol.II p. 354.

34. Paulson,Ronald. *Hogarth,His Life,Art,and Times* Vol.II pp.144-152.

35. This series was announced in the *London Daily Post* of April 1743 "...representing a variety of modern occurrences in high life."

36. Freke,John. *An Essay on the Art of Healing: Venereal Disease of the Bones..*

37. Lichtenberg,G.C. *Hogarth on High Life,* p.47.

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Matthews,Leslie.G. *Day Book of the Court Apothecary in the time of William and Mary, 1691* Med.Hist.1978,22:172.

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53. Matthews.p.169 ref.Sydenham's 'Laudanum' was 'the first liquid generally designated Laudanum' consisting of opium, saffron, cinnamon,cloves and Canary Wine.

54. Juleps were diluted sweetened mixtures of various medicaments.

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Chapter 5

THE SURGEONS.

Operations and Dissections

The surgeons did not escape from Hogarth's censure and satire. Their rôle as he saw it is considered in this chapter.

The Company of Barber-Surgeons divided into two separate entities in 1745, the surgeons considering that their interests and status would be better served by such separation (see Chapter 1). The surgeons, like the physicians, became increasingly involved in the developing hospitals. A drawing by Hogarth executed about this time, shows an operation scene in such a hospital (Plate 65). The drawing was apparently intended for engraving because the surgeon is using his left hand for the operation. The proceedings would have been reversed in subsequent prints. The operation is being performed on a patient's leg - apparently cauterisation - and probably of an ulcer.[1] The surgeon is bending over the affected limb, holding it still with one hand and applying the cauterising iron to the lesion with the other. On the floor by his side is a pan raised on a stand containing instruments and some combustible material with which to heat them. Other instruments, with dressings, are contained in a box held by an assistant who holds out a hand in horror as if to halt the proceedings as signs of burning appear.

Every surgeon had one or more apprentices who were bound to him for seven years at Surgeons' Hall. They had to pay a fee to their Master and expected to be offered a vacancy on the staff of the hospital when trained. At some hospitals such as St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's in London, the surgeons also had 'skellet carriers'

or 'dressers', who ranked below the apprentices and were chosen from amongst the surgeon's pupils. Their duty was to walk round behind the surgeon carrying the 'skellet' or box containing the necessary equipment for dressings. Each surgeon had up to four of these dressers who had to pay double premium to their Master. They were required to stand round the operating table whilst other pupils were ranged further away.[2] The assistant holding such a box in this scene seems to fit into this category, and as Hogarth had connections with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, this was the likely scene of operation.

A careless or intoxicated nurse kneeling by the bed is holding a candlestick and lighted candle with which she has set fire to the wig of the physician on her right-hand side. A parallel incident is said to have occurred on Queen Caroline's deathbed when the Queen's curtains were similarly inflamed! [3] Sterne later describes a comparable scene in his novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, in which the servant girl, Susannah, assists Dr. Slop at a minor operation on the unfortunate young Tristram, an argument ensuing:

> "Slop snatched up the cataplasm, - Susannah snatched up the candle; - a little this way, said Slop; Susannah looking one way, and rowing another, instantly set fire to Slop's wig, which being somewhat bushy and unctuous withal, was burnt out before it was well kindled."[4]

The 'inflamed' physician in Hogarth's drawing inspects a flask of urine and palpates the patient's pulse. Physicans expected to supervise the surgeons' activities, but this physician's interest in the patient and the surrounding circumstances seems limited. This was often perceived as the actuality.

The scene is another example of how Hogarth combined realism with known contemporary events. Queen Caroline's death occurred in 1737 as the result of an operation. Hogarth may have been making some allusion to this as an indication of the hazards associated with operations.

Most operations *were* hazardous procedures in the eighteenth century and were not undertaken lightly. Anaesthesia and asepsis were non-existent and sedation with brandy or opium was probably the best that could be expected. In the operation scene described, the surgeon is wearing special sleeves over his cuffs for their protection, but cleanliness was not an over-riding consideration and the sleeves would not necessarily be changed between operations.

Surgeons were also anatomists, and the activities associated with the two branches of the profession were often fearfully combined in the mind of the general population. Surgery seemed only a short step away from 'anatomisation', and the perceived cruelty of the surgeon was magnified through this association. Hogarth illustrated these perceptions in the dissection scene in his engraving The Reward of Cruelty (Plate 66). This is the final scene of the series The Four Stages of Cruelty, which he produced in 1751

> "in hopes of preventing in some degree that cruel treatment of poor Animals which makes the streets of London more disagreeable to the human mind than any thing what ever. the very describing of which gives pain ..."[5]

Hogarth's art owes a great deal to his artistic predecessors and to his professed aim of making it live for his own time. Both these influences are apparent in this portrayal. Prints of this series of engravings were produced in a cheaper, simpler and more popular form

than those of the previous 'Modern Moral Histories' and were intended for a less sophisticated audience, although the background from which Hogarth may have drawn inspiration for the anatomical dissection portrayed would have been appreciated by many of his artistic and medical contemporaries. The series supported Fielding's campaign against the increase in the amount of crime, especially those of murder and robbery, which were prevalent in London. Fielding had issued a pamphlet, *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, in which he considered that public executions were often considered as popular entertainment and even led to glorification of the chief participant. He felt that punishment should be swift and certain and that public executions were bad and turned the mob in favour of the criminal.[6]

In the final scene, The Reward of Cruelty, Tom Nero is the heartless young man (literally so in this portrayal as the dog devours his heart), who began his life of crime by cruelly taunting defenceless animals in the streets of London and was eventually hanged for the murder of his mistress - a typical scenario in which petty crime led inexorably to the ultimate degradation, and which is exemplified again by Hogarth in his 'Industry and Idleness' series.

In the first scene of the former series, Nero is seen wearing a badge on his arm bearing the letters 'S.G.', indicating that he is a St. Giles-in-the Fields charity school boy. By 1765, social reformers were reflecting upon some of the poor standards of apprenticeships available for such children and a committee was appointed to look into the "enormous misbehaviour of the boys". Apprentices were "riotous, turbulent and very rarely good citizens."[7] Hogarth's graphical allusion to Nero's charity school background supports this theory.

Ultimately, Nero's body is handed over to the College of Surgeons for dissection. The dissection is a 'Public Anatomy' and the assembled audience watch with varying degrees of interest, dismay and contempt.

Hogarth seemed to share the popular belief that surgeons were, on the whole disreputable, insensitive to human suffering and prone to victimise people, in the same way that criminals victimised their prey. He demonstrates this victimisation on the part of the surgeons in this scene, which, in spite of its gruesome subject matter, contains elements of humour, realism and satire.

Some information about the circumstances surrounding 'Public Anatomies' will help to put the scene into the context of its time. Some knowledge of the artistic background from which Hogarth may have drawn his inspiration for the scene, indicates how in this print, as in others, he combined tradition and topicality in his art.

'Public Anatomies' were performed on malefactors at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall until the time of the separation of the two companies in 1745. These usually took place four times a year as laid down by the Act of 1540. (see Chapter 1). In addition, an indefinite number of 'Private Anatomies' were held with the Company's permission. To these, the surgeon invited his own friends and pupils, and the Court of the Barber-Surgeons could invite guests. Two Masters and two Stewards of Anatomy were appointed; the Stewards usually dissected and prepared the body and the Masters read the Lectures to the assembled audience.[3] A dinner often followed to complete the social occasion.

An entry in the Annals of the Barber-Surgeons for the 20th October 1631 refers to the facilities (or lack of facilities) available then for undertaking such a dissection:

> "This Court taking notice of the lack of a Private dissection Roome for anatomicall employemente and that hitherto those bodies have beene a greate annoyance to the tables dresser boardes and utensils in o^{r} upper Kitchin by reason of the blood filth and entrailes of these Anathomyes and for the better accommodating of these anatomicall affaires and preserving the Kitchin to its owne prop^{r} use, Doe nowe order that there shallbe a faire convenient roome built over the greate staire case next to the back yard to be imployed onely for dissection of private Anathomyes..."[9]

What would thus appear to have been a necessary extension to the Barber-Surgeons' Hall was opened in 1638. This was the first building in Britain designed as a specific anatomy theatre, the design of which has been attributed to Inigo Jones, and it remained in use as such until 1745. It was demolished in 1784, the Barbers and Surgeons having failed to come to any agreement concerning its use. The Surgeons built a new hall close to Newgate Gaol, but this was not in use until August 1751. At the time of Hogarth's print (engraving dated 1.Feb,1751) the Barber-Surgeons' theatre was no longer in use for dissections. The print contains elements of the Barber-Surgeons theatre, the Cutlerian theatre of the Royal College of Physicians - built in Warwick Lane after the old College had been burnt down in 1666 - and of the new but still unused Surgeons' Hall.[10]

Artistic precedences for studies of 'Public Anatomies' exist and may have influenced Hogarth in his design. These were based on actual situations.

Autopsies for forensic purposes were held in the latter part of the thirteenth century at the medical school in Bologna. A few decades later public dissections were well recognised, but the purpose of these was to verify the accounts given by the ancient authorities such as Galen and Avicenna and to provide some visual *aides mémoires* for the students. In the absence of preservatives dissections were conducted with some haste. Dissection illustrations by artists were not common and even a well-known anatomical treatise such as that of Mundinus's 'Anathomica' (1316) was not originally illustrated. Mundinus (Mondino de Luzzi c.1270-1326) aimed to demonstrate the old texts. He did perform the dissections himself, however, although most of his successors declined to do so. Professors retained their 'chairs' and their dignity - thus symbolised. This 'chair' was usually elevated in the manner of a pulpit from which the occupant declaimed the previous works. The dissection was performed by a menial demonstrator under the direction of an 'ostensor' who indicated the necessary lines of incision by means of a wand or pointer. The frontispiece of the Mundinus text of the *Fasciculo di Medicina* (1493 edition) edited by Johannes de Ketham, a German physician, is from a woodcut of a scene representing such a procedure in Padua at that date and is recognised as 'the best early presentation of an academic anatomy'[11] (Plate 67)

A woodcut title-page of a dissection scene is also used in the *Commentaria* (1521) by Giacomo Berengario da Carpi (Berengario), a Surgeon and Anatomist at Bologna from 1502-1527. The woodcut features the traditional attitude of lecturer, operator and

demonstrator with an audience.(Plate 68) This is depicted beneath the coat-of-arms of the Medici family (not shown in this illustration).

The famous anatomical theatre at Leiden was an early and important venue for 'Public Anatomies'. Anatomy lessons were part of the medical school curriculum at Leiden, and these were heralded by public announcements and advertisements inviting the general public to attend. A print by Andries Jacobsz Stock, a Dutch artist (1572-1648), known as The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Pieter Paaw (1615), which was first inserted in Pieter Paaw's *Primitiae Anatomicae De Humani Corporis Ossibus*, illustrates the anatomist Dr. Paaw, who founded the anatomy theatre at Leiden and was the Professor of Anatomy and Botany at the University, presiding over a dissection and pointing out the relevant parts of anatomy to the assembled audience - which in this case includes foreigners and important figures from the past (Plate 69). Galen is posed as the praelector reading from his text. In this print, an animated skeleton is seen wielding a banner which bears the inscription 'Death is the line that marks the end of all'.[12] The floor and table are strewn with sprigs of rosemary or yew, which were supposed to have disinfectant properties. Two dogs sit patiently awaiting their fate, which is to provide a study of comparative anatomy.

Hogarth's theatre and the scene depicted in the 'Reward of Cruelty' bear a striking resemblance to Stock's print and to the earlier 'Frontispiece' or title-page to Vesalius's works *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and *Epitome* (a small twelve-page version of 'De Fabrica'), both published in 1543. Vesalius's works contain beautifully executed anatomical plates which provided a basis for the

scientific study of anatomy. Vesalius, the most eminent anatomist of the Renaissance period, found, during the course of his dissections, that the current teaching which was based on Galen's work was full of errors. Galen's work had been based mainly upon animal dissections and their similarity to human anatomy assumed. (The Renaissance title-page of Galen's *Opera omnia* portrayed the dissection of a pig) (Plate 70). The artist Jan Steven van Kalkar (or Calcar) - or Titian, according to some historians - provided the expert draughtsmanship which led to the production of the plates in 'De Fabrica', in which skeletons and muscle-men are depicted in action and in intricate detail. The introduction to the first plate had indicated that the early illustrations of the muscle-man in the plates showing superficial dissections were intended to display a total view of the major muscles such as only painters and sculptors would normally consider.[13] The first anatomical drawing books for artists were based on Vesalian figures. In 1706, the Augsburg bookseller Maschenbaur published prints from the original Vesalian plates.[14] This made the detailed anatomical drawings more widely available, but Vesalius's work was plagiarised and inferior copies were produced. Amongst these are drawings in a manuscript volume now in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow - though the title-page may be genuine[15] - which were purchased by William Hunter in 1755 and the copy of the 'Epitome' on vellum in the British Museum Library - which is said to be the example included in the sale of Dr. Richard Mead's books in November 1754 and 1755 and purchased for £8 12s. 6d.[16] Dr. Mead's art collections had been available for artists to copy until his death, and it is possible that Hogarth had seen the *Epitome* there, and used

this as a model for his own 'Public Anatomy', though he may also have known the famous printed volumes.

Vesalius's 'Frontispiece' (Plate 71) was a fashionable decorative title-page to his work intended to adorn the title *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. Below this title a crowd of people are gathered around a central figure which is the focus of attention in a 'Public Anatomy' demonstration. Vesalius himself is standing on the right hand side of the central figure - a female cadaver - with one hand raised as if to emphasize a point which he is demonstrating. Above the body an animated skeleton is sitting on a desk-top pointing with a pole towards the partially dissected body. By this means, Vesalius may be indicating his attitude towards the practice of the lecturer declaiming from above. A naked model peers from behind a pillar. The skeleton and the nude indicate the importance that Vesalius laid upon the study of osteology and surface anatomy in articulated and living fashion as well as in the inanimate. Two assistants are sharpening tools for the great man, who performs the dissection himself as Mundinus had done. Two other attendants are holding a monkey and a goat on which vivisection will be performed. Vesalius and his contemporaries usually concluded their public anatomies in this way.[17] The spectators are arranged in tiers in a semi-circle around the dissecting table. At the front are the professional men and students, one of whom is consulting a text - possibly a Galenic text - indicating the Vesalian view that what has been written should be checked against what is seen in order to ascertain the true facts. Nuns and monks standing behind Vesalius show a keen interest in the proceedings, a circumstance which has been attributed to their

curiosity regarding the anatomy of female genital organs.[18] Further back members of the public are gathered, including a fashionably dressed young man peering down on the right hand side. The shield at the top of the print bears Vesalius' family coat-of-arms.

In the print 'The Reward of Cruelty', Hogarth places John Freke, Surgeon (1688-1757)(Plate 72), in the President's Chair in place of Vesalius's skeleton in his 'Public Anatomy'. Freke points in similar fashion to the body undergoing dissection. John Ireland says,

> "The president much resembles old Frieke who was the master of Nourse Surgeon and Lithotomist to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to whom the late Mr. Potts was a pupil. Mr. Frieke was originally a member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company ..."[19]

Freke was also Curator of the 'Repository for Anatomical and Chirurgical Preparations' at the Hospital,[20] a position which may have earned him his place in Hogarth's print.

The Company of Surgeons hired a house in Cock Lane, close to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where the bodies of criminals were delivered for dissection. The President of the College, in full court dress, awaited the arrival of each malefactor on the first floor, where the executioner placed it on the table. The President then made a small incision over the sternum.[21]

Hogarth's 'President', suitably attired, sits in his chair of dignity in its elevated position, as if in judgement, beneath the coat-of-arms bearing the Royal crest. (The Surgeons did not receive their Royal recognition until 1800 although the Physicians had this distinction as early as 1551). The chair bears arms (or hands) based on those of the Physicians - namely, the palpation of the pulse

(Plate 73). Hogarth indicates in this way that dissections took place under the auspices of the Royal College of Physicians.

Walpole observed:

> "how delicate and superior is Hogarth's satire, when he intimates, in the College of Physicians and Surgeons that preside at a dissection, how the legal habitude of viewing shocking scenes hardens the human mind, and renders it unfeeling. The President maintains the dignity of insensibility over an executed corpse, and considers it but as the object of a lecture."[22]

By depicting such insensitivity and callousness on the part of participants in a dissection scene Hogarth presents the operation as a suitable and fitting punishment to fit Nero's crime - a fate worse than death. Execution, mutilation and dismemberment were terrifying punishments to all believers in the resurrection of the body. Dismemberment was thought to deny the possibility of resurrection at the Day of Judgement. Hogarth probably attended dissections performed by William Hunter, who was the leading anatomist of the day, and by Cheselden, and would have witnessed insensitivity displayed on these occasions.[23]

In similar fashion to Vesalius or Dr. Paaw, a surgeon in Hogarth's scene wields his knife. He and his two assistants are seen wearing carpenter-type aprons and sleeve protectors similar to those worn by surgeons during operations on live subjects.[24] The surgeon's knife appears to be especially vindictive compared with the scalpels used by his subordinates, one of whom gouges out one of Nero's eyes. Such 'weapons' were from amongst the surgeons' tools and are emphasised by Hogarth for special effect.

The pulley and rope attached to Nero are similar to those used by artists in order to position skeletons and muscle-men in suitably realistic poses for life studies (Plate 74). Hogarth uses this effect in his print in order to convey the impression of a live body and also to make the point that Nero had arrived in that position via the rope - the hangman's rope at Tyburn. As Walpole continued in his observation,

> "the wretch who has been executed seems to feel the subsequent operation."

There are numerous artistic precedents for bodies appearing to be alive during dissection (for example Plate 75), and it was not unknown for a client of the executioner to recover from his ministrations. An entry in the rough Minute Book of the Company of Barber-Surgeons 1738-1742 reads:

> "November the 23rd, 1740.
> This day Wm Duell (who had been indicted at the Old Bayley for a Rape and had received sentence of Death for the same) was carryed to Tyburne in order to be executed where having hung some time was cutt down and brought to this Company's Hall in order to be dissected where he had not been five minutes before Life appeared in him & being let blood and other means used for his recovery in less than two hours he sat upright drank some warm wine and look'd often round him before he was carryed back to Newgate ... He afterwards obtained a reprieve in order to be transported for life which he was accordingly in the 16th year of his age."[25]

This kind of mishap was an occurrence contemplated with dread and fearful anticipation by criminals. Tom Nero in Hogarth's print appears to be suffering from this fate during his autopsy. The surgeons are subjecting his body to brutality and callousness to be compared only with the extent of brutality displayed by Nero in the

earlier stages of the series. Nero's bones, the audience are led to believe, may find their resting place alongside such notorious felons as James Field, an eminent pugilist who was hanged at Tyburn on February 11, 1751, and Macleane, a highwayman and robber, who was hanged on October 3, 1750, and whose skeletal remains hang on display in the wall niches at each side of the theatre as a warning to would-be criminals. Nero's finger points to the bones which are being prepared for their ultimate destiny.

Hogarth took full advantage of notorious up-to-date incidents to obtain the maximum effect and appeal for his work. Field and Macleane had been discussed in the Journals and their names would have been familiar to his audience.[25] Although there was popular conviction that criminals should be hanged, dissection was not universally welcomed. Nero bears a 'mark of infamy' in the form of branded initials on his forearm. Malefactors were usually branded with an 'M' on the palm of their hands.

Hogarth's audience at the scene of crime, as the law and the surgeons take their gruesome course, consists of academics wearing mortar-boards or birettas in the first row (as in the previous 'anatomies'), and a miscellaneous assortment of men behind, including a worried-looking youth who is pointing to the skeleton hanging near to him. Some physicians, recognisable by their hall-marks of wigs, canes and superior aspects, are 'consulting' together in the background with contemptuous disregard of the proceedings. Their theoretical knowledge of anatomy was usually good, although few undertook dissections preferring to leave them to the manual skills of the surgeons. Many considered that such work was beneath their

dignity; their presence was only because they expected to oversee the surgeons' activities.

The dog in the foreground repays Nero for his previous treatment to its kind and represents a reversal of the vivisection rôle allotted to the dog in the Vesalian scene. It was, however, customary to provide specimens of parts of animals at the Demonstrations of Anatomy for comparative anatomical purposes. For example, in 1732, the following expenses were incurred by the Barber-Surgeons' Company:

"To a sheeps hart & kidney	£0.0.6
A sheeps hart and lights	0.0.4
2 Bullocks eyes	0.0.4 "[27]

The 'Frontispiece' of 'de Fabrica' is not the only part of the work which finds an echo in Hogarth's print. The initial letters for the first edition of 'de Fabrica' each contain vignettes representing medical incidents. These are portrayed by students in the guise of infants. The letter 'O' depicts infants boiling bones in a cauldron over a wood fire. The boiling was to clean the bones prior to mounting them in articulated form. 'P' shows the infants setting up such skeletons, and 'L' (not illustrated) indicates the method of obtaining anatomical specimens from the gallows for dissection (Plate 76). Hogarth's print also displays a cauldron containing denuded skulls and femurs being cleaned over a wood fire. His cauldron is being supported by femurs. The table in the Anatomy theatre at Leiden has feet carved in the shape of skulls. A similar tub for entrails is present in both theatres as are the representatives of the canine species, although in a seemingly different capacity.

A different influence on Hogarth may have come from the work of Egbert van Heemskirk - a Dutch painter who emigrated to England, and whose popular style of work was admired by Hogarth. He died in 1704 but a particular work of his which Hogarth may have had in mind, was engraved by Toms c.1730 (Plate 77), known as the Quack Physicians' Hall. In this, animals behave as humans performing a public anatomy. For his part, Hogarth may be implying that his humans are acting like animals. The practice of depicting humans in animal form followed from ideas expressed by sixteenth century physiognomists and exemplified by LeBrun. These ideas professed the belief that if any part of a man's body resembled that of a beast, similar conclusions with regard to his nature and behaviour could be drawn. Plate 1 also demonstrates this idea by endowing the barber-surgeons with simian features.

> "the Head may well be said to be the Epitome of the whole Man."[28]

Similarities between Hogarth's and Heemskirk's scenes are apparent in connection with the anatomists, audience, hanging skeletons, body in the process of dissection and tubs containing heads and entrails. The allusion to the butchers' trade is present in the chopping block and the hanging carcase. Surgeons were often regarded as butchers. Both groups were excused jury service - possibly on the grounds of their supposed insensitivity to suffering.[29]

There may be many other sources which can be considered to have contributed to Hogarth's 'The Reward of Cruelty'. One which seems to offer some insight is the painting by Charles Phillips of William

Cheselden Dissecting a Cadaver at the Barber-Surgeons Hall in the early 1730's, and which is now in the Wellcome Institute (Plate 74). This painting shows a dissection in which the orientation of the body and the table on which it lies are similar to those employed by Hogarth. The niche in the wall holds an articulated skeleton and the venue is the Old Barber-Surgeons' Hall. This painting is in the form of a 'Conversation Piece', or small informal group portrait, consisting of portraits of contemporary men in rather unconventional surroundings. They may represent Cheselden's guests at a 'Private Anatomy'. Cheselden was a well-known surgeon and anatomist who gave courses of lectures and demonstrations both in his own house and at St. Thomas's Hospital.

Hogarth, as in previous works, used his knowledge of contemporary practices and topical events to popularise his work. In addition to the popular references, his allusions to previous anatomical illustrations elevated his scene to a more intellectual level which would have been appreciated by his colleagues. His moral message, delivered at a time when Parliament was considering additional deterrents against the crime of murder[30] and when Fielding was waging his campaign against the increase of crime, offered him the opportunity to provide support in the way he knew best. Popular suspicion of surgeons and distaste for anatomisation are clearly demonstrated.

Blood-letting and other procedures

Anatomisation epitomised the extreme form of the surgeons' involvement in blood-letting. Blood was a vital life-force and the

letting of blood in different circumstances was seen either to kill or cure.

An excess of blood had been considered as a cause of disease from ancient times, the site of the plethora determining the type of disease resulting from it. Cupping has already been mentioned as one way of relieving 'congestion', but phlebotomy or venesection (blood-letting) provided more immediate effects. Although physicians such as Sydenham used the practice of blood-letting with circumspection, it was still a remedy commonly used throughout the eighteenth century. For example, a *Medical Guide for the use of the Clergy, Heads of Families, and Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery* (1812) contains a section on Phlebotomy, or Blood-Letting. According to the Guide, in certain circumstances such as 'severe falls with internal bruises', the operation should take place immediately and

> "In sudden attacks of apoplexy, inflammation of the lungs, pleurisy, and all internal inflammations and inflammatory fevers, attended with determination of blood to the head or lungs, the *speedy* loss of blood is often of considerable importance "[31]

The guide, however, gives some warning with regard to its execution and to the dangers which might ensue from the misguided services of such practitioners as blacksmiths, farriers and barbers.

A barber-surgeon (the title given to the operator in the accompanying verse) is performing the task in the first print of Hogarth's series The Humours of an Election(1755-8)(Plates 79 & 80), the title of which contains a medical allusion. This series was based on the notorious Oxfordshire Election of 1754, in which ambition amongst politicians and the ensuing competition for votes led to

scenes such as those portrayed in satirical fashion by Hogarth. The first scene is set in a room in a public house which the Whig candidates have hired for An Election Entertainment. Amongst the activities going on in the room, feasting has played a major role, and for the Mayor, a surfeit of oysters seems to have caused a fit of apoplexy. The barber-surgeon is mopping his patient's brow; he has placed a tourniquet round his arm and is in the process of bleeding him whilst holding a basin in which to catch the blood. The barber-surgeon has a lancet in his mouth, of the kind usually used for venepuncture (or 'breathing' a vein).

The tri-partite division of medical services which was evident in London was not so apparent in the countryside. Part of the 'Poetical Description' of Hogarth's scene written under his 'sanction and inspection' and published in 1759 contains the words:

> "The Mayor with oysters dies away!-
> But softly, don't exult so fast,
> His spirit's noble to the last;
> His mouth still waters at the dish;
> His hand still holds his favourite fish;
> Bleed him the Barber-surgeon wou'd;
> He breathes a vein, but where's the blood?
> No more it flows its wonted pace,
> And chilly dews spread o'er his face."[32]

The Barber-surgeon apparently still operated in this part of the country, although in this case his ministrations appear to be in vain.

Tom Jones, in Fielding's novel of that name, referred to Benjamin as "Mr. Barber, or Mr. Surgeon, or Mr. Barber-Surgeon," to which the latter responded,

> "You recal to my mind that cruel separation of the united fraternities, so much to the prejudice of both bodies ... What a blow was this to me who unite both in my own person."[33]

And Corporal Trim in Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*,

> "... to the character of an excellent valet, groom, cook, sempster, surgeon, and engineer, superadded that of an excellent upholsterer too."[34]

The practice of surgery alone was not always customary or sufficiently rewarding financially to earn a living by this means away from the Metropolis.

In Hogarth's painting of The Election Entertainment, a neighbour of the Mayor, Mr. Chalkstone, seems to suffer from some pre-occupying distress to judge by his pallor and expression. His crutch stands behind him affording support as required, but the proferred distraction from the man on his right by means of a hand puppet, is ignored. The 'Poetical Description' directs the gaze:

> "Observe, with crutch behind his chair,
> Your honest brother Chalkstone there!
> His phiz declares he seems to strain;
> Perhaps the gravel gives him pain ..."

This is a reference to the presence of small stones of 'gravel' in the kidneys or bladder which was a common and painful complaint in the eighteenth century. Speculation as to the cause of this disease exercised the minds of some medical men, including Freke, who wrote of the "probable cause of this Disease" in his *Essay on the Art of Healing*. He surmised that sound kidneys acted as a strainer for urine only, but with "overstraining", "sometimes after a Debauch",

> "they begin to let more than urine through them into their Pelvis; and perhaps Mucus, which should be no more than is sufficient to line the urinary Passages is increased, and so it begins to lodge by the Way. If at this time cretaceous

> Matter shoots into it, here commences what is call'd a Saburra, or a petrify'd Slime."[35]

Freke recommended bleeding, and large Draughts of Whey with salts sweetened with soft Syrup to increase the flow of urine to prevent the 'Saburra' from enlarging and so forming the nucleus of a stone.

Those with Gout were more liable to be troubled with 'the Stone'. According to Freke:

> "it seems to me that Gout lets loose the Cretaceous Matter from the Bones into the Blood, and from thence I suppose it to be discharged into the Kidnies in the forming a Stone."

Gout, associated with Mr. Chalkstone's 'gravel', may account for the presence of his crutch, a 'debauch' - such as this scene represents - contributing to both afflictions.

Lice were commonplace at this time, and the piper in the scene finds his somewhat troublesome. A different sort of trouble has been experienced by a character seated in the foreground who has sustained a head wound (Plate 81). Gin is being applied both externally and internally, spirit providing both panacea and antiseptic properties and helping to dry the wound - a variation of the 'vinegar and brown paper' remedy in the nursery rhyme. For head injuries, pieces of lint dipped in spirit of wine were often used. Different forms of alcohol - wine, brandy, spirits of wine, or compresses soaked in warm wine - were used according to availability.[36] Hogarth supplied 'Gin' in his 'Election' scene. The healing effects of such treatment, although not understood, were thus acknowledged. Fresh cuts and bruises or grazes of the skin on other sites of the body were usually treated by means of a 'Diachylon' plaster, that is a concoction of plant juices which

was spread on to leather or black silk and applied to the wound. Hogarth's illustration of Don Quixote being cared for by the Inn-Keeper's wife and daughter demonstrates the application of such a plaster to his injured back (Plate 82).

Hogarth's works provide many examples of the kind of medical care that was available during his lifetime, and as has been described, through the medium of his art he satirised the inadequacies of members of the medical profession and their limitations in treating diseases. Improvements in the general health of the population which **did** occur throughout the century were due mainly to the improvement of living conditions rather than to the ministrations of the medical practitioners. Some of the social factors which had a bearing upon health are considered in the next chapter in which Hogarth's views of the problems are presented.

Section 1. Chapter 5 Notes and references:-

1. Advertised in a Sale in 1842, Lot 1329 from 'Horace Walpole Collection' and described as "an original sketch by Hogarth of a surgeon operating on an ulcerated leg of a woman."

2. Abraham, J. Johnston. *Lettsom*, p.38.

3. Oppe, A.P. *The Drawings of William Hogarth*, No.64.

4. Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, 1759. Bk.VI ch.III p.400. A Cataplasm is a kind of poultice.

5. Ireland, J. *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791. p.266.

6. Fielding, Henry. *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers etc. with some proposals for remedying this growing evil*, 1751.

7. George, M.Dorothy. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p.248.

8. Young, Sidney. *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, p.362.

9. Young. *Annals...* p.334.

10. Brockbank, W. & Dobson, J. 'Hogarth's Anatomical Theatre', *J.Hist.Med.* July 1959. p.352., and Clark, Sir George. *History of The Royal College of Physicians of London*, Vol.1. pp328-333.

11. Singer, Charles. 'Historical Essay' in *History & Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration*, by Choulant, Ludwig. pp.21-R.

12. Print from Wegner, R.N. *Das Anatomenbildnis* by A.J.Stock 1939 p.65., & ref. from *'Ars Medica' Art, Medicine and the Human Condition.*

13. Kemp, M. 'Vesalius Andreas. A Drawing for the Fabrica, and some thoughts upon the Vesalian Muscle-men', *Med.Hist.* Vol.XIV No.3 July 1970. p.282.

14. Choulant, Ludwig. *History & Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration*, p.37.

15. Lambert, Wiegand, & Ivins. *Three Vesalian Essays*, p.125

16. Spencer, W.G. 'Analysis of title-page of Vesalius' de Fabrica', *Brit.J.Surg.* 1923. No.10.

17. Singer, C. & Underwood, E.A. *A Short History of Medicine*, p.92.

18. Spencer, *Analysis of title-page...*

19. Ireland, J. *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791. Vol II p.326 note.

20. Medvei, V.C.& Thornton, J.L. *The Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew 1123-1973*, p.47

21. ibid. p.210

232 Nichols & Steevens *Hogarth*, 1810 p.199

23. Kemp, M. (ed) *Dr. William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts* Univ.Glasgow Press, 1975. p.16., quotedfrom an annotation apparently written by John Hunter:-

"About this time [i.e. early 1750's] he read lectures in Anatomy to the Incorporated Society of Painters at their rooms in St.Martin's Lane, upon a subject executed at Tyburn ...".

It is suggested that this activity must have taken place at Hogarth's St. Martin's Lane Academy as the Society of Painters was not founded until 1760 and incorporated in 1765.

24. Brock, Rt.Hon.Lord. 'Eighteenth Century amputation scene in the Men's Operating Theatre of old St. Thomas's Hospital', *Annals R.C.S.* (Engl.)1977 Vol.59.

25. Young, S. '*Annals* p.359.

26. (i) *Gentleman's Magazine* 1749. p.89 "Was fought at Broughton's amphitheatre a very long battle between Slack the famous boxer of Norwich, and one Field, a sailor."

(ii) *Gentleman's Magazine* 1751 p.88 "Monday 11 Feb. 1751" "Were executed at Tyburn, Field ... Field's legs were chained together to prevent a rescue."

(iii) *Gentleman's Magazine* 1749 p.522 Macleane was said to be involved in an incident reported, in which Horace Walpole had been robbed and almost killed.

27. Young 'Annals' p.356.

28. LeBrun, Charles. transl. by John Williams 'An Abridgement of a Conference of M.LeBrun on Physiognomy', 1734. *The Augustan Reprint Soc.* Nos. 200-201 1980 p.52.

29. Ireland, J. & Nichols, John. *Hogarth's Complete Works*, Vol.II p.62.

30. The rapid dispatch of criminals was intended to reduce the opportunity for their 'glorification'

"Whereas the horrid Crime of Murder has of late been more frequently perpetrated that formerly and particularly in and near the Metropolis of this Kingdom, contrary to the known humanity and natural Genius of the British Nation: and whereas it is thereby become necessary, that some further Terror and peculiar Mark of Infamy be added to the Punishmnent of Death, now by Law inflicted on such as shall be guilty of wilful Murder, be executed according to Law, on the Day next but One after Sentence passed, unless the same shall happen to be the

Lord's Day ... and ... be immediately conveyed by the Sheriff or Sheriffs, his Deputy or Deputies, and his or their Officers, to the Hall of the Surgeons Company, or such other Place as the said Company shall appoint for this Purpose ... and the Body so delivered to the said Company of Surgeons, shall be dissected and anotamized ... Provided also, That it shall be in the Power of any such Judge or Justice to appoint the Body of any such Criminal to be hung in Chains: But that in no Case whatsoever the Body of any Murderer shall be suffered to be buried; unless after such Body shall have been dissected and anatomized ..." (At the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Tenth Day of November, Anno Dom. 1747 ...).

31. Reece, Dr. Richard. M.D. M.R.C.S. *The Medical Guide, for the use of Clergy, Heads of Families, and Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery;* p.121-122.

32. Paulson, R. *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p.230.

33. Fielding, Henry. *Tom Jones*, 1749 Bk.8 ch.6. p.381.

34. Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, 1759-67 Vol.VIII ch.8 p.521.

35. Freke, John. 'Of the Stone in the Kidnies and Bladder', in *An Essay on the Art of Healing*, London.1748. ch.XIX p.265.

36. Bishop, W.J. *A History of Surgical Dressings*, p.36.

Chapter 6

IMAGES OF HEALTH IN SOCIETY.

Hogarth's zeal with regard to social and moral problems continued throughout his life, many aspects of it appearing in his works. This zeal embraced many areas of contemporary concern, some of which had medical and social implications. Some of his images in this area were produced in an attempt to draw attention to prevailing situations in the hope that some effort might be made to remedy the evils portrayed - constituting what might now be termed 'propaganda'. This had been the case in the series 'The Four Stages of Cruelty'. As such, exaggeration of events would seem to be portrayed for enhanced effect, but exaggeration does not necessarily imply unreliability with regard to the underlying situation. To demonstrate the various effects of a social problem within the confines of one print it was appropriate to illustrate as many of them as possible in the context of the theme presented in order to convey the wide problem within the affected society. This is the case in the portrayal of 'Gin Lane', and in the 'head-piece' which Hogarth designed for the Foundling Hospital. These, amongst others, are examined in this chapter, which is concerned with what might be termed Hogarth's 'Modern Social Histories'. In addition to the 'propaganda' elements, some references are made to incidental details in paintings and prints which might generally receive less overt attention than the more obvious imagery. As in all Hogarth's work, his details or 'wallpaper' would have been well chosen and the pattern and design well co-ordinated.

Childcare

Swaddling of babies

Some aspects of child care feature as telling details in Hogarth's works. Concern regarding some of the practices of child care grew during the 1740's as the incidence of child mortality soared.[1] The use of restrictive clothing was one of the causes for concern as it became recognised that this impaired health. This applied to babies, especially those of aristocratic and upper class families, who were trussed up in tight swaddling clothes, as well as to older children who were encased in stays or corsets and regarded as small versions of adults. Hogarth provides examples of such parcelled babies in The Christening (c.1729)(Plate 83), The Enraged Musician(1741) (Plate 84), and Strolling Actresses dressing in a Barn (1738)(Plates 85 & 86). Free play was impossible. The *Gentleman's Magazine* published letters and articles on these topics such as the observations made by Rev.Dr. Hales in 1743:

> "... Young tender Infants, who are often swathed up in such a Manner, as must needs greatly incommode their Breathing, and consequently be often very hurtful to them; for when their tender Bodies are close confined in Swathings, neither their Breast nor Belly can rise so freely as they ought to do, when the Child draws in its Breath."[2]

Dr. Hales was a versatile clergyman who was interested in natural sciences and philosophy and had some training in mathematics and physics. He did important work on the dynamics of blood circulation and on respiration and campaigned for improvements in ventilation on ships and in prisons - designing a ventilator on the windmill principle which was fitted on to the roof of Newgate prison.

Improvement in ventilation led ultimately to a decrease in the incidence of gaol fever. With regard to infants, Dr.Hales also observed:

> "There is another very bad Practice in relation to Infants, the ill Consequences of which few Nurses seem to be aware of ... Ignorant Nurses taking the soft Part of the Skull, for a great Defect in Nature, are apt, too often, to attempt to close the Mold of the Head as they call it: That is, to compress together, by Stroking and Bandage, those Parts together; not knowing that the intermediate Soft Parts will turn to Bone ... thus compressing their Brains, and thereby causing convulsive Fits ..."[2]

Dr. Hales' comments in the *Gentleman's Magazine* illustrate his practical concern in physiological matters.

It had not been generally thought that children needed special consideration with regard to health matters until late in the seventeenth century.[3] From that time and throughout the eighteenth century, several progressive books on children's diseases were published. One of these was sent to one of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and was published anonymously by the Committee there in 1748. The third edition of this book bore the name of the author, Dr. William Cadogan - a respected physician - and the title *An Essay upon Nursing, and the Management of Children from their Birth to Three Years of Age.*[4] In this, he decried the mode of dress to which the "Heirs and Hope of a rich Family" might be subjected:

> "... besides the Mischief arising from the Weight and Heat of these Swaddling-Cloaths, they are put on so tight, that the Child is so cramp'd by them, that its Bowels have not Room, nor the Limbs any Liberty, to act and exert themselves in the free easy manner they ought. This is a very hurtful Circumstance, for Limbs that are not used, will never be strong, and such tender Bodies cannot bear much Pressure. The Circulation restrained by the Compression of any one Part, must produce unnatural Swellings in some other ... To which doubtless are owing the many

distortions and Deformities we meet with every where; chiefly among Women, who suffer more in this Particular than Men."

Cadogan was appointed one of the Physicians to the Foundling Hospital in 1754.

In Volume II of 'Pamela's' correspondence communicated by Samuel Richardson in his epistolatory novel of that name written in 1740, reference is made to Locke's *Treatise on Education,* in which John Locke, a philosopher with some medical training, "forbids too warm and too strait clothing." John Locke first published *Some Thoughts concerning Education* in 1693. This was written as "the private conversation of two friends" concerning education suited to "our English Gentry". This he considered to be the Duty and Concern of Parents - the welfare and prosperity of the Nation depending upon it. He proclaimed that education started in the cradle and advocated plain and simple diets, fresh air and exercise, and an end to "strait-lacing", "hard bodices" and "cloths that pinch".[5] The book went into many editions, one of which 'Pamela' was supposed to have studied. She adds her own comments:

> "How often has my heart ached, when I have seen poor babies rolled and swathed, ten or a dozen times round; then blanket upon blanket, mantle upon that; its little neck pinned down to one posture; its head more than it frequently needs, triple-crowned like a young pope, with covering upon covering; ... pinned down; and how the poor little thing lies on nurse's lap, a miserable little pinioned captive, goggling and staring with its eyes, the only organ it has at liberty, as if supplicating for freedom to its fettered limbs."[6]

Hogarth's portrayals of parcelled babies do not seem to imply criticism of the practice but more an awareness of it as part of a general way of life. His involvement in the activities of the

Foundling Hospital - founded in 1739 - seemed to provoke in him a more critical attitude towards aspects of child care, his concern culminating in his exposure of different forms of child abuse in his print 'Gin Lane', which is discussed later.

Youthful fashions

Not only babies were confined in restrictive clothing. Many of the portraits of children at this time show young girls dressed in the kind of hard bodices mentioned by John Locke. Hogarth's study of the Graham children is an example of this.

The wearing of stays was another fashion which received increasing criticism from some quarters. Later in his essay, Cadogan commented,

> "I could wish it was not the Custom to wear stays at all; not because I see no Beauty in the 'Sugar-loaf' Shape, but that I am apprehensive, it is often procur'd at the Expense of the Health and Strength of the Body."[4]

Hogarth provides an illustration of a fashionable young mother being fitted for stays in The Staymaker (c.1745)(Plate 87). The stays portrayed are of the fashionable kind, and Hogarth is using them to illustrate the literal and metaphorical restriction of a young wife and mother. The woman modestly hides her face from the staymaker behind a mask and is thereby rendered anonymous or faceless and so represents any young mother. Hogarth seems to suggest that the stays are to confine the wearer within bounds of convention - as a wife and mother at home - in contrast to the discarded stays in evidence in the foreground of Plate III of The Rake's Progress(Plate 46) and at the bagnio in Plate V of the Marriage-á-la-Mode series. Their

abandonment in these scenes is analogous with both the sexual and physical freedom or licence being permitted under the circumstances displayed. Hogarth deplored restrictions and constrictions laid upon individuals by conventional rules. This item of clothing offered him a visual pun. This could also be used by artists in the political arena, as Gillray showed. His print Fashion Before Ease: or A good constitution sacrificed for Political Ease (Plate 88) is an example of such use. Drawn in 1793, it shows Thomas Paine, in his original trade of staymaker, trying to lace Britannia into the uncomfortable fashion of revolution.

Infant feeding

The feeding of infants was another subject which concerned Cadogan, and in his Essay he stressed the vital importance of breast-feeding, both for mother and baby

> "When a Child sucks its own Mother, which with a very few Exceptions, would be best for every Child, and every Mother, Nature has provided it with such wholesome and suitable Nourishment; supposing her a temperate Woman, that makes some Use of her Limbs; it can hardly do amiss ..."
> " ...Most Mothers, of any Condition, either cannot, or will not undertake the troublesome Task of sucking their own Children; which is troublesome only for want of proper Method; Were it rightly managed, there would be much Pleasure in it, to every Woman that can prevail upon herself to give up a little of the Beauty of her Breast to feed her Offspring."[4]

He chauvinistically proclaimed the benefit which would accrue to the husband also:

> "There would be no fear of offending the Husband's Ears with the Noise of the Squalling Brat."

And more optimistically,

> "The Child, was it nurs'd in this Way, would be always quiet, in good Humour, ever playing, laughing or sleeping."

He deplored the custom of sending infants to be suckled or dry-nursed by another woman.

> "No other Woman's Milk can be so good for her Child; and dry-nursing I look upon to be the most unnatural and dangerous Method of all; and according to my Observations, not one in three survive it."

Hogarth was one of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital to whom Cadogan had referred his 'Observations'. Hogarth reflects the benefit of breast-feeding in the serene and contented countenance of the mother breast-feeding her baby whilst sitting in a cart surrounded by the malpractices and disorder of the 'mob' in The March to Finchley (1750) (Plate 89). The apparent good health and pleasant aspect of the mother may be seen as her reward for virtuously suckling her infant. This painting was offered as the prize in a lottery following its engraving. Prints were sold for 7s.6d, and for an extra 2s.6d, the chance to win the original painting was an additional incentive to buy. By the closing date for such Subscription Prints, 167 remained, which Hogarth presented to the Foundling Hospital. One of these won the draw and the picture was then displayed at the Hospital.

The Foundling Hospital was a Charitable Institution set up by Captain Thomas Coram, a naval captain, who, having seen the appalling neglect and abuse of many unwanted children in London, spent many years in an attempt to set up a refuge for them. This he succeeded in doing in 1739. Hogarth supported him in his venture, both financially and practically, as he and his wife fostered two children in their own

home for some years. Hogarth attended Courts and General Meetings at the Hospital as an active member - a 'Governor and Guardian'. The Institution was incorporated by Charter in 1739 and the Governors were authorised to ask for alms on behalf of the Charity and to receive Subscriptions. Hogarth prepared a 'head-piece' to a Power of Attorney drawn up for this purpose (Plate 90). This 'head-piece' indicated the aims of the Charity and the circumstances that it expected to allay. It shows Captain Coram with the Charter under his arm and with a beadle in front of him carrying an infant whose mother has dropped a dagger with which she might have killed the child. The baby will be cared for at the Hospital. A new-born baby is seen abandoned close to a stream, and another parcelled infant is being left by its mother near the roadside to await rescue by some passer-by. The training that the Charity hoped to provide for the growing orphans was illustrated by the emblems held by both boys and girls in their separate groups, a plummet, trowel and card for combing wool amongst the boys, and spinning wheel, sampler and broom amongst the girls. A member of another group dressed as sailors, holds up a mathematical instrument used in navigation. Hogarth's 'head-piece' thus indicates the fate of some infants whose mothers could not look after them, and the help that the Hospital hoped to give to them and to their children.

In 1722, Daniel Defoe described the fate of some babies through the words of Moll Flanders in his book of that name, when she contemplated the future of her own infant

> "it touched my heart so forcibly to think of parting entirely with the child, and for aught I knew, of having it murdered, or starved by neglect and ill-usage (which was much the same), that

I could not think of it without horror. I wish all those women who consent to the disposing their children out of the way, as it is called, for decency's sake, would consider that 'tis only a contrived method for murder; that is to say, a-killing their children with safety."[7]

This continued to be the fate of many unwanted children. Building of the Hospital commenced in 1740, but in March 1741, temporary accommodation in houses in Hatton Garden near to the Charity School was opened to receive infants. Hogarth painted a Shield to put over the door showing a young naked infant extending its arm in a gesture of appeal for help. This has not been preserved, but the image appears as a coat-of-arms in an engraving by N.Parr after a drawing by Samuel Wale, Admission of Children to the Hospital by Ballot (1749)(Plates 91 & 92). The West Wing of the Foundling Hospital was finished and inhabited by such children in 1745. Wale's drawing purports to be 'An Exact Representation of the Form and Manner in which Exposed and Deserted Young Children are Admitted into the Foundling Hospital'. Regular admissions to the Hospital were limited to ten boys and ten girls. This limitation was dictated by the availability of suitable foster mothers, who were retained by the Foundation in counties surrounding London - though sometimes further afield - to whom infants were sent soon after baptism. Frequently, however, the gates were opened to 100 hopeful mothers. To cope with these, a ballot system was devised. This was done by means of a lottery. In the print, mothers, officials and ladies are in attendance and black or white balls are being drawn from a bag according to the number of places available. (In reality the balls

were red and black.) The lucky mothers draw white (red) balls and their infants gain admission.[8]

Hogarth was instrumental in persuading artists to offer work to the Charity and saw it as a place for the exhibition of paintings by British artists. This became an eventuality and the Foundling Hospital with its works of art was subsequently a fashionable visiting place in London - attracting funds for the work of the Charity and a venue for the display of the artists' work. Pictorial art and sculpture were not the only artistic works displayed at the Hospital. George Frederic Handel gave many musical recitals there, including the 'Messiah', and the proceeds from these went to the Charity. On Handel's death in 1759 the Hospital inherited "a fair copy of the score and all parts of my oratorio called The Messiah". He also gave the chapel organ to the Charity.[9]

The financial difficulties of the Hospital, the great demand for places and the plight of many children - many adding to the numbers of deaths recorded in the Bills of Mortality - led the Governors to appeal to Parliament for help. This was given on condition that all children brought to the Hospital should be taken in. From June 1756 to March 1760 this was done and the Treasury paid for their upkeep. This practice gave rise to many abuses of the system, and the care that could be offered deteriorated. It was decided in Parliament that this state of affairs could not continue and the Hospital gradually reverted to a private charity. Jonas Hanway, a philanthropist who became a Governor of the Hospital in 1758, felt that the Hospital could not and should not carry out the functions that were required of the parishes. He worked hard to make the parishes recognise their

obligations. As a result, an Act of 1767 made compulsory the principles adopted by the Foundling Hospital and already implemented by some enlightened parishes. The fate of foundling children improved and mortality figures fell.[10]

The 'Foundling Hospital' project from the outset had not been without its opponents, many of whom regarded its inception as a licence to promiscuity. A contemporary satirical print (Plate 93) illustrating this viewpoint shows an engraving in heraldic fashion, with supporters in the shape of a naked man and woman leaning on an oval shield containing a stag, encircled by a serpent with an apple in its mouth - a reference to the Fall of Man. The Foundling Hospital is in the background with a naked and blindfolded figure representing the goddess of Fortune on her wheel in front of it. A procession of men, all with horns - indicating cuckolding - are being led by a horned cleric. On the reverse side of the print, the chorus of a song proclaims:-

> "Then since things are so;
> As you very well know,
> Resolve with your Wives to be quit;
> At your loss ne'er repine,
> But with Women and Wine,
> A race of young Foundlings beget
> My brave boys,
> A race of young Foundlings beget." [11]

Cadogan had advocated a simple life style for the orphans and had recommended the way that they should be dressed, fed and kept clean:-

> "some imagine that clean Linnen and fresh Cloaths draw, and rob them of their nourishing Juices ... I think they cannot be changed too often, and would have them clean every Day; as it would free them from Stinks and Sourness ..."

As regards feeding, he said:

> "The general Practice is as soon as a Child is born, to cram a Dab of Butter and Sugar down its Throat, a little Oil, Panada, Caudle or some such unwholesome Mess, and the Child stands a fair Chance of being made sick from the first Hour. It is the Custom of some to give a little roast Pig to an Infant; which, it seems, is to cure it of all the Mother's Longings ... There are many Faults in the Quality of their Food; it is not simple enough. Their Paps, Panadas, Gruels, etc. are generally enriched with Sugar, Spice, and sometimes a Drop of Wine; neither of which they ought ever to taste."[4]

Pap consisted of bread boiled in milk and mashed, whilst a panada was made by boiling oatmeal in water. One of these items is being spoon-fed to the tightly bound infant in Hogarth's engraving Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn (1738) - an example of the dry-nursing deplored by Cadogan (Plate 86). This print also high-lights the lack of cleanliness and hygiene observed. The infant's food is in a small pan which is balanced upon a crown next to a chamber-pot, whilst a tract serves as a table-cloth. Another item of headgear is being used by a monkey which can be seen urinating into a helmet (Plate 85). An actress is dispensing a dose of gin for the relief of toothache to a colleague near to the feeding baby (Plate 94). A dose for the infant is not inconceivable if its crying threatens to disturb the ensuing performance. According to William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769), half the children who died in London each year were killed by laudanum, spirits or proprietary sedatives.[12] This print of Hogarth's presents life's 'theatre'. The scenes depicted can all be documented as part of contemporary life.

A baby who appears to anticipate the contents of a gin bottle with some eagerness can be seen in the foreground of Hogarth's painting The March to Finchley (Plate 95).

Cadogan had invited those who were unconvinced by the poor quality of care offered to children, to look at the Bills of Mortality, where

> "he may observe that almost Half the Number of those, who fill up that black List, die under five Years of Age."[4]

One of the contributing factors to this state of affairs was probably connected with the consumption of gin.

Gin Lane

Gin, whilst not the elixir of life that was looked for, was widely regarded as an universal panacea. If the outside world only offered hardship in the form of dirt, disease and poverty, the inner man could at least be relatively cheaply and quickly fortified with the juice of the Juniper berry. Gin was introduced into England by soldiers returning from the Low Countries early in the eighteenth century, and its popularity increased rapidly and disastrously between 1720 and 1750, especially in London, although other trading cities such as Manchester and Bristol were not immune to its effects. It was not taxed initially, because the use of fermented barley in its composition provided a market for farmers and because the distillers had a powerful political voice. Its price therefore was low and its consumption overtook that of the traditional beverage of beer or ale as the favourite drink amongst the working class and poorer members of society. The more wealthy and aristocratic members of society drank

wine, brandy or punch. Drunkenness was not seen as a vice in society as a whole. Its consequences were. The first attempt at legislation was in a Parliamentary Bill of 1729 which required each retailer to take out a licence costing £20, and put a duty of 5s. per gallon on gin. The result of this was to suppress the distillation of good gin and to increase the production of inferior products known then as 'Parliamentary Brandy'.[13]

A Bill of 1735 imposed taxes and licence charges upon retailers in a further attempt to curtail the distribution of gin. The preamble to this Act stating the necessity for it began:

> "Whereas the Drinking of Spirituous Liquors or Strong Waters is becoming very common, especially amongst the People of lower and Inferior Ranks, the constant and excessive Use whereof tends greatly to the Destruction of their Healths rendying them unfit for useful Labour and Business, Debauching their Morals, and inciting them to perpetrate all manner of Vices ...[14]

The Act itself provided further impositions which caused anger amongst a large number of admirers of the product and there was difficulty in enforcing the law. Gin continued to be sold by other names, including 'Ladies' Delight', 'Cuckold's Comfort', 'King Theodore of Corsica' and 'Strip-me-Naked'. In 1743, the Act was repealed,

> "... whereas great Difficulties and Inconveniences have attended the putting the said Act in Execution, and the same hath not been found effectual to answer the Purposes thereby intended ..."[15]

Other duties were imposed, but the Vices alluded to in the Act of 1735 continued; the crime rate increased, and this, along with poverty and ill-health was blamed on the consumption of gin.

In 1751, Corbyn Morris, an economic reformer who initiated plans for a general registry of the total population of Great Britain and of the annual increase and decrease by births and deaths, invited people to:

> "Enquire from the several hospitals in the City, whether any increase of patients and of what sort, are daily brought under their care? They will declare, increasing multitudes of dropsical and consumtive people arising from the effects of spirituous liquors."[16]

Fielding, in his tract *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers etc. with some proposals for remedying this growing evil.*, also written in 1751,[17] drew attention in the second section to "This odious Vice (indeed the Parent of all others) first introduced by the Danes." He continued,

> "A new kind of Drunkenness is lately sprung up amongst us - which - if not put a stop to, will infallibly destroy a great Part of the inferior People ... the intoxicating Draught itself disqualifies them from using any honest Means to acquire it, at the same time that it removes all Sense of Fear and Shame and emboldens them to commit every wicked and desperate Enterprise ..."
>
> "What must become of the Infant who is conceived in Gin? with the poisonous Distillations of which it is nourished both in the Womb and at the Breast."

Hogarth's prints Beer Street and Gin Lane constituted part of a general attempt to reimpose legislation on the sale of spirits. (Plates 96 & 97) In Gin Lane, Hogarth points graphically to the total disintegration of a well-ordered society such as that depicted in Beer Street. He compares one with the other indicating that the difference is due to the consumption of gin rather than the traditional English beer. According to Ireland, he seems to have got the idea for these

prints from those of Peter Breughel's 'La Grosse' and 'La Maigre Cuisine', in which similar contrasting figures are portrayed.[18]

Publication of Hogarth's prints was announced on February 13, 1751 in the *General Advertiser* along with the prints of 'The Four Stages of Cruelty' with the author's comments,

> "As the Subjects of those Prints are calculated to reform some reigning Vices peculiar to the lower Class of People."

A pamphlet entitled *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints lately Publish'd*[19] contributed to contemporary comment on the subject. This pamphlet was inscribed to the "Lord Mayor, City of London and Worshipful Court of Aldermen"(1751) and contained a "Genuine Narrative of the horrible Deeds perpetrated by the fiery Dragon, GIN ..." In the Dissertation, the Bishop of Worcester asks,

> "whether the criminals themselves and the crouds that sometimes attend them, do not bear in their countenance and their whole manner and Appearance, the plainest and most shocking Proofs that their Blood is inflamed by the habitual drinking of Gin ..."

It continues,

> "Their infants wretched, half-naked tho' in the coldest weather, and half starved for want of proper Nourishment; for so indulgent are these tender Mothers, that to stop their little gaping mouths, they will pour down a spoonful of their own delightful Cordial ..."
>
> "Look on her Children, and you will see such a Parcel of poor little diminutive Creatures, that you will fancy yourself in the Country of the Pigmies ... either they were begot with very ill Will, or that there was some Defect in the generative Powers of their Parents; one is bandy-legged, another hump-back'd, another goggle-eyed, another with a Monkey's Face, scarce one in its proper shape, and all of them wearing some visible mark of their Mother's Folly."

Hogarth's scene is set in the slum district of St. Giles' Parish, Westminster, where in 1750 every fourth house at least was a gin-shop, and numerous brothels and places for receiving stolen goods existed.[20] The only thriving establishments appear to be the pawn-broker's where the prosperous looking owner 'Mr. Gripe' (the name was slang for a usurer), is profiting from the search for funds to support the more profligate habits of his clients, the distiller's and the undertaker's. This state of affairs accords with the observations of a letter-writer to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1743, who wrote:

> "Since Spirituous Liquors became common, the Baking Trade has very much decreas'd and what the Landed Interest has gained by them, it has lost in Bread and Beer; besides Meat, Butter, Cheese and other Eatables ... [Spirituous Liquors] obstruct the carrying on of Trade in every Branch ... "[21]

The church tower in the background signifies the position of the church, or some of its incumbents, in relation to the conditions around them. The goodness they profess is at a distance and difficult to reach. The inhabitants of this scene illustrate collectively the effects that addiction has on life. The careless woman in the centre of the picture allows her underclothed child to fall presumably to its death whilst she takes a pinch of snuff. She herself suffers from intoxication, neglect and probably syphilis - indicated by the sores on her legs. The baby shows signs of 'Foetal Alcohol Syndrome', the name of a condition not characterised as such in the eighteenth century but now used for the clinical condition resulting from maternal alcoholism. Hogarth's observational powers provide illustrations of another baby who appears to suffer from a similar fate in The March to Finchley(Plate 95). These infants have seemingly

large round eyes situated between small openings (small palpebral fissures), lending what has been called an 'Orphan Annie' appearance to the face.[22] Small cheek-bones and small chin, an under-sized head, some degree of mental retardation, low birth weight and stunted growth form other features of the condition, providing an elfin-type study not unlike Hogarth's infants who are "wearing some visible mark of their Mother's folly." Whilst not recognising this syndrome as such, Hogarth and Fielding amongst others seemed to observe congenital effects of maternal alcoholism.

> "Unhappy mothers habituate themselves to these distilled liquors, whose children are born weak and sickly, and often look shrivel'd and old as though they had numbered many years."[23]

The baby to the right of the steps in 'Gin Lane' (Plate 98) is being fed on gin, whilst next to the coffin in the mid-ground, a weeping infant illustrates another form of neglect. Close by, a child is impaled on a large skewer, an example of eighteenth century non-accidental injury (N.A.I.) attributable to gin mania, not so termed at that date but prevalent by any name and attested to by the perceived need to establish the Foundling Hospital.[24]

> "No expedient has yet been found out for preventing the murder of poor miserable infants at their birth, or suppressing the inhuman custom of exposing newly-born infants to perish in the streets; or the putting of such unhappy foundlings to wicked and barbarous nurses who ... do often suffer them to be starved for want of due sustenance or care ..."

The cadaverous ballad singer in the fore-ground is, or was, an itinerant ballad seller. He was supposedly painted from a man who frequented the area whose cry was "Buy my ballads, and I'll give you a

glass of gin for nothing".[25] The ballad for sale is entitled 'The downfall of Mdm Gin'. His dog eyes the overturned glass with interest but looks healthier than his master who has parted with most of his clothes and his flesh to support his gin-drinking habit.

Two charity-girls or orphans, so designated by badges inscribed 'G.S' on their sleeves representing St. Giles' Parish, indicate the youthfulness (and lack of supervision) of some imbibers. This was a pointed reference to such Charity Schools which failed in their professed objective of preserving children from vagrancy and fitting them for some sort of regular work - a point already noted with regard to Tom Nero in 'The Reward of Cruelty'. A woman lies in a drunken stupor on the left hand side of the steps with a snail crawling over her - indicating that she has been in this condition for some time.

The verses underneath the print, written by Hogarth's friend the Rev. James Townley, underline the scene:-

"Gin cursed Friend, with Fury fraught,
    Makes human race a Prey;
It enters by a deadly Draught,
    And steals our Life away.

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

Damn'd Cup! that on the vitals preys,
    That liquid Fire contains
Which madness to the Heart Conveys
    And rolls it thro' the Veins."

In 'Gin Lane', Hogarth presents alcoholism as a social and economic problem, his visual images providing powerful propaganda points. Clinical medical signs are also apparent, provided by this

acute observer of physiognomy and pathognomy. Although retrospective diagnosis of many of the problems presented is fraught with problems for the historian, the overall effects of the widespread consumption of gin were noted by many able observers.

In response to petitions from physicians, magistrates' committees, clergymen and private citizens, the government introduced legislation which was enacted in 1751. This restricted licensing of premises and imposed further duties on the sale of spirituous liquors. Infringements were more rigorously checked and penalties incurred. Gradually the problem diminished, but not without some outcry from those who, for various reasons disliked these measures. The Funeral Procession of Madam Geneva was advertised as follows on September 29, 1751:

> "To those Melancholy Sufferers (by a late Severe Act) the DISTILLERS this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd by a lover of Trade.'[26]

This was an engraved plate (Plate 99) of a street in St. Giles's, London, with a coffin on which lies a glass, noggin (a small mug or wooden cup which could hold a dram of alcoholic liquor of about a gill or quarter of a pint measure) and a key, being borne to a burial ground. It is followed by a poorly clad 'Loddy' described below as a "Beggar well known about St. Giles's, Seven Dials etc.", and a procession of publicans. Verses underneath include the lines:

> "GINS Fun'ral mourn, lo! ...
> Cheap Cordial for the Poors Relief!
> One half Penny cou'd chace their Grief ..."

Unfortunately, some nurses were amongst those who succumbed to the temptations of 'Madam Geneva'. Cadogan, in his Essay of 1748, had referred to the ignorance of nurses who, he said, retained traditional prejudices and customs handed down from their great-grandmothers, who in turn had been taught by the "Physicians of unenlightened Days."

Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, Religious Orders had been connected with nursing in special accommodation for the sick who could not be cared for in their own homes. Following this period, such accommodation was lacking and treatment at home was undertaken by good, bad and indifferent individuals many of whom were illiterate and untrained. Nursing was not a profession and no set standards of education, experience or character were demanded, and there was no incentive for individuals to improve their expertise. Even when hospitals were being built in London in the eighteenth century there was little distinction between those employed as domestic servants and nurses, similar menial tasks being expected of each.[27] Some nurses were kind and skilful, but many were ignorant, dirty and often drunk.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of Sunday 4th December 1748 informed readers that:

> "At a Christening at Beddington Surrey, the nurse was so intoxicated, that after she had undress'd the child, instead of laying it in the cradle, she put it behind a large fire, which burnt it to death in a few minutes. - She was examined before a Magistrate, and said she was quite stupid and senseless, so that she took the child for a log of wood; on which she was discharged."[28]

Hogarth, in his 'Operation Scene in a Hospital', illustrates the intoxicated or careless nurse setting fire to the physician's wig with

her lighted candle. He includes nurses in some of his other paintings and prints, usually as middle-aged or elderly women. At 'The Christening', the 'lying-in' or 'monthly' nurse - an elderly crone - sits dozing by the fire undisturbed by the proceedings and indifferent to the sickly mother next to her. Another is shown holding up a baby to kiss its father in the picture of The Staymaker whilst her other charge is engrossed in the task of pouring milk or water into his hat for the cat. The children's washing is hanging dangerously close to the unguarded fire to dry. Such incidents imply incompetence and lack of control over her charges. At the death of the harlot, in The Harlot's Progress, the nurse is rifling the contents of a trunk, either for suitable grave clothes or for items of use for herself. Nursing her patient is not uppermost in her mind as she disregards the needs of the harlot and the child who is in danger of burning himself, is hungry, and seems troubled with head lice. The elderly nurse present at the demise of the Countess in Marriage-a-la-Mode shows some compassion, and has taken the child to kiss farewell to his mother but her work-worn hands reflect many hours of menial labour.

Items of health care

Although much of Hogarth's medical imagery is overtly critical of medical care, his prints do contain evidence that care was indeed exercised in certain areas. This is shown by an assortment of aids which have been provided for some of the handicapped by either private or charitable means. These can be found in many of Hogarth's scenes. A variety of crutches are in use, such as the crested specimen used by the Earl in Marriage-a-la-Mode because of his gout, and a similar unadorned one used by Mr. Chalkstone in The Election Entertainment.

A cripple in Plate 6 of Industry and Idleness uses a hand-crutch to enable him to drag himself along (Plate 100). This is similar to those depicted by Breughel in his painting of The Cripples. Another type can be seen under the arm of a lame man wending his way with the procession on the route to Tyburn in Plate 11 of the same series (Plate 101). This crutch has two legs, the posterior one of which has a curved or horizontal section on which the holder can rest his knee to support his injured foot or lower leg.

Some individuals survived amputation in spite of the high mortality rate associated with the operation. Prostheses are being worn by a gentleman at the polling booth in the Election series - a wooden peg-leg serving for his right leg and a metal hook for his left hand (Plate 30). An old soldier, his amputations were presumably performed by army surgeons, many of whom were competent and speedy in their operations. A similar peg-leg is supporting another survivor who can be seen wielding a cudgel in Plate 4 of the same series.

A different kind of leg support is being worn by the weakly heir to Lord Squanderfield in Plate 6 of the Marriage-a-la-Mode series (Plate 63). These are types of braces or calipers which can be seen fitted to the child's shoes and in this case are being used to support rickety limbs.

Problems with vision occur in any society, and evidence of these is present in Hogarth's 'societies'. Spectacles with convex lenses were in common use by the middle of the fourteenth century, and the concave variety for the correction of near sight were available towards the end ot the fifteenth century, but not widely used until the eighteenth century.[29] Spectacles were commonly seen on the trays

of pedlars and hawkers and sold by quacks in the market-places, and were selected by individuals on a trial and error basis. Advances in prescribing and fitting suitable lenses did not become effective until the following century.

The first spectacles consisted of two lenses in metal, wood or horn frames joined together by a fixed bridge which was perched on the nose. More efficient means of keeping them in position were not developed until the eighteenth century, when the first type with extensions, called 'temples', were made. These had short arms with circular or padded end-pieces which gripped the wearers' temples. Hogarth provides the conductor with a pair of 'temples' in his print A Chorus of Singers . (Plate 102). These have extended pieces attached to the bridge of the spectacles and padded end-pieces which grip the conductor's temples. A member of the choir is holding a hand-glass, a common but less convenient means of improving vision.

In Hogarth's prints, spectacles were not the prerogative of the wealthy. A worthy Member of the Bench whose spectacles are balanced on the end of his nose and the lawyer who is scanning the marriage contract in Marriage-a-la-Mode are no better equipped than the man at The Cockpit or the gentleman attending church in Plate 2 of Industry and Idleness . A woman in the latter print is using a pair of spectacles to assist her in her devotions, and the Surgeon in The Reward of Cruelty uses his to aid him in his gory task. Hogarth only seems to provide spectacles for those engaged in activities requiring good near-vision.

Those afflicted with deafness apparently had the benefit of ear-trumpets. One such is being used at The Cockpit (Plate 103), but its

effectiveness here is doubtful in view of the shouting proceeding at one end, and the impassive countenance at the other.

Dental care was poor. Edentulous gums are in evidence in some of the prints, extraction of teeth being the only effective form of treatment available until later in the century. Hogarth's portrait of Fielding shows the latter with typical features of someone whose upper set of teeth is missing and the jaw consequently receding.

Such references to incidental features in Hogarth's works show again how examination of the details which he provides is important in order to appreciate fully the social and medical circumstances to which he was so alert.

Hogarth, on his own admission, wished to draw attention to various social and moral issues in society. He would have had nothing to gain and much to lose by what would be readily recognised as misrepresentation of the visual signs of the social, moral and medical issues. Although his interpretations of the signs might differ from that of other witnesses, they had to be seen to be readily identifiable within an agreed framework of representation. By co-ordinating his graphic images with those images provided by his literary contemporaries and with medical writings of the time, it can be seen that they do present convincing observations of the prevailing medical scene and 'articulate' some of the opinions expressed at the time. Hogarth offers what is essentially a well-informed, humane and sceptical layman's view of the world of medicine as it impinged on the society that he portrayed. Where he went beyond such a layman was in his ability to translate his sharp observations into effective graphic

form within brilliantly conceived narrative contexts. Whether the reason for his images was to exploit topical events, to provide social or moral messages, for 'propaganda' or political purposes, in portraits or in portraying people in sickness or in health, a framework of realistic characterisation was essential to his art. Hogarth was not bound by artistic conventions in these portrayals, but used and subverted the conventions where he felt this would be effective and would add to the knowledge and impact of the theme. His deliberate flouting of convention attracted attention to his work, both by way of admiration and condemnation. He opened the doors for other artists to develop their own ideas and to escape from the shackles of tradition. This was one way in which Hogarth was an important artistic figure of the eighteenth century.

The next section of this study explores the works of some of those artists who benefitted from Hogarth's breaking of the bonds of convention.

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16. Coffey p.671 quoted from Morris, Corbyn. *Observation on the past Growth and Present State of London*, 1751 p.115.

17. Fielding, Henry *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers etc. with some proposals for remedying this growing evil, 1751.*

18. *Ireland, J. & Nichols, John. Hogarth's Complete Works*, Vol. II pp. 71-2.

19. *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints Lately Publish'd.*

20. George, M. Dorothy. *London Life...* p.54.

21. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XIII Jan.20 1743 p.38.

22. Rodin, Alvin E. 'Infants and Gin Mania in 18C. London', *J.A.M.A.* March 27, 1981. Vol.245 No.12 pp. 1237-1239.

23. A report from the Middlesex Sessions Committee in 1735.

24. In 1739, Capt. Coram got the support of a number of ladies of rank who signed a memorial to the Government. A Charter was granted in 1739 which led to the establishment of the Foundling Hospital, the Foundation stone of the main building was laid in 1742, see George, M. Dorothy *London Life...* p.56.

25. Ireland, John. *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791 ii p.330.

26. *B.M.Cat* No.3121.

27. Singer & Underwood. *Short History of Medicine*, p.702.

28. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sunday Dec. 4th., 1748. p.570.

29. Singer & Underwood. *Short History of Medicine*, p.641.

SECTION II

Introduction

This section is concerned mainly with medical images gleaned from the work of Thomas Rowlandson, who was perhaps the most prolific British artist of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although examples from the work of other artists are included. It begins with some information about Rowlandson's background in a similar fashion to that provided for Hogarth in Section I, in order to give some indication of how the artist probably obtained the medical knowledge which he incorporated into some of his images.

Hogarth had decided to give his art a purpose, as was demonstrated in Section I, to give opportunities for native British painters to display their work, and, he hoped, to take the place of foreign artists whose work had traditionally been bought by fashionable gentlemen. Many connoisseurs of the period did not take Hogarth seriously and throughout his life, he waged a grim campaign against fashionable taste.[1] One British painter who did satisfy elegant eighteenth-century taste was Joshua Reynolds, who had been to Italy and studied works of the Old Masters such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo. He believed in rules of 'taste', the moral and uplifting value of art and in the superiority of history painting, beliefs which he later disclosed in his Academy 'Discourses'. He accepted that at that time, however, portraiture was the only art in real demand in Britain. Reynolds was anxious to preserve tradition and felt that art should be an academic study. Some private academies, such as that opened by Thornhill and continued by Hogarth, had previously been established; the Incorporated Society of Artists

had received Royal patronage, and exhibitions had been held, but, with Reynolds' encouragement, the Royal Academy in London was founded in 1768 This also enjoyed Royal patronage, and Joshua Reynolds was appointed its first President. The establishment of the Academy as a school led to the introduction of annual exhibitions of members' work. Members were encouraged to exhibit their work, which, as the century progressed, became increasingly innovative as the popularity of the annual exhibitions grew and they became venues for social activities and topics of conversation in polite society. Artists sought to attract attention and commissions. A new freedom developed in artistic choice as painters sought to arouse interest in various topics. Landscape painting, previously regarded as an inferior branch of art, flourished and attitudes towards subject matter changed.

Rowlandson grew up in this artistic climate and his work demonstrates his original freedom of expression but also his awareness of conventional or traditional thought.

The ensuing chapters illustrate some of the developing trends in contemporary medical fields through the artist's work and that of some of his contemporaries. They show how fashion and a newly awakened interest in natural science and philosophy dictated many of these. The role of the 'quack' is also demonstrated as he exploits the new interests. 'Fashion' took patients and artists to Bath to 'Take the Waters'; it offered a label of 'hypochondriasis' - 'the hyp' or 'the vapours' - to those with some non-specific malaise which might be induced by boredom or unexplained disease; it introduced 'animal magnetism' and 'tractorisation'; it led to the acceptance of the man-midwife in the delivery room, and to the eventual acceptance of the practice of vaccination against small-pox. The fear of surgery and

its association with 'anatomisation' noted earlier in the century and highlighted by Hogarth in his 'Reward of Cruelty' continued into the nineteenth-century, and is well illustrated. More care was offered in the field of dentistry, a field allied to medicine, and this, too, is visually represented . The rise in popularity and expertise of the Scottish medical schools and the antagonism generated between the Members of the Royal College of Physicians and those whom they regarded as less competent or 'refined' - and therefore only fit to be Licentiates of the College - is also satirically portrayed in a general survey of medical images produced by artists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some detailed descriptions of the characters depicted in these representations or of the scenes portrayed are provided in order to indicate the topicality of the images and to place them into the context of the period in which they were drawn.

The artists represented in this section offer a visual record of the evolution of contemporary ideas as they affected medical treatments. As was indicated in Section I, they transformed some of the treatments into political remedies for the benefit of the State. As examples, quack remedies for the health of the body politic are represented in The State Quack; politician Fox finds his way to 'Bedlam' in an engraving attributed to Isaac Cruikshank; and Prime Minister Pitt is taken for treatment to the artist and healer, Loutherbourg, in Billy's Gouty Visit, or a Peep at Hammersmith. A condition such as gout continued to be used as a visual representation of an unpopular constitutional issue, used to infer some character defect in the owner or as a just punishment for misdemeanors - as 'the wage' of sin. Conversely, good health was often portrayed as the prerogative of the virtuous or innocent. Whatever the nature of

sickness or remedy, the frame of reference had to be realistic for the satirical point to be made effectively. The prints work with a complex compound of exaggeration and realism, the truth of which can be evaluated in relation to the evidence to be drawn from contemporary literary and medical sources.

Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827)

Thomas Rowlandson was born in Old Jewry, London, in 1756 and died in 1827. He was the son of a tradesman who dealt in woollen and silk fabrics but, like Hogarth's father, became bankrupt. This occurred in 1759 and Rowlandson and his younger sister were brought up by an uncle and aunt. He attended school in Soho and showing an early talent for art, which was fostered by his aunt, went to the Royal Academy school at the age of 16 years. He received training there for about six years, but spent a period of this time in Paris in order to study at one of the drawing academies and to become conversant with the French style of painting.

He resumed his studies at the Royal Academy in 1775 and first exhibited a work there in that year - of a conventional Biblical nature - followed by further exhibits between 1777 and 1781[2]. His formal training would have included drawing from life and studying the Old Masters in the manner condemned by Hogarth. His early works included portraits and landscapes which he painted in oils, but he changed to water-colour later and developed his own style with its elements of caricature. Even more than Hogarth, he wished to avoid the trappings of the grand style of art which he associated with what he saw as the pretentious nature and attitudes of members of the Royal

Academy of Arts. Rowlandson's figure-style with its bulging, untidy lines with broken contours and scenes overflowing the margins of the picture, with disorder and unruliness and false perspectives, were part of his conscious rebellion against the stultifying order and conventions that tradition dictated. This style of drawing, to which attention is drawn, is an inherent part of Rowlandson's work, conveying part of his message or satirical reference.

During the time that Rowlandson was a pupil at the Academy, William Hunter, surgeon, man-midwife and anatomist, lectured in anatomy. As will be seen later, Rowlandson subsequently produced a drawing of William and John, his brother, dissecting at William Hunter's private School of Anatomy. His connection with John Hunter led him to draw the Irish giant, O'Brien, a character in whom John Hunter was particularly interested. This drawing will also be discussed, as will other drawings concerned with anatomical themes which show Rowlandson's awareness of the activities of the 'resurrection men' or 'sack-em-up men' in their quest for dissection material.

Rowlandson travelled widely in England - including Bath, where his drawings of 'Taking the Waters' were conceived - and abroad, visiting France, Germany, Italy and Holland. Pictorial records testify to these journeys. He would store up visual records for regurgitation later in the form of incidents and anecdotes which would be fluently portrayed and avidly received by an enthusiastic public. He was regarded as the pictorial chronicler of the time, and collections of his prints were often available in portfolios or bound in volumes for 'reading' and amusement at country-house weekends and

on show in the windows of print shops from where they could be hired. Some were pasted up at street corners or ale houses and gin shops, whilst others decorated cottage walls.

His aunt died in 1789 leaving him a substantial legacy, but his pencil remained his fortune. A rather profligate life-style frequently led to a depletion of funds, but he was a scrupulously honest man and avoided getting into debt - perhaps as a result of his father's experience. His profligacy reflected the life-style of many of his contemporaries, and included gambling, hard drinking and promiscuity. He was good-natured, mild-tempered and sociable, and did not take life too seriously. This latter attribute spills on to his paper and he exhibits many of life's lighter aspects, some of them in a boisterous and bawdy vein. He seemed to find humour in most situations, but his humour was without malice. His output was prodigious, but whereas Hogarth's works can be read both individually and collectively in a series, Rowlandson offers a simple anecdote with little need for comment and with immediate appeal. Themes and stock images abound providing ease of recognition, such as doctors with pomposity, peri-wigs, canes and lack of morals (possibly borrowed from Hogarth), boring clergymen, grasping lawyers and drunken nurses. His representation of figures works within a framework of life-likeness but are caricatures of life, sometimes even coarse and vulgar and he offers many of life's contrasts - the fat and thin, tall and short, ugly and beautiful, robust and infirm, some pictures being offered in pairs to illustrate social and domestic situations which give rise to contrasting behaviour. Annibale Carracci is credited with saying,

> "A good caricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself."

Carracci (1560-1609) was the inventor of mock portraits, and from whom the name 'caricature' derived.

Contact with medical men included his friendship with John Wolcot, who studied medicine in London in 1762 and obtained an M.D. degree from Aberdeen University in 1767. Indecision as to his future career followed a spell as physician in Jamaica and led to his taking orders for the Church and securing a living in Jamaica. Dissatisfied with this, he reverted to medicine, which he finally abandoned about 1778. He returned to London, commenced as a painter and wrote satirical works under the name of 'Peter Pindar'. His opinion was that a physician could do little more for a patient than watch nature and "give her a shove on the back if he sees her inclined to do right."[3] Wolcot and Rowlandson were frequent supper companions and it is probable that many of Wolcot's anecdotes appear in Rowlandson's drawings.

Rowlandson illustrated works of such medical authors as Smollett and Goldsmith and those of Sterne and Fielding, authors whose books contained medical themes and examples of quackery. Other associates included artists Morland and Wheatfield and James Gillray, Henry Bunbury and Henry Wigstead who were also caricaturists and may have had some influence on Rowlandson's ideas and output. Friends amongst print-publishers, such as Rudolph Ackermann, assisted him in the publication of his work. He joined Gillray in the production of some political caricatures, but Rowlandson did not seem to take a

consistent polemical stance. All factions were rejected and espoused at any or the same time. Such prints etched and produced in a hurry, provided him with a good income, whereas original drawings had a limited outlet amongst friends and collectors. Medical images were invoked in many of his political prints, embellished with wit and topical comment. Collaboration with the architectural draughtsman Auguste Charles Pugin led to a project 'Microcosm of London'. This series contains some items of medical interest, such as the depiction of St. Luke's Mental Hospital to which further reference is made later in this section.

Rowlandson made no attempt to adopt a consistent moralising stance as Hogarth had done. He simply related an incident, but sometimes used a subsidiary detail to echo the main theme, added a short caption or backcloth for extra effect, or made an allegorical reference by painting a picture within a picture - usually a caricature of a traditional theme. He had little acquaintance with high society, and his world was of the comfortable middle class and his outlook was their outlook.

Medical images are examined in the following chapters in similar fashion to those discussed in Section 1. The first chapter is concerned mainly with those images that illustrate the effect that fashion had on both treatment and disease. Moral aspects of health care continue to be addressed where appropriate. The first fashion to be examined through the medium of graphic and literary artists is that of 'Taking the Waters'. This was just one of the treatments that was offered for a wide range of disorders. Others followed.

Chapter 7

FASHIONS IN HEALTH AND TREATMENT

'Taking the Waters.'

> "Fashion has long influenced the great and opulent in the choice of their physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives; but it is not so obvious how it has influenced them also in the choice of their diseases..."[1]

Different fashions in medical treatment for both real and imagined diseases waxed and waned during the eighteenth-century. Some of those in vogue can be visualised through the works of contemporary literary and graphic artists. Although many were of an ephemeral nature, one long-lasting fashion was that of 'Taking the Waters'.

In 1798 Rowlandson produced a series of drawings - The Comforts of Bath- which was used to illustrate the 1858 edition of Christopher Anstey's *New Bath Guide*, (first published in 1766).[2] This series, (illustrated in Plates 104,109,113,115,116,& 117) satirically depicts the activities, both social and medical, which took place in this Spa. These drawings can be compared with those of other graphic artists and with contemporary medical and literary observations of the activities in Bath in an attempt to evaluate Rowlandson's perceptions and representations of this fashionable health trend. Rowlandson's style of drawing with its disordered and unruly lines, in addition to its content, evokes similar disorderliness in society in Bath and emphasises the satirical points he makes about the Spa.

The Greeks had practised a cult of natural mineral water therapy under carefully regulated conditions and this practice had continued

intermittently during later periods. It came into vogue again in the first quarter of the eighteenth century - mainly for the treatment of gout. Hydrotherapy had been re-introduced at several spas such as Buxton and Malvern, and the thermal waters at Bath appeared to be particularly suitable for this practice. Queen Anne visited Bath in 1702-3, thereby giving it fashionable status. The waters caused a temporary exacerbation of the gout which was thought to 'clear the system', and long periods of remission often followed. In addition to those afflicted with the gout, sufferers from other conditions such as consumption and melancholia were often sent to take the waters in the hope of obtaining similar benefit. James Adair, a Scottish physician, described how:

> "From a well grounded opinion that Bath waters are very beneficial in colics produced by gall-stones, and other cases of defective bile, a very considerable proportion of the patients who resort to that place, go with a strong prepossession that their complaints are bilious ..."[3]

To accompany treatment, medical advisers were necessary, and leading physicians such as Falconer, Haygarth, Cheyne and Parry settled there in addition to other less notable practitioners.

Richard Steele, in the *Guardian* in 1713 'On the Manners of the Bath Visitors', wrote:

> "The physicians here are very numerous, but very good-natured. To these charitable gentlemen I owe, that I was cured, in a week's time, of more distempers than I have ever had in my life..."[4]

The activities at Bath had exercised the minds and pens of many writers and artists including, Tobias Smollett (1727-1771). Smollett

had attended medical and anatomy lectures at Glasgow University and had been apprenticed for five years to two Glasgow surgeons. Owing to his poor health, he was released from his apprenticeship in 1739 and proceeded to London. He passed the requisite examination at the Surgeons' Hall and in 1740 served as a surgeon in the Royal Navy on the 'Chichester'. After some time in Jamaica he returned to London, and in 1744, was practising as a surgeon and living in Downing Street. His surgical practice was apparently unsuccessful, and the following year he moved to cheaper accommodation, where he wielded his pen in addition to his knife. *The Adventures of Roderick Random* was the first successful venture in the literary field and appeared in 1748. Although he then decided that a literary career would be the main focus of his attention, he retained an interest in medicine, and, on the grounds that a degree would serve him well, he sent a fee of £28 and two sponsorship certificates to Aberdeen University, receiving a diploma of M.D. in return. He proudly displayed this on the title-page of many of his works. He received his M.D. in 1750, and in the same year *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* was published. He produced numerous works including novels, translations, medical essays (including one on *The External Use of Water* in 1752) and histories, and edited many more (including an edition of Smellie's *Midwifery* - in 1752). His *Essay on The External Use of Water*[5] was written in support of the surgeon Archibald Cleland who criticised the facilities provided at Bath for the bathers and the vested interests of the physicians there who acquired fortunes for themselves by their practices but failed to show any benefits for their patients.

Smollett counted some eminent medical men amongst his friends and acquaintances, as can be verified from perusal of his letters.[6] During the last ten years of his life, during which time he was probably suffering from consumption or tuberculosis, his health deteriorated and he travelled widely in search of a suitable climate and treatment. A visit to Bath was included which led to his humorous novel *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* in which Matthew Bramble, the main character, visits Bath in his search for health. His views of Bath and those of his niece Lydia are based on Smollett's own experience supported by information given to him by Mr. Cleland and approximate to those of Anstey. Rowlandson assimilated them all in his inimitable way into his paintings The Comforts of Bath. He also drew ten plates for the 1805 Edinburgh edition of 'Humphrey Clinker' and must have been familiar with its contents.

Medicine in some form plays a part in many of Smollett's works. Apart from his academic excursions, he comments upon contemporary medical practitioners and their practices and upon common beliefs regarding these. His fictitious physicians, surgeons and apothecaries reflect his own medical experiences and his attitudes and numerous letters confirm some of the latter. They all help to provide a backcloth for the artists of the time. Rowlandson was no exception, especially as he illustrated many of Smollett's works.

A few words about the origin of *The New Bath Guide* help to explain the nature of Rowlandson's drawings which later accompanied them. Christopher Anstey visited Bath for the benefit of his health following the death of a near relative. To amuse himself and his friends while he was there, he wrote a series of 'poetical epistles',

penned "to shoot folly as it flies".[7] These were first published in 1766 as *The New Bath Guide*, which went on to more than 20 editions. Its popularity was partly due to its novel style but also because of the inclusion of portrait sketches of known characters in the city. It professed to be a guide to warn the unwary traveller of the "whirlpools and rocks" in the voyage of life. Anstey later settled in Bath with his family.

The Rev. John Penrose, a Cornish clergyman who visited Bath in 1766 seeking a cure for his gout, wrote letters almost daily to his daughter at home. In one of these he mentions 'The Guide' in the following terms:

> "We have read 'The New Bath Guide', a series of Poetical Epistles, describing the Manners and Humours of the People. Some of it is very well, but upon the whole scarce worth the Price it is sold at, five shillings. But it is the Fashion to read it: and, who would be out of the Fashion?"[8]

The first plate of Rowlandson's The Comforts of Bath (Plate 104) illustrates an oedematous (fluid-swollen) man who is suffering additional torments at the hands of the doctors, as one inspects his tongue and two others palpate his pulse. One of these holds up a time-piece and the other holds cane to chin in a contemplative gesture. A nurse slumbers in the background. The practice whereby many practitioners were consulted was previously illustrated by Hogarth. Anstey refers to Hogarth at the beginning of his 'Guide' :

> "I'm certain none of Hogarth's sketches
> E'er formed a set of stranger wretches."[9]

The 'wretches' include the members of the Blunderhead family whose memoirs form the basis of the 'Guide'. The head of this dynasty refers to his declining health and to the distance that he has travelled (260 miles) in order to restore it. Over-indulgence had contributed to his present condition, a practice to which physician George Cheyne had earlier drawn attention when condemning the evils of luxury. Cheyne had weighed 32 stone before 'recovering' by following a milk and vegetable diet. He described his own 'conversion' in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1735.[10] His treatise *Observations on Gout and the Bath waters* (1720) proved popular and seven editions were printed in six years. In it he ascribed the acquisition of gout to "Ignorance or Negligence of the Exact Rules of living", although he did concede an hereditary pre-disposition or "Taint" for the disease in some people.[11]

Anstey's Matthew Blunderhead wrote to his mother about the practices at Bath:

> "For the people say here, be whatever your case,
> You are sure to get well if you come to this place.
> . . . .
> As we all came for health, as a body may say,
> I sent for the doctor the very next day,
> And the doctor was pleas'd, tho' so short was the warning,
> To come to our lodging betimes in the morning;
> He look'd very thoughtful and grave to be sure,
> And I said to myself,- there's no hopes of a cure!
> But I thought I should faint, when I saw him, dear mother,
> Feel my pulse with one hand, with a watch in the other."
> . . . .
> And so, as I grew every day worse and worse,
> The doctor advised me to send for a nurse.
> And the nurse was so willing my health to restore,
> She begged me to send for a few doctors more;
> For when any difficult work's to be done,
> Many heads can despatch it much sooner than one;
> And I find there are doctors enough at this place,
> If you want to consult in a dangerous case!"[12]

The mention of a watch to check Mr. Bramble's pulse seems to have occasioned him some concern. The first efficient instrument of precision used in clinical medicine was the 'pulse watch' which was invented by Sir John Floyer (1649-1734) and was introduced as a 'Physician's Pulse Watch' in 1707. It was timed to record one minute. Such a watch was not widely used for some time, and more effective pulse watches were not available in general practice until the nineteenth century. Having his pulse 'timed' may well have been an unusual event for Mr. Bramble, and a point worthy of illustration by Rowlandson.

Smollett gave a description of a 'coterie' or 'knot' of practitioners waiting, rather like vultures, to relieve the sick, principally of their money. In his novel *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753), he writes:

> "Every knot was composed of a waiting-woman, nurse, apothecary, surgeon, and physician, and sometimes a midwife was admitted to the partie; and in this manner the farce was commonly performed.
>
> A fine lady, fatigued with idleness, complains of the vapours, is deprived of her rest, tho' not so sick as to have recourse to medicine; her favourite maid, tired with giving her attendance in the night ... recommends to her mistress a nurse ... The nurse, well skilled in the mysteries of her occupation, persuades the patient, that her malady, far from being slight or chimerical, may proceed to a very dangerous degree of the hysterical affection, unless it be nipt in the bud by some very effectual remedy: then she recounts a surprising cure performed by a certain apothecary, ... The apothecary being summoned, finds her ladyship in such a delicate situation, that he declines prescribing, and advises her to send for a physician without delay. The nomination of course falls to him, and the doctor being called, declares the necessity of immediate venaesection, which is accordingly performed by a surgeon of the association."[13]

The order of participation of the accomplices varied, and, in a satirical drawing by Woodward in 1793, even an undertaker is ominously included in the 'partie' (Plate 105)

Rowlandson produced a similar scene to that of the first plate of 'Comforts of Bath' in 1808 (Plate 106). This is entitled The Consultation or Last Hope. In this, the number of practitioners has increased. Five surround the patient, engaged in examination and consultation, whilst others wait on the sidelines for their turn. The mantelpiece sports evidence of many tried remediesand the nurse still slumbers. Two other drawings of Rowlandson's illustrate the same theme (Plates 107 & 108).

The third plate of the series,'The Comforts of Bath', shows the sick, the lame and the fashionable sampling the waters in the Pump Room (Plate 109).

> "At a place where they tell you that water alone
> Can cure all distempers that ever were known."[14]

Smollett wrote of this via the pen of Lydia in *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (1771). Lydia wrote from Bath to her friend:

> "...The pumper, with his wife and servant attend within a bar; and the glasses, of different sizes, stand ranged in order before them, so you have nothing to do but to point at that which you chuse, and it is filled immediately, hot and sparkling from the pump."[15]

In a personal letter which Smollett wrote to Dr. William Hunter in 1762, he commented upon the benefits that he had experienced during a stay in Bath:

> "...Since my arrival in Bath I have ...slept very well ... I drink moderately of the water, ride out every day on the Downs

> ... I believe my breathing so easily is owing to the warmth and moisture of the air at Bath, which seems to be peculiarly adapted to my Lungs. Yet I can feel a very sensible Effect from the waters. I have no sooner drank a large Glass of them Hot from the Pump than my Face, my Hands, and Feet begin to glow; and this sensation is succeeded by an itching and tingling all over the Surface of my Body ... I think I can plainly perceive these mineral waters opening up the obstructed Capillaries, and restoring the Perspiration ... I intend in a few days to bathe with a View to open still more effectually the Strainer of the Skin ..." [16]

The Strangers' Assistant and Guide to Bath (1773)[17] informs its readers that the Pump-Room where water is usually drunk serves as a meeting-place for company every morning from 8 to 10. A band plays music in the gallery during this time. Water may be drunk between the hours of 6 a.m. and 2 p.m. in the summer season, and 7 a.m. and 4 p.m. in winter. The common method employed was to drink half the prescribed quantity before breakfast and the rest before noon, but the timing and quantity could be varied according to the nature of the disorder for which it was to be taken. Usually one half to three pints was recommended in 24 hours. The guide contains a description of the water, which was clear, colourless and sparkling when first drawn, but on standing acquired a slight wheyish tinge, with an ochery precipitation. It contains "Sulphur, common salt and selenites, iron in small quantities and aerial volatile substances." The guide compares the latter to what the "modern philosophers call 'fixible air'." The efficacy of the waters was said to be due to the exhalation of this air.

The medicinal effects of the waters were to be gained from both internal and external use and amongst the many complaints for which

Bath waters were said to be beneficial was 'The Gout'. This says the 'Stranger' Guide', bears first place amongst the remarkable cures by

> "... bringing the paroxysms of this disorder to a happy crisis by fixing them in their proper situation ... the extremities, and thus relieving the head, stomach, and vital parts, in promoting the exit of gouty matter by an easy and gentle perspiratory discharge, and thus in a manner most agreeable to nature, giving a full and compleat termination to the paroxysm."

Of the Bath Waters, Cheyne wrote:

> "I have often observ'd, with Admiration, the Wisdom and Goodness of Providence, in furnishing so wonderful an Antidote to almost all the Chronical Distempers of an English Constitution and Climate, which are chiefly owing to Errors of Diet, or rather, as a Sacred Writer expresses it, To Idleness and Fulness of Bread. The Rankness of the Soil; the Richness of the Provisions; the living so much on Flesh Meats; the Inconstancy of the Weather, and the indulging in Sedentary Amusements, or speculative Studies, directly leading thereto. To Remedy all which, kind Heaven has provided Bath Waters as the most Sovereign Restorative in all the Weaknesses of the Concoctive Powers."[11]

It was recommended that the waters should be taken both internally and externally to "prevent those rigidity of the limbs which frequently are produced by Gout." Other disorders for which the waters were recommended included "paralytic complaints". It was recognised that metallic substances such as arsenic, copper, antimony, lead and mercury either taken by mouth or "by means of fume", by miners, plumbers and gilders, could result in some form of paralysis. These sufferers could be improved by the waters. Bilious disorders, dysentery, gravelly conditions, "Hysteric and Hypochondriac Disorders", rheumatic complaints, skin lesions and many more disorders were also said to be alleviated, although caution was recommended in

the presence of fevers, inflammations, cancers and "maniacal complaints".

Blame for the prevalence of gout in the eighteenth century has been partially attributed to the presence of lead which was used to line the barrels containing port, wine and spirits, with contamination of the contents. The use of pewter drinking vessels and pans was common and acidic drinks, such as cider, dissolved some of the metal, causing a disorder known as 'Devonshire colic'. Sometimes balls of lead were suspended in rough cider to sweeten it, with similar results. Lead poisoning caused damage to the kidneys leading to an increase in the uric acid levels in the blood and the consequent deposition of uric acid crystals or gouty concretions in the tissues. Joints were destroyed in the condition known as 'Tophaceous Gout', causing excruciating pain. 'Gravel' in the urine was also associated with the increased blood uric acid levels. Benefit from the waters was obtained by means of increased fluid intake and diuresis, or increased urinary output from the kidneys, and the 'gravel' was expelled in the urine.

Rowlandson's 'Pump Room' illustrates the pumper drawing the water, whilst a young lady serves it to the customers. Two of these are sampling the water and others wait their turn. On the left-hand side of the picture, an invalid in his gout chair is being wheeled forwards. A sedan-chair, officially called a Glass chair or Bath chair, disgorges another afflicted individual. Rows of seated clients may be enjoying the music of the band which was mentioned in the guide, although the players are not seen in this view. The original Pump-Room was built in 1704-6 and enlarged in 1751, before demolition

and reconstruction in 1795. Rowlandson's scene is of the room before the 1795 restructuring took place. Two important features remained. One of these is the statue of Richard Nash in the niche on the rear wall. Richard Nash, or Beau Nash as he was known - and referred to as 'King Nash' and the 'real Founder of Bath',[18] was an entrepreneur and gambler, who had gone to Bath from London to seek his fortune. This was in 1705. He soon became the major figure there and Master of Ceremonies. During the early part of the eighteenth century, the attractions of Bath had not been confined to its waters. Pickpockets, gamblers, duellists and quacks also found visits to Bath beneficial to their welfare. Nash diagnosed the ills of the City and was determined to improve matters by way of regulation of the society, and promotion of projects which included cleaning the streets and restructuring much of the city. The latter was accomplished with the help of architect and wealthy businessman, John Wood, and Ralph Allen. Between them a handsome city with entertainments in the form of concerts, assemblies, theatres and gardens was established and Nash introduced regulations for the activities within the Baths. His rules of conduct, of orderly living and good manners, became established and the city thrived. Some London physicians had poured scorn on the medicinal use of the waters, fearing competition from the success of a provincial Spa, but pressure from local doctors, headed by Dr. William Oliver (1659-1716), led to the construction of the first Pump Room. Even after his death, in 1761, Nash continued to overlook the scene through the eyes of his statue, sculpted by Prince Hoare and placed in the Pump Room. In this, his right hand is resting on a plinth on which a plan of the proposed new General Hospital is displayed - another worthy project.

A long-case Tompion clock, made and presented to the city by Thomas Tompion in 1709, is the second feature which sets Rowlandson's scene. Both this and the statue of Nash can be seen in the Pump-Room today.

Artist John Nixon offers a satirical scene of the Pump-Room also showing the statue and clock (Plate 110). He painted this in 1792. Nixon's scene is an example of the kind of drawing known as a 'droll' or comic scene, of the type which proved popular at the time. Amongst his invalids in the Pump-Room are three dogs in the foreground which seem to wish to socialise in the manner of their human counterparts, illustrating the kind of scene described by Smollett:

> "...the Pump-room ... is crowded like a Welsh fair; and there you see the highest quality, and the lowest trades folk, jostling each other, without ceremony, hail-fellow well-met." [19]

Nixon portrays the social mix catered for by the end of the century. Nixon was a friend of Rowlandson and sometimes collaborated with him in his work. The two were together in Bath in 1792, the year in which Nixon painted this scene.

An engraved _Fan-painting_ by G. Speren gives the Pump-room of 1736 a more colourful and charming setting (Plate 111). The music gallery can be seen in this view. In 1784, Humphry Repton also painted the scene. (Plate 112) He includes an old man whose knees are flexed and who requires support from the gentleman behind him in addition to a stick. His paralysis may now be attributed to peripheral neuritis, an affliction which can be caused by chronic lead poisoning, with such demonstrable effects. The unpleasant taste of

the water is clearly indicated by the expression on the face of the lady close to the pump. A series of couplets underneath Repton's painting describes some of the inhabitants of the scene:

> "Hither the Sick, the Gay, the Old, the Young;
> Impell'd by Hope of Change, successive throng:
> Here the light Widow, ogling every Beau
> Hopes to forget, and get a Husband too,
> Here Fops get Fortunes, Cits get rid of Cares,
> And Doating Husbands fancy they get Heirs."

These paintings can be compared with Rowlandson's view, in which the Georgian windows are opened wide to admit chairs, invalids and the elements. Colonnades were added later to provide covered access to the entrance.

Plate VII of Rowlandson's series, 'The Comforts of Bath', illustrates the Comforts of Bathing (see Plate 113). The 'Strangers' Guide' describes the proceedings associated with such bathing, and refers to the original bather - one 'Bladud' - whose statue overlooks Rowlandson's scene. Legend has it that Bladud, son of the ancient British King Lud Hudibras, suffered from leprosy and was forced into exile from his father's court. He became a swineherd and in the course of his wanderings came upon a steaming swamp by the bank of the River Avon. The pigs wallowed in the warm mud and emerged with previously blemished skin, healthy. Bladud followed suit and was cured of his leprosy. He returned to court and, on becoming King in due course, established his seat at Bath and built cisterns to retain the healing waters. The statue remains and underneath are inscribed the words:-

> "Bladud son of LudHudibras Eighth King of the Britons from Brute. A Great Philosopher Mathematician bred at Athens and

> recorded the first discoverer & founder of these Baths, eight hundred sixty three years before Christ, that is two thousand five hundred and sixty-two years to the present year 1699."

In 1773 there were three main public baths, the King's, the Hot, and the Cross-Bath, and a fourth belonging to the Duke of Kingston. These had their own springs. In addition there was the Queen's Bath which was supplied with water from the King's Bath and the Lepers' Bath which was supplied from the Hot Bath.

The King's Bath was the largest (65ft.10ins. by 40ft.) and contained several springs, the greatest of which flowed into a large lead cistern about four feet below the surface. Several pipes were inserted into this to yield the water for drinking,

> "as the water flows upwards in a strong, long and uninterrupted stream, all communication between the water which supplies the pumps used for those who drink the waters, and the water in the Baths, is prevented."[19]

That was the theory as stated in the 'Strangers' Guide', but Smollett was concerned with the lack of hygiene connected with this practice. In his *Essay on The External Use of Water* he described his concern with regard to bathing there, using information given to him by the surgeon, Mr. Cleland:

> "... some may be apprehensive of being tainted with infectious distempers; or disgusted with the nauseating appearances of the filth, which, being washed from the bodies of the patients, is left sticking to the sides of the place."[20]

Smollett also communicated his concern in a letter to 'Dr. Lewis', written by Matthew Bramble in *The Adventures of Humphrey Clinker* thus:

"Two days ago, I went into the King's Bath, by the advice of our friend Ch__,[Cheyne], in order to clear the strainer of the skin, for the benefit of a free perspiration; and the first object that saluted my eye; was a child full of scrophulous ulcers, carried in the arms of one of the guides, under the very noses of the bathers ... we know not what sores may be running into the water while we are bathing, and what sort of matter we may thus imbibe; the King's evil, the scurvy, the cancer, and the pox; and, no doubt, the heat will render the virus the more volatile and penetrating."[21]

Cheyne wrote of how

"The Sulphur in the Bath Waters is evident to the senses, swimming in large Clusters on the Tops of the Baths mix'd with Earth, and some vegetable Substances... and is found an excellent Remedy in Scurvies, Leprosies, Ringworms, and other Foulness of the Skin ..."[11]

After conversing with Dr. Cheyne regarding the construction of the pump and cistern, Bramble continues with criticism of the drinking water:

"... it is very far from being clear with me, that the patients in the Pump-room don't swallow the scourings of the bathers. I can't help suspecting that there is, or may be, some regurgitation from the bath into the cistern of the pump.[21]

Rowlandson's Plate VII illustrates the mixed bathing taking place in the King's Bath. (The Queen's Bath was for females only.) Cleland had informed Smollett how

"Diseased persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, are promiscuously admitted into an open Bath, which affords little or no shelter from the inclemencies of the weather."[20]

Rowlandson's 'mix' included people of all ranks, ages and decrepitude, some seeking support from fellow bathers or from stone columns and some still clutching their crutches. None of them seems

to be enjoying the experience. In the middle of the Bath, according to the 'Strangers' Guide', was a covered wooden building for the accommodation of bathers in bad weather. This was furnished with seats and niches on the outside and niches and seats of stone were likewise round the sides of the Bath. Other wooden buildings afforded protection from the weather and had doors which could be closed to confine the steam and thus increase the temperature. Rowlandson depicts a disconsolate-looking man seated under cover in one of these buildings on the left-hand side of the picture. Plate 113 shows Rowlandson's original painting of the Bath which includes a pavilion-type building or 'kitchen' which was not present in Plate VII of the series accompanying Anstey's 'Guide'. The 'kitchen' was over the hot spring and had to be replaced several times as its condition deteriorated.

Adjacent to the Bath were several chambers called 'slips', in two of which fires were kept constantly burning. These rooms served as dressing-rooms. A lady on the left-hand side of the picture is emerging from one such chamber.

Altogether, Rowlandson's scene conjures up a general impression of disorder with its leaning buildings, false perspectives and melée of untidy people. As he was an artist with a facility for accurately portraying topographical scenes, it may be assumed that his intention was to convey the impression of disorderliness inherent in the structure and organisation of the baths as well as in the bathers by this means.

Bathing dresses could be hired at 6d. per time if the bather did not purchase one for his own use. The bathing dresses for the women

were loose and shapeless garments, whilst those worn by the men consisted of waistcoats and canvas drawers. These were criticised by Cleland because

> "... the nature of that dress, which, being made of canvas, grows cold and clammy in a moment, and clings to the surface of the body with a most hazardous adhesion."

Cleland pointed out the dangers of ladies remaining in such wet clothes and being obliged to wait in "a cold slip" for their respective chairs. The bathing dresses were all stained a yellow-brown colour by the minerals present in the water. The bathers pushed round a small tray which floated on the surface of the water and on this a handkerchief, a small posy of flowers and a snuff box might be carried - each to be used in an attempt to disguise the sulphurous smell emanating from the water. Lydia described the dress and the Bath when writing to her friend:

> "... Right under the Pump-room windows is the King's Bath; a huge cistern, where you see the patients up to their necks in hot water. The ladies wear jackets of brown linen, with chip hats, in which they fix their handkerchiefs to wipe the sweat from their faces; ...my aunt ... contrived a cap with cherry-coloured ribbons to suit her complexion ..."[22]

Fashion, it seems, was still uppermost in some people's minds. Rowlandson takes his satirical point further by dressing his bathers in their usual attire. The street outside, the Pump-room and the Baths were inhabited by similar members of society who could view the scene from balconies surrounding the steaming cauldron, or through the windows of the Pump-room as described by Lydia and by Smollett in his

Essay in which he relates how Cleland deplored the necessity for women to

> "mingle with male patients, to whose persons and complaints they are utter strangers," and to "be exposed in a very mortifying point of view, to the eyes of all the company, in the Pump-room, as well as to those of footmen and common people, whose curiosity leads them to look over the walls of the Bath."[20]

Penrose's description of the scene in a letter to his daughter reads:

> "... By the Way, we looked into the Bath, and saw People bathing, several Persons both Men and Women, and one Child in Arms. The usual Time of Bathing is between six and nine in the morning, when there is a fresh Supply of Water. For the Water which rises one Day is discharged before the next Day, so that every morning there is clean wholesome Water. The Persons bathing have most of them a Person to go into the water with them whom they call a Bath Guide: and the Water is deep enough to take one up to the Neck, unless a tall person. All round the bath, and round a Building in the midst of it, called the Kitchen, are Seats covered all over with Water. They do not go into the Water naked (for both Sexes bathe in the same place, and that Place public) but in a Canvas Dress prepared for the Purpose ..."[23]

Anstey drew attention to the fact that although the medical profession recommended bathing to their patients, they did not participate in the practice themselves:

> "And to-day many persons of rank and condition
> Were boil'd by command of an able physician.
> . . . .
> But what is surprising, no mortal e'er view'd
> Any one of the physical gentlemen stewed;
> Since the day that King Bladud first found out these bogs
> And thought them so good for himself and his hogs,
> Not one of the faculty ever has try'd
> These excellent waters to cure his own hide."[24]

Another method of applying water to an afflicted site was by the Pumper pumping it directly onto the area. This sometimes necessitated up to one thousand pump strokes per day, entailing an endurance feat for both invalid and Pumper.

Cleland recommended various improvements to the facilities at the baths and invented an enclosed warm chair to replace those described as

> "paultry chairs made of slight cross bars of wood, fastened together with girth web, covered with bays, and, for the most part, destitute of lining; these machines standing in the street till called for, are often rendered so damp by the weather, that the Bathers cannot use them without imminent hazard of their lives."

Cleland proposed that a Bagnio should be erected with proper conveniences for Cupping, Sweating, Bathing, Pumping, and Fomentation, supplied by a pipe from the 'kitchen' of the King's Bath. He offered to finance the project himself, but all his propositions were rejected by the physicians who responded by coming to a resolution to exclude all surgeons from consultations on the subject of plans for improvements. Smollett's 'Essay' provoked little response and was limited to one edition.

John Nixon provides another view of the King's Bath which he painted in the year 1800 (Plate 114). The bathers here include one with a goitre conversing with a deaf individual, one with a hand on a wooden 'splint' and others in varying states of health and vigour. Nixon's representation is superior to that of Rowlandson in purely topographical terms, but his scene fails to convey the same liveliness and character.

The sufferers of gout, as has been indicated, were amongst the main beneficiaries of the amenities offered at the Spa. Some medical practitioners such as Cheyne, recommended:

> "a proper diet including total abstinence or great Abstemiousness in Flesh, Fish and strong liquors...wisely managed exercise...Evacuations...dilution by proper liquors... [taken] Blood warm on an empty stomach."[11]

'Proper Liquors' included mineral chalybeat waters and a variety of teas. He also advised a few "well-chosen Remedies" which included mercury, which he said would break down the 'Gouty' salts. Rowlandson, amongst others, highlighted the kind of life-style which continued to be followed by these sufferers - the style which had contributed to their disability in the first place. Foods, now known to be rich in purines, such as fish roes, whitebait, sprats, sardines, herrings, bloaters and mussels, which were amongst those foods considered unsuitable for the invalid, can be seen at the fishmonger's in Plate IV of the series, where they are being sought by a chair-borne individual, whose left leg is wrapped in flannel as was customary practice when the gout was troublesome (Plate 115). The perspectives in this scene are contrived to make it appear as if the irascible-looking man is about to consume a large fish there and then.

Horace Walpole, who frequently suffered from gout, wrote to the Hon. Mrs. Grey with advice on the best method of treating an acute attack:

> "... If she does not encourage the swelling by keeping her foot wrapped up as hot as possible in flannel, she will torment herself and bring more pain."[25]

Other tempting, but unsuitable, foods and wines for the invalid are displayed in Plate IX (Plate 116). Portrayal of over-indulgence in food and drink was sometimes used by artists as a metaphor for human folly, and the stereotypical signs of gout were also used as symbols of a lifetime of folly. Here the portrayal is both factual and metaphorical.

Moderate exercise was part of the regime advised whilst in Bath, and horse-riding was thought especially beneficial because of the erect posture required, and the constant change of air inhaled. The doctor advised Miss Blunderhead to ride:

> "But Prudence is forc'd ev'ry day to ride out,
> For he says she wants thoroughly jumbling about."[26]

Plate V displays the benefits of riding for old and young. The contrasting vigour of humans and animals, according to age and inclination, is clearly shown (Plate 117).

The more hazardous aspects met with during a day's perambulations or in taking the air in a sedan chair when complying with such regulations can be seen in Plate XII of the series (Plate 118). The Royal Crescent is topographically illustrated in the background. Here again, Rowlandson both literally and metaphorically illustrates the upset of conventions which occurred in Bath. 'Reality' has tumbled from the seemingly ordered system in the background. Another illustration entitled Bath Races by Rowlandson is a variation on the same theme (Plate 119).

The ultimate end to folly is death and Rowlandson presents this as appropriate to Bath in a scene from his 'Dance of Death' series,

entitled _The Pump Room_ (Plate 120), Other 'Dance of Death' scenes and the symbolic use of the skeleton motif in prints are described later.

Rowlandson used his artistic skill and non-conformist tendencies to point out pretentiousness both in art and in human behaviour. The scenes at Bath offered an antidote to the 'establishment'. This antidote was operative in two spheres: firstly in connection with classicism in art, with its contrived order, simplicity and elegance and its associated moral principles; and secondly with respect to social class, in which the upper echelons of society professed a similar superiority in moral worth and order. The architecture of Bath with its classic regularity offered Rowlandson an ideal backcloth. He demonstrated that a regular existence did not necessarily accompany outer elegance, which might be a mere façade. He offered a view of reality, with its social and human folly. To achieve his aim, however, and to provide credibility, the representations of the activities at Bath needed to ring true in a general sense. Our references to contemporary accounts of the activities have shown that contemporary observers shared his perceptions. Rowlandson's boisterous portrayal of these activities provided more impact on his viewers than a bland reportage of events would have done - thus contributing to his popularity as an observer of contemporary scenes.

The statue of Richard Nash referred to on page 246 shows him with his right hand resting on a plinth on which a plan of the proposed new General Hospital in Bath is displayed. A painting by

William Hoare which was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1762 portrays physician Dr. Oliver and surgeon Mr.Peirce in the Hospital examining one of three patients who are seeking their advice and who each display clinical features of disease (Plate 120b). The patients are unidentified as individuals, but the badges they are wearing were of a kind which was supplied to those attending the hospital for treatment. The young child has a skin rash which may be due to scabies or to eczema; the woman with a stick is probably suffering from rheumatism - a gnarled hand grips the handle of her stick - and the man whose wrist is being examined may have a 'dropped' wrist due to lead poisoning which could cause nerve damage with this type of deformity. The hospital treated many different types of diseases at this time - not only rheumatism. To set the scene of this 'conversation piece', a plan of the Bath Hospital is displayed on the wall behind the two doctors. Dr.William Oliver was one of the first three physicians appointed to the Hospital and had been a keen supporter of the project to build it. He had a successful practice in Bath and was the man whose name was attached to the special biscuit which was adapted to his recipe for the bland dietary requirements of many of the Bath visitors - the Bath Oliver Biscuit. (The foundation stone of what is now the Royal National Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases was laid in 1737, but its original name was 'The Mineral Water Hospital'.) Hoare presented the Hospital with the painting after the exhibition. The medical men portrayed here are shown in a caring rôle in charitable circumstances. This circumstance elevated them in social terms to that of a privileged class who were aware of their position in society amongst those who would help less fortunate

citizens. This hospital was one of many charitable hospitals set up throughout the country in the eighteenth century.

Sea-water bathing

'Taking the waters' at Bath was not universally acclaimed. One critic of the use of the mineral waters there was Dr. William Heberden (1710-1801), physician to King George III, who thought that sea bathing was preferable for gouty persons. A transference of 'society' to Brighton from Bath gradually took place. This was largely due to the Prince of Wales who first went there in 1782. In the same year, the poet, William Cowper wrote:

> "Your prudent grandmammas, ye modern belles,
> Content with Bristol, Bath, and Tunbridge Wells,
> When health required it, would consent to roam,
> Else more attached to pleasures found at home,
> But now alike, gay widow, virgin, wife,
> Ingenious to diversify still life,
> In coaches, chaises, caravans, and hoys,
> Fly to the coast for daily, nightly joys,
> And all, impatient of dry land, agree,
> With one consent to rush into the sea."[27]

Sea water became accepted as an alternative to immersion in the mineral waters at the Spas. Smollett had strong opinions about its value for both his fictitious characters and for himself. Matthew Bramble continuing his journey from Bath in his search for health, wrote to Dr. Lewis from Scarborough:

> "... You must know I have received benefit, both from the chalybeate and the sea ..."[28]

and his nephew who accompanied Matthew Bramble, wrote to a friend at Oxford:

"You cannot conceive what a flow of spirits it gives, and how it braces every sinew of the human frame. Were I to enumerate half of the diseases which are every day cured by sea-bathing, you might justly say you had received a treatise."[29]

On his own behalf, Smollett wrote to Dr.[? William] Hunter:

"This is the twentieth day of my bathing in the sea from which I have received such Benefit as almost transcends Belief."[30]

In his 'Essay', Smollett had eschewed the mineral content of Spa waters for bathing purposes, stating:

"I can easily conceive how extraordinary cures may be performed by the mechanical effects of Simple Water upon the human body; and I fully believe that in the use of bathing and pumping that Efficacy is often ascribed to the mineral Particles, which properly belongs to the Element itself, exclusive of any foreign assistance."[31]

The sea-side places provided similar social entertainments to those of the inland Spas, as Mr. Bramble's nephew told his friend with regard to Scarborough:

"the diversions are pretty much on the same footing here as at Bath."[32]

By the time that the Pavilion at Brighton was habitable (1787), the old fishing port of Brighthelmstone had become a fashionable resort under its shortened name. Rowlandson went there with his friend Wigstead, in 1789, and between them they produced 'An Excursion to Brighton', a production which included eight aquatints by Rowlandson.

A print by John Nixon published on July 15, 1789, illustrates 'Royal Dipping' (Plate 121). George III went to Weymouth for such

immersions during a period of convalescence from a bout of his recurrent insanity. In this print, he does so to the accompaniment of a band of musicians who are wading in the water with signs of incipient sea-sickness. The actual event was recorded as having been accompanied by a rendering of "God save Great George our King" issuing from a neighbouring bathing machine which concealed the musicians.[33] This scene provides an illustration of a topical event, but fails to emulate the liveliness and reality of a Rowlandson scene.

Although Spas continued to offer their attractions and treatments, as Smollett said via Mr. Bramble:

> "... All these places (Bath excepted) have their vogue, and then the fashion changes-"[34]

Quacks

The social aspects associated with 'Taking the Waters' formed an important part of life at the Spas. Assemblies, Balls and Concerts were part of the social scene, but those afflicted by gout were inhibited from taking their full part in these activities. Christopher Anstey alluded to a different way of alleviating their affliction in his writing *An Election Ball* written from Bath in 1776. In this he included the lines:

> "No -- I'd have thee to know I can walk pretty stout,
> Since I've found an infallible Cure for the Gout,
> For the Doctor I've try'd, has with Wedges and Pegs
> So stretched out my Sinews, and hammer'd my Legs,
> My heel I can raise, and my Toe I can bend down,
> And, by Jove, I'm resolv'd to get out of the Bilboes,
> And shake at the Ball both my Legs and my Elbows."[35]

Nash had noted the presence of quacks or charlatans as one of the more reprehensible aspects of Bath life. Some quacks became more innovative in their dealings with the public as the century advanced and they took advantage of prevailing social fashions and situations.

The doctor to whom Anstey referred was a notorious practitioner, Abraham Buzaglo, a Jew who had first attracted attention with his invention of a heating apparatus, before transferring his inventive capabilities in the direction of the gout and setting up practice as a 'Gout doctor'. He wrote *A Treatise on the Gout* in which he deplored 'The Prescriptions of the Faculty', which he said "consist generally of Flannels, Patience and sleeping Draughts" - the latter usually meaning opiates.[36] Exercises such as horse-riding, which was recommended by physicians, he said, will:

> "remove indigestion, create a good Appetite, divert Thought, Shake and exercise the body, warm the rider, and procure Rest. These Effects are produced by a Single Motion, by jolting the Body."[37]

But horse-riding, he claimed, was not always appropriate. By trying out experiments on his own limbs, Buzaglo "devised Exercise and means of restoring Limbs and joints to their usual state". Moreover, he added in his treatise what was no doubt a popular recommendation:

> "Living low, and Abstinence from good Wines and Victuals are no Part of the Cure."[38]

His treatment involved the participation of the sufferer in a series of muscular exercises and activities with the aid of 'wedges and pegs'.

Artist Paul Sandby produced a satirical representation of Buzaglo's establishment - furnished with one of the quack's heating stoves - in his Ballet Arthritique, published in 1783 (Plate 122), in which the quack is shown supervising the fitting of wooden 'bootikins' to a client, whilst others gyrate uncomfortably encased in various wooden trappings. A placard in the foreground of the print enumerates the benefits to be gained from the 'Patent Muscular Health-Restoring Exercise':

> 'I. It takes off within the hour all Pains from the Shoulders, Elbows, Sides, Back, Knees, Calves & Ancles.
> II. It radically cures the Cramp, dissipates callous Swellings round the Knees & Ancles originating from the Gout.
> III. It restores wasted Calves to their former state of fullness of Flesh.
> IV. It greatly facilitates the Discharge of the Gravel.'

Sandby designed the placard in similar style to that which set out the quack's recommendations in his Treatise, although the latter advocated exercises for thirteen different ailments which he set out in his own advertisements.

Buzaglo advertised extensively and added the following information:

> "The ladies and children's hour of exercise is daily from 11 to 12, gentlemen from 12 to 3.
> ** Patients may agree for a perfect cure, or by the month, by the year, or for life."[39]

Buzaglo is also mentioned in a 'Dance of Death' scene by artist Woodward, in which a gouty old man capers with Death - a skeleton - complaining,"Buzaglo's Exercise was nothing to this!"[40]

Horace Walpole made frequent reference to 'bootikins' which he wore because of his affliction with gout. He found them beneficial, but the type of 'bootikins' to which he referred were probably made of flannel. In a letter to George Montagu, he wrote:

> " ... I have been laid up with a fit of gout in both feet and a knee; ... and am, considering, surprisingly recovered by the assistance of the bootikins and my own perseverance in drinking water."[41]

Later, in 1778, he wrote to Sir Horace Mann:

> "... It is amazing what the bootikins have done for me by diminishing the mass of gout. I have had no fit for nearly two years, and the three last were very inconsiderable. As I have worn the bootikins constantly every night ever since my great fit, it is demonstrable how serviceable they are to me at least."[42]

Large flannel socks or 'bootikins' are worn by many of Rowlandson's gouty sufferers.

People on the fringes of society tend to attract and hold the attention of other members of that society. 'Quacks' belonged to this fringe-element. Notoriety and eccentricity added to their commercial value - both for themselves and for the many artists and playrights who used the interest engendered by such characters by including them, or references to their activities, in their own works. As already mentioned, quacks had the additional attribute as far as the graphic artists were concerned, in that apart from certain picturesque qualities which they provided, they could be used to illustrate such characteristics as pretentiousness, ignorance and loquacity with which they were commonly associated and to display the extent of human folly, stupidity and gullibility to which a large proportion of the

population was subject. A particular practitioner might also provide a topical element to a piece of work.

Medical images of various kinds were used by artists because they were universally understood. They could be used in different ways and for different purposes, but their varied use does not invalidate the basic aspect of the image. The image could reflect a practice and convey an idea. Quacks came into this category. Their presence was well known and recognised and their practices both reviled and praised. It has already been shown how Hogarth used images of quacks in different ways. Examples are the itinerant quack or mountebank in Southwark Fair who illustrated the illusory aspects of life, the notorious trio with whom Hogarth compared some of the orthodox practitioners in his The Arms of the Company of Undertakers, and Dr. Rock who sold his nostrums in Covent Garden in Morning from The Four Times of the Day. The use of 'quack' images continued throughout the century, but as the quacks' treatments became more complicated, so, accordingly, the use of such imagery may require more complex analysis in a contemporary context.

Rowlandson was one of many artists who made use of such imagery. On his tours around the countryside, he saw how itinerant quacks or mountebanks operated. He drew examples of practitioners in market-places in different localities - each plying his trade with the aid of 'Merry Andrew', musicians or 'Black Pudding'. The latter name was given to the little black accomplices like the one illustrated in the drawing of Dr. Botherum, The Mountebank (1800) (Plate 123). In this, the quack, impressively attired with wig, laced hat and sword, is standing on a platform erected in the market-place and is displaying

both his knowledge and his nostrums. 'Black Pudding' is also holding up a bottle and 'Merry Andrew' is attracting the crowd with a large ladle and, in some reproductions, a gridiron. Another attendant is extracting a tooth from an unfortunate customer - a practice which causes some of the onlookers to feel their own teeth or gums in sympathy, anticipation or dismay. A box behind the quack contains large quantities of the medicines already prepared to sell to gullible members of the audience. Dr. Botheram is said to be based on a well-known itinerant mountebank dentist, Dr. Bossy, or Bossey - a German Jew who travelled round similarly attired, often attended by a drummer, whose task was to attract attention and probably to drown the cries of the patient.[43] The dental assistant in Rowlandson's print is wearing a drummer boy's hat. Rowlandson may be making the additional point that the latter could perform extractions just as well (or badly) as his master.

Dr. Bossey usually had a monkey to attract his clients. In this scene, 'Black Pudding' bears a striking resemblance to such a creature - a man dressed up as an ape. Was Rowlandson or the quack 'making a monkey' out of man? Rowlandson, like many of his contemporaries, was fascinated with the resemblance between the features of man and some animals and he shared their idea of the importance of the body as an index of the mind. He produced a book of sketches illustrating these later in his life,[44] and one of his drawings of comparative physiognomy demonstrates this interest (Plate 124). The ape or monkey had some human-like features, so it was popularly thought that its mentality could be similarly endowed. In early Roman and Greek times authors had used the epithet 'ape' to denote an ugly exterior and an

evil disposition and the term had been applied to those such as sycophants, tricksters and hypocrites. Later, with the advent of Christianity, it was applied to the enemies of Christ - associates of the devil - and the ape was allied to sinners and implicated with the Fall of Man. It became a symbol of sin, malice, cunning, greed and lust. However, by the sixteenth century, the concept of the ape as the image of a fool evolved. Folly was an ineradicable quality of human nature so, as merely foolish, the ape became dissociated from sin. His antics became regarded with amusement and tolerance as part of his 'human' mentality. In art, he became a symbol for a fool, as well as, in a different vein, a symbol of art itself as 'the ape of nature'. The ape had become a source of amusement and was sometimes kept as a domestic pet. The harlot kept one as such in Plate II of The Harlot's Progress , his foolish activities reflecting those of the harlot. As a pet the creature was allowed more licence with regard to behaviour than was permitted to other members of the household or company, (this aspect was displayed by the monkey urinating into a helmet in Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn in Plate 85). Mountebanks or zanies kept monkeys which they utilised as accomplices in their tricks. In some acts, they were seen on their masters' shoulders 'counselling' them or imitating them, (as in the scene of Dr.Rock in Plate 16). Aspects of life were sometimes burlesqued in simian terms to denote the pseudo-human attributes of the creature, (as in the Plate 1 where they mirror the activities of the barber-surgeons).[45] Rowlandson's use of the man/monkey figure imitating his master, accentuates the theme of folly, trickery and

knavery inherent in the picture of 'Dr. Botheram'. Man's baser or animal nature was again implicated.

Dr. Bossey is present in an engraving Dr. Bossey and the People taken from the Life from a drawing by A.Van Assen published in 1792 in which a monkey is holding up a phial of his master's nostrum - mimicking the mountebank (Plate 125). Rowlandson's scene, however, provides a more lively crowd with other activities associated with fairs and market-places also taking place and overflowing his 'canvas' in untidy profusion as becomes such a venue.

Another similarly picturesque example is of a market scene in which a mountebank, dressed in the fashion of the previously described itinerant, is selling his nostrums to the accompaniment of a musical 'Merry Andrew' (Plate 126). A female assistant points to the elixir, and an elderly, hopeful recipient of the 'elixir of life' is awaiting his chance of rejuvenation. Potential customers of different age, sex and state of health watch the proceedings and some of them seem prepared to participate. In this and in another example of a mountebank at work, (Plate 127) the surrounding village scenery lends credence to this aspect of eighteenth century village life.

Another scene offers evidence of the quack's credentials or pedigree. He is billed as the seventh son of a seventh son - thus exploiting a popularly held belief in such an individual's undoubted ability to heal (Plate 128).

Political caricaturists appropriated the itinerant quack's domain for their own particular comments. The artistic merit of many political prints was poor but the contents had meaning and humour for contemporary readers. The hack artists drew them and the print-

publishers hastily produced them in large numbers - sometimes for propaganda purposes - and the number of such prints proliferated in London as the eighteenth century progressed.

The St-te Quack is an example of one such political print drawn by an anonymous artist [46] (Plate 129). The setting for this quack is a familiar one and the actions depicted would carry the intended message in a meaningful way to a politically aware section of the population. A description of this print indicates how medical imagery was incorporated into the political field.

In the print, published in 1762, the third Earl of Bute is given the role of the quack doctor who is mounted on his platform offering his nostrums of 'Pease or a Political Clyster' and 'Union Squirt' as medication for the good of the country. Bute, a friend and adviser to the grandson of King George II, rose rapidly in the political ranks following George III's accession to the throne in 1760. He and George III wished to bring about an end to the Seven Years' War with France by treaty, and to make peace at almost any price. In 1762, preliminary talks for a 'Peace of Paris' were being debated. England had enjoyed certain victories against the French and many citizens relished the humiliation that had been meted out upon their enemy. Trade and agriculture had flourished during the war years and wealth, glory and prosperity were envisaged by many if hostilities continued and the French were subdued.

Bute's zany in the print is blowing a trumpet carrying a banner bearing the words 'Wandsworth Epistle'. This refers to 'A Letter to a Gentleman in the City' dated September 5th, 1762, which supported Bute's policy. The table on the zany's left holds nostrums or

soporifics labelled with the names of publications which had indicated support for the peace proposals. On Bute's right-hand side is the Dowager Princess of Wales, George III's mother, balancing on a tight-rope. Bute's supposedly intimate relationship with her had been the subject of cruel and persistent rumours which are alluded to in the print. The large boot balanced on her abdomen is a reference to Bute, and the coronet on the sole denotes his influence on the Princess and the King - in effect usurping the role of the monarch. The presence of the clyster-pipe may have had sexual connotations. A clyster-pipe or syringe had been used as a sexual symbol in seventeenth century Dutch prints in which it was presented as a cure for love-sickness and Watteau's drawing 'The Remedy' presents a similar theme. [47] The banner flying over the platform and advertising the theatrical production behind the scenes also alludes to the relationship between the Bute and the Princess. 'Pittius and Temple' on the play-bill refer to William Pitt and Lord Temple who resigned their offices in May 1761.

Popular feeling against the proposed Peace and its possible effects were strong. An allusion to the unwanted importation of French wares and customs is given by the pedlar on the right who is selling her wares to a fashionable lady. An angry sailor is reflecting Admiral Hawke's and his sailors' displeasure by disputing a Scotsman's declamation that 'He's a braw Doctor' on the grounds that 'his d--d Drugs have almost poison'd H--ke & me'. The Peace represented a considerable threat to the Navy if the losses sustained by the French were restored to her and commercial concessions made. The 'Doctor's' 'Edinburgh degree' refers to the ascendancy of

Edinburgh with regard to medical education and its superiority to much that England had to offer and to the fact that Bute was a Scotsman. He was also a landowner. Many landowners - Scots amongst them - supported Bute rather than the return of a Whig Government, which would entail increased land tax. A Scotsman and a Frenchman greet each other in the foreground while the devil hopes to catch them in his net, exclaiming, 'This is as I would wish, the old alliance renew'd'. In spite of some of the avowed disapproval of Bute's policy, most of the bystanders in the print seem to be either amused or unconcerned by the events portrayed.

The term 'quack' was a derogatory one, therefore placing Bute - whom George III, on his accession, elevated to First Lord of the Treasury in spite of Bute's lack of experience in government - in a position associated with lack of training, pretensions of leadership, ignorance and incompetence, offering a useless panacea for the country's needs. The words used by quacks in their 'puffing' were often meaningless jargon, and such an interpretation could be placed upon Bute's recommendations via the print. The depiction of a clyster pipe was as a symbol of abuse against the 'body politic' - the instrument having a double meaning in this print - and the complacent members of the crowd in the print represented the gullible members of the population who were being thus abused by Bute's assumption of power over them and by his policies or 'remedies'. His form of entertainment was provided by his assumed association with the Princess of Wales.

Hogarth's print <u>The Times</u> (Third State), published in September 1762[48], was in support of Bute's government (Plate 130). Bute, as the King's representative, is shown as the lone fire-fighter trying to

extinguish the flames of the Seven-Years' War which are being fanned by those with pecuniary vested interests. In this print, the politicians Wilkes, and Temple, and the writer, Churchill, inhabitants of 'Temple's Coffee House', fire 'abuse' from their clyster pipes - represented as fire extinguishers - at Bute instead of at the flames. Bute is being supported in a small way by a few Scottish and English men carrying buckets of water. Another citizen takes a wheelbarrow of 'North Briton' and 'Monitor' papers to feed the flames. This unusual partisan approach to political prints on the part of Hogarth gave rise to the label 'Times' appearing on one of the bottles of soporifics on the table in 'The St-te Quack'[49].

Rowlandson gave his quack a different setting in his drawing The Quack Dr. Humbug Gives Advice Gratis. (Plate 131) For this, he may have been influenced by seventeenth century Dutch genre pictures of medical practitioners in many of which the successful, well-dressed physician can be seen inspecting the contents of a urine flask on which he will base his diagnosis of the patient's illness[50](Plate 132). This practice of uroscopy or 'water casting' had been practised from ancient times and throughout the Middle ages and fitted in with the humoral theories of medicine. It was supposed that any abnormal change in the body humours could be detected in the urine. The urine flask took on a symbolic function in the same way as did the physician's 'cane of office' later. Hogarth included a urine flask in his The Arms of the Company of Undertakers. The practice of Uroscopy fell into disrepute during the seventeenth century but was still used by some quacks who recognised its psychological powers. 'Dr. Humbug' is holding a urine flask to his nose, while a bashful

young girl waits for his verdict on her condition. A servant or accomplice leers at the scene from behind the open door, pointing to the girl with a 'knowing' gesture, as if he knows the cause of the girl's sickness without need to inspect her urine! Love-sickness or pregnancy was the usual assumption. A certificate on the wall sets the scene as 'Dr. Humbug's' room. Rowlandson may have had in mind Dr. Theodore von Myersbach, known as the 'German Doctor'. It was said of him that

> "Myersbach offered himself as a rough-rider to a riding house in London, but being rejected commenced doctor."[51]

He had purchased a medical degree from Erfurt after starting life as a humble Post Office clerk in Germany and arrived in London in the 1770's where he set up in practice specialising in Uroscopy. He dispensed drugs such as 'green drops', 'sweet mixture', 'silver pills' and 'red powder' on the basis of his findings and built up a successful practice. Some of his nostrums contained opium and brandy, thus contributing to the feelings of well-being engendered amongst the recipients. The procurement of abortion may have been part of his provenance.[52] A lively controversy between Myersbach and his supporters, and orthodox physician Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, appeared in newspapers and magazines regarding the nature of the former gentleman's practice.[53] Rowlandson's print would have provided a topical allusion to this quack.

Magnetism and Electricity

Towards the end of the century, especially in London, some of the quacks became more sophisticated in their modes of practice. They

benefitted from the power of advertising by means of handbills, newspapers and journals, and some achieved notoriety. The dividing line between orthodox medicine and quackery was still undefined. Some quacks flourished. Four main reasons for their success have been proffered; the low therapeutic effect of orthodox medicine; the lack of registration and regulation of practitioners which allowed foreign mountebanks to obtain Royal licences to practice in England; 'patient power' which dictated the kind of attention required by those with money to pay for it and which the quack was happy to provide; and the entrepreneurial opportunities available through the increasing powers of advertising, communications and marketing of services and medicaments.[54]

Another reason was the growing public awareness and interest in natural scientific phenomena. Techniques of electrical treatment, for example, were of widespread interest. One particular quack who marketed such interest was Dr. James Graham who became the butt of many satirical prints and occasioned a great deal of comment in newspapers and journals. A description of his background and his means of achieving notoriety by exploiting the new scientific discoveries, associated with the gullibility of the public, goes some way towards explaining the success of such quacks. Artists in their turn, reflected the interest both in the scientific phenomena and in the quacks' use of them (Plates 133 - 143).

Dr. James Graham, son of a saddler, was born in Edinburgh in 1745. He studied medicine at the University there, but there is doubt as to whether he ever completed his studies. He went to Pontefract in

England, where he began to practise medicine, and then went to America in about 1772, where he specialised as an oculist and aurist, spending about two years in Philadelphia. There he became acquainted with Franklin's discoveries on the subject of electricity. These, undertaken in 1753, gave support to prevalent ideas regarding the medicinal uses of electricity. Later, Franklin carried out experiments on its possible use in the cure of paralysis, and word spread of cures of blindness and dropsy.

The Methodist Preacher John Wesley made some dramatic claims for the therapeutic properties of electricity. Preachers often acted as amateur physicians, and medical advice from one as well known as Wesley was highly regarded. A notice in the *Westminster Journal* in 1772, provided the information

> "... that Mr. Wesley has procured an Electrical Machine at the Foundry at Moorfields, where any person may be electrified gratis from nine to twelve every day except Saturdays and Sundays ... Mr. Wesley says that Electrifying in a proper Manner cures St. Anthony's Fire, Gouts, Headaches, Inflammations, Lameness, Palpitations of the Heart, Palsy, Rheumatics, Sprain, Wan, Toothache, Sore Throat and Swelling of all sorts." [55]

Such claims were welcomed by unscrupulous practitioners, and the current interest in scientific phenomena made many people easy prey to such charlatans.

Graham returned to England in 1774 and in Bristol in that year was advertising 'wonderful cures'. He practised for a time in Bath and in 1777 met the historian Mrs. Mary Macaulay (who later became his sister-in-law). A description of how six Odes were publicly

introduced and read to this lady on her birthday, 2 April 1777, by Dr. Graham described the latter as

> "[that] well known, perdie in many a corner of a Country Newspaper, for the Infallible Cure of Human Maladies."[56]

Dr.Graham presented Mrs. Macaulay with a copy of his works containing his 'surprising Discoveries and Cures '. She acknowledged the great benefits she had received by his Medical Assistance, stating:

> "I have the Happiness to declare, that a great Part of my Disease immediately gave Way to your Balsamic Essences, and to your Aerial Aetherial, Magnetic, and Electric Applications and Influences."

Graham admitted that he gained his first 'start' by his treatment of Mrs. Macaulay.

He went to Paris in 1778, where Mesmer was causing a sensation with his use of 'animal magnetism' in the cure of diseases and where he met Benjamin Franklin. He took advantage of the public interest in the possibilities accorded to electricity and magnetism and in the autumn of that year opened his 'Temple of Health' in the Royal Terrace, Adelphi, London (Advert. Plate 133). A large golden star was attached to the front of this building and the words 'Templum Aesculapis Sacrum' placed over the entrance.

Aesculapius was probably a Greek priest-physician from early Greek civilisation to whom remarkable medical cures were attributed, and who was later deified. His life and activities became part of Greek mythology, as did that of his daughter Hygeia. The symbol associated with Aesculapius is the caduceus - two snakes entwined

around a staff - which remains today as a medical emblem. Greek temples, in addition to being places of worship, became sanatoria named Aesclepieia where worshippers could seek cures for their ailments with restoration to good health. Graham thus planned his 'Temple' in accordance with this classical tradition.

He placed his patients on a 'magnetic throne' or in a bath into which electrical currents could be passed. He also recommended milk baths, dry friction and such aerial and aetherial remedies as were partaken by Mrs. Macaulay. He became a fashionable quack and received many glowing testimonials from aristocratic patients which he published for all to see. He claimed that his personal attention was necessary for effective results and charged highly for such attention.

The 'Temple of Health', costing about £10,000, contained rooms in which highly decorated electrical machines, jars, conductors, insulated glass pillars, an 'electrical throne' and chemical apparatus vied in opulence with sculptures, paintings, and stained glass windows. Music and perfumes pervaded the atmosphere. In contrast, the entrance hall was decorated with crutches and similar aids discarded and left as votive offerings by clients who, having visited the temple, no longer needed them. One apartment, the 'Great Apollo Apartment', was described as being sacred to that god. (The Greek god Apollo was supposedly the father of Aesculapius.) In this apartment, Graham gave lectures, sold his nostrums and provided a 'show' to promote custom. He advertised publicly for 'goddesses' of youth and health, whom he then posed as examples of physical perfection - attained by following his practices. All this was in keeping with the fashionable classical Renaissance and Grecian style similar to that

pervading Bath with its aura of elegance and affluence and its health-giving potential. It was also in keeping with the pretentiousness of Graham's position.

His main claim to fame was in the cure of sterility for those who slept on his 'Celestial Bed'. Graham described this as

> "...twelve feet long by nine feet wide, supported by forty pillars of brilliant glass of the most exquisite workmanship in richly variegated colours. The super-celestial dome of the bed, which contains the odoriferous, balmy and ethereal spices, odours and essences, which is the grand reservoir of those reviving invigorating influences which are exhaled by the breath of music and by the exhilerating force of electrical fire, is covered on the other side with brilliant panes of looking glass."
> "On the utmost summit of the dome are placed two exquisite figures of Cupid and Psyche, with a figure of Hymen behind, with his torch flaming with electrical fire in one hand and with the other supporting a celestial crown sparkling over a pair of living turtle doves on a little bed of roses."
> "The chief principle of my Celestial Bed is produced by artificial lodestones. About 15 cwt. of compound magnets are continually pouring forth in an everflowing circle..."[57]

The bed was constructed with a double frame which moved on an axis and could be converted into an inclined plane. Mattresses filled with sweet smelling new wheat or oat straw mingled with rose leaves, lavender and spices were covered with rich and soft silk coloured sheets. The whole was designed to "infallibly produce a genial and happy issue" for those whom pregnancy had eluded. Its value with regard to conception does not seem to have been recorded, but its fame was not in doubt, and for a time the temple flourished.

In 1781, Graham moved his establishment to Schomberg House, Pall Mall, where it was named the 'Temple of Health and Hymen'. ('Hymen' or 'Hymenaeus' was originally the name of the song sung at marriages among the Greeks, but the name became personified as that of a Greek

god, and in Greek mythology Hymen became another of Apollo's sons. He was thereafter invoked in marriage songs.) The establishment opened in a blaze of publicity and was as sumptuous as its predecessor and as blatantly exploited sex and the magic of electricity and magnetism.

However, in 1783, the 'Temple' was losing money and soon afterwards closed. The machines and the Bed were sold to pay outstanding debts. Graham left London and returned to Edinburgh. He lectured there and in various other towns, including Manchester, whose inhabitants received the benefit of such medicinal compounds as his 'Antiscorbutic Essence', 'Aethereal Amber', 'Pearl Essence' and his

> 'Aethereal Ambrosial Quintessence of Gold! Honey! and Rosa-Solis! or Sundew, - for nourishing and rejuvenating the body, clearing and illuminating the mind, for preventing and remedying the decays and evils of old age, and most happily lengthening out human life to the longest possible period of mortal existence!' [58]

Some of his ideas were sound. He advocated frequent washing for personal cleanliness - not widely practised in the eighteenth century, - fresh air and exercise, and he recognised that an excess of alcohol consumption had an adverse effect on physical and sexual performance. In 1789, he published a 'Treatise' on *The True Nature and Uses of Bath Waters*, in which he criticised some of the methods used 'in regard to bathing in, pumping with, and drinking these wonderful and powerful Waters' and the regimens associated with these practices, [59] but his behaviour became increasingly bizarre. He had introduced and recommended a system of earth-bathing before leaving London, and in his Treatise he proclaimed beneficial effects of 'earth',

> '... extending her sweet lap to receive and to treasure up the rich influence of the Heavens ... to those who chastely

solicit her favours, - who assiduously cultivate her friendship and her smiles, ...'

In 1790 he described his personal experience of its beneficial effects during an episode in which he had been naked in the earth for eight successive days, six hours each time, and for twelve hours on the ninth day.[60] Another episode in the following year described how he and a young lady at Newcastle were supposed to have "stripped into their first suits" and were each "interred up to the chin, their heads beautifully dressed and powdered, appearing not unlike two fine grown cauliflowers."

Religious enthusiasm followed and a period of lunacy during which he was confined to his own house in Edinburgh as a lunatic. Opium may have contributed to this. In spite of his 'Aethereal Ambrosial Quintessence' and his secret of living until at least 150 years of age, he died suddenly on 23 June 1794, aged 49 years.

Like the quacks, playwrights and artists were not slow to exploit such natural phenomena as electricity and magnetism, and the opportunity for them to do so was provided by the portrayal of characters such as Graham. A short play was produced by George Colman the Elder and presented at the Haymarket Theatre on September 2nd. 1780 entitled *Genius of Nonsense*, in which the actor John Bannister appeared as the Emperor of Quacks, mimicking Graham.[61] It was described as

"An original, whimsical, Operatical, Pantomimical, Farcical, Electrical, Naval, Military, Temporary, Local Extravaganza".

- parodying Graham's own hand-bill. Views of the Temple of Health were specially designed and executed for the set.[62] The play was never printed but was well reported. Dr. Graham heard of the projected satire and threatened to sue for libel, but Colman was determined to expose the quack and insisted that Bannister imitate him as closely as possible. His performance "brought down the house"[63]. Graham was denied his evidence, as he was unable to get a handbill or programme of the performance.

Rowlandson satirically illustrated Dr. Graham's Earth Bathing Establishment c 1785-90 (Plate 134). Dr. Graham himself is in attendance consoling an obese gentleman who has been deprived of his clothes, crutches and his wig in order to undergo the benefits of having his back scrubbed with a long-handled brush and then being immersed in the earthy trench being prepared for him by a man on the left of the picture. A gouty individual emerging from a sedan chair hobbles towards a similar fate. Gout was one of the many ailments which Graham professed to cure by this method of treatment. Other clients are shown in various degrees of immersion and discomfort with only a sheet hanging untidily from hooks on the wall separating male from female participants. This drawing is set out broadly along classical lines, but the falling curtain represents the 'collapse' of the style's pretentious allusions to modesty and virtue. In addition to the artistic hypocrisy, as Rowlandson saw it, he exposed the hypocrisy and 'naked' values of Graham's establishment by literally exposing the participants in the practices offered there, and untidily displaying them in his own unconventional artistic style.

A different view of Graham's Earth-bathing establishment at Panton Street, Haymarket, London, was provided for readers of the *Rambler's Magazine* (Plate 135). Here the doctor is supervising the immersion of young ladies, whilst more can be seen through the window, arriving at the establishment. [64]

The jargon or mystifying language often used by quacks and the hyperbole associated with their 'puffing' are pointedly alluded to in the caption displayed underneath a half-length oval woodcut portrait of Graham from the same magazine. Sense can be made of the words only with difficulty:

Tot
Hele, Ar n Edsci, Ent
If Ici; Ngen
I Ou Scelest, Ia Lrhe
Tori ca, Lwhi
MSic A, 1sa, tir Ica; Landm Ov
in G. D.
O Ct; o Rt Hi
Sh Ea, Di smo
Sts Ubm: I ssi Vel Yded, ica Te
Db, Yana' dm Ire Ro Fhi:
St. A Lents. Al Ov Erofh Iswa
Rmd Oct Ri Ne; S.
and his most
obedient humble Servant,
THE RAMBLER

Feb. 1783[65]

The letters of each word in the above caption are in the correct order, in English, but the gaps between the words, and the cases of some of the letters are incorrect as is the punctuation, making the whole appear to be written in an unknown language - a reference to the pseudo-scientific jargon or what appeared to be blatant nonsense spoken by Graham and other 'quacks'.

Transcribed the caption reads:

"To the learned, scientific, ingenious, celestial, rhetorical, whimsical, satirical and moving Doctor, this head is most submissively dedicated by an admirer of his talents, a lover of his warm doctrines, and his most obedient humble Servant..."

Katterfelto, a contemporary of Graham's with whom he appeared in a print entitled The Quacks(Plate 136) in 1783, was another notorious practitioner who exploited scientific interest. He was a native of Prussia and was a conjuror and quack who provoked notoriety with his advertisements in newspapers headed 'Wonders! Wonders! Wonders! And Wonders!' He modestly described himself as "the greatest philosopher in this Kingdom since Isaac Newton"[66], and gave lectures and demonstrations on "philosophy, mathematics, optics, magnetism, electricity, chemistry, pneumatics, hydraulics, poetry, styangraphy, palenchics, and caprimantic arts" - the last three mentioned being topics of his own fertile imagination invented to impress people with his knowledge. He gave daily lectures at 22, Piccadilly, London, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. His 'solar microscope' which formed part of his demonstrations was advertised in the *Morning Post* of July 22nd. 1782, in which it was stated that:

> "The insects on the hedges will be seen larger than ever, and those insects which caused the late influenza will be seen as large as a bird, and in a drop of water the size of a pin head, there will be seen above 50,000 insects; the same in beer, milk, vinegar, blood, flour, cheese, etc. and there will be seen many surprising insects in different vegetables, and above 200 other dead objects."[67]

In case these 'wonders' failed to attract sufficient interest on their own, other attractions were offered to the discerning client:

"N.B. After his evening lecture, he will discover all the various arts on dice, cards, billiards, and E.O. tables."

Katterfelto recovered from an illness himself - which may have been influenza - with the aid of 'Dr. Bato's medicine', and afterwards prepared and sold this nostrum at 5s. a bottle in true quack fashion. Black cats later became part of his performances and were associated with his conjuring tricks and electrical demonstrations, but they were said to be associates of the devil - a belief with which he too became connected. In 1784, he professed to have discovered the secret of perpetual motion and claimed that this had incurred the interest of the Royal Family. For a time, he prospered, but interest in him waned with the waning of the influenza epidemic. He then travelled round the country with his family, his curiosities and his tricks. One of the most popular of these took place at Whitby, in Yorkshire, in which it is said that his daughter was raised to the ceiling supposedly by means of a great magnet after she had donned a massive steel helmet secured with leather straps underneath her armpits.[68] Little more seems to have been heard of him, and he died in 1799.

A satirical print entitled 'Quintessence of Quackery' included a song dedicated to those 'Princes of Puffs, who exist at the Wholesale Puff a de Puff Warehouses, the sign of the Devil and Black Cat, Piccadilly, the Temple of Health, Pall Mall ...' Verse viii contains the words:

"Thus Puffing become now the Trade,
Of Katerfelto and Graham, well known,
Whose Mouths confessedly are made,
For nought but Puffing alone."[69]

The engraving of The Quacks shows Graham and Katterfelto as rivals in their accomplishments.[70] In this, Graham is shown standing on an E/O gaming table - an allusion to one such table which had been in use at his Pall Mall establishment until it was broken by Westminster Justices on August 1st. 1782.[71] The letters E/O represented Even/Odd numbers and this new game with letters had been introduced after all games 'with numbers thereon' had been declared illegal following the Gaming Act of 1739. This too became illegal in 1745.[72] Graham is standing astride a large phallus on which are inscribed the words 'Prime Conductor Gentle restorer' and 'Largest in the World'. His feet rest upon glass insulators to protect him from the electrical current passing through him to earth. In his left hand he is holding up a 'medicated tube' - also with sexual connotations - and he is pointing to the 'Conductor' and saying,

> "That round Vigour! that full-toned juvenile Virility which speaks so cordially and so Effectually home to the Female Heart, Conciliating its Favour and Friendship, and rivetting its Intensest Affections Away Thou German Maggot killer, thy Fame is not to be compar'd with mine."

Other references to Graham's electrical demonstrations and his exploitation of the subject at his 'Temple of Health' include two Leyden jars, one labelled 'Leyden Vial charg'd with Load Stones, Aromatic Spices etc. etc. etc.', and the other, 'Tin Foil or Antidote'.

The Leyden jar or phial was invented in 1745 to accumulate and store electrical charges. It consisted of a glass jar coated inside and out with tin foil. A flexible metal chain attached to a knob was made to connect with the inner coating of the jar. It was an early

form of condenser, used as a primitive battery in order to demonstrate the effects of electricity. Loadstones (Lodestones) were pieces of magnetic iron ore (magnetite) later known as magnets, which when freely suspended, came to rest with their long axis North/South. This property was recognised as important for navigation. (The name loadstone is derived from the Anglo-saxon word meaning 'way' or 'course'.) Leyden jars and loadstones were not usually connected as they are in this print, but the demonstrable capabilities of magnetism could be as dramatic as those of electricity (as Katterfelto demonstrated in Whitby), and Graham made use of both.

The figures of Gog and Magog represent two large porters who were part of Graham's establishment, as shown by Gog's label 'Temple of Health and Hymen'. Harry Angelo, a court fencing master to George IV described how:

> "... At the door [of the Temple of Health] stood two gigantic porters, with each a long Staff, with ornamental silver head, like those borne by parish beadles, and wearing superb liveries, with large, gold-laced cocked hats, each was near seven feet high, and retained to keep the entrance clear ..."[73]

'Gog' and 'Magog' were two legendary giants of unknown ancestry. It was said that the Emperor Diocletian had thirty-three daughters who all murdered their husbands. As a punishment, they were cast adrift in a ship in which they eventually reached Britain. There they became the mothers of a race of giants whose fathers were demons. Brut, the first King of the Britons, slew all but Corineus and Gogmagog, who were brought to his palace on the site of the Guildhall in London. It is said that 'Corineus' was too difficult a name to

remember, so Gogmagog shared his name with his partner. Gogmagog was armed with bows and arrows and a globe of spikes to represent ancient inhabitants of the land, and clothed in half druidical and half ancient British dress, whilst Corineus had a spear and shield to accompany his conventional Roman attire. Their effigies remained in the Guildhall until destroyed by the great fire in 1666. New wooden figures were carved from fir-wood by Richard Saunders - a carver of ships' figureheads - in 1708, each 14 ft.6ins high (Plates 137 & 138). They stood threateningly in the Great Hall guarding the entrance to the Council Chamber until they too were destroyed by fire as a result of a German bomb in 1945. Citizens of London would have recognised these figures from two wickerwork and pasteboard replicas of them which accompanied the Lord Mayor's Processions at his Annual Show. New figures have again replaced the old.

Gog and Magog's presence in connection with Graham's establishment signifies the pretentious grandeur of his Temple with which they were thus associated by comparing it with the Guildhall. They also represent a threat to any unwelcome intrusion into its affairs.

As we have seen, plate III of Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode illustrates some of the attributes associated with quackery, namely, suggestions of learning, verbosity, use of drugs and of ancient remedies. In the present print, some of these features are emphasised. An alligator is suspended from the ceiling, with the words, 'Cured of the Dropsey & Gout of the Stomach'; a bust of one of the Ancients, possibly Galen, offers a hint of learning; and a pestle and mortar give the impression that medicines are compounded by the

owner. An image of a monkey mirrors that of Graham - an association with folly (see p.267). In case there remains any doubt regarding the entitlement of Graham to the name, a duck is present near his feet proclaiming the words 'Quack, Quack, Quack.' A thistle next to these words shows the Scottish origin of the 'Quack'.

A miniature cannon is inscribed with the words 'Coelestial Musick', such as was blasted forth at the 'Temple'. This is aimed at Katterfelto, the other Quack illustrated in the print. The two Quacks are aiming sparks at each other, Graham's charges being greater than those of Katterfelto and occupying more of the print. The latter Quack's foundation or platform is less secure than Graham's, indicating perhaps his complete lack of any medical credentials and the skull and cross-bones indicate the more deadly aspects of his trade. Katterfelto is crouching over a cylindrical conductor inscribed 'Positively Charg'd'. His feet are less securely placed than Graham's, on the insulated base of the cylinder. A trident projecting from the rear of the conductor is directed at a barrel-shaped receptacle - an electro-static generator - attended by the Devil, with whom Katterfelto was said to be associated. The devil says, "away with it my Dear Son. I'll find fire eternally for you." Katterfelto shouts to Graham, saying,

> "Dare you was see de Vonders of the Varld, which make de hair stand on tiptoe, Dare you see mine Tumb and mine findgar, Fire from mine findgar and Feaders on mine Tumb - dare you was see de Gun fire viddout Ball or powder, dare you was see de Devil at mine A--e- O Vonders! Vonders! Vonderful Vonders!"

To illustrate these 'Vonders', Katterfelto's hair is standing on end and sparks issue from his finger and thumb in Graham's

direction. His whole body seems charged as is a smaller version of a cannon similar to that of Graham's and pointing in the direction of the latter. Surrounding him on his platform can be seen a Leyden jar, a small rectangular box labelled 'Arcanum Sublimum', 'Mask'd Battery', a bottle containing an elixir of life under the pseudonym 'Tinctr Aurum vivae', a balloon labelled 'Aurora Borealis' in recognition of his astronomical interests, a small windmill, a dead scorpion and a sign board with the name 'Thunder House' printed on it. This, in association with an electricity conductor which can be seen at the end of Katterfelto's cylinder, might infer an interest in the natural phenomena of thunder and lightning. Benjamin Franklin had performed experiments to test his theory that lightning was an electric phenomenon in 1752. The first of these involved a long pointed wire which was extended upwards from a steeple, to see if electrical charges could be observed at the lower end of the wire when a thunder cloud passed overhead. Kite experiments followed, and lightning rods as suggested by Franklin became fashionable.

A row of insects is displayed on one of the struts of the platform, and underneath the platform is a receptacle or 'Reservoir for Dead Insects destroy'd by Dr. Katterfelto' - an allusion to his microscope demonstrations of dead insects.

Artistically, the print is of poor design and construction, but its content with regard to the two quacks is of some interest and complexity. A quite elaborate knowledge of the quacks and their practices is required in order to obtain the full benefit of the scenario.

Similar demands are also made by a political print which exploits the subject of quackery as part of its imagery. As already indicated, politics and quackery were held to have much in common and the participants in either role were often associated in satirical prints. In The Aerostatic Stage Balloon[74], published in 1783 (Plate 139), the Pope and the Devil are also included, the latter holding a net. The balloon is destined to rise above London by means of a large tub of Froth and Vanity. It is laden with a cargo of notorious people who are arranged in three stages or balconies around it. In the top stage, are three ladies who were known for their amours. These are Grace Elliot, Perdita Robinson and Lady Worsley. On the centre stage between the Devil and the Pope, are politicians North and Fox, each holding a thread, the other ends of which are attached to the nose of the Duke of Portland. On their right is politician Burke dressed as a Jesuit. On the lowest stage are Graham and Katterfelto and other notorious people including 'Vestina' the goddess of Health who advertised the virtues of Dr. Graham's celestial bed.[75] One advertisement describes her activities thus:

> "Vestina, the Rosy Goddess of Health! presides at the evening lecture, in the Temple of Health, Adelphi, assisting at the display of the celestial meteors, and of that sacred vital fire over which she watches, and whose application in the cure of diseases she daily has the honour of directing."[76]

In the print, she sits next to the doctor whilst at the other side of this stage, is Katterfelto. He is gazing up at the moon through his telescope, watched by his black cat which is sitting on the rail saying, 'are there Mice in the Moon Master.' In his left hand, Katterfelto is holding a paper inscribed with the words,

'Wonders, Wonders, Most Wonderful Wonders.' Between these two are two other contemporary characters, Jeffrey Dunstan, Mayor of Garrat, and publican Sam House. The significance of all these people would have been recognised by many of the print's 'readers'. Notoriety, flamboyancy and pretentiousness seem to have been amongst the factors common to them, enabling them to ride on 'Froth and Vanity'.

Beneath the print is a verse which describes how each individual portrayed may carry out his schemes on arrival at the Moon:

> 'Who choose a journey to the Moon
> May take it in our Stage Balloon,
> Where love-sick Virgins past their prime
> May Marry yet and laugh at time.
> Perdita - W--sley Fillies free
> Each flash their lunar Vis-a-Vis
> There N--th may realize his Dreams.
> And F-x pursue his golden schemes
> And Father B--ke may still absolve 'em
> Howe're the Devil may involve them,
> The Pope may plan his Machinations
> With Panders Quacks and Politicians.
> Sam House enjoy his tankard there
> And Old Wigs still be Garrat's May'r.
> Great Katerdevil work his Wonders
> Spruce Gr-ham launch Electric thunders.
> Vestina too --- nor fear a fall
> Satans net shall catch ye all.'

These are the words of the Frenchman who cuts the guy ropes and watches as 'up they mounted W---e and R---e'. In this print, the artist combines amusement and topicality with social, moral and political points - all good selling features.

Animal Magnetism

'Magnetism' continued to provide imagery for print-makers. A print by Collings, entitled Magnetic Dispensary (Plate 140), published in 1790, satirically illustrates another method of therapy by this

means, which owed a great deal to a pseudo-scientific adventurer named Mesmer. Franz Anton Mesmer(1734-1815) had qualified in Medicine in Vienna in 1765 and had produced a thesis in which he maintained that the planets influenced the human body in sickness and in health by what was thought to be a mysterious fluid. He later called this healing influence 'animal magnetism'. He thought that 'Magnetic Therapy' emanated from the laying-of-hands on the sick person and that this increased planetarian influences. Following controversy over his methods of treatment in Vienna, he emigrated to Paris, where he soon became a popular practitioner, and named Marie Antoinette as one of his many famous clients. For his treatments, Mesmer used 'baquets' (oak tubs) containing dilute sulphuric acid and magnetised iron filings, and pierced with movable iron rods. His patients stood or sat round these, holding hands and applying the rods to affected areas of the body, and he touched each patient with a 'wand'. He later realised that actual magnets were not essential to his treatments, and he developed his techniques of hypnotism or 'Mesmerism'. His theories of electro-magnetism sounded scientific and plausible to laymen. He even began to 'mesmerise' patients by remote control and 'magnetised' water-basins, shrubs and parts of gardens and forests, so that patients exposed to these would be cured of their various complaints. Miraculous cures of imaginary illnesses followed - probably in response to his magnetic personality.

In spite of unfavourable reports from commissioners appointed to investigate his claims, Mesmer attracted numerous pupils and followers, and when driven out of France, continued to practise in

Switzerland. However, he returned to Paris six years after his exile, and was granted a pension from the French Government.

Illustrations of Mesmer's baquets exist, and satirical versions of the English method of group therapy also appeared. The Magnetic Dispensary was produced as an illustration to verses on Animal Magnetism. In this print, clients are demonstrating the influences produced from either the magnetic effect of clinging on to metal bars or from the presence of the pretty girl in their midst. On the wall of the room are three pictures. One is of Loutherbourg, the artist, who gave up painting temporarily in the 1780's when he became involved with certain aspects of quackery. He believed that he possessed the power of healing by the 'Laying-on-of-Hands' in a manner similar to that practised in the seventeenth century by an Irishman, named Greatrakes. Loutherbourg and his wife, who lived in Hammersmith Terrace, London, both claimed to have this miraculous gift of healing, which they publicised. A pamphlet was produced on their behalf in 1789 entitled *A List of Cures performed by Mr. and Mrs. Loutherburg of Hammersmith Terrace, without Medicine. By a Lover of the Lamb of God.* They were accordingly beseiged with suppliants wanting the 'free' cures offered. However, these supplicants found that they were required to pay for tickets in order to secure a place in the crowd with others seeking similar aid - a state of affairs which caused a good deal of acrimony. Loutherbourg added his own nostrums to their practice, which led Horace Walpole to write:

> "Loutherburg, the painter, is turned an inspired physician. His sovereign panacea is barley-water; I believe it is as efficacious as Mesmerism ..."[77]

The popularity of the couple ceased with the death of one of their clients. An angry mob stormed their house and the pair fled.

The second picture on the wall is of Yeldell, who has been provided with donkey's ears. One of Mesmer's disciples was named d'Eslon and his name had been associated with the word 'Esel' - meaning 'donkey' in French, - earning him donkey's appendages in French prints. Yeldell may have earned his ears by being a similar follower of Mesmer.

The third picture on the wall in which the name of the occupant is not clear, is probably that of de Mainaudiac (or Manneduke), a quack who also advertised magnetic cures or 'animal magnetism' and was the rage of London about 1786. Angelo described Dr. De Manneduke as amongst those who "obtained a living by pretensions to science." He held 'conversazions' in his drawing-rooms on Sunday evenings for several seasons where:

> "might be seen young ladies and old ladies, fainting, weeping, laughing, and sighing, by sympathy, whilst the doctor, twiddling his fingers right in front of their visages, made them expose themselves by his senseless fascination ... the lords of creation exposed themselves to the same absurdities and tom-fooleries ... until worked up to a 'crisis', they grinned, or sobbed, or stared, or languished as though they were possessed - and so indeed they were - with that capricious demon Fashion, who makes fools of too many of the great, without respect to age or sex."[78]

On the floor in the print is an open book with the words 'Magnetic Effluvia' on one page and 'List of Cures' on the next. A dog displays contempt by urinating on the 'List of Cures'. Packets labelled 'Mag[ic] Snuff' can also be seen on the floor.

The verses accompanying this print contain the lines:

"...Pretending pains about my head,
The Irish priest of nonsense said -
Whate'er my pains, I might be sure
The magnets, if apply'd, would cure;
As proof - for but a guinea, I
Six times their influence might try;
Those not succeeding, six times more -
Another guinea, and encore!
Then talk'd of wonder-working snuff,
Gum lotions, scurvy-grass and stuff,
And slanged profanely about grace,
With hypocritic length of face:-
Said I, - What need of those or these,
If magnets be to give me ease?"[79]

Loutherbourg was allied with Graham and Katterfelto in a political print published on July 20th 1784 and entitled Billy's Gouty visit, or a Peep at Hammersmith(Plate 141). This shows Prime Minister William Pitt visiting the 'healer', whose 'Diploma' indicates that he is the seventh son of a seventh son, to be cured of his unpopularity - occasioned by his attempt to transfer the tobacco tax from Customs to Excise. Two gentlemen accompanying Pitt to the healer are puffing tobacco smoke into his face to cloud his vision. In the print, Pitt's 'unpopularity' has been metamorphosed into gout which is indicated by his heavily bandaged foot and lower leg in stereotypical fashion. The bandages are marked 'Excise'. Loutherbourg points to Pitt's portrait on the wall saying:

> "I can cure my poor Patients vidout trouble or expence - but to make de Man of you by Cot I could as soon animate de Canvas."

'Cures by a touch' - alluding to his 'laying-on-of-hands' - are described on a long scroll of paper lying on and overflowing from a table and hopeful clients with incurable conditions such as a missing head or absent members await similar results. They are seated

underneath a triangle made up of the three names of Loutherbourg, Graham and Katterfelto. Inside the triangle are the words, 'Miracles never cease!!!'[80]

Tractorisation

The vogue for electric and magnetic stimulation continued with the advent of Elisha Perkins' 'Metallic Tractors', versions of which are illustrated in Plates 142 & 143. Perkins was born in 1741 in Connecticut into a medical family, and he in turn received some medical training - at Yale University. He practised locally as a country doctor until about 1796 when he invented his 'Tractors' which he made from some mysterious alloys in a small forge in his house. The alleged presence of gold in the tractors helped to justify their high price - ten guineas a pair to the general public, five guineas to members of the medical profession and free to clergymen. The 'Tractors' were metal rods about four inches in length, flat on one face and rounded on the other, with one end sharp and the other blunt. Two of the rods were held together and their points were drawn downwards and outwards over the affected area of the body in order to attract or draw out disease. Amazing cures were claimed with their aid.[81] In addition to the diseases they were said to attract, they also attracted a great deal of attention and provided a lucrative living for their inventor. Perkins found that he could

> "remove chronic rheumatism, some gouty affections, pleurisies, inflammations in the eyes, erysipelas, and tetters; violent spasmodic convulsions, as epileptic fits; the locked jaw; the pain and swelling attending contusions; inflammatory tumours; the violent pain occasioned by recent sprain; the painful effects of a burn or scald; pains in the head, teeth, ears, breast, side, back and limbs; and indeed most painful kinds of topical affections."[82]

Tractoration for about twenty minutes a day was recommended except for those of a delicate constitution for whom caution was advised with limited use of the tractors at intervals of two to three days. Perkins' colleagues were not impressed and in 1797 expelled him from the Connecticut Medical Society, but many influential people recommended their use and George Washington purchased a set for the use of his own family.[93]

Although interest in the tractors faded in America, their fame spread to Europe followed by Perkins' son, Benjamin. He was welcomed in London where he set up practice. He also practised in Bath and in 1797 published a pamphlet on the subject.[94] A surgeon at Bath, Charles Cunningham Langworthy, published a 'Review' of Perkinean Electricity and collaborated with Perkins in treating patients and selling tractors. Langworthy said that success of the operation was much better and occurred more rapidly in winter than in summer but

> "In either Season, perspiration on the hand of the operator, or any oily substance on the seat of pain, completely prevents all beneficial effects; and the instruments succeed better in the hands of some operators, than in those of others, in proportion as such operators are more or less impregnated with electricity."[95]

Any failure was thus satisfactorily explained!

Popularity of the 'Tractors' increased and in 1803 a Perkinian Institution was established in London for the treatment of poor people who could not otherwise experience the benefits of 'Tractoration'. Provincial branches of the Institute were also set up. However, criticism and scepticism soon followed. Imitation 'Tractors' were found to be equally effective, including some of wood

painted to resemble the original tractors, made by Dr. John Haygarth of Bath. Associated pseudo-scientific jargon enhanced the prospect of 'cure'. It was gradually realised that there was no electrical or magnetic influence involved and by 1810, the fashion had died and Perkins had returned to America with his fortune.

James Gillray illustrated a patient receiving treatment by means of these _Metallic Tractors_ (Plate 142). In his print, a 'Tractor' is being applied to the reddened and bulbous nose of a client. Fire leaps from the offending protruberance as his disease is withdrawn. As further indication of the 'electro-magnetic' influence taking place, the tail of the operator's wig is also 'charged', and elevated to a horizontal position. On the table amidst the ingredients of a recently made punch drink - excessive use of which was popularly thought to cause the red, or 'port-light' nose (see p.125), - is a newspaper entitled 'The True Briton'. Three columns of print follow from which can be read the words:

> "... just arrived from America the Rod of Aesculapius. Perkinism in all its Glory - being a certain Cure for all Disorders; Red Noses, Gouty Toes, Windy Bowels, Broken Legs, Hump Backs. Just discover'd, the Grand Secret of the Philosopher's Stone with the true way of turning all Metals into Gold. pro bono publico."

Perkins is said to have commissioned this print [96]. Two weeks after the print was published, Gillray received a note bearing the following message:

> "Mr. Perkins presents his compliments to Mr. Gillray with many thanks, and the enclosed acknowledgement for the print, which he has seen with great satisfaction ... and he also asks as a particular favour, that no person may ever know any communication has taken place between Mr. G. and Mr. P.on this

> subject, and that no Discovery of that nature may be made through the presentation of this check -
> Will Mr. Perkins be gratified in his wishes to see this print exhibited in other print shops also? He likewise begs to ask what would be charged him for a dozen impressions?"

It would seem that such satirical representations cannot necessarily be viewed as victimisation of the practitioner. In some circumstances they represented welcome publicity for him.

Another print, entitled <u>The Tractors</u>, published in 1802, advocates the use of metallic tractors as a new cure for scandal [97] (Plate 143). In this print, an old maid, Mrs. Thickness, is suffering 'tractorisation' to her tongue in an effort to extract all the venomous gossip to which she was addicted. The lady in question has her head held in a vice and her legs tied to a chair as the operator, 'S.W.Fores', applies the tractors'. 'Malignity', 'Detraction', 'Scandal', 'Envy', 'Hypocrisy', 'Innuendos' and 'Half Hints' are extracted, the latter setting fire to a globe of the world portrayed on a screen behind her. Behind this screen three young ladies watch the operation in amazement, and advocate its practice on other tongues "in our Town". The caption beneath suggests that this treatment may be more effective in preventing murders than "all the Poenal Statutes". Fores published this print as one of a 'Folio of Caracatures lent out for the Evening' - a useful means by which to attract publicity and subsequent revenue.

'Fashion' was thus a useful area for the quacks to exploit. If cure for some disease did not follow, usually little harm was done. As Adair said,

> "Fashion, like its companion Luxury, may be considered as one of those excrescences which are attached to national

improvement; and which so far resemble the moss of fruit-trees, and the mistletoe of the oak, as not to be entirely useless though they may be occasionally injurious."[88]

Vaccination

Although the fashions previously described lasted for only comparatively short periods of time, one innovation had more lasting and far-reaching effects. Lord Byron wrote,

"Now look around, and turn each trifling page,
Survey the precious works that please the age;
...
What varied wonders tempt us as they pass!
The cow-pox, tractors, galvanism, and gas,
In turns appear ..."[89]

Byron classed 'cow-pox' with 'tractors' - a passing fancy. This seems hardly surprising when considered in the context of the time. How were the general public to assess the value of a measure involving the extraction of infected material from sores produced in an illness contracted from an animal (cow-pox) and accept that this would prevent them from succumbing to another (and much more serious) illness, small-pox? 'Quacks' had made extravagant claims before. Graphic artists literally drew attention to the controversy that was engendered by the practice and examples of some of their prints are shown in Plates 144 - 147. In order to understand the content of the prints, however, it is necessary to know something of the background to the topic of vaccination.

Smallpox, an almost universal scourge of mankind and well-documented in southern Europe from Classical times, was widely accepted as an act of God against which there was no defence - at

least in the Western world. Although some measures were taken by the State in an effort to prevent the introduction of infectious diseases into the country during the eighteenth century, such as the insistence upon strict quarantine controls, smallpox was always present to a varying degree, sometimes reaching epidemic proportions. The ensuing mortality rate was high.[90] Means were sought whereby a mild form of the disease could be acquired which would then protect the sufferer from a more virulent form. A method of direct inoculation of the infected matter from a patient suffering from such a mild attack was widely used in the East and two papers had been read to the Royal Society in 1713-16 describing the methods employed in Constantinople. The practice attracted little attention in Europe until Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu (1689-1762), wife of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, studied its use there. She wrote to a friend describing the practice:

> "...The small-pox, so fatal and so general amongst us, is here entirely harmless by the invention of in-grafting, which is the term they give it... There is a set of old women who make it their business to perform the operation every autumn, in the month of September, when the great heat is abated. People send to one another to know if any of their family has a mind to have the smallpox; they make parties for this purpose, and when they are met (commonly fifteen or sixteen together), the old woman comes with a nutshell full of the matter of the best sort of smallpox, and asks what veins you please to have opened. She immediately rips open that you offer to her with a large needle (which gives you no more pain than a common scratch), and puts into the vein as much venom as can lie upon the head of her needle, and after binds up the little wound with a hollow bit of shell; and in this manner opens four or five veins.... The children or young patients play together all the rest of the day, and are in perfect health to the eighth. Then the fever begins to seize them, and they keep to their beds two days, very seldon three..."[91]

Lady Mary had her own son inoculated, or variolated, as the practice was later called. (Variola is the Latin name for smallpox.) On her return to England she informed George I about the method, urging its use in this country, although she foresaw opposition from the medical fraternity as she had indicated in her letter from Adrianople:

> "I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England; and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue for the good of mankind. But that distemper is too beneficial to them, not to expose to all their resentment the hardy wight that should undertake to put an end to it."[91]

Six condemned criminals in Newgate prison were offered their freedom if they consented to be inoculated. These tests proved successful. Members of the Royal Family were afterwards inoculated and Royal approval given.[92] The highly respected Dr.Richard Mead (1673-1754) later supported the practice and published a paper to this effect in 1747. His support led to its widespread use. In 1766, the Rev. John Penrose wrote to his daughter describing the practice provided by a doctor in Hertfordshire,

> "who has an House fitted up for the Reception of Patients, and has inoculated thousands without ever one failing under his Hands. His Price is five Guineas. For which he finds them Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging, and whatever he thinks they ought to have. He keeps them upon a very Spare Diet; brings a Person with the Small-Pox upon him into a Room where the Party to be inoculated is, to take the Infection from; gives them Water to drink; will not suffer them if sick, to lie down, as long as they can possibly stand; absolutely prohibits their approaching any Fire; lets them go out in Cold, Rain, Wind, Snow, any Weather, by Night as well as by Day, nay absolutely forces them out, if they complain of sickness. It is a common thing for such as are not past the Small-Pox, to make a Party

> of three, four or more to go to this Doctor's for inoculation, as for Ladies to make a Party of Pleasure."[93]

The clergyman's informant had been a recipient of such treatment.

A notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in Dec.1770 informed readers that

> "His R.H. Prince Edward and Princess Augusta Sophia were inoculated for the smallpox ..."[94]

but the practice was not without risk of provoking a severe form of the disease with fatal consequences.

This was the position until Edward Jenner produced his method of 'vaccination'. Jenner was born in Berkeley, Gloucestershire in 1749. He was a country medical practitioner who had trained at St. George's Hospital in London, where he had studied as a pupil of surgeon John Hunter and had shared his interest in the study of Natural History, but, after three years in London, he returned to Gloucestershire. There, in the course of his work, he heard of the belief in many country districts that those who had had cow-pox - a naturally occurring disease in the udders of cows - were protected against small-pox. After many years of observing this phenomenon he determined to put the theory to the test. On May 14th 1796, he introduced some of the lymph, or matter, taken from cow-pox vesicles on the finger of a dairy-maid, Sarah Nelmes, into the arm of a boy named James Phipps. On July 1st 1796, he inoculated the boy with smallpox matter in the usual way. The boy did not develop smallpox. After a while, Jenner inoculated others in similar fashion, but he was not content just to prevent the occurrence of smallpox in his own country district; he

wanted the whole country to benefit from the practice. A stock of cow-pox matter was therefore necessary. Jenner wanted to use inoculated matter from one inoculated person to another without it becoming too weak to be effective. He published his results in July 1798 in *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vacciniae, a Disease discovered in some of the Western Counties of England, particularly Gloucestershire, and known by the name of 'The Cow-Pox'*. The medical name of 'Vaccinia' for cow-pox led to the description of its inoculation being known as 'vaccination'. The vaccinia virus (cow-pox) is now known to be a variant of the variola virus (smallpox) and gives rise to immune antibodies to the latter although the immunity is less permanent than that acquired from an attack of variola.

The practice of vaccination was a magnificent achievement. Jenner was rewarded with £10,000 from the Government in 1802, with an additional sum of £20,000 in 1807. He practised in London for a short time following his acclaim, but soon returned to his native Gloucestershire. His achievements formed the basis for the study of immunity which has continued and developed since.

Jenner's work did not receive universal acclaim. Many inoculators opposed his vaccination procedures. As newly vaccinated patients were not adequately isolated from small-pox patients and medical hygiene was poor, many developed a severe reaction through vaccine contamination.[95] This lent support to opponents of the procedure. One of those in opposition was Dr. Rowley of Oxford, who, in 1805, published a pamphlet entitled *Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Smallpox Infection*, in which he mentioned the fate of a boy

who was said to have an ox-face after vaccination.[96] Facing the first page of the Introduction to this work is a coloured copper-plate engraving of the Cow-Poxed, Ox-faced Boy (Plate 144) who seems to have swollen glands affecting the shape of his face as a result of the infection. The emotive description given by Rowley and corroborated by another anti-vaccinator, Moseley, correlated well with the contemporary interest in physiognomy. The suggestion of a bovine expression caused some alarm. Rowley wrote:

> "Dr. Moseley, who sensibly first exposed the errors of vaccination, saw this case of the ox-faced boy by my desire. He observed to me, that the boy's face seemed to be in a state of transforming, and assuming the visage of a cow."

Moseley's anti-vaccination sentiments produced the following response from a supposed reader of one of his publications:

> "Oh Moseley! thy book nightly phantasies rousing,
> Full oft makes me quake for my heart's dearest treasures;
> For fancy in dreams, oft presents them all browsing
> On commons, just like little Nebuchadnezzar.
> (There)! nibbling at thistle, stand Jem, Joe and Mary,
> On their foreheads, Oh horrible! crumpled horns bud;
> (There)! Tom with his tail, and poor William all hairy,
> Reclined in a corner, are chewing the cud."[97]

The artist Gillray illustrated the hypothetical complications associated with vaccination in his own satirical style in a print, The Cow-Pock - or - The Wonderful Effects of the New Inoculation, which was published on June 12th 1802 (Plate 145). After the title were the words 'Vide - the Publication of ye Anti-Vaccine Society'. In this print, Jenner himself is portrayed holding a scarifier and vaccinating an anxious looking woman. On his right is a small boy who is wearing a badge which identifies him as a Charity boy from the St.

Pancras District, London. The vaccination session proceeding is taking place in the Inoculation Hospital set up in that District. (Institutions for free vaccination had been set up in various locations in London amidst controversy which raged between rival Societies.[98])The boy is holding a tub labelled 'VACCINE POCK hot from ye COW'. Protruding from his pocket is a book entitled 'Benefits of the Vaccine Process'. Behind him is a chest on which a larger tub labelled 'OPENING MIXTURE' can be seen from which an assistant is ladling a dose of the mixture to a client who has not yet been vaccinated. Also on the chest are medicine bottles, one labelled 'VOMIT', a box of Pills and an enema syringe. In front of the chest is a close-stool and on the floor beside this is a clyster pipe. These seem to imply the use of such measures as an accompaniment or preliminary to vaccination. Those already vaccinated are showing alarming signs of development and extrusion of cow-like tumours issuing from different parts of their bodies, presumably aided by the 'Opening Mixtures'. One of these, a pregnant woman on the right hand side, is delivering a miniature cow from beneath her skirt. A man next to her, with his hands raised in horror, is sprouting horns; perhaps this is a *double entendre* in connection with his supposed cuckolding resulting in this strange delivery to his wife. On the wall at the back of the print is a painting depicting people prostrating themselves in front of an altar on which a cow is standing. This is an allegorical reference to the Biblical story in which Aaron, in the absence of Moses, makes a Golden Calf for the Israelites to worship.[99] A print such as this would have had more of an impact on the 'readers' than a mere condemnation of the practice or

a further issue of pamphlets. The print predates Rowley's pamphlet by three years, but ideas sown in the minds of the public with regard to the development of tumescent horns and bovine excrescences as shown by Gillray may have been fuelled by Rowley's concern over the fate of the Ox-faced Boy.

In the same year an engraving entitled Vaccination demonstrates the controversy which ensued between factions in the medical profession (Plate 146). In this print the names of anti-vaccinators are provided - Dr. Mosley [sic], who had written many tracts and published letters against cow-pox, Drs. Squirrill, Rowley, Birch, and Lipscomb - each identified by their initialled swords, and by their names on an adjacent obelisk. A monster made up of different parts of animals including a cow-like body and with horns and a tail like those of a cow and representing 'Vaccination' is covered with sores labelled 'Pestilence, Plague, Foetid ulcers, Leprosy, Pandoras Box'. This monster is being fed with normal babies by three doctors who have horns and cows' tails. One of these, Jenner, has a printed paper, '£10,00[0]', protruding from his pocket. From the rear end of the monster, the babies - having developed horns and tails - are being shovelled up and placed on a dung cart. The doctor engaged in this activity is Dr. Woodville. He is identified by a book underneath his foot bearing the title 'Lectures on Botany'. Dr. Woodville had written a book on 'Medical Botany' containing descriptions of medicinal plants.[100] He was also Physician to the Smallpox Hospital at St. Pancras where he supported Jenner's work. Anti-Vaccine representatives with swords and shields and proclaiming 'Truth' are seen descending a mountain on which is the Temple of Fame.

It took ten years for the practice of vaccination to become generally accepted. Jenner had to contend with antagonism from some of his own profession, as previously illustrated, for whom a lucrative trade in inoculation was threatened, from clergymen and others who denounced the practice of transferring disease from beasts to man and from those who feared the transmission of other diseases during the process. Rowley had described how

> "...it would be cruel, for the world to know, who had laboured under the Cow-Pox Mange, evil, ulcer, or any other beastly disease, it might infallibly injure their fortune in life, particularly in matrimonial alliances. Who would marry into any family, at the risk of their offspring having filthy beastly diseases?"[101]

Although Rowley admitted that many vaccinators were not masters of the technique which could thus cause adverse effects, he still felt strongly that diseases of 'brutes' would be incorporated into the human constitution however the vaccinations were performed.

In contrast to the antagonism displayed in the previously described prints, Isaac Cruikshank supported Jenner in his print Vaccination against Smallpox, or Mercenary & Merciless spreaders of Death and Devastation Driven out of Society (Plate 147). This was published in 1808. It shows Jenner accompanied by two colleagues, holding his scarifier or vaccination knife inscribed with the words 'milk of human kindness'. Retreating from his advance are three out-dated practitioners who still continue the old practice of inoculation. They are holding up large scarifiers dripping with purulent matter and inscribed 'The curse of human kind' One of the three is saying, "Curse on these Vaccinators. We shall all be

starved, why Brother I have matter enough here to kill 50." The second one adds, "And these would communicate it to 500 more." "Aye, Aye" states the third, "I always order them to be constantly out in the air, in order to spread the contagion." Jenner says "Oh, Brothers, Brothers, suffer the Love of Gain to be Overcome by compassion for your fellow creatures, & do not delight to plunge whole Families in the deepest distress, by the untimely loss of their nearest and Dearest relatives." Such distress is illustrated by dead and dying pock-marked individuals strewn all round, and by a mother holding her dying baby and crying out for assistance.

A cherub is about to place a laurel wreath on Jenner's head, proclaiming him 'The Preserver of the Human Race'. Jenner's colleagues are carrying rolled documents on which the words 'Bill to,' can be distinguished. These refer to Government support which had resulted in the establishment of a National Vaccine Institute in 1808 following a report on vaccination submitted to it by the Royal College of Physicians the previous year. This Institute replaced the Royal Jenner Society and its inception had occasioned re-newed antagonism from the opponents of vaccination. A figure behind Jenner says, "Surley [sic] the disorder of the Cow is preferable to that of the Ass."[102]

Anti-vaccination campaigns continued. Isaac Cruikshank's son, George, had views which differed from those of his father. He offered support to the anti-vaccinators in the form of a print, The Cowpox Tragedy, which was published in 1812 in the journal *Scourge*.[103] This was an attack on vaccination and on the Royal College of Physicians, which, in 1806, had reported strongly in favour of vaccination and the

merits of Jenner. By 1839, however, popular and professional hostility to vaccination was very muted. Inoculation (variolation) was forbidden by law in England in 1840 and vaccination of infants was made compulsory in 1853 in England and the law extended to Scotland and Ireland in 1863.

The prints described in connection with vaccination show how artists could be involved in the controversy engaged upon by those with vested interests in the topic portrayed. They also illustrate what, in the twentieth century, appears to be the continuing naïvity of thought amongst some members of the medical profession who were to advise members of the general population about matters of health. In contemporary terms, some of these thought patterns were associated with current ideas of physiognomy, humoral theory and man's association with 'brutes' - themes which have been apparent in a number of prints which have already been discussed. These ideas in turn help to explain the fear and scepticism of the general population with regard to the practice of vaccination. At the time of publication, some aspects of the standpoint of those responsible for the prints would have seemed entirely credible.

Patent medicine 'Puffs'

The print Vaccination against Smallpox: Mercenary & Merciless spreaders of Death & Devastation driven out of Society implies that some medical practitioners gained from the spread of disease as Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu had suggested. (See page 302) It was widely thought that doctors welcomed any increase in their work-load and subsequent revenue at the expense of their patients' welfare and their purses. This theme is the topic of a print entitled Address of

Thanks to Influenza, published in 1803 (Plate 148). In this, several medical practitioners are presenting an address of thanks to a sick patient who is suffering from influenza. They hope that on his recovery, he will have left some of its 'relics' or infection behind. Each doctor has made use of his favourite remedy claiming its unique benefits. 'James's Powders', 'Peruvian Bark' and 'Laudanum' can be seen amongst the array of medicines on and under the table. A clyster pipe also lies on the table.

The name 'Newberry' is mentioned by one doctor in his statement "My friend Mr. Newberry made me a very handsome present for my recommendation of his James's powders in the newspapers." John Newberry was a newspaper proprietor, publisher of children's books and patent medicine wholesaler who frequently 'puffed' patent medicines in his publications.[104] 'Dr. James's powders' was a popular fever remedy, and this print too seems to be a 'puff' for the nostrum.

Rowley mentioned in his pamphlet how public papers contained adverts for 'Velno's Syrup' to cure afflictions of Cow-Pox. This itself might be construed as an advertisement or 'puff' for the Syrup.[105]

Madness or 'States of Unreason'

> "Madness is not just a matter of cultural fashion. Depression and schizophrenia can have a biochemical basis. Mental illness is as much a fact as smallpox or plague."[106]

Whatever the organic or biochemical basis of madness may be, its signs and even symptoms vary according to the cultural assumptions of

the time. Elements of fashion are associated with the delusions of those suffering from G.P.I. (see page 148 in connection with Hogarth's deluded inmates in Bethlem Hospital). "Even the mad are men of their times."[107] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century, passions were generally held to be responsible for the mental state. People were said to be 'mad' when impassioned beyond moderation or 'reason'.[108] Hogarth's Rake demonstrates such passions during his 'Progress'. Pride, vanity, envy, and anger could be all-consuming - constituting 'madness'. During the eighteenth century the passions relinquished control to the 'nerves' and 'nervous excitation'.[109] 'Nervous complaints' came into vogue. Smollett's hero, Sir Launcelot Greaves, having been confined in a private mad-house, asked the doctor if his disorder were madness. The Physician replied:

> "'O Lord! sir, - not absolute madness - no - not madness - you have heard, no doubt of what is called a weakness of the nerves, sir..."[110]

The boundaries of the states of 'Reason' and 'Unreason' became less well-defined.

> "To the eighteenth century English mind, the distinction between sanity and madness seemed one not of kind but of degree, and a whole range of symptoms and dispositions (hypochondria, hysteria, depression, the spleen) linked the two."[111]

Graphic and literary artists show us how insanity was popularly viewed. (Some examples were discussed in Chapter 4.) Rowlandson's etching of The Hypochondriac (Plate 149), drawn from a design by James Dunthorne, demonstrates how this condition was seen to be associated with extreme melancholy. Here the symbolic figure of the skeleton as

death, to be examined in more detail at the end of this section, was a useful rôle model as he wielded his fatal arrow.

Melancholy, hypochondriasis and the spleen, were considered to be one complex condition or malady. Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of 1755 defines 'hypochondriacal' thus:

> '1. Melancholy; disordered in the imagination ...
> 2. Producing melancholy ...'

The area below the costal cartilages or rib cage is known medically as the hypochondrium and contains the liver, gall bladder and spleen, the organs believed to be responsible for the condition of hypochondriasis. This was a fashionable English malady which gave rise to many treatises, pamphlets, poems, sermons and epigrams for more than fifty years. Names such as 'melancholy', 'the spleen', black melancholy', 'hysteria', 'nervous debility', and 'the hyp' were given to it. Opinions as to its cause often differed. Adair explained in one of his *Essays on Fashionable Diseases*[112] how a specific diagnosis of an illness was not always easy, convenient or practicable if the doctor were ignorant of the cause. He might therefore gratify his patient with a 'general' term which may express the *nature* of the disease. "If the patient or doctor were people of fashion, this may render the term fashionable" and it may then become a topic of conversation. He included such terms as 'spleen', 'hyp' and 'vapours' in this category and these were used for those whom Adair regarded as

> "sick by way of amusement, and melancholy to keep up their spirits.[113]

One treatise on hypochondriasis was written by John Hill, an eccentric English scientist, physician, apothecary and hack writer.[114] Hill's treatise was a practical one which provided a summary of contemporary thought on the subject with an explanation of causes, symptoms and cures - including his own nostrums. Sydenham had noted that hypochondriasis and hysteria, which had been thought to affect females only, were the same disease and were of mental rather than physiological origin. He thought that the internal and immediate cause was a disorder of the animal spirits arising from a clot, resulting in pain, spasms and bodily disorders. His influence was great and once the theory of a nervous origin was accepted, it became increasingly fashionable. By the middle of the eighteenth century it was popularly known as 'the hyp' for men afflicted, and the 'vapours' for women, but it also became a word synonymous with lunacy. Many medical men regarded the condition as a disorder of the mind causing real physical symptoms (a psychosomatic disorder in twentieth-century terms) and it was difficult to cure. Robert James wrote in his *Medical Dictionary*,[115]

'Hypochondriacus Morbis'

> "... No disease is more troublesome, either to the Patient or Physician, than hypochondriac Disorders; and it often happens, that, thro' the Fault of both, the Cure is either unnecessarily protracted, or, totally frustrated; for the Patients are so delighted, not only with a Variety of Medicines, but also of Physicians ..."

Hill described the symptoms and Rowlandson published a pictorial interpretation of some of them in the print of The Hypochondriac. These included

'lowness of spirits and inaptitude to motion; a disrelish of amusements, a love of solitude and a habit of thinking, even on trifling subjects, with too much steadiness. Wild thoughts ...'

The print shows the patient seated in a chair with his arms folded inside the sleeves of his robe, giving the illusion of a strait jacket being used to prevent him from harming himself. This was a device sometimes used for those declared 'mad'. That self-destruction is contemplated is indicated by the presence of the skeleton hovering over him with his lethal arrow and by the illustrations of his morbid thoughts. The Hypochondriac's thoughts, in the form of phantoms or spectres, offer him tempting ways of ending his misery. A cup of poison is offered, a sword, a knife, a dagger, a rope and a pistol; death by drowning is indicated and even from the bite of a snake. A horse-drawn hearse depicts the ultimate scene contemplated. The sufferer is surrounded by black clouds, the only way out of which appears to be via the hearse withdrawing him from the scene of his melancholy. Behind the patient stands the physician, the stock character with tri-corn hat and cane to nose. A pretty maidservant stands to his right next to a table on which are ranged bottles, bowls and a glass as evidence of remedies tried without benefit. The idyllic country scenes above these two contrasts the outlook on life in the two parts of the picture. Two verses underneath the picture describe the scene:

'The Mind distemper'd - say, what potent charm,
Can Fancy's spectre breeding rage discern?
Physics prescriptive, art assails in vain,
The dreadful phantoms floating cross the brain.

Until with Esculapian skill, the sage M.D.
Finds out at length by self taught palmistry

> The hopeless case - in the reluctant fee.
> Then, not in torture such a wretch to keep
> One pitying bolus lays him sound asleep.'

This M.D. may well be contemplating the final bolus. His fee is no doubt locked in the chest beside the patient, who no longer seems to be in a position to bother about it.

The portrayal of 'The Hypochondriac' presented a very real clinical picture of the sufferer.

'Melancholy' is seen in a print by Woodward as a condition wrought by politicians by means of excessive taxation. John Bull Troubled with the Blue Devils (Plate 150) is an engraving which appeared in a folio of caricatures in 1799. John Bull, representing the archetypal Englishman, appears as a sad downtrodden poor old man in his nightcap, shirtsleeves and slippers. He is gazing with terror at various demons or 'blue devils' which are approaching him in a cloud of smoke from the fire. Demons in different guises represent the taxes to which he is subject, including income tax, additional housing tax, tax on hair powder, on windows, tea, salt and wine. The demons are accompanied by smaller winged 'devils'. They all seem devised to make John Bull miserable and 'Melancholic'.

Hogarth had indicated how he considered that only conventions masked the madness prevalent in society. Madness as endemic in society was a common theme. Captain Crowe, who, his nephew feared, would be branded as mad if he followed his desire to lead an unconventional life-style in *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, exclaimed,

"Mad! what then? I think for my part one half of the nation is mad - and the other not very sound - I don't see why I ha'n't as good a right to be mad as another man."[116]

Richard Newton depicts a Visit to Bedlam in Plate 151. In this he begs the question of who are the sane, the inmates or the visitors? From which side of the bars is the reader viewing inmates? The physiognomies of the man and his wife, who has been accused of cuckolding her spouse, show stereotypical features of those depicted as 'mad', with open mouths, raised eyebrows and staring eyes, and making awkward gestures. The others in the foreground fare no better. Only the strange headgear in the form of crown and chamberpot betoken the madness on the other side of the bars, with the handle of the chamberpot drawn to suggest the new moon - a portent of lunacy.

Rowlandson, in one of his drawings of contrasting states, Doctor and Lunatic (Plate 152), illustrates a raving madman, chained semi-naked in a barred room, whilst the doctor, calmy smoking his pipe, looks on. This and the previous image depict the insane as often illustrated in early images of the raving maniac. Images of madness changed as their condition received closer scrutiny. For example, the physician and anatomist Charles Bell published his *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* in 1805. This contains his own illustrations of madness, completed after a visit to Bedlam [117]. His view was that madness is related to fear and terror and reflects the baser, animal aspects of man's nature. He depicts the madman as a cowering shrunken individual, with watchful troubled eye (Plate 153).

Treatment of Madness

Treatment of the more profound and genuinely mentally ill in the eighteenth century was insensitive and even brutal. By mid-century, traditional ways of dealing with the mentally ill in Bethlem were being challenged by a new foundation, St. Luke's Hospital for Lunaticks. William Battie, M.D., who had been elected a Governor of Bethlem in 1742 after subscribing £50 to the Hospital, felt the need for a new approach to the treatment of such patients. He promoted the Foundation of the new hospital, which opened in 1751 with Battie as its first physician. Battie also acquired two private madhouses in London.[118]

Ideals for the new Foundation included those for the provision of separate rooms for inmates and special diets, with servants who should be 'peculiarly' qualified for their work. A more rational approach to insanity was sought than had previously been considered. Coercion and 'physicking' by such means as purging, administration of emetics, blistering, use of caustics, raising issues and using cold baths were to be eschewed in favour of treatment by 'regime' and 'management', leading to a more humane approach. However, in some circumstances such 'physicking' might still form part of the regime. According to Battie,

> "Madness ... rejects all general methods, eg. bleeding, blisters, caustics, rough cathartics, the gumms and faetid anti-hysterics, opium, mineral waters, cold bathing and vomits... nevertheless these and all pungent substances are to be tried with great caution, or rather not to be tried at all in fits of fury..."[119]

Battie recognised that some patients recovered spontaneously without treatment or even after treatment was ended. By 1753, students were permitted to walk the wards and were given clinical instruction by Battie. Rational observation of the mentally ill along the lines advocated by Sydenham with regard to organic medical diseases was introduced. In his treatise of 1758, Battie pointed out that the application of some treatments for all 'madness' implied only one species of disorder and he proposed divisions into 'original' and 'consequential' madness, with or without brain disease, that is, mental illness with either organic or non-organic cause.

Rowlandson, in association with the architect Pugin, produced a drawing of part of the interior of St. Luke's Hospital which was included in a series *The Microcosm of London* published by Ackermann in 1808-9 (Plate 154). This was the second St. Luke's Hospital in Old St. which was built in 1786 following the move from Moorfields opposite Bethlem Hospital. Augustus Charles Pugin was born in 1762 and was the father of the more famous A.W.N.Pugin. He was a draughtsman to the architect Nash and entered as a student at the Royal Academy. He was a friend of the publisher, Ackermann, as was Rowlandson, an association which probably led to the publication of this series. Pugin provided the buildings in the series and Rowlandson the inmates, all in characteristic style. (The exterior of the building is illustrated in Payne's *Illustrated London* (1846-7).)

Politicians still found a place in 'Bedlam' by courtesy of contemporary artists. Fox did so via an engraving attributed to Isaac Cruikshank in 1784 in which the politician can be seen lying on a blanket laid on a bed of straw in a cell similar to those depicted in

'Bedlam' by Hogarth (Plate 155) Like one of Hogarth's inmates, he is wearing a crown made of straw and is holding a sceptre of similar material in his hand. He is apparently a victim to his delusions of grandeur, saying to his visitor who views him through the cell door:

> "Do you not behold friend Sam I have obtained the height of all my wishes?"

At this time, the Coalition Government of Fox and North had become discredited. It was thought that Fox's future hopes of power and success were now merely 'delusions of grandeur' thus earning him a place in 'Bedlam'.

Private madhouses flourished with no legal requirements for their regulation until some safeguards were introduced in 1774. A communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine* headed, 'A case humbly offered to the Consideration of Parliament' and dated 1763, describes a practice carried out at some of these establishments where impatient or slighted heirs were able to 'look after' their own interests by removing any inconvenient twig from the family tree and where troublesome members of families could be put out of the way.:

> "... When a person is forcibly taken, or artfully decoyed into a private Mad-house, he is, without any authority, or any further charge, than that of a mercenary relation, or a pretended friend, instantly seized by a set of human ruffians, trained up to this barbarous profession, stripped naked, and conveyed to a dark room. If he complains, or asks the reason of this dreadful usage, the attending servant brutally orders him not to rave, calls for assistance, and ties him down to a bed, from whence he is not released till he submits to their pleasure... the next morning a doctor is gravely introduced by the Master or the Keeper of the house ... pronounces the unhappy person a lunatick, and declares he must be reduced by physic."

If the unfortunate 'patient' refused to submit to treatment, force was applied, and if he submitted and resigned himself to the situation, he was deemed to be 'melancholy' or sulky, which rewarded him with further dosing from the doctor. Either way, debilitation resulted and eventual impairment of mind.[120] Smollett's Sir Launcelot, forcibly incarcerated in a private mad-house by his rival for the lovely Aurelia,

> "After mature deliberation, - resolved to demean himself with the utmost circumspection , well knowing that every violent transport would be interpreted into undeniable symptoms of insanity."[121]

Public concern about the state of private mad-houses had grown since the early part of the eighteenth century, but no action was taken until 1763, when Parliament appointed a Committee to 'Inquire into the State of private Madhouses in this Kingdom'. The eventual Bill of 1774, provided limited safeguards with regard to private patients, but excluded provision for insane paupers in lunatic or general hospitals and workhouses, and those provided for in private madhouses supported by the Parish.[122] No provisions were made for the enforcement of better conditions for the inmates or for the prevention of maltreatment.

With the advent of George III's recurring episodes of insanity, interest in the care and management of the insane received more attention than had previously been the case. Specialist mad-doctors emerged, some of them living in close quarters with their patients in private mad-houses. One of these was Dr. Francis Willis. Rowlandson illustrated the controversial figure of this doctor, who became

involved in the treatment of the King. The Reverend Doctor had studied theology at the behest of his father, but had no real inclination for a life devoted to the church. Whilst an undergraduate at Oxford, he had attended medical lectures in addition to pursuing his theological studies, from which he graduated in 1734. He married in 1749 and moved to Lincolnshire, where he began to practice medicine without a licence. He continued to do so for ten years, after which Oxford University conferred a medical degree on him, and in 1769 he was appointed physician to a hospital in Lincoln which he had helped to establish. There, he became known for his treatment of mental disorders and patients were brought great distances to see him. He accommodated some of these in his own home and later moved to a larger house at Gretford, near Stamford, in order to have more room for such residents. His treatment of the mentally ill was controversial. He insisted on more gentle, humane care than was usual and allowed greater freedom for his patients. His system relied on 'a wholesome sense of fear in a setting of individual attention.' He won control and submission of his patients partly by inculcating a sense of fear into them and partly by his charismatic presence. Two patients shared a cottage with a keeper for each, and as recovery progressed, long walks and work in the fields became part of their management. A contemporary account of a visit to Gretford described a scene which might be encountered:

> "As the unprepared traveller approached the town, he was astonished to find almost all the surrounding ploughmen, gardeners, threshers, thatchers, and other labourers, attired in black coats, white waistcoats, black silk breeches and stockings, and the head of each *bien poudree, frisee et arrangee.* These were the doctor's patients: and dress, neatness of person and exercise being the principal features

of his admirable system, health and cheerfulness conjoined toward the recovery of every person attached to that most valuable asylum."[123]

Convalescent patients ate dinner at the doctor's table. Scenes of this activity are provided by Rowlandson, who illustrated the power of control exercised by Dr. Willis, and the chaos which ensued in his absence. The pair of prints are entitled Dr. Willis at Home and Dr. Willis Abroad, and form a typical pair of Rowlandsonian contrasts (Plates 156 & 157). Doctor Willis At Home portrays the Doctor sitting in an armchair with fierce staring expression and whip in hand. His stare alone, well illustrated by Rowlandson, was reputed to reduce a man to submission. He is seated at one end of an oval table round which are seated distraught characters staring back at him. One patient is being led from the room by two attendants, and two others are being tied into strait-jackets such as were frequently used to restrain the 'unreasonable'.

A passage from a medical text published in 1772 contains information about the 'Strait Waistcoat':

> "These Waist-coats are made of ticken, or some such strong stuff; are open at the back, and laced on like a pair of stays; the sleeves are made tight, and so long as to cover the ends of the fingers, and are drawn close with a string, like a purse, by which contrivance the patient has no power of using his fingers; and, when he is laid on his back in bed, and the arms brought across the chest, and fastened in that position, by tying the sleeve-strings fast round the waist, he has no power in his hands ..."

The passage continues:

> It is of great use in practice to bear in mind, that all mad people are cowardly, and can be awed by the menacing look of a very expressive countenance; and when those in charge of

them once impress them with the notion of fear, they easily submit to anything that is required."[124]

The second print, Doctor Willis Abroad, portrays the scene in the absence of the Doctor. A sub-title 'or Bedlam broke Loose' refers to Bethlem Hospital, popularly known as Bedlam, and a word associated in the common language to denote madness, chaos and lack of reason. In the absence of any restraining influence, the patients are exhibiting acute signs of derangement. A couplet underneath the print contains the words,

'When we are sober we're sad.
When we are drunk we're mad.'

Rowlandson is allying the state of madness with drunkenness, both being regarded as states of 'Unreason'. In this scene, Rowlandson's characteristic style of drawing with its unruly lines and untidiness lends emphasis to the chaos depicted.

Dr. Willis was called in to attend to George III on December 5th 1788, and made use of a strait-jacket during his management of the King, thus provoking much antagonism to his treatments - not least by other physicians who had been over-looked in a search for medical advice with regard to the Monarch's condition.

Rowlandson produced a political print entitled Blue and Buf Loyalty (Plate 158), in which Dr. Willis is portrayed with Sheridan, a member of the Opposition Party in Parliament. The print is divided into two halves; the left labelled 'Sunday' and the right, 'Saturday'. The question "How is your patient today?" receives the answer, "Better, thank God" on 'Sunday' and "Rather worse - Sir -" on

'Saturday'. The patient in question is King George III and the question itself was occasioned by Dr. Willis's attendance upon His Majesty on December 5th 1788. This had angered members of the Opposition Party, and the satisfied look on Sheridan's face in response to 'Saturday's' poor prognosis with regard to the King's illness gives some indication of the antagonism felt towards Dr. Willis.

Rowlandson's prints in this sphere, as in many others, not only corroborate evidence obtained from other sources but also provide a valuable indicator of scepticism - in one sector of the public at least - to the activities of those involved in the treatment of medical conditions, including the treatment of mental disorders.

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Chapter 8

FROM WOMB TO TOMB

Rowlandson depicted aspects of life from birth to death and was no respecter of any aspect of it or of any participant. In this chapter the more practical or physical aspects of medical imagery are examined, and Rowlandson's illustrations feature prominently. Fashion and morality still play a part in this sphere, but, in the end, death defies fashion and sinners get their just desserts.

Midwifery

Like other branches of medical practice, midwifery did not escape the satirist's pen or the artist's pencil or brush.

The rôle of the midwife throughout the centuries has traditionally been filled by women. During the eighteenth century the women's rôle remained paramount, but their training for the position often left much to be desired. Laurence Sterne described how some midwives were drawn from the ranks of 'good wives' in his novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, first published in 1759-67:

> "In the same village where my father and mother dwelt, dwelt also a thin, upright, motherly, notable, good old body of a midwife, who, with the help of a little plain good sense, and some years' full employment in her business, in which she had all along trusted little to her own efforts, and a great deal to those of nature, - had acquired, in her way, no small degree of reputation in the world; ...
> She had been left, it seems, a widow in great distress, with three or four childrenm, in her forty-seventh year; and as she was at that time a person of decent carriage, - grave deportment,- a woman moreover of few words, and withal an object of compassion ... the wife of the parson was touched with pity ... there was no such thing as a midwife, of any kind or degree to be got at, let the case be never so urgent, within less than six or seven long miles riding ...[1]

As a kindness to the parish and to the widow the wife of the parson arranged:

> "to get her a little instructed in some of the plain principle of the business, in order to set her up in it."

The parson paid the fees of 18s 4d. for the Ordinary's licence and the

> "good woman was fully invested in the real and corporal possession of her office, together with all its rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever."

Artists often portrayed nurses as elderly, such as those administering to Rowlandson's Dr. Syntax when, on one of his tours round the countryside, he was badly bruised and ordered by the doctor to be 'cupped' (see Plate 187), and the nurse who took the Countess's child to bid farewell to its mother in the final plate of Hogarth's 'Marriage-a-la-Mode' (Plate 62); drunken, such as the nurses portrayed by Rowlandson in Plates 196 & 197; and lazy, such as the nurse in attendance at Bath whilst the doctors 'consulted' (Plate 104) and the one sleeping by the fire at 'The Christening' by Hogarth. (Plate 83) These images convey views of an untrained, uneducated servile woman as the archetypal figure of a nurse in the eighteenth century. The midwife's image, according to Rowlandson, did not differ markedly from that of her sister. He illustrated an uncouth midwife in 1811, setting out for duty with a bottle of gin and a lantern and with pattens on her feet (Plate 159). Dickens's 'Sairey Gamp', the midwife described in *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (published in 1843-4), was alleged to attend a 'laying-out' and a 'lying-in' with

equal zest and relish. Her image as described by Dickens did not seem to have changed:

> "... The face of Mrs. Gamp - the nose in particular - was somewhat red and swollen, and it was difficult to enjoy her society without becoming conscious of a smell of spirits ..."[2]

Little training was generally expected or given. A book entitled *The English Midwife* published in 1682 contained some practical but limited advice. Its title-page (Plate 160) stated that "the whole fitted for the meanest capacities". Some country midwives were illiterate and unable to take advantage of even such limited information as was offered. However, conditions for mothers and the training of midwives did improve during the eighteenth century - in London particularly.

Only when problems arose was intervention by medical men contemplated. Opposition to the role of man as midwife came from both the traditional midwives who felt that their position was threatened, and from physicians who thought that surgeons so practising would gain access to their patients and that their own supervisory role over the surgeons would be usurped. Moral questions were raised with regard to the motives of the men who wished to practise midwifery. Many women objected to the presence of men during their labour, as did their husbands, and lack of modesty was attributed to those women who submitted to their ministrations.

As we saw in Chapter 1, Hogarth introduced the concept of the man-midwife in his print 'Cunicularii' in 1726, in which he drew the 'operator' wearing female garb and 'blindly' delivering Mary Toft's

rabbits (Plate 2). Opportunities to ridicule and revile those involved in this controversial rôle were seldom lost.

William Smellie (1697-1763) played a large part in changing this situation and in introducing a more scientific approach to the study of obstetrics. He had spent eighteen years as a country doctor in his home town of Lanark and a short time in Paris before settling in London in 1739. There he started training courses for midwives in his own home and took his pupils on home visits amongst the poor. Altogether he trained over 900 pupils -'exclusive of female students'- and 1150 poor women were delivered in the presence of pupils, plus "those difficult cases to which we were often called by midwives, for the relief of the indigent."[2] As a result of the experience he gained, he wrote his *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* in 1752 (edited by Tobias Smollett).[3] This began with a survey of midwifery from ancient times. He condemned more recent works by writers who copied the theories and practice of old writers such as Hippocrates, Galen and Aetius, commenting that old ideas were still held by midwives "Of the lower sort, whose heads are weak enough to admit such ridiculous notions."

His 'Treatise' described the management of natural labour and delivery of the child and also the management of 'laborious labours'. He noted that

> "A general outcry has been raised against gentlemen of the profession, as if they delighted in using instruments and violent methods in the course of their practice; and this clamour hath proceeded from the ignorance of such as do not know that instruments are sometimes absolutely necessary, or from the interested views of some low, obscure illiterate practioners, both male and female, who think they find their account in decrying the practice of their neighbours."[4]

With regard to the midwife, Smellie recommended that she should be decent, sensible, of middle-age, able to bear fatigue, know the bones of the pelvis, how to 'touch' women[5] and to have easy recourse to a male practitioner who should "make allowance for the weakness of her sex" and not condemn her actions, as to do so might inhibit her from seeking his attendance in future. 'Touching' or vaginal examination of women by men-midwives was deliberately misconstrued by moralists such as Philip Thicknesse in his *Man Midwifery Analysed* as a process of 'feeling'.[6] Man-midwifery was indicted as being "little better than a cover for adultery" and the man-midwife as a sexual predator.[7]

The instruments that Smellie used principally and recommended were the "small forceps, blunt hook, scissors, and curve crotchets." Forceps had been invented by Peter Chamberlen (the elder)(1560-1631), but kept a secret by his family for one hundred and twenty-five years.[8] The secret gradually became known after the death of the last male member of this medical family in 1728. In his book, Smellie referred to the 'secret' as "Chamberlain's 'nostrum' until 1733".

As Smellie indicated, the use of instruments was fiercely criticised, and this criticism had not abated by the end of the century. One critic was the publisher S.W. Fores, who was the author of a publication *Man-Midwifery Dissected*, under the pseudonym of John Blunt. The full title of this book gives an indication of the antagonism with which the man-midwife had to contend:

> *Man Midwifery Dissected or, the Obstetric Family Instructor (Price 3s.6d.) for the use of Married Couples, and Single Adults of Both Sexes, containing, A Display of the Management*

of every Class of Labours by Man and Boy-Midwives; also their Cunning, indecent, and cruel Practices. Instructions to Husbands how to Counteract them. A Plan for the Complete Instruction of Women who possess promising Talents in order to supersede Male-Practice. Various Arguments and Quotations, proving, that Man-Midwifery is a personal, a domestic and a national Evil.

In this publication he proposed an educational plan for midwives "calculated to render male midwives unnecessary." However:

> "the gentleman employed to deliver these lectures shall not be a man-midwife by profession lest his own interest should cause him to withold necessary instructions from female pupils."[9]

Fores' suggested 'Frontispiece' for the book was etched and printed in 1793 and entitled <u>A Man-Mid-Wife</u> (Plate 161). This print is divided into two halves and compares the practice of the homely midwife on the **right** side with the man-midwife on the **left**. This orientation was no accident. The only aid or equipment that the former has is her hand, which holds a pap vessel or feeding cup. The pan warming on the fire contains the necessary sustenance for the mother and infant, the latter being represented by the plaque to the left underneath the fireplace depicting a baby in womb-like frame surrounded by warmth, food and care. In contrast, the left half of the print depicts the male version of the midwife with all his accoutrements - horrific instruments such as were described by Smellie, and medicaments, plus love potions and philtres on a shelf for the practitioner's 'own use' - thereby casting aspersions upon his intentions. The print visually transmits some of the reasons for the antagonism felt by many people towards the man-midwife.

Underneath the print are the words:

"A man-mid-wife, or a newly discovered animal, not known in Buffon's time; for a more full description of this Monster, see, an ingenious book lately published price 3/6 entitled, Man-Midwifery dessected, containing a variety of well authenticated cases elucidating this animals Propensities to cruelty & indecency sold by the publisher of this Print who has presented the Author with the Above for a Frontispiece to his Book."

The reference to 'Buffon' is to George Louis Leclerc, Compte de Buffon (1707-1788), a French gentleman who studied Law, but devoted his life to the study of scientific subjects. He was elected a Member of the French Academy of Science in 1739 and appointed Keeper of the Jardin du Roi and of the Royal Museum. This led to a particular interest in natural history and to the publication of his work *Histoire Naturelle, génèrale at particulière*. The first edition of this was in 44 quarto volumes with detailed plates of mammals, birds, reptiles, fish and minerals and was published over a period of fifty years from 1749-1804. Its appearance caused a sensation and provided an impetus for the study of nature. An English translation with 300 plates contains notes and observations by William Smellie. Volume II of this contains Buffon's studies and experiments on 'Generation' in different species.[10] The man-midwife was an 'unrecognised species'.

A few male practitioners did establish themselves in the field of obstetrics. One of these was William Hunter (the physician and anatomist), who had followed Smellie from Scotland and stayed in his house in London in 1741. Glasgow University conferred a Doctorate of Medicine on him in 1750, an action which elevated him to the status of physician, but he continued his surgical practice for a further six years before disenfranchising himself from the College of Surgeons. He then became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians.[11]

Hunter was a more elegant and refined gentleman than Smellie and gained his entré into many aristocratic homes in the course of his work, whereas Smellie had worked amongst the poor. Hunter's book *The Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus* (1774) took him twenty-five years to complete. Unlike Smellie's 'Treatise', it was an anatomical and embryological book rather than a practical guide to obstetrics, and owes most of its success to the artist Jan Van Rymsdyk, who received little recognition for his valuable contribution of beautifully executed plates of the foetus in utero.[12]

William Hogarth attended one of Hunter's early dissections and lectures on the gravid uterus. Hunter remarked:

> "You cannot conceive anything lying snugger than the foetus in utero. This puts me in mind of Hogarth. He came to me when I had a gravid uterus to open and was amazingly pleased. Good God, cries he, how snug and compleat the Child lies. I defy all our painters in St. Martin's Lane to put a Child in such a situation. He had a good eye, took it off and in drawing afterwards very well expressed it"[13]

Unfortunately, Hogarth's drawing has not survived.

A posthumous portrait of Hunter painted by Joshua Reynolds portrays him with a specimen in a jar of a 'snug' foetus in utero - a specimen which is still in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow University - and a foetus in utero on the table beside him. Hunter used wax and acid, plaster and turpentine to preserve specimens, and the one portrayed on the table by his side is likely to be one of his original preserved specimens (Plate 161a).

Hunter added a great deal to the knowledge of obstetrics and to the standing of men in that practice. His own character was not without blemish, however; he is known to have assisted in clandestine

deliveries with subsequent concealment of illegitimate babies.[14] The reputations of some medical men did not enhance their collective image as men of honour. Even the medically respected Dr.Richard Mead became notorious as an old lecher.[15]

The presence of a competent assistant at a birth could pose a problem. Whilst contemplating a confinement outside London, Mr. and Mrs.Shandy disagreed about the attendant whom they wished to be present at the birth of their child in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, "as the famous Dr. Manningham was not to be had,"[16]

> "my mother ... began to cast her eye upon the midwife ... notwithstanding there was a scientific operator within so near a call as eight miles of us, and who, moreover, had expressly wrote a five shillings book upon the subject of midwifery, in which he had exposed, not only the blunders of the sisterhood itself, - but had likewise superadded many curious improvements for the quicker extraction of the foetus in cross births, and some other cases of danger which belay us in getting into the world; ... my father was for having the man-midwife by all means, - my mother by no means."

Dr. Slop was the 'scientific operator' mentioned who eventually applied the forceps to Tristram at his delivery to the detriment of the latter's nose. Dr. Slop, who wished to be called an 'accoucheur' - a French name used as a more fashionable and acceptable alternative to 'man-midwife' - has been said to be based upon Dr. John Burton of York, a leading and able physician and man-midwife who had acquired the name of 'Dr. Slop' early in his career before Sterne wrote his novel. He had written *An Essay towards a complete New System of Midwifery Theoretical and Practical* which was published in 1751. This contained '18 Copper Plates' by George Stubbs - representing the artist's first venture into print-making. Some of the prints

illustrate Stubbs' own dissections of a foetus in utero.[17] Dr. Burton had also invented a particular type of forceps in the same year which had slender blades controlled by a screw handle. The assumption with regard to this author and inventor as the 'scientific operator' seems well-founded. The doctor was otherwise generally persecuted because of his Roman Catholic religious persuasion and his Tory political leanings.[18]

Smellie is also mentioned in the novel under the pseudonym of 'Andrianus Smelvgot', but, however the satirists saw him, Smellie provided the impetus necessary to establish better facilities for mothers and their babies and a number of lying-in hospitals and charities were founded. Better training was offered to midwives and gradually a reduction in the mortality of mothers and babies was achieved.[19]

A drawing attributed to Rowlandson entitled The Village Doctor is of a male country practitioner and was published in 1774 (Plate 162). This portrays a practitioner who apparently played the parts of apothecary, surgeon, physician and midwife, according to his sign board. As has been previously noted, separate roles were not necessarily observed in country areas.

Rowlandson, as has been shown, took advantage of topical situations to form the basis of some of his popular prints. A Medical Inspection, or Miracles will Never Cease (Plate 163) was another of such prints. In 1814, a woman named Joanna Southcott who claimed to be a Prophetess declared that she was pregnant. Two factors made this remarkable; Joanna was aged 64 years, and she declared that she had been impregnated by God. Joanna was born in Devonshire about 1750

and had spent a great deal of her life as a domestic servant. She had followed the Methodist Faith and, being persuaded that she possessed supernatural gifts, she wrote and dictated prophecies in rhyme and declared herself to be the woman spoken of in the *Apocalypse* (ch.xii), affirming that, when beyond the age of sixty, she would be delivered of Shiloh on the 19th October 1814. The imminent virgin birth was said by her followers to be a sign of the millennium. Many doctors examined her and a number of these confirmed her pregnancy, and she confidently awaited the birth of the 'Messiah'. The print depicts contemporary characters who were associated with the events. These include Parson Towser or Tozer, who was her preacher and devoted supporter (one of supposedly 100,000 followers), and is shown in a cradle spouting horns from his head - a sign of cuckolding and possibly an accusation of devilry. Joanna is displaying herself to three doctors.[20] A coral, pomatum, clyster pipe, feeding cup and lewd captions also appear. Stories in the popular Press gave conflicting reports about events and caricaturists made the most of the situation until Shiloh failed to appear and it was said that Joanna was in a trance. She died of dropsy on the 29th of the same month.[21] The *Gentleman's Magazine* of December 27th., 1814, noted the obituary of Joanna Southcott in the following words:

> "... the notorious Joanna Southcott, who, in conjunction with many others, had long practised on the ignorance and credulity of a large body of the lower classes. We have purposely abstained from detailing the gross and impious absurdities which have originated from this woman and her followers; and lament that very many persons of respectable condition in life, from whom better things might have been hoped, have suffered themselves to be deluded by her most irrational and abominable pretensions..."[22]

In spite of such denunciations, her followers were still said to be in existence in 1860.[21]

As had occurred almost a century previously in connection with Mary Toft, the ignorance of some doctors and the gullibility of many members of the public were highlighted, and the situation was exploited by artists. Popular ideas with regard to procreation do not appear to have changed markedly in the intervening years.

Dentistry

All branches of Medicine were grist to the satirical artists' mill. The practice of dentistry was no exception and the views of this subject provided by the artists give some insight into the state, practice and evolution of the speciality in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These portrayals range from depictions of simple dental extractions by artisans, perhaps based on colourful Dutch genre scenes showing dental extractions being performed in streets and market places, to the provision of artificial dentures and of transplanted teeth (Plates 166-172). Some practitioners did not confine themselves to dentistry and these individuals provided a particularly rich subject for artists.

Martin van Butchell, the son of a tapestry-maker to George II, was a colourful character who was involved in dentistry, in addition to other interests which stimulated the artists' imagination (Plates 164 & 165). He was born in Flanders in 1736 and when his family moved to England, he received a good education and became a Groom of Chambers, a post which enabled him to earn sufficient money to pursue his interests in mechanics, medicine and anatomy. Human teeth became of

special interest to him after he had broken one of his own and he engaged himself as a pupil to the surgeon John Hunter. This led to a career in dentistry, and some success.[23] He practised as a dentist for many years and as part of his practice made artificial teeth fitted with gold pivots and springs. He professed to be able to fit these complete with gums, sockets and palate without 'drawing stumps or causing pain.' He suggested that these were 'useful ornaments' and 'most helpful to enunciation.' [24]

An advertisement in the *St. James's Chronicle* of March 1st 1777, stated that

> "Van Butchell, Surgeon-Dentist, attends at his House, the upper part of Mount-Street, Grosvenor Square, every day in the Year, fron Nine to One o' clock, Sundays excepted.
> Name in Marble on the Door. Advice, £2.2s. Taking out a Tooth or Stump, £1.1s. each. Putting in artificial Teeth, £5.5s. each. A whole under Row, £42. Upper Row £63. An entire set, £105. Natural Teeth, £10.10s. each. The Money paid first."[25]

The price of his artificial teeth was considerable, a fact which reflects the scarcity of such dentures at the time and their perceived worth. His use of 'Natural Teeth' was in line with the practice advocated by his teacher, John Hunter - a development which is discussed later.

Van Butchell also achieved some eminence as a maker of trusses and in the treatment of fistulae. According to a biography of him written in 1804,[26] he

> "Has been very long, in the habit of, curing Fistulas, Piles, Wens, Carbuncles; Mattery Pimples, Inflammations, Boils, Ulcers, Aching Legs; Tumours, Abscesses, Strictures, and Ruptures, without Confinement; Burning or Cutting."

This biography also described him as:

> "the Inventor, of Elastic-bands; (Gentlemen wear them, to keep up small-cloathes) Also, Cork-bottoms, to Iron-stirrups; Spring-girths for Saddles; and many like things."

He advertised a 'Spring band' 'by the King's patent' for the treatment of ruptures in a handbill dated 5th. June 1788 and in November of that year the *Morning Herald* contained an advertisement announcing his

> "newly-invented Spring band Garters ...will help to make [the ladies] (as they ought to be!) - superlatively happy!"

On 3rd. October 1791 Gillray published a print in which he portrays the fashionable but ageing actress, Mrs. Hobart trying on one of the garters. The picture on the wall behind this lady alludes to her in one of her rôles in her hey-day - a scene from 'Nina or the Madness of Love', a popular play which she had commissioned George Monck Berkeley to translate from the French. The whole print satirically suggests that with the aid of the garters, she might yet be rejuvenated. The print is entitled La derniere resource; -or-Van Buchells Garters (Plate 165).

Van Butchell attracted attention to himself by his appearance in public with long white beard and strange costume, complete with a large bone in his hand attached to his wrist by a string. This defensive weapon, reminiscent of Samson, was sometimes satirically referred to as 'the jaw-bone of an ass.'[27] No less striking was said to be his habit of riding through London on a white pony which was painted with large black or purple spots (Plate 164). This sometimes

had a curious bridle attached to its head, fixed with a blind which Butchell could let down over the horse's eyes if it took fright, or if its owner thought some object was unfit for it to see.

Even more eccentric was his behaviour following the death of his wife. Butchell persuaded Dr. William Hunter and Mr. Cruikshank to embalm her body. This they did, by injecting oil of turpentine and camphorated spirit of wine into her blood vessels and packing camphor into the abdominal cavity. With the addition of carmine dye to ensure a rosy complexion, glass eyes, and a fine lace gown, she continued to preside over his drawing room in a case with a glass lid and was usually introduced to visitors as his 'dear departed'.[28] Her presence was, however, no longer welcome on Butchell's re-marriage and the lady was banished to the Museum at the College of Surgeons and finally cremated there by a German bomb in 1941.[29]

Dentistry had been practised from ancient times, treatment generally involving extraction of teeth or the relief of toothache by local application of a red hot iron for cauterisation, or by the use of opiates or other general sedatives. Attempts at filling cavities with various compounds had been tried, as had the fitting of artificial teeth. Ivory was the usual medium for the latter by the end of the seventeenth century, but there was a tendency for it to turn yellow. Other suitable substitutes for the originals were tried, including animal bone and human teeth, but progress was slow until the celebrated French dentist Pierre Fauchard brought about many improvements. He was born in Brittany in 1678 and trained as a military surgeon. He settled in Paris about 1719 and in 1723

completed a comprehensive treatise, *Le chirurgien dentiste, ou, traité des dents*, which was published in 1728, and remained an authoratative work on dentistry throughout the eighteenth century. [30] One of his practices entailed wiring artificial teeth together with silk or fine gold wire, making them into a block which he then wired to the adjacent natural ones. He devised a method of fitting crowns to teeth, and attempted to make full sets of artificial dentures. The lower sets remained in position quite well, but there was some problem in keeping upper sets in position, particularly during mastication. He overcame these problems in double sets by hinging the upper and lower dentures with steel springs. The pressure from the springs ensured that the teeth stayed in place against the upper and lower jaws. He used an enamel coating over the teeth to give them a more natural appearance with pink coloured enamel over the base.

A French apothecary, Duchateau, tried to produce a mineral base for the artificial teeth which would not discolour or decay with use, with unpleasant consequences, but his attempts proved unsuccessful. The porcelain paste which he used shrank when fired and the resulting teeth were abnormally white. He sought the help of a dentist, Dubois de Chemant - whom Rowlandson portrayed (Plate 166) - and they tried out various modifications. A set was eventually produced for Duchateau himself which was satisfactory and the apothecary tried to supply similar sets for other edentulous clients. He had no dental experience and this venture failed, causing him to abandon the idea. De Chemant, however, persevered with the experiments and produced a mineral paste with important modifications, from which he made a number of successful dentures. These consisted of a single block in

which were moulded teeth and gums. He publicised these in pamphlets in 1788, and King Louis XVI granted him a patent. The Paris Faculty of Medicine praised his dentures, and testimonials and poems were written in his praise, but he attracted some hostility from those who claimed that he had usurped Duchateau's invention. De Chemant was sued for this, but the action failed. He left Paris for England and established himself in London in 1792 where he obtained exclusive rights to produce the dentures for a period of 14 years. The Wedgewood factory supplied the porcelain paste for these. [31] In 1804 he was charging 60,70, and 80 guineas for a set. The vogue for the teeth lasted for about twenty years, after which improvements in other models ensured their decline.

Rowlandson's print of the French dentist Dubois de Chemant was published in 1811. In this, <u>A French Dentist shewing a Specimen of his Artificial Teeth and False Palates</u> (Plate 166), de Chemant is proudly showing off the teeth of a woman patient who is equally proudly demonstrating the full set of dentures - including the attached springs - in a broad smile. A man also in need of some dental attention is peering at the teeth through his lorgnette. A notice on the wall reads:

> "Mineral Teeth. Monsieur De Chemant from Paris engages to offer from one tooth to a whole set without pain. Monsieur D... can also offer an artificial Palate or a glass Eye in a manner peculiar to himself he also ..."

There does not seem to be any evidence with regard to the supply of glass eyes referred to in the print. This may be an allusion to the inablility to 'see' the falsity of the dentures. It is not known

whether Rowlandson was commissioned to produce this print by de Chemant for publicity purposes, but this is a possibility. At this time, the use of his dentures may have been declining and such publicity would have been welcome.

The general state of teeth during the eighteenth century was poor. Lack of cleanliness, inadequate and inappropriate diet and, in the upper and middle classes particularly, a surfeit of sweetmeats, contributed to the decay. The use of fans was not merely a coquettish affectation. It was often a protection from the foetid breath of associates or a means of hiding a blemished smile. Tabitha Bramble, in *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* was described as

> "a maiden of forty-five. ... her teeth straggling and loose, of various colours and conformation." [32]

English dentistry was not as far advanced as French dentistry at this time. Following separation of the barbers and surgeons in 1745, some dental practitioners wished to improve their status and associated with the surgeons, receiving further training in anatomy and surgery. Van Butchell was one of those who had received surgical and anatomical training. Some, especially in country areas, retained their practice of barbering and tooth-drawing. One such was illustrated by Rowlandson as late as 1823 in <u>The Toothache, or Torment and Torture</u> (Plate 167). This representation satirically depicts 'Barnaby Factotum' in his establishment, where he combines the activities displayed on the poster on the wall:

> "Draws Teeth, Bleeds & Shaves: Wigs made here; also sausages. Wash Balls, Black Pudding, Scotch Pills, Powders of the Itch, Red Herrings, Breeches Balls and Small Beer by the maker. *In utrumque Paratus.*"

A small boy is holding up a pair of forceps with which to remove the offending tooth, and a bowl to receive it, whilst an old lady looks on with apprehension as she holds her own painful jaw. The practice of approaching the patient from the rear was not universal, but became more common throughout the eighteenth century.

Other toothdrawers visited markets and fairs in the old established way. Rowlandson's prints of Dr. Botherum and other itinerants at the fairs illustrate the latter. Many of these were totally untrained in their art, but they were often the only practitioners available for most of the population. In an emergency, other stalwart members of the community might oblige by removing a tooth. Only the rich could afford the services of an adequately trained 'dentist'. (The word 'dentist' came from the French late in the eighteenth century.)

Two contrasting prints after Dighton c.1785, show this state of affairs (Plates 168 & 169). In the first, The Country Tooth Drawer, the local farrier is extracting a tooth with a large pair of forceps. His strong arms are probably his only qualification for the job. He is being assisted by his sturdy workmates and the venue is the smithy. The second print, The Town Tooth Drawer shows how a rich lady may have a similar extraction in her own home. The fashionably dressed dentist is accompanied by a small black boy who is employed to carry his box of instruments and the dentist is using a 'modern' instrument - a tooth key - for the operation. The original print of the latter by Robert Dighton is The London Dentist (1784) (Plate 170). The operator in this is said to bear a marked resemblance to Bartholomew Ruspini,[33]

who was a well-known dentist in London, an Italian by birth, who had trained as a surgeon before specialising in dentistry in Paris. He arrived in England in 1759 and as a 'surgeon-dentist' set up practice initially in Bath. He subsequently settled in London in 1766 under the patronage of the Dowager Princess of Wales and established a fashionable practice.

Even the more privileged members of society could not always obtain the services of a proficient practitioner. Parson Woodforde of Norwich, a well-known diarist, wrote in his diary on June 4th 1776:

> "My tooth pained me all night, got up a little after 5 this morning, and sent for one Reeves a man who draws teeth in this parish, and about 7 he came and drew my tooth, but shockingly bad. Indeed, he broke one of the fangs of the tooth, it gave me exquisite pain all the day after, and my face was swelled prodigiously in the evening and much pain. Very bad and in much pain the whole day long. Gave the old man that drew it however 0.2.6. He is too old, I think, to draw teeth, can't see very well." [34]

Rowlandson literally drew attention to another dental practice which was fashionable in the late eighteenth century, namely the Transplanting of teeth. His painting was so-named (Plate 171). John Hunter described this practice in his publication *The Natural History of the Human Teeth* in 1771,[35] and his name gave it a seal of approval. In this book Hunter said:

> "... We can actually transplant a Tooth from one person to another, without great difficulty, nature assisting the operation, if it is done in such a way that she can assist; and the only way in which nature can assist, with respect to either size or shape, is by having the fang of the transplanted Tooth rather smaller than the socket. The socket, in this case grows to the Tooth. If the fang is too large, it is impossible indeed to insert it all in that state; however, if the fang should be originally too large, it may be made less; and this seems to answer the purpose as well.'

'... a fresh Tooth, when transplanted from one socket to another, becomes to all appearance a part of that body to which it is now attached, as much as it was of the one from which it was taken; while a Tooth which has been extracted for some time, so as to lose the whole of its life, will never become firm or fixed; the socket will also in this case aquire the disposition to fill up, which they do not in the case of the insertion of a fresh Tooth."

He stressed that parts taken from young 'animals' were better and would last longer.

In a later edition of his book (1778),[36] Hunter said that the operation was not a difficult one, but one which required more surgical and physiological knowledge and care than any other dental practice. He advised caution especially with a living tooth because it was meant to retain its life:

"... the Patient should apply early, and give the dentist all the time he thinks necessary to get sufficient number of Teeth that appear to be of a proper size etc. Likewise he must not be impatient to get out of his hands before it is advisable".

Single fanged teeth, incisors, cuspids and bicuspids, transplanted best, according to Hunter, whilst a dead tooth might be fitted in place of one of the 'grinders'. Attention had to be paid to the socket and gums of the recipient and only when the appearance was favourable should the 'scion' tooth be introduced.

"No person should have a Tooth transplanted, while taking mercury, even although the Gums are not affected by it at the time; for they may become affected by that mercury before the Tooth is fixed. For this reason, those who have Teeth transplanted, ought paticularly to avoid for some time the chance of contracting any complaint, for the cure of which mercury may be necessary."

Mercury was used in the treatment of syphilis when it often caused the gums to swell and sometimes to become ulcerated. Salivation was increased and loosening of teeth occurred - as was illustrated by Hogarth in Plate V of The Harlot's Progress .

Hunter stressed that the age of the recipient should be at least 18-20 years, so that the teeth on either side of the fitted tooth would be full grown. He again emphasized that teeth from the young were best, and female donors were often used because the 'scion' teeth were generally smaller than those of men and would fit more readily into the vacated sockets:

> "The best remedy is to have several people ready, whose Teeth in appearance are fit; for if the first will not answer, the second may ... the sooner the scion Tooth is put into its place the better..."

The previous paragraph forms the basis of Rowlandson's satirical painting on this topic and the dental practitioner in his painting is based on Ruspini,[37] although a diploma on the wall describes the occupant of the premises as 'BARON ROH-- DENTIST to Her High Mightyness Empress of Rusia'. This gentleman is in the process of removing a 'scion' tooth from a young chimney-sweep for the benefit of the fashionably-dressed middle-aged lady on his right who evidently feels the need for her smelling-salts, which she is holding to her nose. Another fashionably-dressed lady of fewer years, is undergoing a dental inspection by an assistant. Behind her, a client looks at the result of his operation in a mirror. Two poorly clad young people are leaving the room with aching jaws and the monetary proceeds of

their transaction. A notice on the door above the couple informs readers that 'Most money given for Live Teeth'.

Examples of a Surgeon-dentist's charges for such operations in 1781, were provided by Paul Euralius Jullion of 4, Gerrard Street, Soho, London:

> "Transplanting a live tooth — £5 5s.
> Transplanting a dead tooth — £2 2s.
> Engrafting the crown or body of a sound human tooth on the root of a decayed one — £2 2s" [38]

Not all surgeon-dentists approved of the practice. One London practitioner who advertised his services with appropriate fees for each item, added the information,

> "To transplant a Tooth with Success, a Folly."[39]

After transplantation the 'scion' tooth was fixed to two neighbouring teeth by means of silk or sea-weed and the patient was advised to take care to avoid disturbing it. Hunter commented that transplantation of a dead tooth might be preferable because there was more certainty of matching the teeth, but these did not always retain their colour. However, they could last for years.

The fashion for transplantation declined for various reasons; the availability and improvement of artificial dentures, the failure of the transplanted tooth to remain secure, the fear of introducing disease and the general distaste occasioned by the practice and highlighted by people such as Rowlandson, all contributed to this decline.

Rowlandson's painting demonstrates the extent to which the class system contributed to the dental health of the better-off or élite in society who could thus exploit its poorer members. His message via this drawing seems to have provided some effective 'propaganda' against the practice in this instance - at least in Britain. The practice did however spread to Europe and America and continued in some cases well into the nineteenth century.

Anatomy and Surgery

To be a victim of 'Anatomisation' or its ally 'Surgery' was a very real fear in the eighteenth century. Surgical techniques were often crude, anaesthesia non-existent - apart from sedation with opiates or brandy - and aseptic precautions unknown. The attitudes of the artists and their perceptions towards practitioners engaged in these fields - in accordance with those of many of the ordinary citizens - are brought clearly into focus through the artists' works, examples of which are seen in Plates 172 - 190.

The need for more surgical and physiological knowledge was recognised increasingly, not only by John Hunter in connection with dentistry,[40] but in other spheres of medical practice. Knowledge of anatomy formed the basis of this. Surface anatomy and the study of the actions of muscles were also recognised as valuable for the artist and had been so recognised since Leonardo's and Michelangelo's time. William Hunter, in his lectures to the Royal Academy, fostered a new approach to this aspect of art. Johann Zoffany painted two group portraits in the Royal Academy; the first of these entitled The Life School at the Royal Academy of Arts (Plate 171a) and the second,

Dr. William Hunter lecturing at the Royal Academy (Plate 181). These are interesting group portraits of academicians who were not requiring instruction, but were chosen to be present for formal gatherings at the Academy. The contrived grouping in the former portrait was not a lifelike scene, but was meant to represent the ideals espoused by the Royal Academy within a conventional framework. Women were not present because it was considered indecorous for them to be there in the presence of a male model. They are therefore represented by portraits on the wall. The scene is based on reality. A model is being positioned for the second of two poses that were usually offered at the evening life-class by the Keeper of the Schools and directed by the two 'visitors' whose duty it was to supervise on these occasions. The first model is dressing.[41] The academicians assembled for the scene include William Hunter in his capacity as Professor of Anatomy at the Academy. His presence represents a rare privilege acknowledging his special status there.[42]

Hunter played an important rôle in connection with the teaching of anatomy to art students at a time when it was recognised that such knowledge was invaluable for the correct portrayal of life studies. James Barry included Hunter in his painting _Distribution of the Premiums by the Royal Society of Arts_ (Plate 171b), 1777-83. William Hunter is shown in this scene pointing to an écorché torso whilst his fellow Vice-Presidents at the Society examine a student's prize-winning figure study.[42]

In addition to benefiting from the practical knowledge of anatomy which the anatomists imparted, an artist such as Rowlandson found material for his drawings in the practices and surroundings of the

the practitioners. The anatomy theatre provided a new arena in which to work and the activities taking place there had a theatrical element which could be usefully exploited. Again, social, moral and political messages could be conveyed through this medium. However, as in previously described prints, these messages would only be effectively conveyed if elements of truth or of truly held beliefs could be recognised as part of the scene.

Hogarth had illustrated his feelings and those of many of his contemporaries towards the surgeons and their practices most effectively in The Reward of Cruelty. This was in 1736. Rowlandson illustrated views from later in the century in such prints as The Dissecting Room, The Lancett Club at a Thurtell Feast, The Anatomist and The Persevering Surgeon, which are amongst those described below. There seems to have been little change in perception.

As described previously, the establishment of private schools of anatomy was made possible following the separation of the Surgeons from the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1745. William Hunter started a series of anatomy lectures in 1746 and for several years collected and prepared suitable specimens for demonstration purposes. He spent a winter in Paris and became familiar with the French method of dissection whereby each student 'had' a body. John Hunter joined his brother in 1748. William hoped to establish a national school of anatomy with a museum containing normal and pathological specimens in addition to biological and anthropological specimens for comparative anatomical studies, but his plans were thwarted. However, the nucleus of 'The Windmill Street Museum and School' was established. [43] William

moved to live in Great Windmill Street in 1768, and his museum there opened in 1770.

Rowlandson visited this establishment, where he sketched William at work. The original drawing of this, The Dissecting Room (Plate 172), is at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. It displays an attic room lighted through sky-light windows. William, wearing spectacles, is portrayed standing amidst a group of students, pointing out some feature to which they have directed their attention. Another interested viewer, Tobias Smollett, is standing over a busily-occupied student at the right hand side. Their attentions are focused on two cadavers who are in the throes of 'anatomisation'. Another body is lying partly inside and partly overflowing from a box on the floor on the left of the picture. The pupils include some well respected medical men who have been identified as John Hunter, Howison, Cruikshank, Hewson, Pitcairn, Matthew Baillie - nephew of the Hunters,- Howe, Sheldon and Camper.[44]. These gentlemen could not all have been present at the same time because Smollett left England in 1763 and Hewson died in 1774, when Cruikshank was aged 19 years and Baillie, aged 13 years, was still in Scotland,[45] but Rowlandson incorporated them all into one picture as a composite portrait of some of Hunter's pupils and colleagues - a practice which was not unusual at the time.

On the wall are two posters with an anatomical drawing between them. One poster reads 'Rules to be observed while dissecting' and the other lists the prices offered for cadavers, according to whether the subject were male, female or infant. Three articulated skeletons stand on the sidelines, and a bust, possibly representing Galen's

presence, overlooks the scene. Comparative anatomical specimens hang from the ceiling in similar fashion to those seen in the 'Cabinets of Curiosities'. The dissectors are wearing aprons and sleeves to protect their clothing, such as were worn by surgeons whilst operating and a saw and pair of bone-forceps lie on the floor representing tools of the trade. A tub in the right foreground and entrails overflowing from the box and cadaver in the left foreground add to reminiscences of Hogarth's dissection scene in 'The Reward of Cruelty', whilst the cadaver on the right seems to be feeling pain similar to that experienced by Tom Nero. Rowlandson combines reportage with satire in his picture.

A view of the Museum in Windmill Street, which has been attributed to Rowlandson, is named The Resurrection, or an Internal View of the Museum in W--d-m-ll Street on the last Day (Plate 173). It seems unlikely to be one of Rowlandson's drawings. It lacks his style with its curvaceous lines and vigorous characterisations, but when he was short of funds, Rowlandson often etched the drawings of some of his friends, and he may have been associated in some manner with the production of this print. In this scene various 'resurrected' cadavers are searching for their lost or correct members (one - her virginity) amongst the specimens in the museum. Dr. Hunter in their midst, bewails this outcome, with the words:

> "Oh, what a smash amongst my Bottles and Preparations! never did I suppose such a day would come."

The anxiety displayed amongst those searching for their missing parts reflects the anxiety felt about having a compromised physical state for Resurrection at the Day of Judgement.

A drawing which is by Rowlandson, The Dissection (Plate 174), is one which he drew about 1775-80. This macabre scene represents a mixture of reportage and caricature with an element of eroticism provided in the background, where two surgeons view a female cadaver with undue interest. This feature remains unfinished. It may have been Rowlandson's intention to represent such an occurrence as being one which many people thought was associated with dissection by an exclusively male fraternity.

Bodies for dissection were scarce and it became increasingly difficult to obtain enough subjects for lecture and demonstration purposes. The surgeons obtained their limited quota at the Surgeons' Hall, so that private anatomists went to great lengths to get material and interesting subjects for their own use. The surgeons' quota came from the gallows at Tyburn, but others had recourse to the graveyards. A letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1747 referred to

> "... The affair which lately happened to the vaults at St. Andrew's, Holbourne ... [the] body was taken away by the sexton, the very night of its interment, and sold to a surgeon ..."

The writer continued:

> "I am informed that it is a common practice with these fellows, and their comrades, to steal dead bodies and sell them..."[46]

In 1762, another letter to the same magazine read:

> "A man going to take up a load of dung in St. George's fields, found at the dunghill the bodies of a woman and eight children, cut and mangled in a shocking manner, the handywork probably, of some young anatomist, who deserves a rigorous punishment for his carelessness and indiscretion." [47]

The procurers of these bodies were named 'Resurrectionists'. The Hunter brothers were amongst those who would go to great lengths in order to obtain specimens, including those from the grave yards. The Anatomist overtaken by the Watch ...carry'ng off Miss W--- in a Hamper (Plate 175) by W. Austin illustrates this practice in 1773. The anatomist is running away from the scene, but has dropped a vital clue to his identity - a paper bearing the words 'Hunter's Lectures'. The print of the 'Resurrection' at Windmill Street previously mentioned, is an allusion to this practice.

Another scene named Resurrection Men (Plate 176) - a pen and ink and water-colour by Rowlandson - shows an exhumed shrouded body being put into a sack by two such men. An animated skeleton with a lamp in its right hand looks over the shoulder of one of the body-snatchers and clutches his back with its left hand. The coffin lid from the empty casket lying on the ground bears the word 'RESURGAM' - 'I will rise again'. 'Sack-em-up-men' was another pseudonym for those poachers who assisted the bodies to 'rise again'.

Rowlandson's drawing of The Dissection contains a hamper similar to that shown in 'The Anatomist overtaken by the Watch' and the body is in a similar attitude. In this drawing it is in the dissection room awaiting autopsy. The anatomist (William Hunter again?) is engrossed in his work whilst others look on. The gross character on the right takes snuff during a pause from his own exertions involving

a body whose legs are the only visible features in the picture. Other accompaniments such as the discarded skeleton underneath the table, and a tub for the entrails set the scene.

John Hamilton Mortimer produced a pen drawing of Doctors Dissecting (Plate 177) at about this time, and his drawing may have given Rowlandson ideas for his 'Dissection'. Rowlandson was impressed by Mortimer's style and subject matter and may have sought to emulate him. Mortimer's drawing shows the anatomists concentrating on their work with vultures on their heads. Mice, a crow, worms and even a dog await their turn. He places the anatomists on a par with such creatures. A bloodied partially dissected head stares in life-like fashion through protruding eyeballs as it is shovelled away - perhaps to be buried alive! This drawing lacks the humour that Rowlandson was able to incorporate into even such a macabre subject as dissection but it conveys some of the horror associated with the topic. The life-like stare from the decapitated head bears some resemblance to Hogarth's Tom Nero in The Reward of Cruelty (Plate 66).

Rowlandson demonstrates the fear of not being dead before dissection took place in a drawing published in 1811, entitled The Anatomist (Plate 178), in which a surgeon/anatomist is preparing to dissect a young gentleman. The latter has hidden from the wrath of a young lady's father. Unfortunately, he has chosen the anatomy table on which to hide, but his healthy state does not seem to deter the surgeon from his purpose which might be perceived as one of inflicting punishment on the young man for his 'crime'. The ubiquitous skeleton and the bust over the doorway representing Galen overlook the activities in familiar fashion. A poster on the wall advertising a

course of anatomical lectures by Professor Sawbones identifies the operator and draws attention to the fact that private anatomy courses were held. A vicious-looking saw and long pointed knife protruding from the surgeon's bag add to the horror transmitted by the scene.

The theme that the anatomist/surgeon never gives up is presented in Rowlandson's drawing The Persevering Surgeon (Plate 179). Here, the practitioner is dissecting a female cadaver. His lascivious expression whilst thus 'ravishing' the body again gives rise to prevalent ideas as to the activities of these gentlemen as was perhaps the intention in 'The Dissection'. The articulated human and animal skeletons, bottles of specimens, and tub for entrails complete the recognisable venue.

An anatomical lecture is in progress in another of Rowlandson's drawings by that name, An Anatomical Lecture (Plate 180). The actual venue is unspecified, but the drawing bears some resemblance to Johann Zoffany's unfinished oval canvas entitled Dr. William Hunter lecturing at the Royal Academy of Arts c.1773 [48] (Plate 181). This portrays William Hunter performing his statutary duties as lecturer at the Academy where he had been appointed to the Chair of Anatomy in 1768. In this painting, Hunter is demonstrating surface anatomy on a live human model to his audience which includes the partially deaf President of the Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds, who can be seen on the front row listening through his ear trumpet. In Rowlandson's drawing, the head of the lecturer, possibly Hunter, can be seen over the lectern. A skeleton hanging from a curved hook is present and also a 'model' figure draped in classical style. A shaded lamp which enables light to be cast upon the model to be drawn, a sketch of whom

can be seen lightly drawn in behind the lamp, resembles that in Zoffany's painting. Rowlandson's audience also includes a bewigged gentleman who is listening with the aid of his ear trumpet. This could be an allusion to Reynolds and the location that of the Royal Academy of Arts. Such lectures were popular and attended by a variety of people.

Lectures by surgeons were apparently not always so well received. Rowlandson's water-colour drawing of John Heaviside lecturing at Surgeons' Hall (Plate 182) illustrates some lack of respect and attention shown to the lecturer by his contemporaries. John Heaviside was a member of the Council of the College of Surgeons from 1800-1828, and had been a member of the Company of Surgeons from 1793-1800. He is drawn standing on the right hand side of the table reading from his notes, whilst around him colleagues seem to be involved in their own activities including drinking tea or coffee, talking, reading, examining specimens on the balcony, 'consulting', or merely day-dreaming by the fireside. Above the latter are arranged trophies from foreign countries, with a primitive medical man having the place of honour in the centre. Rowlandson satirically depicts the skeleton hanging over them and the comparative anatomical specimens, one of which appears to be in the process of decapitating one gentleman whose colleague is glancing fearfully towards the specimen jars to his right. Some of the exhibits are reminiscent of those allied to quackery and are possibly intended as an allusion to such by Rowlandson, but may also allude to Heaviside's own museum of anatomy and natural history which he built up at his house in Hanover Square and which attracted a good deal of professional and public interest.

There he held weekly meetings of medical men.[49] However, the Surgeons' Hall illustrated in this drawing is that of the Company of Surgeons in the Old Bailey before its demolition in 1797.

John Hunter was particularly keen to obtain varied human and animal specimens for his collection of comparative anatomical exhibits and with this aim made arrangements with the keeper of wild animals at the Tower of London to obtain their bodies after death. Circus managers received similar requests. He was particularly interested in the Irish giant Charles Byrne (or O'Brien, as he was sometimes called) (1761-83), and expressed a wish to have his body in his collection after the giant's demise. The ailing giant was aware of this and may already have been paid by Hunter, but was horrified at the prospect. He therefore arranged for his remains to be thrown into the sea. Hunter bribed the bodyguards and is said to have paid £500 for the body, which he duly obtained. [50] The skeleton of Byrne is on view in the Hunterian Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. It is 7ft.7ins. tall. The skull was opened by Sir Arthur Keith in 1911, when it was found that the sella tursica (the site which contains the pituitary gland) was greatly enlarged. Excessive action of the pituitary gland causes gigantism before the bone epiphyses have united. This effect was not finally recognised until Harvey Cushing completed his studies on the pituitary gland and its disorders in 1912. [50] Rowlandson made a water-colour drawing of the giant in which he compares his size with that of normal individuals who view him with curiosity (Plate 183). A youth is trying on one of the giant's boots and a young lady is comparing one of her dainty feet with his larger version. One curious gentleman is standing on a chair

and looking at the giant through an eye-glass. These curious viewers were not the only ones to seek such oddities. The giant had been exploited previously and had been the object of exhibitions in his home country of Ireland before coming to London, where for a short time his appearance attracted large numbers of spectators.[52] The original painting is at the Royal College of Surgeons and a boot, shoe, stocking and a glove belonging to the giant are also in the Museum there.

Sir Joshua Reynolds made use of the giant in his portrait of John Hunter: the bones of the giant's feet and lower limbs are included with the subject. There is also an accompanying book opened at a page showing drawings of comparative anatomical specimens. Hunter is holding a quill pen and seems to be pausing for thought with hand to chin in meditative gesture before continuing with the work beside him on the table. This contemplative appearance may be an allusion to the part he played in the contemporary philosophical interest and debate into the natural history and development of man. A copy of this painting by Henry Bone (Plate 183a) can be seen in the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

Topicality entered into the theme as occasion arose. The title of a dissection scene drawn by Rowlandson in 1823, _The Lancett Club at a Thurtell Feast_ (Plate 184), was in connection with a gruesome murder which had been perpetrated on October 24th 1823 and had been well recorded in the newspapers. The crime was pre-meditated and involved two collaborators, Thurtell and Hunt, who had invited a man named Weare to spend a few days in the country for some shooting. Weare set out for the cottage venue near Elstree, but was waylaid by Thurtell,

who fired bullets at him but without killing him. As Weare tried to escape, Thurtell followed him, cut his throat, and "ran the pistol into his skull, turned it through his brains."[53] The body was enveloped in a sack, thrown across a horse and dragged to a pond where stones were added to the sack and it was thrown into the water. The seemingly unconcerned guilty pair later ordered pork chops for their supper and spent a convivial evening.

The words 'Lancett Club' may have been a reference to the founding of a new journal, the *Lancet*, the first edition of which appeared in October 1823. This was a radical journal started by surgeon Thomas Wakeham who intended to attack complacency in the profession and to expose episodes of malpractice and of nepotism which occurred. A number of small medical societies had been set up in the late eighteenth century, some of which developed into clubs where members could share their scientific and social interests.[54] In this print, Rowlandson demonstrates the interest provoked by a gruesome dissection, which would probably have been followed by a 'Feast' - a meal which often succeeded private dissections. This practice was thus equated with that of the two notorious murderers. In this scene, a basket with open lid, similar to those which can be seen in 'The Dissection' and 'The Anatomist Overtaken by the Watch', reveals another body, whilst that of a baby lies close by. Such baskets or hampers with handles on the sides were convenient receptacles in which grave-robbers could transport their victims. From their presence in these drawings, we are probably to understand that the bodies being dissected have been obtained in this way.

The political arena did not escape 'Anatomisation'. Dissection formed the theme for one of Rowlandson's political satires, _State Butchers_ (Plate 185). The Prince of Wales had been criticised following attempts to assume power in place of his mad father King George III. He became an ally of Fox, the leader of the Opposition Party in Parliament, and the public resented his behaviour. In this print, however, Rowlandson criticises Pitt, the Prime Minister, and the King's Ministers for keeping the Prince from the throne. It satirises Pitt, who is placed in the chair of The President of the College of Surgeons, with his wand or pointer directed towards the Prince's heart, indicating that this should be removed: "the good qualities of his heart will utterly ruin our plan therefore cut that out first", are the words issuing from Pitt's mouth. Other Ministers have their knives ready; amongst them, Grafton, at the Prince's feet, with a knife in each hand. He has one foot placed upon a bag of surgeon's tools on the floor from which a saw and pair of shears are falling. The implements are familiar as are the determined features of the 'dissectors', apart from the one at the Prince's head: he represents Thurlow and his attitude epitomises his temporising nature.

Bleeding, cupping and other operative procedures

Anatomisation epitomised the ultimate extent to which surgeons drained away life's vital force, the blood, but the practice of 'bleeding' or 'letting' of blood had been a long-established practice and was considered by many as a prophylactic measure to ensure good health. A friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, clergyman Dr. John Taylor, attributed a nose bleed to the fact that he had omitted to have himself blooded "four days after a quarter of a year's interval."[55]

Dr Johnson disapproved of this measure, but many people from different social strata felt that it was essential to their well-being. Physician James Adair wrote in 1790:

> "The idea of bleeding and purging every spring and fall, to prevent fevers and other diseases was formerly very general in the country; owing to the ignorance or knavery of barbers and medicasters, who derived no small benefit from thus disciplining whole parishes. Many of the lower ranks do still submit, with implicit faith ..."[56]

Samuel Richardson's 'Pamela' made reference to the prophylactic measure of bleeding for herself when her baby son had contracted smallpox:

> "- But I am living very low, and have taken proper precautions by bleeding, and the like, to lessen the distemper's fury if I should have it, ..."[57]

The Rev. Penrose described the treatment accorded to a friend of his who had "dropp'd in a Paralytic Fit, or something of that kind."

> "The Physician and Apothecary were sent for, who ordered him into a Bath Chair, put him to his House, let him blood, put a Blyster on his Back, gave him a Vomit..."[58]

Rowlandson portrays a typically robust scene in which a fat woman is being bled in an appropriately named print Bleeding of a fat woman (Plate 186). The operation is being carried out by a surgeon who is supporting the lady's arm with one hand and holding up a lancet or scarifier with the other. In keeping with her size, the assistant is holding a bucket rather than a bowl in which to catch the vital fluid. A nurse in the background is tying a bandage on another lady's arm to

act as a tournequet in preparation for her operation. Others stoically await their turn.

In contrast, an oil-painting by an anonymous English artist of the late eighteenth century illustrates an unidentified surgeon with his little black boy assistant letting blood from the arm of a fashionable lady (Plate 186a). She has her sleeve rolled up and a tourniquet tied round her upper arm and is holding a cane in order to help the blood distend the vein at the venepuncture site. This accords with the directions given in a *Practical Dispensatory for the use of Clergy, Heads of Families and Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery*:

> The person being properly seated in a good light, a bandage should be tied round the upper arm about three fingers breadth above the elbow, sufficiently tight to compress the veins so as to prevent the return of blood, but not so tight as to prevent its passage to the brachial artery ... A vein of moderate size ... should be chosen. The arm should be extended, and if the vein do not rise well, the patient should shut his hand or grasp a stick."[59]

The practice of cupping was still used under certain circumstances. Rowlandson employs it for the benefit of 'Dr. Syntax' in his drawing The Doctor is so severely Bruised that cupping is Judged Necessary (Plate 187). This drawing was sent to Ackermann, a noted London publisher and friend of Rowlandson, who sent an etching or drawing of 'Dr. Syntax' each month to William Combe, a hack writer whom he employed to write verses for his *Poetical Magazine*. These resulted in the publication of three series of 'Tours' describing and illustrating the exploits of the doctor - an itinerant and eccentric parson and schoolmaster. Many of these were loosely based on the

journeyings of William Gilpin and his 'Picturesque Travels'. This particular illustration however, was not published in the 'Syntax' series. The naked doctor is shown with cupping glasses being placed on various parts of his anatomy by the surgeon whilst three elderly nurses administer to his needs with warming pans, gruel and hot water. A colleague prays fervently for his recovery.

Operative surgery was even more closely associated with anatomisation than the mere letting of blood and was portrayed by artists accordingly. A scene of an operation for amputation of a limb, by Rowlandson, published in 1785, offers no compromise with regard to the opinion of a surgeon's practice (Plate 188). An unfortunate patient or victim is being held firmly in place by a strong attendant and by a rope tied to his left leg and to the leg of his chair. The surgeon, who has removed his coat and is wearing protective sleeves and a carpenter's apron in similar fashion to that of the anatomist, has placed his own right knee and left hand on the doomed leg to keep it in position whilst he saws through this seemingly healthy limb below the knee joint. The surgeon's bag of assorted tools, similar to that of a carpenter and anatomist, but including a forgotten or misplaced femur, spills its contents over the floor, and a bowl placed strategically to catch the blood as it pours from the wound lies nearby. No tourniquet has been applied, thus carrying the 'blood-letting' to extremes. It has been said that the operator was meant to represent Robert Liston, a famous Scottish surgeon who did not bother to use a tourniquet, but Liston was not born until 1794, one year after the print was published.[50] It seems unlikely that Rowlandson would have omitted a tourniquet by accident.

Such an omission would have been noted by observant readers. Its absence therefore, would have had some purpose. This may have been in connection with the subsequent loss of life by this means - the ultimate 'blood-letting' - or the perceived hastiness on the part of surgeons to amputate without due care and consideration for the outcome.[51] None of the assembled audience shows any concern for the patient. The gentleman at the back of the group around the 'victim' uses his head for support so that he can obtain a better view of the operation, at which he peers through his spectacles. Likewise, the portly physician on the right with tricorn hat, periwig and sword indicating his profession, stands and watches with no sign of concern. The assistant on the left holds a knife for the next stage of the proceedings and a crutch under his arm for the patient's use on completion of the operation. This seems to offer his only hope of support. No anaesthetic or antiseptic procedures were available at the time and this patient does not seem to have been offered any form of sedation.

The 'surgery' in Rowlandson's scene seems to act as both dissecting room and operating room, emphasising the similarity between the two procedures. A cadaver and gesticulating skeletons behind the group, one of which seems to empathise with the patient - feeling similar agonies - and a tub with torso and skull on the right of the picture, provide evidence of this. If any doubt remains as to the similarity between the surgeons and anatomists with regard to their respective roles and to their reputations, a list of names of 'approved surgeons' is shown on a poster on the wall. These names include 'Christopher Catgut, Samuel Sawbone, Launcelot Slashmuscle,

Dr. Glisterpipe, Paul Purge, Sir Valiant Venery and Sir Jaundice Jollop'.

An oil-painting by an unknown artist c 1775, of An Eighteenth Century amputation scene in the men's operating theatre of old St. Thomas's Hospital (Plate 189), was acquired by the Royal College of Surgeons in 1965, and has been described by Lord Brock [62]. Unfortunately, the painting is now missing, but prints remain. This painting lends credence to some of Rowlandson's satirical observations and portrays the horrifying experience of such an operation for both patient and observer. Only the physician, with cane to nose, seems unmoved by the proceedings. The surgeon has removed his frock-coat and is wearing a carpenter's apron. He is sawing off the patient's left leg below the knee and distal to a screw-type tourniqet, whilst the attendants are firmly holding down the screaming sufferer. The screw-type tourniquet was invented by Frenchman Jean Louis Petit (1674-1750). Similar types can be seen in boxes of surgical instruments used in the eighteenth century especially by the army and navy[63]. The low operating table is placed at right angles to another table on which are ranged the instruments which were in use at that time for such an operation. These include a long curved knife, saw and bone-forceps. Similar instruments from the eighteenth century are on display at the College. A large bowl of water is placed underneath the table ready to receive the amputated limb. Students are ranged in tiers watching the operation in the theatre which has been identified as that of the old St. Thomas's Hospital when it was in the 'Borough' and formed one of the 'United Borough Hospitals' with Guy's Hospital.[64]

Although Rowlandson's operation scene was intended primarily for amusement, its validity and that of the oil-painting can be corroborated to a certain extent by referring to a text-book illustration from a contemporary book of Surgery (Plate 190).[55] In this, amputation is being demonstrated by frock-coated surgeons and attendants who are sawing off a lower limb below the knee joint. A tourniquet is not visible in the operation field, but one is shown in the inset. This, the saw and the large bowl appear in both scenes.

Death

The fine line between life and death which seemed to be epitomised by the surgeons' practices had been depicted traditionally by artists in 'Dance of Death' scenes "to take the sting out of death". Images of skeletons with hour-glasses or other symbols of mortality and the passage of time were commonly seen on gravestones. Death, represented as a skeleton, sometimes leading its victims on a macabre dance, has its origin in late medieval scenes. The certainty and proximity of death, especially at times of great epidemics, were demonstrated so that everyone would be prepared and work out their own salvation to attain a life eternal by leading a better life on earth and passing through a 'good' death.[56] By the late eighteenth century, Death was a signpost of the end; relevance to a 'life beyond' was lost to a great extent in England, although not universally. Sometimes a scythe was Death's fatal weapon in allegory, and sometimes an arrow which was not only a weapon, but acted symbolically as a carrier of disease. Artists used the symbolism as a powerful ally in order to convey a social, political or moral message, or used it in a traditional way to add meaning to a

painting. Joseph Wright of Derby used such a skeleton in his painting of Death and the Old Man (Plate 191), 1773. For this portrayal, Wright seems to have made a careful study of the skeleton drawn by Albinus[67] (Plate 192). The old man is clearly terrified in the face of death.

Rowlandson, as has already been shown, produced many drawings using this feature in relation to anatomisation and surgery. He also used it in association with such practices as debauchery, prostitution, quackery and gin drinking, which were all seen as allies to Death. Popular perceptions of the ineffectiveness of doctors and of their dubious practices did not escape from the relationship and received similar treatment at his hands. Whereas some artists such as Hogarth hoped to convey a moral message by this means, as in The Reward of Cruelty and in 'The Consultation' scene from Marriage-á-la-Mode, Rowlandson's portrayals are more likely to have been offered as tragi-comic episodes for public entertainment. They do, though, reflect some of the social and medical activities that were taking place and some of the lay attitudes to the practices.

A popular series of such prints by Rowlandson was published in 1815-1816 by Ackermann, entitled an 'English Dance of Death'. This followed other productions such as Newton's 'Dances of Death', published in 1796, and one designed by Woodward, 'The Dance of Death Modernised', in 1800.[68] Rowlandson's series was accompanied by verses provided independently by William Combe, who spent some years in prison. Ackermann provided the link between the two men and they never met each other. The original series consisted of 74 full page colour prints. Three prints appeared each month from April 1st.1814 to March 1st.1816.[69]

One of the prints was aimed at the Apothecaries, many of whom cheated their clients with adulterated drugs and cheap substitutes. Roderick Random laid this charge against his master, Mr. Lavement, a French Apothecary, to whom he acted as Journeyman in Smollett's *Adventures of Roderick Random.*[70] He said of this gentleman:

> "... his expence for medicines was not great, he being the most expert man at a succedaneum,[71] of any apothecary in London, so that I have been sometimes amaz'd to see him without the least hesitation, make up a physician's prescription, though he had not in his shop one medicine mention'd in it."

Rowlandson's print Death and the Apothecary (Plate 193) shows a complacent and benevolent-looking, well- nourished apothecary in his shop filling up medicine bottles from one of his recipes, whilst an assortment of ailing clients wait for his attention. A gouty individual seated on the right is looking over his shoulder in horror to see a skeleton wearing an apron and turning a pestle in a mortar labelled 'SLOW POISON'. It is leering at him through a mirror in front of it. Hanging from the ceiling is the ubiquitous dried fish or quack emblem, and various tools of the trade line the shelves and occupy the curtained-off area near the skeleton.

Accompanying words from the Apothecary state:

> "I have a secret Art, to cure
> Each Malady, which men endure."

He gives advice to the ladies thus:

> "These Pills within your chamber keep,
> They are decided friends to sleep.
> And, at your meals, instead of wine,
> Take this digestive Anodyne.
> Should you invigoration want,

Employ this fine Corroborant.
These curious Panaceas will
If well applied, cure every ill.
So take them home; amd read the bill,
Which with my signature at top,
Explains the medicines of my shop.
On these you may have firm reliance;
So set the college at defiance.
And should they not your health restore,
You now know where to send for more."

A quack doctor in partnership with the undertaker is the subject of another print in the series Death and the Undertaker (Plate 194) In this, the doctor is accompanied by a skeleton which is riding pillion on his horse. As the pair approach the undertaker's establishment, the doctor drops dead to the chagrin of the former who bewails the loss of the best friend he ever had. Accompanying words explain:

"The good man lies upon his back;
And trade, will now, be very slack.
- How shall we Undertakers thrive
With Doctors who keep folks alive?
...
We've cause to grieve - say what you will;-
For, when Quacks die,- they cease to kill."

A young lady on the right beckons to Death to assist her with her elderly infirm partner, who makes his way towards the shop labelled 'Deadus Best/Cordial Gin'.

Death in the Nursery (Plate 195) portrays a skeleton with a rather tender expression on his face as he regards his small victim and rocks the cradle. The nurse in charge here sleeps with an over-turned glass in her hand in similar fashion to the nurse in charge of the sick patient in the print of The Drunken Nurse (Plate 196). Combe appended the following verse to the former print:

"Drown'd in inebriated sleep
No vigils can the Drunkard keep.
-Death rocks the Cradle, as you see,
And sings his mortal Lullaby.
No shrieks, no cries will now its slumbers break;
The infant sleeps, - ah, never to awake!"[72]

These scenes convey in light-hearted fashion the prevalence of death in many situations, including some associated by Rowlandson with human folly. His unconventional style emphasises social disorderliness as it did in the scenes from Bath.

Some of Rowlandson's single prints also contain the skeletal symbol. The evils of drink are depicted in this fashion in The Dram Shop(Plate 197). The shop is crowded with customers, some of whom are clearly under the influence of the spirit. A skeleton is filling up a large vat with vitriol from which the bar attendant is dispensing the lethal doses.

A print by George Cruikshank, The Gin Shop (Plate 198), is full of allusions to death by drinking. The skeleton here holds up an hour-glass in one hand and he states, "I shall have them all dead drunk presently! They have nearly had their last glass." He is referring to drinkers who are standing inside a trap. A mother is feeding gin to her baby whilst a child imbibes a similar potion. Yet another reaches up to the counter for her share as a man is served by a two-headed barmaid. One head on her shoulder is a skull and peeping out from beneath her dress is a skeletal foot. She is serving 'death' to her customers. The room is decorated with posters and coffins labelled as alcoholic beverages. A door behind the shop leads to the 'SPIRIT VAULTS where a cauldron holding a spectre is surrounded by dancing

'spirits'. Another specimen of these is sitting on a barrel on the counter with a raised glass and bottle. An open book, also on the counter, offers a prosperous way of life. It reads, 'Open a Gin Shop: the way to Wealth', but the ways offered to the consumers lead to 'The Gibbet, the Gaol, the Mad-house or the Workhouse'.

A doctor keeping Death at bay by means of a clyster pipe or rectal syringe is the subject of the print The Doctor Dismissing Death, published in 1782 (Plate 199). Here, a skeleton is entering a room through a cottage window and receiving the contents of the doctor's syringe. This is used here as a symbol of abuse being directed at Death, but the implication of the print seems to be the paucity of the doctor's defences on behalf of his patient in the face of Death. As an indication that a doctor's defences may be hopeless and may even assist the enemy, a skeletal figure holds aloft a box of pills to greet the doctor as he visits a patient in another illustration on this theme (Plate 200).

Many factions could appropriate Death's symbolic figure. An anonymous print entitled The Siege of Warwick Lane or The Battle between Fellows and Licentiates (Plate 200a) portrays the President of the Royal College of Physicians as a bewigged skeletal figure. He and his 'Fellows' are being subject to an invasion of tartan-clad Scottish medical practitioners firing clyster pipes and abuse and wielding traditional Scottish weapons. These 'warriors' are seen invading the exclusive sanctity of the rooms of Royal College of Physicians in Warwick Lane where the skeleton and his elderly colleagues are being used to symbolise the old and obsolete ideas prevailing there. Medical practitioners from outside the traditional training grounds of

Oxford and Cambridge could only become Licentiates of the College. Graduates of the increasingly enlightened Scottish Universities - as far as clinical medical education was concerned - demanded the right to become Fellows. (See Chapter 1.)

Politicians did not escape from unflattering associations with 'Death', and in Gillray's print Britannia between Death and the Doctors (Plate 201) William Pitt, as one of a triumvirate of disagreeing doctors, holds up his own medicine, 'Constitutional Restorative' as he kicks outgoing Prime Minister, Henry Addington with his 'Composing Draft' out of the door and tramples upon his political rival, Fox, with his remedies of 'Whig Pills' and 'Republican Balsam'. Ailing Britannia, for whom the remedies are intended, is shown threatened by an arrow wielded by a skeletal Napoleon.

Addington was nicknamed 'The Doctor' because of his alleged possession of some medical knowledge gleaned from his father, who was a medical man. The accoutrements of his 'profession' accompanied him in many caricatures and it has been estimated that he appeared in more than 130 political prints in some form of medical rôle.[79] The political or social messages conveyed would have meant little if the medical symbolism were not clear.

The skeletal figure of death pervaded the thoughts of patients under many circumstances. As was shown in chapter 7, the hypochondriac's imagination could play deathly tricks, but death was close in reality and perhaps accepted as 'part of life'. Certainly Rowlandson included it in his panoply of life.

Not until the second half of the nineteenth century was the doctor dissociated from Death in such prints. This change was partly due to the changing perception of the doctor's worth and acknowledgement of his increasing skill and knowledge.[74] Until then, the words in Hogarth's print of 'The Company of Undertakers' still rang true in many people's thoughts:

"Et Plurima mortis imago."

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DISCUSSION

Before an assessment can be made as to whether the aims of this study - as set out in the Introduction - have been achieved, it is necessary to reconsider certain aspects of the production of the prints which might have affected the resultant imagery.

One factor that should be borne in mind is the reason why medical imagery featured in works of popular and private art.

Artists had to earn a living. Patronage had clear advantages as it enabled artists to earn their livelihood, but the choice of image was necessarily dependant upon the will of the patron and his 'position'. It is said that Hogarth was paid by some of the surgeons of the time for his engraving of 'Cunicularii, or The Wise Men of Godliman in Consultation'[1], and that Perkins commissioned Gillray to portray the use of his tractors.[2] Some successful medical men commissioned artists to paint their portraits and were therefore in a position to dictate the circumstances under which they were portrayed. Similarly, a Society or Institute might commission a work to commemorate or draw attention to a proposed project. The 'medical' image was thus produced at the behest of others who had a vested interest in its production, and in slanting its content and presentation. In order to escape to some extent from the shackles that such patronage entailed, Hogarth sold prints from his series of 'Modern Moral Histories' by subscription - leaving him freer to transmit his own 'messages'. Medical imagery incorporated into these works, therefore, would be in accordance with his own wishes and would include features drawn from his own experience or gleaned from

his associates - both medical and lay - and from contemporary literary sources.

Attention has been drawn to the 'thematic' use of medical imagery in the service of art that was not directly commissioned. For example, the popularity of quackery as a subject had broad resonances, and it was used to represent the folly of mankind in a general sense and to highlight pretentiousness, ignorance and verbosity. In the latter sense it was frequently applied to politicians with their false nostrums and love of apparent power over others. It could also represent an illusory aspect of life as illustrated by Hogarth in 'Southwark Fair'. Practices such as purging, inducing vomiting, bleeding and performing anatomical dissections were satirically used by artists as expressions of malevolent intent, again in both social and political terms. It has been mentioned how the enema syringe was used in different contexts as a vehicle of medication, abuse or eroticism. The use of medical images formed one way of communicating a social or political message which would be widely understood.

Medical images were also used in the service of morality. The presence of disease in a person portrayed was often an allusion to some defect in character of that individual or of what that individual represented; it may sometimes be regarded as a just reward for sins committed by that person or for some polemic decision perceived as detrimental by an opposing faction. Gout of the feet, for example, with its accompanying bandages, flannel socks, bath-chair or crutches was a well-recognised ailment. In stereotypical form it could represent the folly or even the licentiousness of its owner's life-style as Rowlandson portrayed in his scenes at Bath where bloated,

over-indulged and pampered individuals overflowed his scenes in chaotic style contrasting with the elegance of the classical buildings of Bath. Rowlandson used this aspect also to signify that outward elegance did not always mean inward order. His gouty, untidy and disorderly individuals in 'Bath Races'(Plate 118), for example, were incumbents of the classical buildings in the background. His criticism was aimed both at the activities behind the scenes in Bath and at the traditionalists of the Art establishment who contended that the principle aim of art was to foster that which gave value and dignity to human nature. Art was supposed to be moral and uplifting. Academicians looked to the Old Masters for guidance and Biblical, mythological, historical and epic scenes were thought to provide these attributes. Classicism in art denoted order, stability and discipline. What 'dis-ease' or disorder lay behind the scenes? Questions were being asked and old ideas being challenged.

Gout could also be used in the political field and an unpopular policy decision or political act might be metamorphosised into the form of gout, as in 'Billy's Gouty Visit'. (Plate 141) Everybody knew about gout; its portrayal might provoke sympathy or amusement, but its message would be understood. Nobody was exempt from the threat or even the actuality of sickness and, eventually, death, and the fears that these invoked. Medical imagery possessed particular efficacy and immediacy, not least because of these fears.

If portrayal of disease could represent immoral or adverse aspects of life, then, conversely, beauty, serenity and good health could signify virtue. Hogarth used these attributes on behalf of the

mother breast-feeding her infant in 'The March to Finchley' (Plate 89).

The questions of who bought prints and of how extensive was the market are important. It was necessary for the artist or publisher to find a market. Hogarth's earlier 'Histories' were aimed at an educated middle-class or aristocratic élite who would understand his moral and social messages which were often detailed and embroidered in emblem and allegory. His later more popular prints were aimed less exclusively at a sophisticated clientele, although these prints too possessed deeper significance for the more educated, as was illustrated in the chapter describing the background to Hogarth's print of 'The Reward of Cruelty'. The general message of the later prints was more easily read and they could be reproduced in a cheaper fashion. Rowlandson's work was lively, often bawdy, amusing and direct, requiring little intellectual involvement and he often supplied a caption or backcloth to offer additional information or commentary upon the scene presented. His pen was his fortune and his output was prodigious - on many topics, of which medicine formed a small though apparently popular part; it has been estimated that he produced at least a hundred caricatures with medical themes.[3] The market dictated the type, relative accessibility and complexity of the image to a large extent, but

> "works of Reynolds and those of the satirists were bought by the same rich and politically powerful sections of the public; the difference in their views reflects a dichotomy in the consciousness of that dominant class itself."[4]

In the eighteenth century prints were the primary way of conveying information visually on a widespread basis. Events were depicted and 'commented' upon, personalities and buildings portrayed and various kinds of knowledge disseminated. Prints decorated rooms, taught lessons, presented fashions, proferred political views, provided illustrations for books and periodicals and gave entertainment via print-shop windows or by means of portfolios which publishers lent for 'home viewing', as indicated at the foot of some of the prints. Prints cost about 6d. per sheet, or 2s. for coloured ones - about three times the cost of a newspaper at that time. In the middle of the century, about 50,000 copies of political prints a year were produced, compared with about seven million newspapers.[5] It would be difficult to estimate the number of prints containing medical imagery as these were not confined to one particular area. Print-making was a specialist business, conducted mainly in London; print runs were limited and their distribution was confined mainly to London and other centres of culture and social activity such as Bath. The topics illustrated may therefore have been chosen to satisfy a mainly metropolitan audience and their contents reflect their interests and activities. Well-known individuals were sometimes caricatured and artists took advantage of topical themes involving such characters as would be known to this audience. Satire performed a levelling function in society. It was a prophylactic against pomposity and pretentiousness. Matters of health were understood across Britain, but the emphasis shown in many prints with regard to the separation of the activities of the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries reflects this mainly London-based vision. This separation was less noticeable

in other parts of the country. In addition, many of the notorious 'quacks' illustrated were London-based.

The use of topical themes helped the artist to sell his prints. There was a tendency to use themes which were fashionable, such as the delight in the picaresque which spawned novels such as Fielding's *Tom Jones* and immortalised and romanticised Captain Macheath in *The Beggar's Opera*. Popular literature was aimed at a wide market and pamphlets and ballads described the life and eventual fate of notorious criminals. The central purpose was to serve as a warning to the reader about the life-style of the miscreant by such means as a didactic cycle of degradation, in which youthful misdemeanor leads to gambling, whoring, robbery, murder, death on the gallows and ultimately to dissection at the hands of the surgeon. This pattern was followed by Hogarth in his series 'Four Stages of Cruelty', but Hogarth offered the additional observation that the surgeons' activities were equally reprehensible - a common sentiment which highlighted hypocrisy on the part of the 'Establishment'. However, the majority of those convicted were not hanged at Tyburn and for the bulk of offenders secondary punishments were meted out. Bridewell offered reformative work - the 'Harlot' in 'A Harlot's Progress' had to beat hemp there - and in the early eighteenth century active debates were in progress regarding penal reform, with transportation as an alternative punishment. Some images inevitably tended to oversimplify what was a complex situation.

Mundane forms of reportage could be spiced up with racy scandals culled from the journals and papers and contemporary political and social problems could arouse the creative and partisan interest of

artists. Some artists wished to align themselves with particular political or pressure groups and to convey an appropriate message in this way. Hogarth's 'Modern Moral Histories' convey his social and moral concerns and such prints as 'Beer Street' and 'Gin Lane' were produced in a deliberate attempt to show the evils associated with the excessive consumption of gin, compared with the comparatively healthy and acceptable practice of drinking beer. Rowlandson drew attention to the practice of tooth transplantation with its exploitation of the poor by the rich.

Conventional ideas of morality led to the use of stock images both for social and moral effect and to enable easy reading of the scene portrayed. Some stock themes and common beliefs could in many ways be misleading, simplistic or even false. Themes were not based on social research and statistics were rudimentary and unreliable. For example, the idea that luxury was corrupting ignores the fact that increased national prosperity meant that adequate nourishment and material goods became accessible to many more people than previously. However, increase in wealth could also lead to its mis-application. Artists and polemicists might choose to ignore one or more facets of a complex problem.

Exaggeration or manipulation of facts might occur for works to conform to artistic convention, or for effect, or to enable an artist to make a personal comment. The hyperbole associated with Hogarth's 'Gin Lane' demonstrates the latter point. In addition, some facts might be misinterpreted through ignorance as much as by design.

It might be asked whether the use of allegory, symbolism and rhetorical exaggeration invalidates the use of images as useful

bearers of information for the medical historian. Symbolism, allegory and rhetoric were utilised by artists in a traditional manner and provided a frame of reference that would be well understood by an educated eighteenth-century audience, whose members would be well versed in Biblical, mythological and historical themes. Even the less well educated knew their Bibles well and would understand many visual references. Hogarth, particularly, made use of allegory by adorning the walls of the rooms depicted in his 'Modern Moral Histories' with traditional paintings of Biblical or mythological scenes, but he used these in a characteristically subversive manner. They cannot be dismissed as irrelevant details; Hogarth did not use details gratuitously, as has been shown. They are important pointers to the moral meaning of the scene portrayed. Gillray too made satirical reference to Biblical stories as, for example, in his 'Vaccination' scene (Plate 145) in which he depicts the worshipping of the Golden Calf in a picture within his picture.

Some symbols were universally understood and had been used from early times - such as that of a skeleton. A skeleton signifies death, but the skeletons depicted often retained their living expressions and activities, thereby underlining the close link that was seen to exist between life and death. Traditional 'Dance of Death' scenes display these features. Some contemporary medical material was incorporated into paintings or prints as part of this symbolic language or as part of a conventional theme.

The use of artistic traditions and conventions does not necessarily cloud the contemporary issues, providing the framework of reference is recognised. It must be understood that Hogarth used them

subversively - both to highlight what he saw as the defects inherent in slavishly following traditions and in order to draw attention to comparable defects in other aspects of society, including health and health care. Examples of this are seen in his use of a classical frieze on which to display the background of quackery in the consultation scene of 'Marriage-a-lá-Mode' (Plate 60) and in his satirical portrayal of Mary Toft in mock-heroic style on her 'sick-bed' (Plate 2). Rowlandson continued in similar vein as can be seen for example by his disrupting of the classical and orderly background scenes at Bath where people went to 'Take the Waters'.(Plates 118-120)

The use the artists made of their work raises another question. An artist might use his art to illustrate contemporary literary work, such as Hogarth with his illustrations of 'Don Quixote' and Rowlandson with his drawings for 'Tristram Shandy'. He might produce a work of art for his own personal pleasure and enjoyment. This might be purely imaginary or a composite drawing incorporating many irrelevant factors, or it might be documentary evidence of a tour undertaken, or a portrait painted. These last two categories require corroboratory evidence as to the nature of their representational value. A work might be executed to amuse or to titillate, thereby engendering exaggeration, manipulation, stereotyping or mis-representation. Some works were printed anonymously and the historian should be alert to the motive for such anonymity and its effect on the rendering.

The interpretation of images depends to a large extent upon the attitude of the observer. It has been said that some medical text illustrations can be perceived as pornography:

"we are as entitled to find a form of violent eroticism in medicine as we are to note the philosophical dimensions of pornography."[6]

The use which can be made of either medical text illustrations or of pornographic illustrations is in the mind of the beholder. Eroticism is clearly implied in many of the images illustrated in this thesis in, for example, scenes of dissection from Vesalius to Rowlandson, but we have declined to use specifically medical text illustrations because of their mainly teaching function. The idea that they may create a "dramatic impact" by their "unrelenting literalism, especially if they are in colour" does not justify the use of line diagrams in their place as suggested.[7] The function of an image is its main justification. However, the use to which an illustration may be put is worthy of consideration when examining medical images in any age.

It is necessary to make some selection of the works to be examined and discussed when studying images throughout a whole century. Any selection has its drawbacks. Works of an artist such as Hogarth are well documented and available for study, whereas those of Rowlandson are too numerous and scattered for similar perusal. Selection for this study has been made with the aim of covering as wide a range of medical topics as possible in the period.

Although there is some danger in treating portrayals of medical scenes as accurate representations, images were not completely erroneous. They could not have functioned adequately without direct reference to actual practice. The activities portrayed were familiar enough to the viewer to be judged critically and for detailed

artefacts to be recognised. In addition to this aspect of medical practice, the images convey a good impression of popular beliefs and attitudes, but they must be seen in eighteenth century terms in order to avoid misconceptions. There is need to consider the images in the light of what was happening at the time, including the state of medical knowledge and to seek a rounded view of contemporary attitudes. The descriptions of the events surrounding the Toft affair and of vaccination against smallpox show to what extent contemporary philosophical and scientific issues influenced public and medical opinion. If the prints are examined in conjunction with the written evidence about particular maladies, treatments or incidents, they can be seen to present a rich field for analysis, not only with respect to the obvious issues of medical practice but also with respect to the use of medical images in major spheres of contemporary concern. The 'truth' of the situation portrayed can be verified by referring to contemporary medical literature. One example of this is Hogarth's portrayal of the Harlot's treatment for syphilis.

The uniformly pejorative view of doctors that might be deduced from the majority of the images is mistaken, as is the case with the generally scurrilous images of lawyers or clergymen in popular prints. Some doctors no doubt conformed to the unfavourable image and some of their practices can be confirmed in written accounts; satirical images rest on a foundation of truth. But many doctors did not conform to this image. Learned, skilful and humane practitioners existed (according to the precepts of the time), but they were not the ones usually selected for portrayal in popular or satirical fashion unless they were associated with some reprehensible practice which was

to be highlighted. Examples of these are the highly respectable John Freke and William Hunter who were portrayed in this way in 'The Reward of Cruelty' and 'The Resurrection' scene at the Windmill Museum respectively. The practice rather than the man was the target for the barbed brush. The images of the more responsible and reputable doctors can be found in more sober and traditional fashion - conforming with the artistic conventions of the time - in portraits at the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. They are not examined in this thesis.

Few bedside or genre scenes are available. Caring attitudes associated with the medical profession did not change markedly until the nineteenth century when better medical education and advances in treatment contributed to this conception. During the nineteenth century, romanticised images of the doctor at the bedside, such as that of Luke Fildes showing the doctor watching over a sick child, became fashionable. Before this time, professional men were seldom portrayed when working. They had to personify status, comfort and confidence to worried people and their dress and appearance had to conform with discretion and conservatism.[9] A working image was not deemed appropriate; allusions to their charitable rôle, as seen in connection with Drs Oliver and Peirce in Bath, or attributes indicating their special interests, were all that was considered necessary in the context of a painting.

This thesis demonstrates a close link between contemporary writings in medicine, literature and artistic images. Illustrations of contemporary literary works by artists, whilst portraying the fictional image presented by the writer, reflect contemporary

attitudes and practices. For example 'Tristram Shandy' is shown by Rowlandson tightly wrapped in his swaddling clothes at his baptism, and 'Don Quixote' is having a leather plaister (plaster) applied to an injury on his back in an illustration by Hogarth. Although many of the artistic images may add little to the information which can be gathered from the written sources, details which can be read in a print may provide a deeper and more lasting impression on the mind than may be conveyed by the written word. This is shown clearly in connection with the controversy surrounding smallpox vaccination. Many images provide corroboratory evidence for what has been written. They also convey a vivid contemporary impression of what were popularly considered significant aspects of medical practice.

This study also demonstrates the need to read the artists' works carefully in order to obtain a critical and discriminatory view of the images portrayed, and the need to consider their use and impact in the contemporary climate. A cursory glance might lead to misconceptions. Hogarth's Rake in Bedlam has been likened to Cibber's statue of 'Raving Madness', whereas his madness has reached the barometric scale of despair, madness and suicide displayed in Hogarth's print of 'A Medley, Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism' - a state allied to Cibber's other statue, 'Melancholy Madness'.[9] This series of Hogarth's helps to illustrate the contemporary concept and perceptions of mental derangement. As has been previously stated, Hogarth did not use details gratuitously. They must be carefully observed.

Insight into the meaning of many images is obtained only by looking in detail into the circumstances behind the event. This is demonstrated, for example, by examination of 'The Quacks' - portraying

Graham and Katterfelto - and the print of Perkins' 'Metallic Tractors'. A greater understanding of the practices of such quacks can be obtained by following the clues provided in the prints. The contemporary climate in which keen interest in scientific phenomena was becoming more widespread was expressed in new techniques of medical treatment and offered new scenes of activity for the artists. Both the quacks and the artists exploited this popular interest in science. A print may thus be used as a stimulus to further study of the social, scientific, intellectual and philosophical background of the situation portrayed. It has been written that

> "Medical history includes not only the theoretical doctrines of medicine and the actual modes of medical practice but also the relationships of medicine to the contemporary science and technology and, further, the relationship of doctors to society, taken in a very broad sense."[10]

Such prints offer the artists' view of the relationship between medicine and contemporary scientific developments - a view which may be classified as part of the spectrum of lay attitudes.

Many of the images studied clearly illustrate popular conceptions of medical practitioners and their treatments and activities and display the robust scepticism of better informed observers such as Hogarth and Rowlandson. These conceptions are demonstrated in both aspects of the work, through direct portrayal of medical scenes and in the use of medical imagery in non-medical contexts and they embrace the activities of all medical practitioners - physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, quacks and nurses. Works of art play upon popular prejudices and ideas. Some of the resultant images give an indication of the climate in which medicine was practised. For example, the Mary

Toft image shows a climate of scepticism and ribaldry which seemed to last throughout the century.

The prominence and complexity of medical imagery of the time reflect the complex and ambivalent attitudes felt towards medicine and its practitioners in eighteenth-century Britain - aspects paralleled in literature, as has been indicated. Satire is sometimes considered to be an indication of what society feels is wrong with itself; it flourishes at times of social upheaval and rapid development. The eighteenth century was a time for self-examination in many aspects of society. The fact that medical practitioners and their treatments were amongst the targets of satirists reflects their often contentious role. Public expectation plays a part in rôle perception. The wide-ranging pejorative images of the doctors may be perceived as a broad attack on the profession on behalf of the masses who were unable to speak for themselves and who welcomed such an attack on a profession that seemed to offer little consolation to them in their suffering. The doctor seems to be accepted in the rôle of healer, but as one having 'fatally' limited resources. Lack of understanding of illness was associated with lack of understanding of healers - partly through language barriers, partly class-orientated and partly through a cultivated professional mystique. As has been stated, there appears to be little personalised aggression against individual orthodox doctors. Politicians, on the other hand, were often personally attacked, as were members of the Royal Family and clergymen such as Whitfield and Wesley. The anonymity of the doctors presented may be partly due to the remoteness and inaccessibility of the physicians to most of the population. The number of physicians

was relatively small and they generally attended the aristocratic and wealthy members of society. Attendance at hospitals was also relatively small. This inaccessibility and remoteness may reflect these facts as they applied in London. In the country, the division between types of medical practitioners was less marked.

One particular aspect of medical care highlighted by this study of images is the range and succession of fashionable remedies which became available during the eighteenth century - such fashions as 'Taking the Waters', earth-bathing, the use of magnetism and electricity, and transplanting of teeth. Their use is more clearly demonstrated through graphic images than through the written word. They also draw attention to colourful characters such as Martin van Butchell, Dr. Bossey, Chevalier Taylor and Mrs. Mapp. The images illustrate the search for alternative sources of healing at the time and incidentally provide some of the reasons why the public had difficulty in differentiating between the quack and the orthodox practitioner. They help to show how such a benefit as vaccination could be regarded as an equally suspect form of treatment as many of the 'quack' ideas had proved to be. Hogarth illustrated the difficulty in differentiation between practitioners in his 'Consultation of Physicians', and this difficulty continued. Medicines and nostrums might be 'quack' remedies from orthodox practioners who 'puffed' their own products or those of colleagues. Ward had his 'Drop' and 'Pill', Graham had his 'Balsamic' essences, and the respected Jenner had his 'Tartar Emetic' which was 'puffed' by John Hunter.[11] 'James's Powders' were 'puffed' by the artist West in his illustration of 'Address of Thanks to Influenza'.

Other aspects of medical care are visualised through prints, such as the development of hospitals, care for the mentally ill, child care and the opening of the Foundling Hospital, the state of surgery and the pursuit of anatomical knowledge. Prints offer a primary source of information about aspects of eighteenth-century health care which can usefully be added to other sources of information to build up a composite picture.

Artists are products of their time, as are the writers of literature, diaries and letters; their opinions are not unbiassed or universally held. Some, like Hogarth refused to be bound in conventional fashion, but he too was bound to a certain extent by his environment, his background, culture and education. These influenced him in his attitudes and in his wish to change certain aspects of society. Later in the century, following the inception of the Royal Academy of Art, and with the increasing number of art exhibitions, new ideas flourished and freedom of expression evolved. Nevertheless, all the artists throughout the century have something to offer to the historian. They offer glimpses of some of the contemporary perceptions of disease, pain and death,[12] and they provide valuable indicators of the public reactions to the activities of those involved in the treatment of medical conditions. They could not dissociate themselves from prevalent philosophical ideas and some of these are reflected in their works. Such matters cannot be considered irrelevant in the context of a search for medical images. Concern with the 'nature of man' for example, impinged upon medical and popular thought. Attention has been drawn to comparative anatomical studies in dissection scenes. Artists made use of comparative physiognomical studies associating man's 'animal nature'

with animal-like features, as in 'The Quack Physicians' Hall' (Plate 77). Gillray based his anti-vaccination print on the fear of having some 'brutish' disease or attribute incorporated into man by this means. Such prints might be deemed of little use in conveying a 'message' in any other context.

Conclusion

The study has succeeded in bringing together a considerable number of visual medical images. These have been read, not as straight documents, but within a framework of recognisable practices, and with the advantage of some basic background medical knowledge on the part of the 'reader'. Independent control of what the artist is portraying is provided where descriptions of medical practices and the images portrayed correspond with each other. In this way, the 'truth' of the artists' images is substantiated. However, the images must be carefully examined and interpreted in order to explore their possible parameters of meaning. The nature and function of the medical images at the time they were produced can only be interpreted within an understanding of the various types of representations involved.

Artistic images have a significant role to play alongside the more direct and (apparently) less problematical sources of medical information used by historians in their search for the social history of medicine, and to ignore the work of the artist is to ignore a rich source of material. This kind of study of medical images of other periods of history could prove equally informative. Such a study could also provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of works of art of a chosen period of time.

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Abbreviation	Full title
Am.J.Dermopath.	American Journal of Dermatopathology
Ann.Med.Hist.	Annals of Medical History
Annals R.C.S.(Engl.)	Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England
Annals Surg.	Annals of Surgery
Art Bull.	Art Bulletin
Art Hist.	Art History
B.J.Obs. & Gyn.	British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology
Brit.J.Surg.	British Journal of Surgery
Brit.Med.J.	British Medical Journal
Bull.Hist.Med.	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
Bull.Med.Lib.Assoc.	Bulletin of the Medical Library Association
Bull.Soc.Social Hist.Med.	Bulletin of the Society for the Social History of Medicine
Burlington Mag.	Burlington Magazine
E.C.S.	Eighteenth Century Studies
J.A.M.A.	Journal of the American Medical Association
J.Hist.Med.	Journal of the History of Medicine
J.Hist.Studies	Journal of Historical Studies
J.St.Bart's Hosp.	Journal of St.Bartholomew's Hospital
J.Surg.Gyn. & Obst.	Journal of Surgery, Gynaecology and Obstetrics
Hist.Today	History Today
Med.Heritage	Medical Heritage
Med.Hist.	Medical History
Proc.Roy.Soc.Med.	Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine
Quart.J.Stud.Alcohol	Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol

UNIVERSITY OF ST.ANDREWS

MEDICAL IMAGES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH ART WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM HOGARTH AND THOMAS ROWLANDSON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF ARTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ISOBEL FIONA HASLAM

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Illustrations

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124. Thomas Rowlandson, Comparative Physiognomy, water-colour, 8¼ x 7¼ins. c.1822, from *Rowlandson Drawings* edited by Adrian Bury, Avalon Press, London, 1949. No.67.

125. A. Van Assen, Dr. Bossey, and the People taken from the Life, engraving, 2⅞ x 4⅛ins. 1792.Yale Medical Library, Clements C. Fry Collection.

126. Thomas Rowlandson, The Mountebanks, pen and water-colour, 7¾ x 10⅝ins. 1804. California, San Marino, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

127. Thomas Rowlandson, The Quack Doctor at a Fair, pen and water colour, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library.

128. Thomas Rowlandson, The Mountebank at a Fair, pen and ink and water-colour, 13.6 x 16.2cms. London, Wellcome Institute.

129. Unknown artist, The St-te Quack, etching, publ.Sept.1762, B.M. No.3909.

130. William Hogarth, The Times, etching and engraving, 8 9/16 x 11⅝ins. 1762. British Museum.

131. Thomas Rowlandson, The Quack Dr. Hambug gives Advice Gratis, pen and sepia ink and watercolour, 11 13/16 x 9 7/16ins. London, Warburg Inst.

132. Gerrit Dou, The Physician, oil painting, 1653, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

133. Advertisement for Dr.Graham's 'Temple of Health and Hymen', British Library.

134. Thomas Rowlandson, Dr. Graham's Earth Bathing Establishment, pen and ink and watercolour, 10⅝ x 16½ins., c.1785-90, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul mellon Collection.

135. Artist unknown, Dr. Graham with a few patients at the Earthbaths in Panton Street, from *The Ramblers* magazine. print from Eric Jameson, *The Natural History of Quackery*, p.128.

136. Artist unknown, The Quacks, engraving, 8⅝ x 13 7/16ins. 1783, B.M. No.6325

137. Artist unknown, Gog and Magog, engraving, London, The Guildhall.

138. Artist unknown, A View of the inside of Guildhall as it appeared on Lord Mayor's Day, 1761, engraving from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

139. Hanibal Scratch, The Aerostatick Stage Balloon, engraving, 12 13/16 x 9 11/16ins. 1783. B.M. No.6284.

140. Collings, Magnetic Dispensary, etching and engraving, 6½ x 8½ins. 1790, B.M. No.7748.

141. Attrib. to Dent, Billy's Gouty Visit, or a Peep at Hammersmith, engraving, 6⅜ x 13¼ins. 1789. B.M. No.7545.

142. James Gillray, Metallic Tractors, aquatint, 8¼ x 10⅝ins. 1801, London. B.M. No. 9761

143. Attrib. to C.Williams, The Tractors, engraving, 9⅞ x 13⅜ ins. 1802, B.M. No.9926.

144. E.Pugh, Cow-Poxed, Ox-faced Boy, engraving from *Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Smallpox Infection*, by William Rowley, 1805, London, British Library.

145. James Gillray, The Cow-Pock -or-The Wonderful Effect of the new Inoculation, engraving, 9¼ x 13⅜ins. 1802, London, B.M. No.9924.

146. C.Williams, Vaccination, engraving, 6⅞ x 9ins. 1802, London, B.M. No.9925.

147. Cruikshank, Vaccination against Small Pox, or Mercenary and Merciless Spreaders of Death and Devastation driven out of Society, engraving, 8⅞ x 13½ins. 1808, London, B.M. No.11093.

148. T.West, Address of Thanks to Influenza, engraving, London, 1803. publ. by Fores.

149. Thomas Rowlandson, The Hypochondriac, aquatint 14⅛ x 21ins. 1788, London, B.M. No.7449.

150. Woodward, John Bull Troubled with the Blue Devils, engraving, 10¼ x 8¼ins. 1799, London, B.M. No.9391.

151. Richard Newton, A Visit to Bedlam, 1794, from Gilman,Sander L. *Seeing the Insane*, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y. 1982 p.57

152. Thomas Rowlandson, Doctor and Lunatic, wash drawing, from Gilman,Sander L. *Seeing the Insane*, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y. 1982 p.124

153. Charles Bell, Madness, from his *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, Longman, London 1806

154. Thomas Rowlandson & Augustus Charles Pugin, St. Luke's Hospital, drawing, from *Print Collectors' Quarterly*, 1937, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

155. Attrib. to Isaac Cruikshank, Fox in Bedlam, engraving, 7 x 9⅞ins. London, B.M. No.6496.

156. Thomas Rowlandson, Doctor Willis at Home, water-colour, 5¾ x 9½ins. c.1788, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

157. Thomas Rowlandson, Doctor Willis Abroad, water-colour, 5¾ x 9¼ins. c.1788, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

158. Attrib. Rowlandson, Blue and Buf Loyalty, engraving, 7 5/16 x 12⅞ins. 1788. London, B.M. No.7394.

159. Thomas Rowlandson, A Midwife Going to a Labour, engraving, 12 1/16 x 8⅞ins. 1811, London, B.M. No.11795.

160. Title-page of *The English Midwife Enlarged*, London, 1682.

161. Isaac Cruikshank, A Man-mid-wife, engraving, 8 x 7 3/16ins. 1793, London, B.M.No.8376.

161a Sir Joshua Reynolds, William Hunter, posthumous portrait, Glasgow, Hunterian Museum.

162. Attrib. Rowlandson, The Village Doctor, aquatint, 8⅜ x 7¼ins. 1774, London, B.M. No.5274.

163. Thomas Rowlandson, A Medical Inspection, or Miracles will never cease, engraving, 12⅜ x 9½ins. 1814, London, B.M. No.12333.

164. Artist unknown, Martin van Butchell on his Spotted Pony, engraving, London, Royal College of Surgeons.

165. Attrib. to Gillray, La Derniere Ressource:-or-Van-Butchell's Garters, engraving, 10¼ x 7ins. 1791, London, B.M. No.7974.

166. Thomas Rowlandson, A French Dentist shewing a Specimen of his Artificial Teeth and False Palates, engraving, 1811, from John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Teeth*, p.52.

167. Thomas Rowlandson, The Toothache, or Torment and Torture, engraving, 1823, from Howard Haggard, *Devils, Drugs, and Doctors* p.100

168. After Dighton, The Country Tooth Drawer, engraving, c.1785, from John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Teeth*, p.34.

169. After Dighton, The Town Tooth Drawer, engraving, c.1785, from John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Teeth*, p.34.

170. Robert Dighton, The London Dentist, engraving, 1784, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library.

171. Thomas Rowlandson, Transplanting of Teeth, engraving, 1787, London, Royal College of Surgeons.

171a Johan Zoffany, The Life School of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1772, from Martin Kemp (ed.) *Dr. William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*.

171b James Barry, The Distribution of Premiums by the Royal Society of Arts (detail), 1777-83, London, Royal Society of Arts.

172. Thomas Rowlandson, The Dissecting Room, pen with brown ink and colour-wash on paper, 10 x 14ins. n.d. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

173. Attrib. to Rowlandson, The Resurrection or an Internal View of the Museum in W-D-M-LL Street on the last day, engraving, 6⅜ x 11⅞ins. 1782, London, B.M. No.6127.

174. Thomas Rowlandson, The Dissection, pen over pencil, unfinished, 14 x 19ins. 1775-80. California, San Marino, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

175. W.Austin, The Anatomist overtaken by the Watch ... carry'ng off Miss W-- in a Hamper, engraving, 10⅝ x 15⅝ins. 1773, London, B.M. No.5119.

176. Thomas Rowlandson, Resurrection Men, pen and ink and water-colour, 10⅜ x 8½ins. n.d. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

177. John Hamilton Mortimer, Doctors Dissecting, pen, 8¼ x 10½ins. c.1770-9, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

178. Thomas Rowlandson, The Anatomist, engraving, 12¼ x 9ins. 1811, London, B.M. No.11800

179. Thomas Rowlandson, The Persevering Surgeon, water-colour, London, Royal College of Surgeons.

180. Thomas Rowlandson, An Anatomical Lecture, engraving, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

181. Johann Zoffany, Dr. William Hunter Lecturing at the Royal Academy of Arts, oil painting, unfinished, 1773, from Martin Kemp (ed), *Dr. William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*, p.30.

182. Thomas Rowlandson, John Heaviside Lecturing at Surgeons' Hall, pen and ink and water-colour, 10 x 11¼ins. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

183. Thomas Rowlandson, The Irish Giant, pen and brown ink and colour wash on paper, 10 x 14ins. 1785 London, Royal College of Surgeons.

183a Henry Bone, John Hunter (copied from the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds), enamel on copper, 1798, London, R.C.S. Hunterian Museum.

184. Thomas Rowlandson, Struggling with Death or the Lancet Club at Thurtell Feast, engraving, 1823, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

185. Attrib. to Rowlandson, State Butchers, engraving, 9⅝ x 14½ins. ? Dec.1788 or Jan.1789, London, B.M. No.7474.

186. Thomas Rowlandson, Bleeding a Fat Woman, pen and watercolour, 4⅝ x 6⅝ins. California, San Marino Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

186a Artist unknown, Bleeding a Lady, oil on tin, late eighteenth century, London, Wellcome Institute

187. Thomas Rowlandson, The Doctor is so Bruised that Cupping is Judged Necessary, pen and ink and watercolour, 5½ x 8¾ins. from John Baskett & Dudley Snelgrove, *Cat. of drawings in the Paul Mellon Collection.*

188. Thomas Rowlandson, The Amputation, engraving, 1785, from *Ars Medica, Cat. Philadelphia Museum of Art.* 1985. No.36.

189. Artist unknown, Amputation Scene in the men's operating theatre of the old St. Thomas's Hospital late 18C. whereabouts unknown. print from Royal College of Surgeons, Hunterian Museum.

190. Artist unknown, Illustration of below-knee Amputation, from Heister's *General System of Surgery*, London 1768, in Ernest Gray's (ed.) Man-Midwife 'The Further Experience of John Knyveton M.D... 1763-1809' p.180.

191. Joseph Wright of Derby, The Old Man and Death, oil painting, 20 x30ins. 1773, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.

192. B.S.Albinus, *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani*, Leyden, 1747. Copy in the Wellcome Institute History of Medicine Library.

193. Thomas Rowlandson, Death and the Apothecary, or The Quack Doctor, aquatint, 1815-16, from *English Dance of Death* vol.i.85. B.M. No.12421.

194. Thomas Rowlandson, The Undertaker and the Quack, aquatint, 1815-16, from *English Dance of Death* vol.i.185. B.M. No.12433.

195. Thomas Rowlandson, The Nursery, aquatint, 1815-16, from *English Dance of Death* vol.ii.33. B.M. No.12667.

196. Thomas Rowlandson, The Drunken Nurse, pen and ink and water-colour, 5⅝ x 7½ins. from John Baskett & Dudley Snelgrove *Cat. of Drawings in the Paul Mellon Collection*.

197. Thomas Rowlandson, The Dram Shop, aquatint, 1815-16 from *English Dance of Death*, vol.i 253. B.M. No.12658

198. George Cruikshank, The Gin Shop, engraving, from *Scraps and Sketches* Bk.II p.9.,c.1829. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery. No.3446.

199. Thomas Rowlandson, The Doctor Dismissing Death, engraving, 6⅛ x 7⅝ins. 1789, London, B.M. No.7608

200. Thomas Rowlandson, Death greets the Doctor, pen and water-colour over pencil, 7½ x 5⅞ins. 1800, San Marino, California, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

201. James Gillray, Brittania between Death and the Doctors, engraving, 9½ x 14½ins. 1804, London, B.M. No.10244.

202. Anon. The Siege of Warwick-Castle: or The Battle between the Fellows & Licentiates, c.1768, source unknown.

SECTION 1
Plates 1 -103

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

'B.M. No.' refers to the British Museum Dept. of Prints and Drawings *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, compiled by Mary Dorothy George, 1935.

SECTION 1

1. Unknown Flemish artist, The Barber-Surgeons 17C, woodcut, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clements C. Fry Collection.

2. William Hogarth, Cunicularii, or The Wise Men of Godliman in Consultation etching. 6 5/16 x 9 7/16ins. Dec. 1726. British Museum.

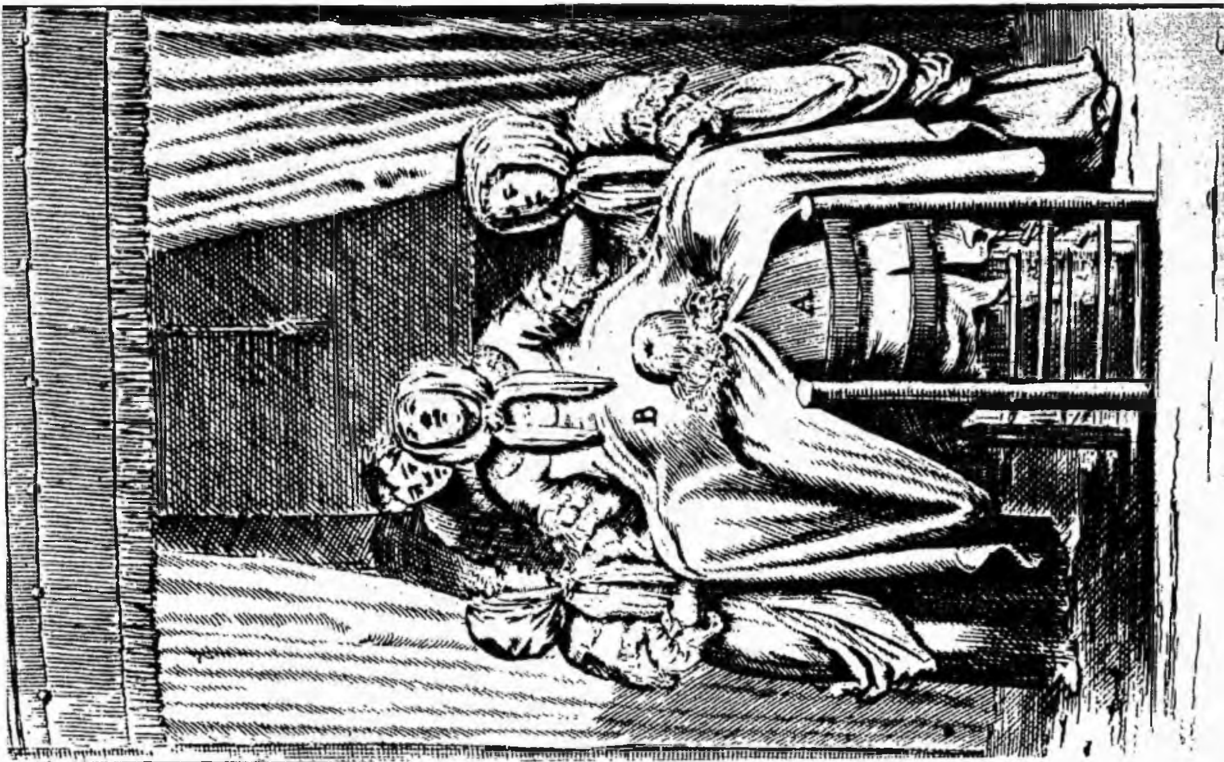
1

2

3. Unknown Dutch artist, The Man-Midwife, from Samuel Janson, *Korte en Bondige verhandeling, van de Voortteelingen't kinderbaren* Amsterdam, 1711, facing p. 106, taken from 'Midwives and Medical Men' by Jean Donnison, Heinemann, London. 1977

4. Alexander Pope, The Discovery: or The Squire turned Ferret, broadsheet. 1726, British Library.

3



4

I

Most true it is, I dare to say
E'er since the Days of Eve,
The weakest Woman sometimes may
The wisest Man deceive.

II

For D------nt circumspect, sedate,
A Machiavel by Trade,
Arriv'd Express, with News of Weight,
And this, at Court, he said

III

At Godliman, hard by the Bull,
A woman thought long barren
Bears Rabbits,-----Gad! so plentiful
You'd take her for a Warren.

IV

These Eyes,quoth He beheld them clear·
What do ye doubt my View?
Behold this Narrative that's here;
Why, Zounds! and Blood! 'tis true.

V

Some said that D--gl-s sent should be
Some talk'd of W--lk--r's merit,''
But most held, in this Midwifery,
No Doctor like a FERRET.

VI

But M-l-n-x, who heard this told,
(Right wary He and Wife)
Cry'd sagely, 'Tis not safe, I hold,
To trust to D-----nt's Eyes.

VII

A vow to God He then did make
He would himself go down,
St. A--d--re too, the Scale to take
Of that Phoenomenon.

VIII

He order'd Then his Coach and Four;
(The coach was quickly got 'em)
Resolv'd this secret to explore,
And search it to the Bottom.

IX

At Godliman they now arrive,
For Haste they made exceeding;
As Courtiers should, whene'er they strive,
To be inform'd of Breeding.

X

The good Wife to the Surgeon sent,
And said to him, Good Neighbour,
'Tis pity that two Squires so Gent-
Should come and lose their Labour

XI

The Surgeon with a Rabbit came,
But first in Pieces cut it;
Then [illegible] thrust it up that same,
As far as Man could put it

XII

'Ye Guildford Inn-Keepers take heed
You dress not such a Rabbit,
Ye Poult'rers eke, destroy the Breed,
'Tis so unsav'ry a-Bit '

XIII

But hold! says Molly, first let's try,
Now that her legs are ope,
If ought within we may descry
By help of Telescope.

XIV

The instrument himself did make,
He rais'd and level'd right,
But all about was so opake,
It could not aid his sight.

XV

On Tiptoe then the Squire he stood,
(But first He gave Her Money)
Then reach'd as high as e'er he cou'd,
And cry'd, I feel a CONY.

XVI

Is it alive? St. Andre cry'd;
It is, I feel it stir.
Is it full grown? the Squire reply'd
It is; see here's the FUR

XVII

And now two Legs St. A-d-re got,
And then came two legs more;
Now fell the Head to Molly's Lot,
And so the Work was o'er

XVIII

The woman, thus being brought to Bed,
Said, to reward your Pains,
St A-d-re shall dissect the Head,
And thou shalt have the Brains

XIX

He rap'd it in a Linnen Rag
Then thank'd Her for Her Kindness
And cram'd it in the Velvet Bag
That serves his R---l H----

XX

That Bag --- which Jenny, wanton slut,
First brought to foul Disgrace;
Stealing the Papers thence she put
Veal-cutlets in their Place

XXI

Oh! happy would it be, I wean,
Could they these Rabbits smother
Molly had ne'er a midwife been,
Nor she a shameful Mother

XXII

Why has the Proverb falsely said
'Better two Heads than one'.
Could Molly hide this Rabbit's Head,
He still might show his own

5. James Vertue, The Surrey-Wonder: an Anatomical Farce as it was dissected at ye Theatre-Royal Lincolns-Inn-Fields, engraving, Dec.1726. B.M. No.1778.

6. James Vertue, Detail from The Surrey Wonder: pen and ink drawing, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Collection.

5

6

7. Unknown artist, The Doctor in Labour; or a New Whim Wham from Guildford, engraving, 1726.
B.M. No. 1781.

8. William Hogarth, The Punishment Inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver etching and engraving. 7 7/16 x 12 ½ ins. December 1726, British Museum.

7

The DOCTORS in Labour; or a New *Whim Wham* from Guildford

8

9. William Hogarth, <u>The Company of Undertakers</u>
etching and engraving. 8% x 7ins. March 1736/7
British Museum.

The **Company** *of* **Undertakers**

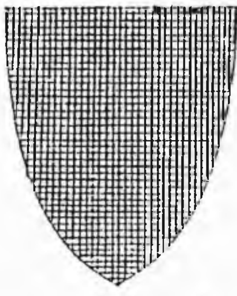
Beareth Sable, an Urinal *proper, between 12* Quack-Heads *of the Second & 12* Cane Heads *Or,* Consul-tant. *On a Chief Nebulæ, Ermine, One Compleat* Doctor *issuant, checkie Sustaining in his Right Hand a Baton of the Second. On his Dexter & Sinister sides two* Demi-Doctors, *issuant of the second, & two* Cane Heads *issuant of the third; The first having One Eye conchant, towards the Dexter Side of the Escocheon; the Second* Faced *per pale proper & Gules, Guardent.* — *With this Motto* — Et Plurima Mortis Imago.

Price Six pence

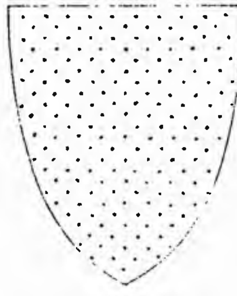
10. Diagram of heraldic terms for The Company of Undertakers

11. Illustration from Johannes de Ketham *Fasciculus di Medicinae*, 1493

10

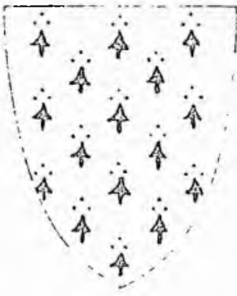


SABLE (BLACK).



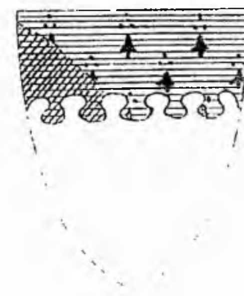
OR (GOLD).

NEBULY (NEBULAE).



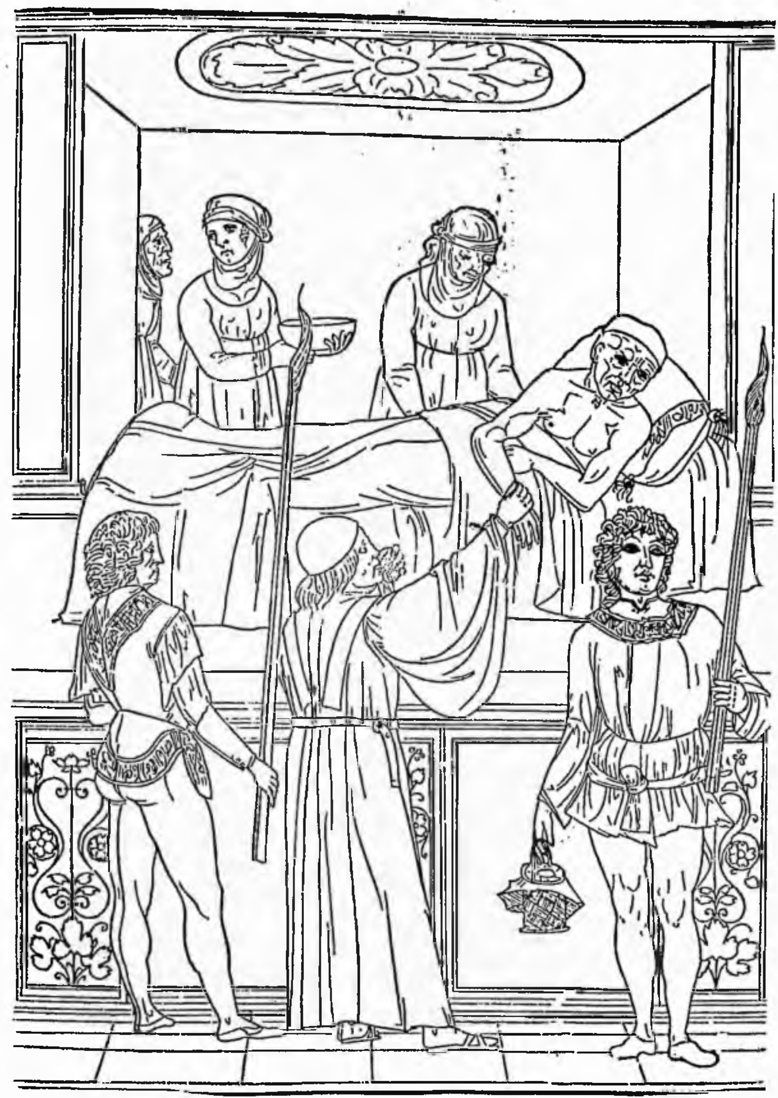
ERMINE.

PER PALE – GULES (RED).



CHIEF – ERMINE.

11



12. After G. Cruikshank, Mrs. Sarah Mapp etching. British Museum, from C.J.S. Thompson, *The Quacks of Old London* facing p.300.

12a

12a. ↑ Agostini Carlini, Dr. Joshua Ward, marble, 6ft. full length, n.d. London, Society of Arts.

13. Thomas Patch, Chevalier John Taylor etching, 1770 from William Feaver, *Masters of Caricature* p.41

12

13

14. William Hogarth, _Southwark Fair_ etching and engraving, 13½ x 17 13/16 ins. January 1733/4, British Museum.

15. _Southwark Fair_ detail.

14

15

16. W.Shaftoe, *Dr.Rock in Covent Garden* etching 3¾ x 5½ins. 1740, B.M. No.2475.

17. William Hogarth, *Morning* from *The Four Times of the Day* etching and engraving, 18 1/16 x 14⅞ ins. May. 1738. British Museum.

16

17

18. *Morning* detail

19. William Hogarth, *The March to Finchley* oil-painting
December 1750, The Thomas Coram Foundation

18

19

22. William Hogarth, _Night_ from _The Four Times of the Day_ etching and engraving, 17 5/16 x 14¼ ins. May 1738. British Museum.

23. _Night_ detail

22

NIGHT

23

24. William Hogarth, _Four Heads from the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court_ etching, 8 7/16 x 14ins. c.1730 British Museum.

25. William Hogarth, _The Pool of Bethesda_ oil painting, 164 x 243ins. 1736. St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

24

25

26. William Hogarth, The Good Samaritan, oil painting, 164 x 243ins. 1737. St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

27. Charles LeBrun, *Conference de M.Lebrun sur l'expression generale et particuliere 1698* engravings of The Design of the Passions from the book translated by John Williams, 1734

26

27

28. Raphael, _Cartoon for the Healing of the Lame Man in the Temple_ London, Victoria & Albert Museum.

29. Thomas Bardwell, _Joshua Ward 1685-1761_ oil painting London, Royal College of Surgeons. engraved by Baron 1749, 15 x 22½ins.

28

29

30. William Hogarth, _The Polling_ from _Four Prints of an Election_ engraving, 15 5/16 x 21¾ins. February 1758. (3rd. State) British Museum.

31. Detail from _The Polling_

30

31

32-38, 41 & 42, 44 & 45.
William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress* 6 plates. etching and engraving, April 1732. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery.

32. Plate 1. *Arrival in London* 11 13/16 x 14¼ ins.

33. Plate 2. *The Quarrel with her Jew Protector* 11⅞ x 14⅝ ins.

32

33

34. Plate 3. _Apprehended by a Magistrate_ 10 13/16 x 14⅞ ins.

35. Detail from Plate 3.

36. Plate 4. _Scene in Bridewell_ 11⅞ x 14 15/16 ins.

34

35

36

37. Plate 5. _She expires while the Doctors are Quarrelling_ 12 x 14¾ ins.

38. Detail from Plate 5.

37

38

39. After Watteau, _Prenez des Pilules, prenez des Pilules_ engraving 7½ x 9¾ ins. 1733, B.M. 1978.

40. William Hogarth, _Dr. Misaubin and Dr. Ward_ drawing in sepia and pencil, c.1733, Windsor, Royal Library, H.M. Queen Collection.

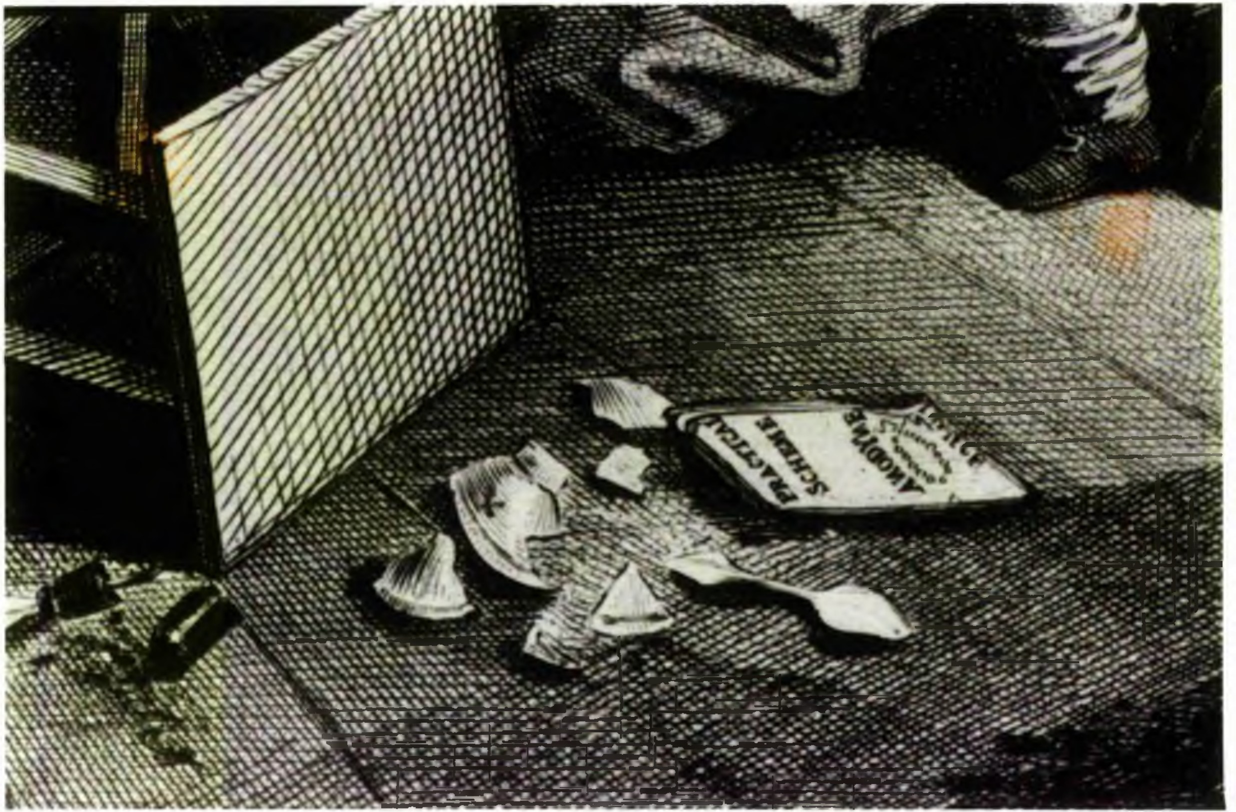
39

40

41. Detail from Plate 5.

42. Detail from Plate 5.

41



42

43. William Hogarth, _A Garret Scene_ drawing 9½.x 13 ins. c.1726. British Museum.

44. Plate 6. _The Funeral_ 11 13/16 x 14⅞ ins.

43

44

45. Detail from Plate 6.

46 - 50 & 54.
William Hogarth, _The Rake's Progress_ 8 plates, etching and engraving, June 1735. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery

46. Plate 3. _The Tavern Scene_ 12½ x 15¼ ins.

45

46

47. Detail from Plate 6. Scene in a Gambling House

48. Detail from Plate 7. The Prison Scene

47

48

49. Detail from Plate 7. The Prison Scene

50. Plate 8. Scene in a Madhouse (second state)
12 7/16 x 15¼ ins.

49

50

51. Caius Gabriel Cibber, Melancholy Madness and Raving Madness sculptured figures c. 1676 from the gates of Bethlem Hospital, Moorfields, London.

52. Edward Haytley, Bethlem Hospital painted roundel, 1746. London. Thomas Coram Foundation.

53. Robert White, Central Pavilion and gates of Bethlem Hospital detail from engraving, 1676/7

51

52

53

54. Plate 8. from 'The Rake's Progress' *Scene in a Madhouse* (final state) 1763

55. William Hogarth, *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* engraving, 14½ x 12¾ ins. 1762,
B.M. No.1785

54

55

56. Detail from Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism

57. Paul Sandby, The Author run Mad etching published anonymously, 1754 from Paulson, *Hogarth, His Life, Art and Times* p.147.

56

57

The Author run Mad

58-60, 62, 63.
Willam Hogarth, _Marriage-a-la-Mode_ (6 plates) etching and engraving, June 1745. British Museum.

58. Plate 1. _The Marriage Contract_. 14 x 17½ins.

59. Detail from Plate 2. _The Breakfast Scene_.

58

59

60. Plate 3. The Scene with the Quack
13⅞ x 17 11/16ins.

61. William Hogarth, Hudibras Beats Sidrophel and Whacum etching and engraving for Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* February 1725/6. 9¾ x 19 15/16ins. B.M.

60

61

62. Plate 6. _The Death of the Countess_
13 15/16 x 17 9/16 ins.

63. Detail from _The Death of the Countess_

62

63

64. William Hogarth, detail from <u>The Idle 'Prentice Betray'd by his Whore, and taken in a Night Cellar with his Accomplice</u>, plate 9 of the series 'Industry and Idleness' October 1747. British Museum.

65. William Hogarth, <u>An Operation Scene in a Hospital</u> sketch c. 1745. 8¾ x 11¾ins. St.Bartholomew's Hospital Med.Illn. Dept. No.88962

64

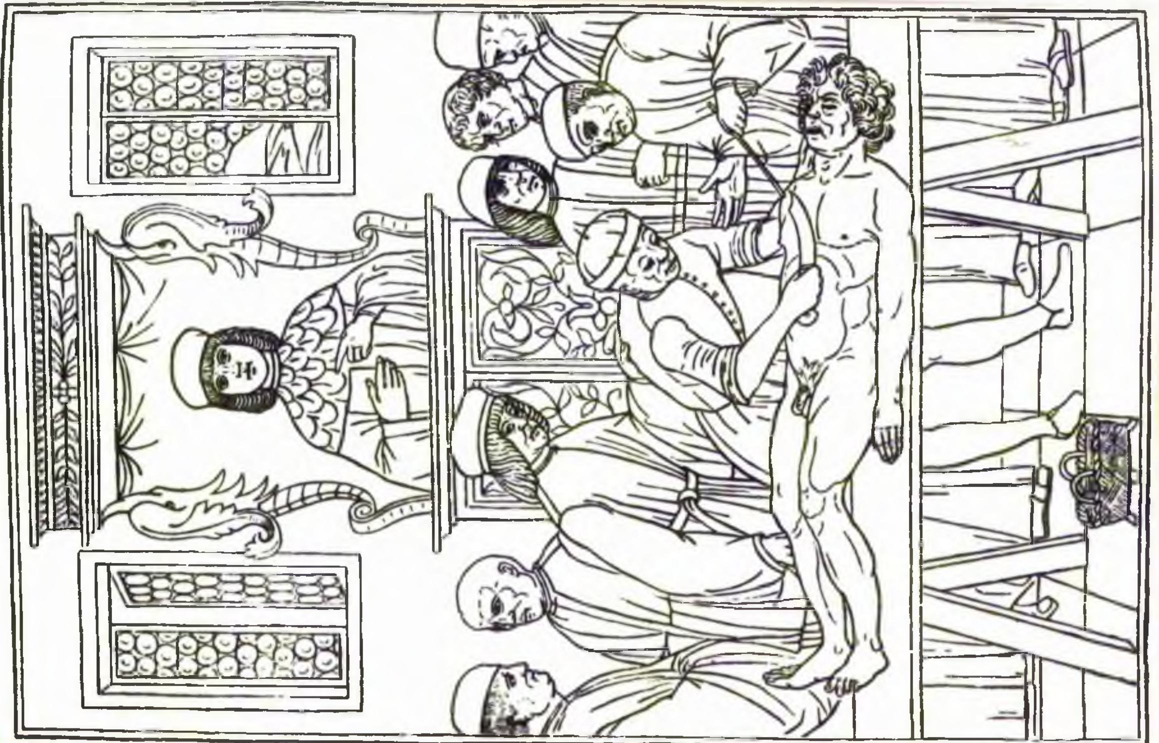
65

66. William Hogarth, The Reward of Cruelty from 'The Four Stages of Cruelty' etching and some engraving, 14 x 11 3/4ins. February 1750/1 British Museum.

67. Frontispiece to Mundinus' text on anatomy from *Fasciculae di Medicinae* (1493 edition) edited by Johannes de Ketham, from Ludwig Choulant *Geschichte und Bibliographic der Anatomischen Abbildung auf Anatomische Wissenschaft und Bilbende Kunst*, Leipzig 1852.

66

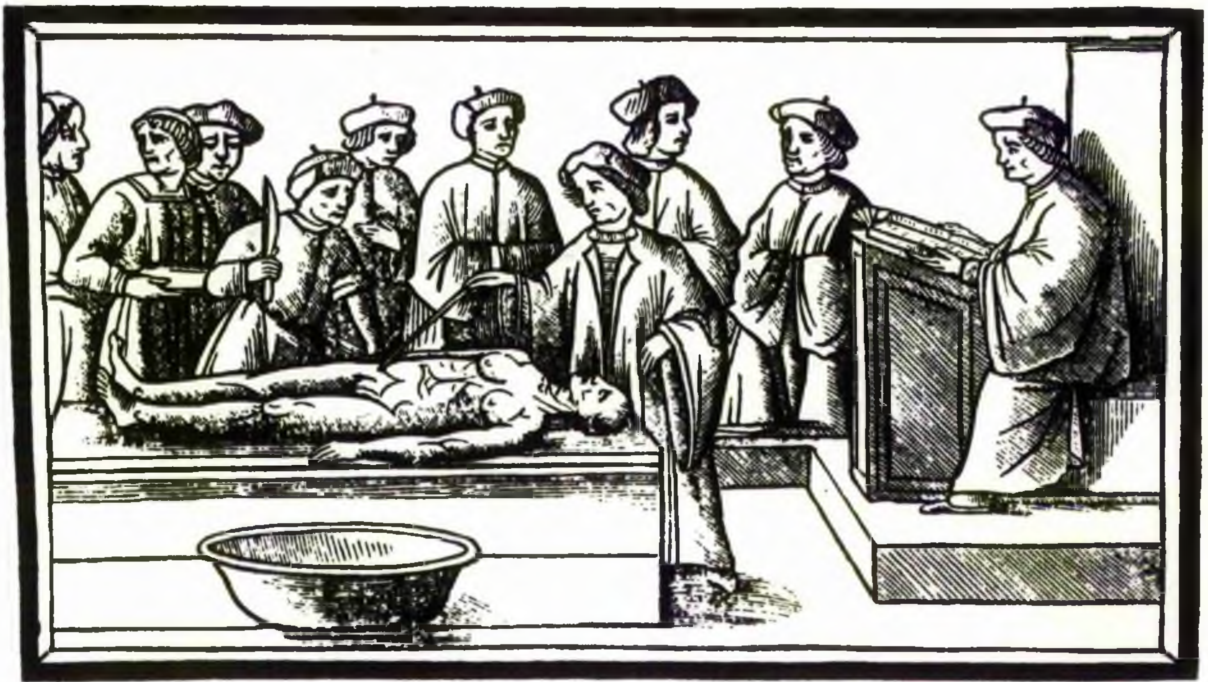
67



68. Woodcut from title-page of *Commentaria* by Giacomo Berengario da Carpi (Berengario), 1521.

69. Andries Jacobsz Stock, after Jacques de Gheyn II The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Pieter Paaw from Pieter Paaw's 'Primitiae Anatomica De Humani Corporis Ossibus' 1615.

68



69

70. Unknown artist, Anatomical Dissection of a Pig, title-page of Galen's *Opera omnia*, Venice, 1550.

71. John Stephen Calcar, Anatomical Lesson frontispiece of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica De Fabrica)* by Vesalius, 1543.

70

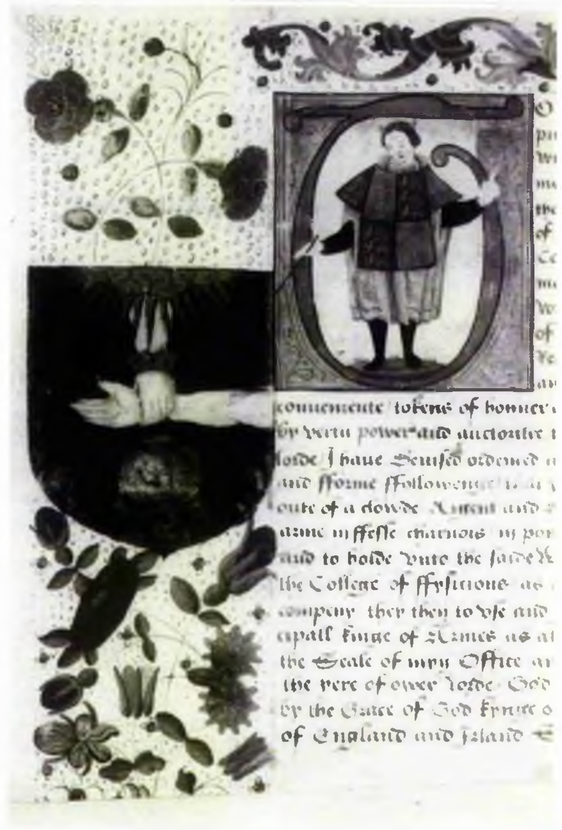
71

72. Sculptor unknown, bust of John Freke, plaster, 23ins. original inscription: *Surgeon to this Hospital and Conservator of this Museum founded in 1724. Freke.* St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.

73. Arms of the Royal College of Physicians.

72

73


conuenente tokens of honner
by vertu power and auctoritie
lorde I haue deuised ordened
and fforme ffollowenge
oute of a clowde
azure in ffesse
and to holde unto the saide
the College of ffysicions
company ther then to vse and
cipall kinge of Armes
the Seale of myn Office
the yere of ower lorde God
by the Grace of God kinge
of England and Irland

74. Cornelius Cort, after Stradano: A Studio for the Seven Visual Arts, engraving, 1578.

75. Carolus Stephanus, (Etienne) A Live Dissection from *De dissectione partium corporis humani libri tres.* 1545.

74

75

76. Initial Letters for the first edition of 'De Fabrica'.

77. Egbert van Heemskirk, _The Quack Physician's Hall_ engraved by Toms c. 1730. 13⅜ x 13¼ ins.
B.M. No.1861

76

77

78. Charles Phillips, _William Cheselden Dissecting a Cadaver at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall_, oil painting c.1730; London, Wellcome Institute.

79. William Hogarth, _The Election Entertainment_ from 'Four Prints of an Election' etching and engraving, 15¾ x 21 5/16 ins. 1755. British Museum.

78

79

80. Detail from The Election Entertainment.

81. Detail from The Election Entertainment.

80

81

82. William Hogarth, _Quixote cared for by the Innkeeper's wife and daughter_, etching and engraving for Cervantes 'Don Quixote', 9 x 6¾ ins. 1738. British Museum.

83. William Hogarth, _The Christening_, oil painting 19½ x 24¾ins. c.1729. Private Collection.

82

83

84. William Hogarth, detail from *The Enraged Musician*, etching and engraving, November 1741; British Museum.

85. William Hogarth, *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn*, etching and engraving, 16¾ x 21¼ins. May 1738, British Museum.

84

85

86. Detail from Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn.

87. William Hogarth, The Staymaker, oil painting, 27½ x 35½ins. c.1745; Tate Gallery.

86

87

88. Gillray, *Fashion before Ease; or... A good Constitution sacrificed for a Fantastic Form*
engraving, 12 7/16 x 9¾ins. 1793 B.M. No. 8287.

89. William Hogarth, detail from *The March to Finchley*, oil painting, London, Thomas Coram Foundation.

88

FASHION before EASE ;
or, A good Constitution sacrificed for a Fantastick Form

89

90. William Hogarth, _The Foundlings_, Headpiece to a Power of Attorney for the Foundling Hospital, 1739.

91. S. Wale, _Admission of Children to the Hospital by Ballot_, engraving, May 1749, London, Thomas Coram Foundation.

90

To all to whom these Presents shall come.

Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King hath been graciously pleased to take into His Princely and tender Consideration the deplorable Case of great Numbers of Newborn Children daily exposed to Destruction, by the cruelty or poverty of their Parents, and having by His **Royal Charter** bearing date the 17th day of October 1739, constituted a Body Politick and Corporate, by the Name of The Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of exposed and deserted young Children; which Corporation is fully impowered to receive & apply the Charities of all compassionate Persons who shall contribute towards erecting & establishing the same; **And Whereas** His Majesty for the better & more successful carrying on the said good Purposes **Hath** by His said **Charter** granted to the said Corporation and their Successors full & ample Power to authorize such Persons as they shall think fit to take Subscriptions, and to ask and receive of all or any of His Majesty's good Subjects, such Monies as shall by any Person or Persons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, Companies and other Societies be contributed and given for the Purposes aforesaid. **Now know Ye** that We the said Governors & Guardians being well assur'd of the great Charity & Integrity of

and that

greatly desire the Success & Accomplishment of so excellent a Work **Have** by Virtue of the said Power granted to Us, authorized & appointed, and by these Presents **Do** authorize & appoint the said to take Subscriptions and to receive gather & collect such Monies as shall by any Person or Persons, Bodies Politick & Corporate, Companies & other Societies, be contributed & given for the Purposes aforesaid, and to transmit with all convenient speed, the Monies so Collected and Received, into the Bank of England for the use of this Corporation, And the Receipt for the same to our Treasurer for the time being, together with the Names of the Contributors, except such as shall desire to be concealed, and in that Case to insert the Sums only, in order that We the said Governors & Guardians may be enabled from time to time to Publish perfect Accounts of such Benefactions. Given under our Common Seal the

Day of 17

By Order of the said Governors & Guardians.

91

An exact Representation of the Form and Manner in which EXPOSED and DESERTED Young Children are Admitted into the FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

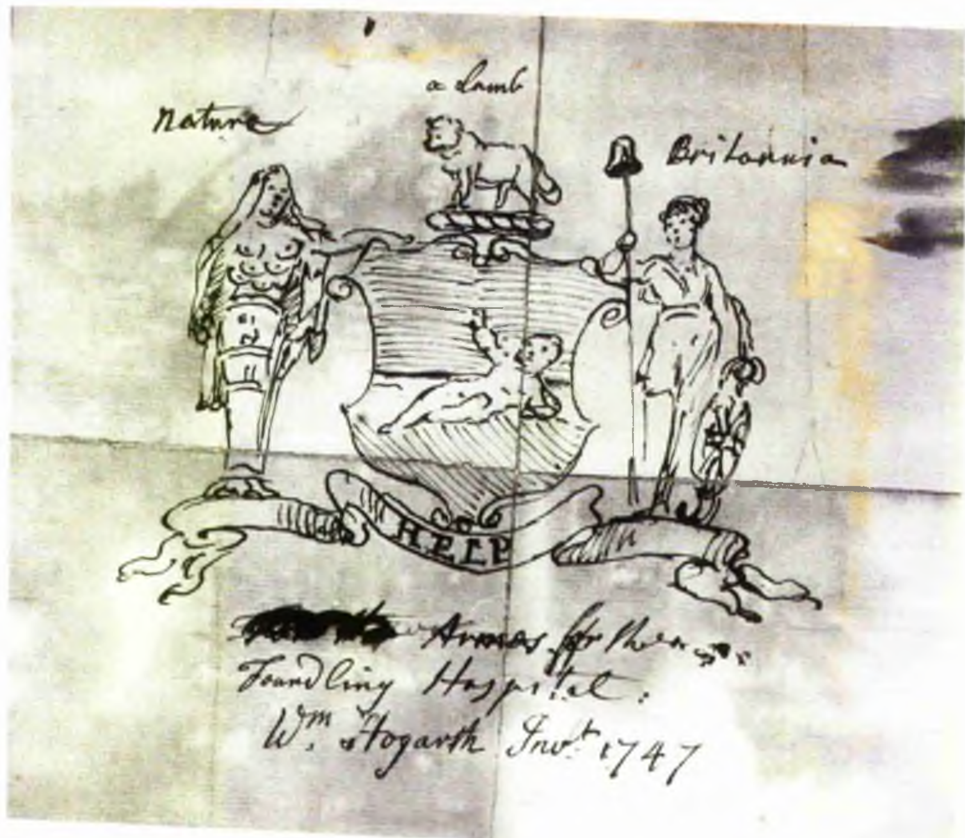
To his most Sacred Majesty KING GEORGE the Second [illegible] the Ever Memorable Charity first begun. The Royal Family. The Most Noble. Rt. Honourable and Worshipful Governors of the said HOSPITAL.

[illegible]

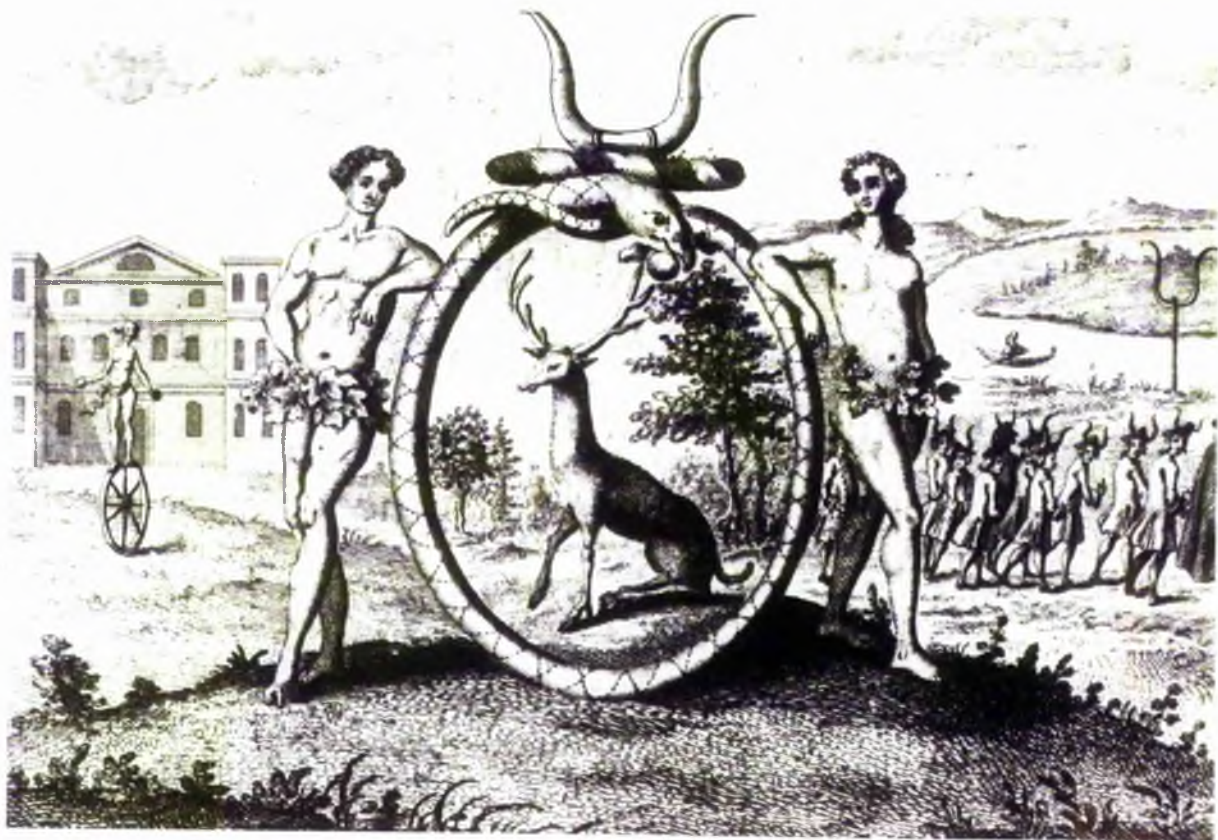
92. William Hogarth, *Arms of the Foundling Hospital*, engraving, 4⅜ x 8½ins. 1747. W.S. Lewis Collection.

93. Artist unknown, *Satire on The Foundling Hospital Scheme*, engraving, 5⅛ x 4ins. ?1739. B.M. No. 2438.

92



93



94. Detail from *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn*

95. Detail from *The March to Finchley*

94

95

96. William Hogarth, Beer Street, etching and engraving, 14¼ x 11 15/16ins. 1750/1. British Museum.

97. William Hogarth, Gin Lane, etching and engraving 14 3/16 x 12ins. 1750/1 British Museum.

96

97

GIN LANE.

98. Detail from *Gin Lane.*

99. Artist anonymous, *The Funeral Procession of Madam Geneva*; engraving; September 1751; B.M.No. 3121.

98

99

100. William Hogarth, detail from The Industrious 'Prentice out of his Time, and Married to his Master's Daughter engraving, October 1747; Plate VI from the series 'Industry and Idleness';

101. Detail from The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn; engraving, Plate XI from the series 'Industry and Idleness'; British Museum.

100

101

102. William Hogarth, _A Chorus of Singers_, etching, 69/16 x 6¾ins. December 1732. British Museum.

103. William Hogarth, detail from _The Cockpit_, etching and engraving, 11 11/16 x 14 11/16ins. November 1759. British Museum.

102

Rec.d

Five Shillings being the whole Payment for a Print Call'd the Midnight Modern Conversation which I Promise to Deliver on ye 1st of March next at farthest. But Provided the Number Already Printed shall be sooner Subscribed for, then ye Prints shall be sooner Delivered & time of Delivery will be Advertis'd.

103

SECTION 2

104,109,113,115,116, & 117.
Thomas Rowlandson, The Comforts of Bath, hand-coloured aquatint engravings, first publ. as a set of 12 in 1798. Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.

104. Plate 1. The Doctor's Visit, 7¼ x 5ins.

105. Woodward, The Way to Save Trouble, engraving, 1793.

104

105

106. Thomas Rowlandson, _The Consultation or last Hope_
engraving, 1808

107. Thomas Rowlandson, _The Consultation_ engraving,
10¾ x 8¾ins. Yale Centre for British Art,
Paul Mellon Collection.

106

107

108. Thomas Rowlandson, _Doctors Differ_ etching, pen and grey wash over pencil, 7 3/16 x 10 1/16ins. 1785, Ottawa, Nat. Gallery of Canada.

109. Plate 3. _The Pump Room_, 7¼ x 5ins.

108

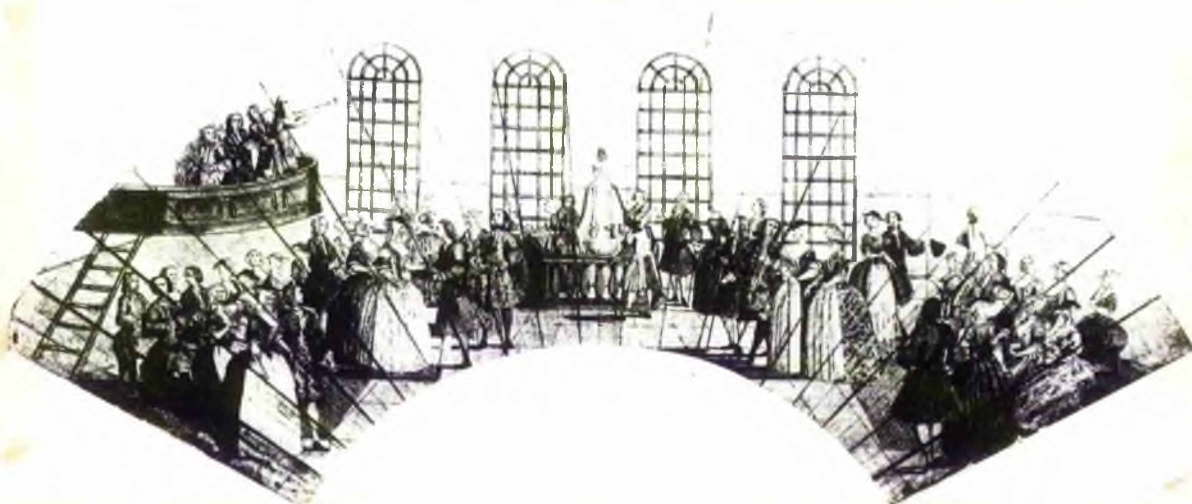
109

110. John Nixon, _Interior of the Old Pump Room at Bath_, pen and watercolour, 14¼ x 20½ins. 1792. Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.

111. George Speren, _The Interiot of the Pump Room, Bath_, engraving, hand coloured, 18.7 x 42.8cms. Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.

110

111



112. Humphrey Repton, _Taking the Waters, the Pump Room, Bath_, watercolour, 18 x 24ins. 1784 Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.

113. _The Comforts of Bathing_, or _The King's Bath_, pen and watercolour, 5 x 7 15/16ins.

112

113

114. John Nixon, The King's Bath, Bath, pen and watercolour, 12⅛ x 16⅛ins. 1800, Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.

115. Plate 4. The Fish Market, 7½ x 5ins.

114

115

116. Plate 9. _The Gourmet's Dinner._ 7¾ x 5¼ins.

117. Plate 5. _The Morning Ride,_ 7¼ x 5ins.

116

117

118. Plate 12. <u>The Bath Races</u>, 7¾ x 5¼ins.

119. Thomas Rowlandson, <u>Bath Races</u>, hand-coloured aquatint engraving, 8⅝ x 13⅝ins. 1800. B.M. No.11640.

118

119

120. Thomas Rowlandson, The Pump Room Door from the 'Dance of Death' series. pen and water colour over pencil, 5 11/16 x 9¼ins. San Marino, California, Huntington Library, The Huntington Collection.

William Hoare, Dr. Oliver and Mr. Peirce examining Patients, (exhibited at the R.S. of Artists, 1762), 50 x 68ins. Bath, The Royal Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases.

121. John Nixon, Royal Dipping, engraving, 9 3/16 x 16¾ins. 1789. B.M. No.7544.

120

121

122. Paul Sandby, Les Caprice De La Goute. Ballet Arthritique, aquatint, 14 3/5 x 18 1/16ins. 1783. B.M. No.6322

123. Thomas Rowlandson, Doctor Botherum. The Mountebank, water-colour, 14½ x 17½ins. 1800, from *Rowlandson Drawings* edited by Adrian Bury, Avalon Press, London, 1949. No. 54.

122

123

124. Thomas Rowlandson, Comparative Physiognomy, water-colour, 8¼ x 7¼ins. c.1822, from *Rowlandson Drawings* edited by Adrian Bury, Avalon Press, London, 1949. No.67.

125. A. Van Assen, Dr. Bossey, and the People taken from the Life, engraving, 2⅞ x 4⅛ins. 1792. Yale Medical Library, Clements C. Fry Collection.

124

125

Drawn by A. Van Assen. Engraved by W. Birch.

D.r Bossey.

and the People taken from the Life.

[illegible]

126. Thomas Rowlandson, <u>The Mountebanks</u>, pen and water-colour, 7¾ x 10⅞ins. 1804. California, San Marino, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

127. Thomas Rowlandson, <u>The Quack Doctor at a Fair</u>, pen and water colour, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library.

126

127

128. Thomas Rowlandson, _The Mountebank at a Fair_, pen and ink and water-colour, 13.6 x 16.2cms. London, Wellcome Institute.

129. Unknown artist, _The St-te Quack_, etching, publ. Sept. 1762, B.M. No. 3909.

128

129

The St–te QUACK

130. William Hogarth, _The Times_, etching and engraving, 8 9/16 x 11¾ins. 1762. British Museum.

131. Thomas Rowlandson, _The Quack Dr. Hambug gives Advice Gratis_, pen and sepia ink and watercolour, 11 13/16 x 9 7/16ins. London, Warburg Inst.

130

131

132. Gerrit Dou, _The Physician_, oil painting, 1653, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

133. Advertisement for Dr.Graham's 'Temple of Health and Hymen', British Library.

132

133

ADVERTISEMENT.

TEMPLE *of* HEALTH *and* HYMEN, PALL-MALL.

Dr. GRAHAM desires respectfully to inform the Public, that the New Arrangements and Decorations of this Place being completed, this ELISIUM will be open'd this and every Evening next Week; and that he will have the Honor of delivering from the Celestial Throne, his very celebrated Lecture on Generation—on the Means of exalting, and rendering permanent the temperate and serene Joys of the married State—of preserving youth and personal Beauty and Loveliness—and of prolonging health, full-toned juvenile Virility, and mental Brilliancy, to the longest possible Period of human Existence. The Suite of Apartments in this Elysian Palace —in this magical, enchanting Edifice, far excel, in point of Elegance, Brilliancy, and Magnificence, every Royal Palace in the World, and to glowing, vivid, and brilliant Imaginations, they will now be found to realize the Celestial, Soul-transporting, and dissolving Descriptions that are given in the Fairy-Tales—in the Tales of the Genii—and in the Arabian Nights Entertainments. In the Course of the Lecture, Dr. GRAHAM will un-lock, with Delicacy and Respect, the inmost and sweetest Cabinets of Nature, and he promises, that the Souls of his Auditors, male—mulish, and female, according to their several Capacities and Degrees of Spring, and Sensibility, shall expand, and float, and undulate, through the flowery and airy fields of Elysium, or swim upon ambrosial Oceans of Love and Extasy, to Orbs and Regions of ineffable Bliss.

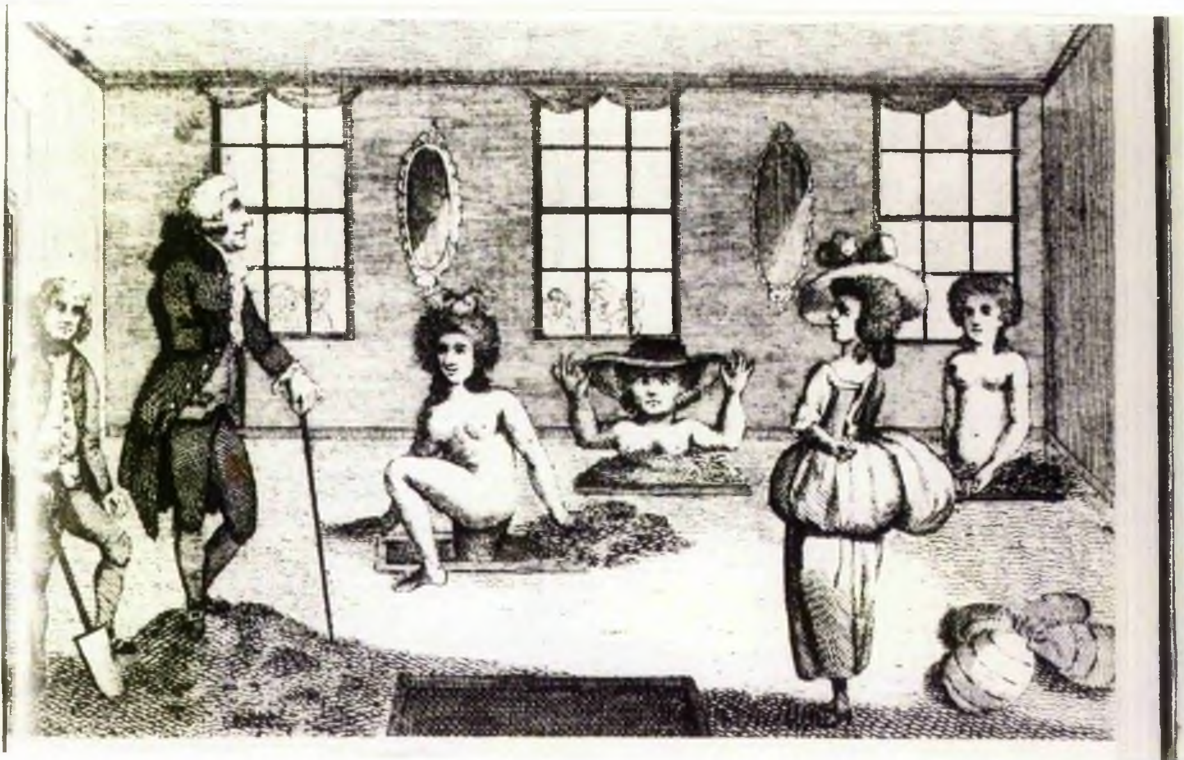
A

134. Thomas Rowlandson, Dr. Graham's Earth Bathing Establishment, pen and ink and watercolour, 10⅜ x 16½ins., c.1785-90, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul mellon Collection.

135. Artist unknown, Dr. Graham with a few patients at the Earthbaths in Panton Street, from *The Ramblers* magazine. print from Eric Jameson, *The Natural History of Quackery*, p.128.

134

135



136. Artist unknown, *The Quacks*, engraving,
8¾ x 13 7/16ins. 1783, B.M. No.6325

137. Artist unknown, *Gog and Magog*, engraving,
London, The Guildhall.

136

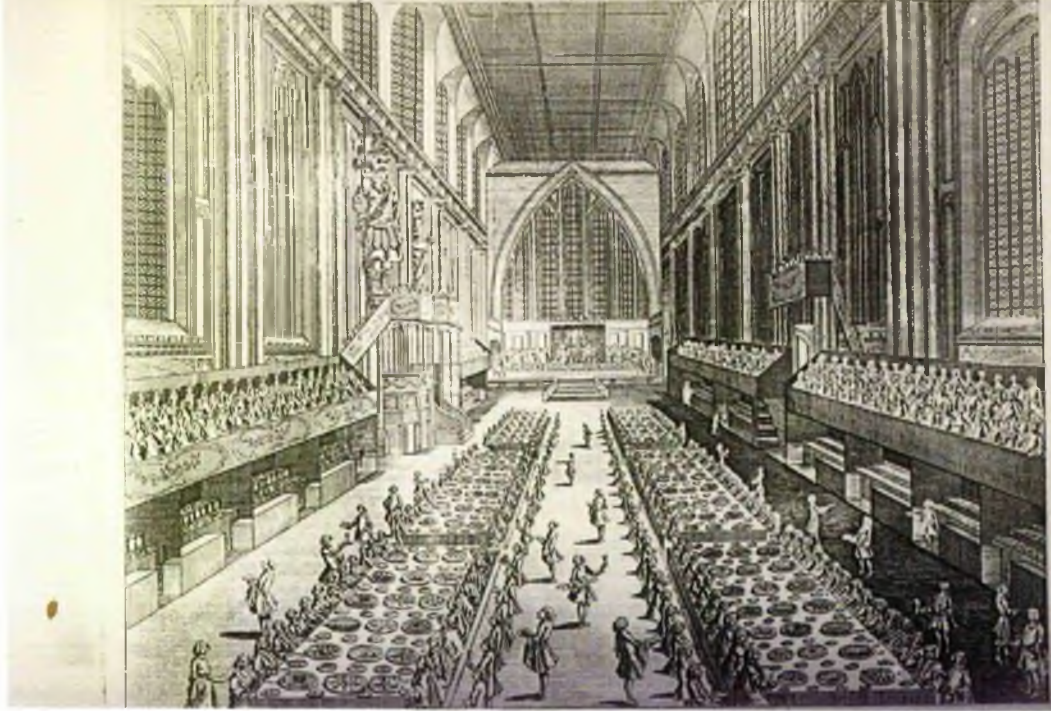
137

GOG & MAGOG
Guildhall

138. Artist unknown, A View of the inside of Guildhall as it appeared on Lord Mayor's Day. 1761, engraving from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

139. Hanibal Scratch, The Aerostatick Stage Balloon, engraving, 12 13/16 x 9 11/16ins. 1783. B.M. No.6284.

138



139

140. Collings, _Magnetic Dispensary_, etching and engraving, 6½ x 8½ins. 1790, B.M. No.7748.

141. Attrib. to Dent, _Billy's Gouty Visit, or a Peep at Hammersmith_, engraving, 6¾ x 13¼ins. 1789. B.M. No.7545.

140

141

142. James Gillray, <u>Metallic Tractors</u>, aquatint, 8¼ x 10⅝ins. 1801, London. B.M. No. 9761

143. Attrib. to C.Williams, <u>The Tractors</u>, engraving, 9⅞ x 13¾ ins. 1802, B.M. No.9926.

142

143

144. E.Pugh, Cow-Poxed, Ox-faced Boy, engraving from *Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Smallpox Infection*, by William Rowley, 1805, London, British Library.

145. James Gillray, The Cow-Pock -or-The Wonderful Effect of the new Inoculation, engraving, 9¼ x 13¾ins. 1802, London, B.M. No.9924.

144

145

146. C.Williams, *Vaccination*, engraving, 6⅞ x 9ins. 1802, London, B.M. No.9925.

147. Cruikshank, *Vaccination against Small Pox, or Mercenary and Merciless Spreaders of Death and Devastation driven out of Society*, engraving, 8⅞ x 13½ins. 1808, London, B.M. No.11093.

146

147

VACCINATION against SMALL POX. ... spreaders of Death & Devastation driven out of Society!

148. T. West, <u>Address of Thanks to Influenza</u>, engraving, London, 1803. publ. by Fores.

149. Thomas Rowlandson, <u>The Hypochondriac</u>, aquatint 14⅜ x 21ins. 1788, London, B.M. No.7449.

148

149

150. Woodward, John Bull Troubled with the Blue Devils, engraving, 10¼ x 8¾ins. 1799, London, B.M. No.9391.

151. Richard Newton, A Visit to Bedlam, 1794, from Gilman, Sander L. *Seeing the Insane*, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y. 1982 p.57

150

151

152. Thomas Rowlandson, Doctor and Lunatic, wash drawing, from Gilman, Sander L. *Seeing the Insane*, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y. 1982 p. 124

153. Charles Bell, Madness, from his *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, Longman, London 1806

152

153

154. Thomas Rowlandson & Augustus Charles Pugin, St. Luke's Hospital, drawing, from *Print Collectors' Quarterly*, 1937, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

155. Attrib. to Isaac Cruikshank, Fox in Bedlam, engraving, 7 x 9⅞ins. London, B.M. No.6496.

154

155

156. Thomas Rowlandson, *Doctor Willis at Home*, water-colour, 5¾ x 9½ins. c.1788, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

157. Thomas Rowlandson, *Doctor Willis Abroad*, water-colour, 5¾ x 9¼ins. c.1788, London, Courtauld Inst. Art, Witt Library.

156

157

158. Attrib. Rowlandson, Blue and Buf Loyalty, engraving, 7 5/16 x 12⅞ins. 1788. London, B.M. No.7394.

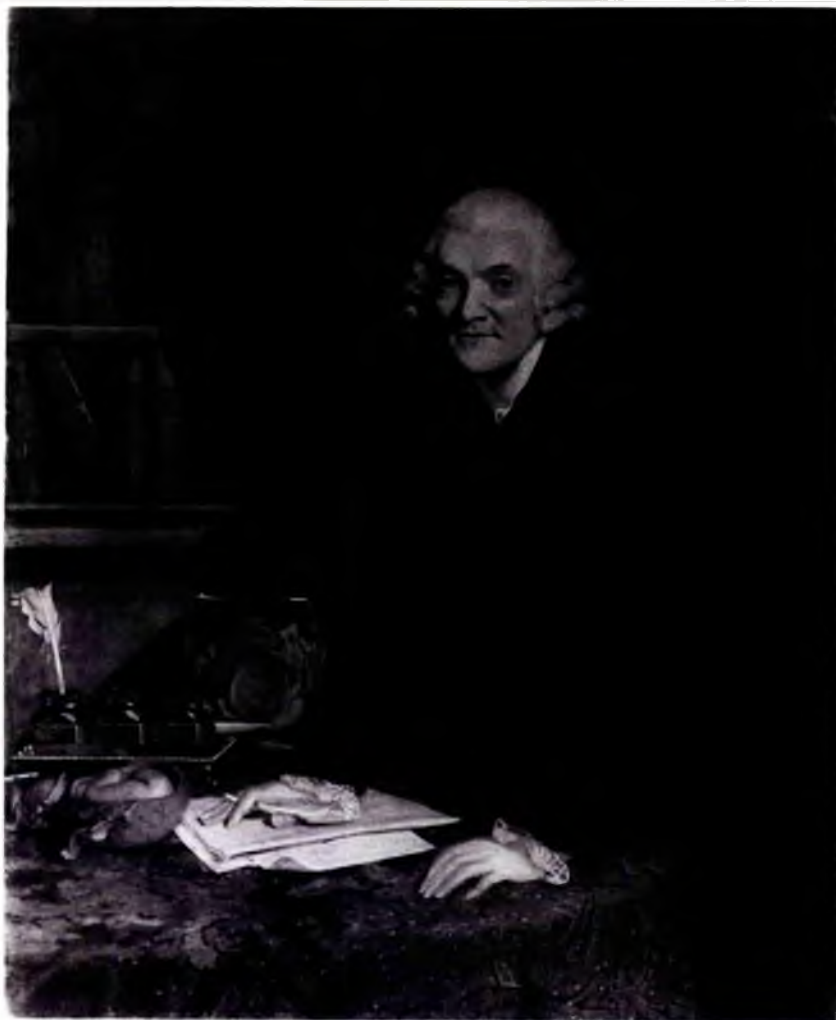
159. Thomas Rowlandson, A Midwife Going to a Labour, engraving, 12 1/16 x 8⅞ins. 1811, London, B.M. No.11795.

158

159

160. Title-page of *The English Midwife Enlarged*, London, 1682. →

161a



161a ↑ Sir Joshua Reynolds, William Hunter, posthumous portrait, Glasgow, Hunterian Museum.

161. Isaac Cruikshank, A Man-mid-wife, engraving, 8 x 7 3/16ins. 1793, London, B.M.No.8376.

→

160

THE

English Midwife ENLARGED,

Containing

Directions to Midwives;

Wherein is laid down whatever is most requisite for the safe Practising her Art

ALSO

Instructions for Women in their Conceiving, Bearing and Nursing of Children.

With two new Treatises, one of the Cure of Diseases and Symptoms happening to Women before and after Child-birth.

And another of the Diseases, *&c.* of little Children, and the conditions necessary to be considered in the choice of their Nurses and Milk.

The whole fitted for the meanest Capacities.

Illustrated with near 40 Copper-Cuts.

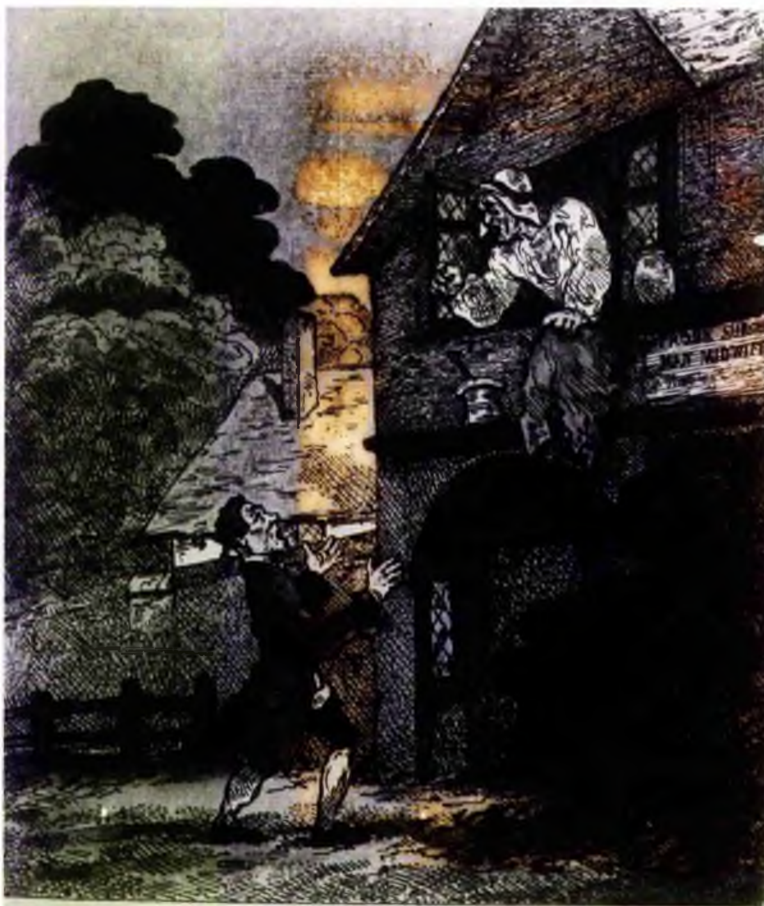
London, Printed for *Rowland Reynolds*, next door to the *Golden Bottle* in the *Strand*, at the middle *Exchange* door, 1682.

161

162. Attrib. Rowlandson, The Village Doctor, aquatint, 8⅞ x 7¼ins. 1774, London, B.M. No.5274.

163. Thomas Rowlandson, A Medical Inspection, or Miracles will never cease, engraving, 12⅝ x 9½ins. 1814, London, B.M. No.12333.

162



163

164. Artist unknown, Martin van Butchell on his Spotted Pony, engraving, London, Royal College of Surgeons.

165. Attrib. to Gillray, La Derniere Ressource:-or-
Van-Butchell's Garters, engraving, 10¼ x 7ins.
1791, London, B.M. No.7974.

166. Thomas Rowlandson, A French Dentist shewing a
Specimen of his Artificial Teeth and False Palates,
engraving, 1811, from John Woodforde, *The Strange
Story of False Teeth*, p.52.

165

La derniere ressource; _or_ Van-Buchells Garters

166

A FRENCH DENTIST SHEWING A SPECIMEN OF HIS ARTIFICIAL TEETH AND FALSE PALATES.

167. Thomas Rowlandson, The Toothache, or Torment and Torture, engraving, 1823, from Howard Haggard, *Devils, Drugs, and Doctors* p.100

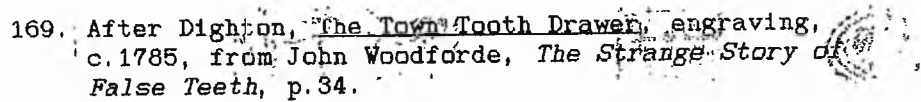
168. After Dighton, The Country Tooth Drawer, engraving, c.1785, from John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Teeth*, p.34.

167

THE TOOTHACHE, OR TORMENT AND TORTURE.

168

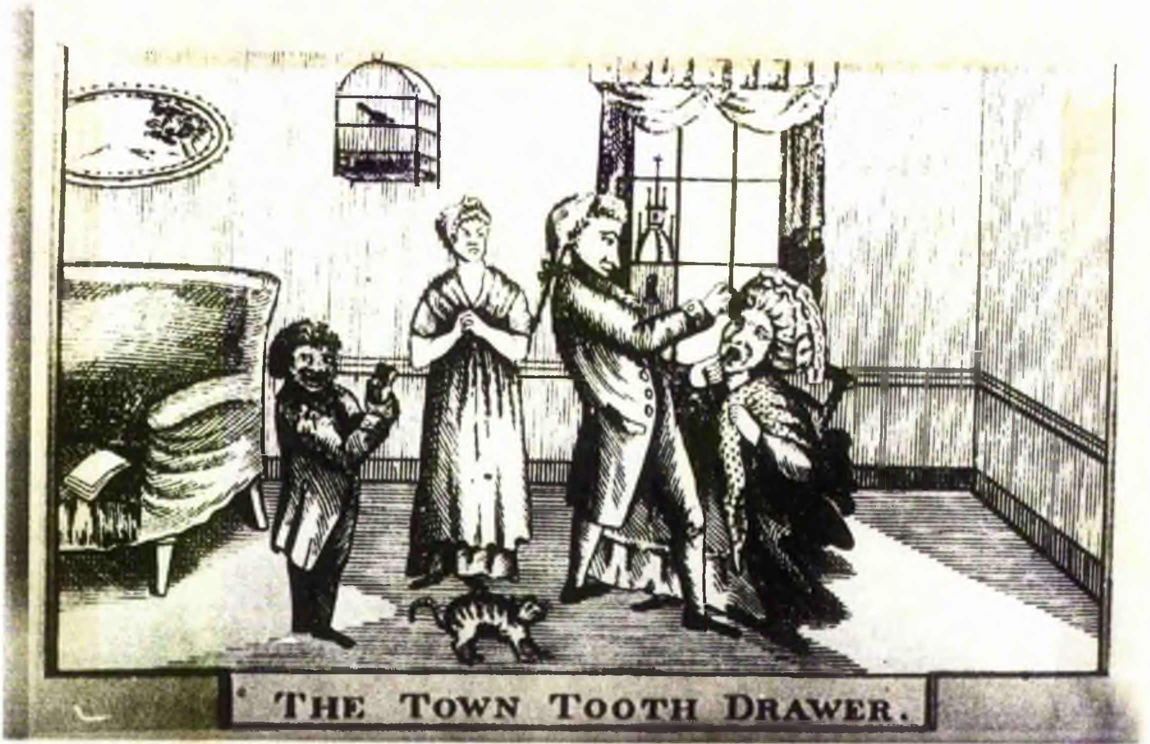
THE COUNTRY TOOTH DRAWER.



169. After Dighton, The Town Tooth Drawer, engraving, c.1785, from John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Teeth*, p.34.

170. Robert Dighton, The London Dentist, engraving, 1784, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library.

169



170

171a

171a Johan Zoffany, The Life School of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1772, from Martin Kemp (ed.) *Dr. William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*

171b.

171b James Barry, The Distribution of Premiums by the Royal Society of Arts (detail), 1777-83, London, Royal Society of Arts.

171

171. Thomas Rowlandson, Transplanting of Teeth, engraving, 1787, London, Royal College of Surgeons.

172

172. Thomas Rowlandson, The Dissecting Room, pen with brown ink and colour-wash on paper, 10 x 14ins. n.d. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

173. Attrib. to Rowlandson, <u>The Resurrection or an Internal View of the Museum in W-D-M-LL Street on the last day</u>, engraving, 6⅜ x 11⅞ins. 1782, London, B.M. No.6127.

174. Thomas Rowlandson, <u>The Dissection</u>, pen over pencil, unfinished, 14 x 19ins. 1775-80. California, San Marino, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

173

THE RESURRECTION

174

175. W.Austin, _The Anatomist overtaken by the Watch ... carry'ng off Miss W-- in a Hamper_, engraving, 10⅜ x 15⅝ins. 1773, London, B.M. No.5119.

176. Thomas Rowlandson, _Resurrection Men_, pen and ink and water-colour, 10⅜ x 8½ins. n.d. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

175

176

177. John Hamilton Mortimer, Doctors Dissecting, pen, 8¼ x 10½ins. c.1770-9, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

178. Thomas Rowlandson, The Anatomist, engraving, 12¼ x 9ins. 1811, London, B.M. No.11800

177

178

179. Thomas Rowlandson, The Persevering Surgeon, water-colour, London, Royal College of Surgeons,

180. Thomas Rowlandson, An Anatomical Lecture, engraving, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

179

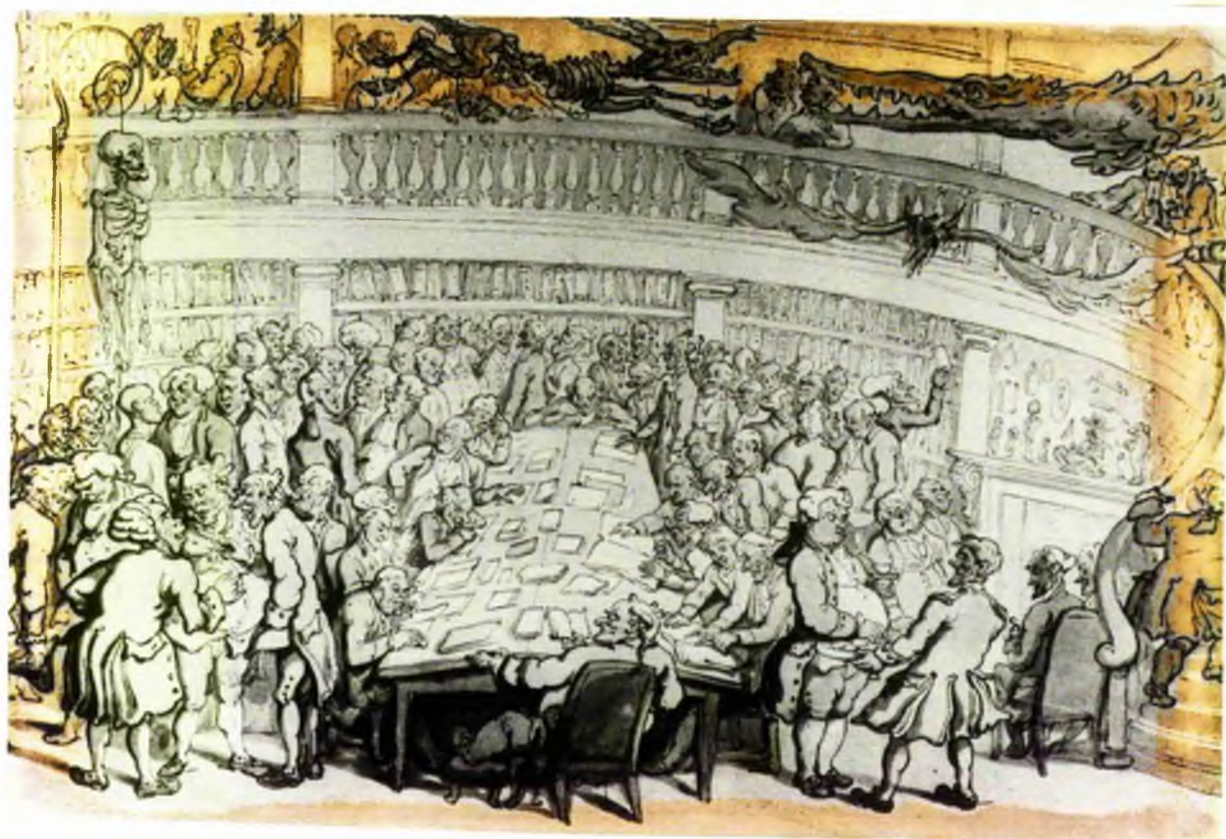
180

181. Johann Zoffany, Dr. William Hunter Lecturing at the Royal Academy of Arts, oil painting, unfinished, 1773, from Martin Kemp (ed), *Dr. William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*, p.30.

182. Thomas Rowlandson, John Heaviside Lecturing at Surgeons' Hall, pen and ink and water-colour, 10 x 11¼ins. London, Royal College of Surgeons.

181

182



183. Thomas Rowlandson, The Irish Giant, pen and brown ink and colour wash on paper, 10 x 14ins. 1785 London, Royal College of Surgeons.

183a

183a ↑ Henry Bone, (copied from the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds), John Hunter, enamel on copper, 1798, London, R.C.S. Hunterian Museum.

183

184

184. Thomas Rowlandson, Struggling with Death or the Lancet Club at Thurtell Feast, engraving, 1823, New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Clement Fry Collection.

185. Attrib. to Rowlandson, State Butchers, engraving, 9⅝ x 14¼ins. ? Dec.1788 or Jan.1789, London, B.M. No.7474.

186a

186a ↑ Artist unknown Bleeding a Lady, oil on tin, late eighteen century, London, Wellcome Institute.

186. Thomas Rowlandson, Bleeding a Fat Woman, pen and watercolour, 4⅜ x 6⅞ins. California, San Marino Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

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STATE BUTCHERS.

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187. Thomas Rowlandson, The Doctor is so Bruised that Cupping is Judged Necessary, pen and ink and watercolour, 5½ x 8¾ins. from John Baskett & Dudley Snelgrove, *Cat. of drawings in the Paul Mellon Collection.*

188. Thomas Rowlandson, The Amputation, engraving, 1785, from *Ars Medica, Cat. Philadelphia Museum of Art.* 1985. No.36.

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189. Artist unknown, Amputation Scene in the men's operating theatre of the old St. Thomas's Hospital late 18C. whereabouts unknown. print from Royal College of Surgeons, Hunterian Museum.

190. Artist unknown, Illustration of below-knee Amputation, from Heister's *General System of Surgery*, London 1768, in Ernest Gray's (ed.) Man-Midwife 'The Further Experience of John Knyveton M.D... 1763-1809' p.180.

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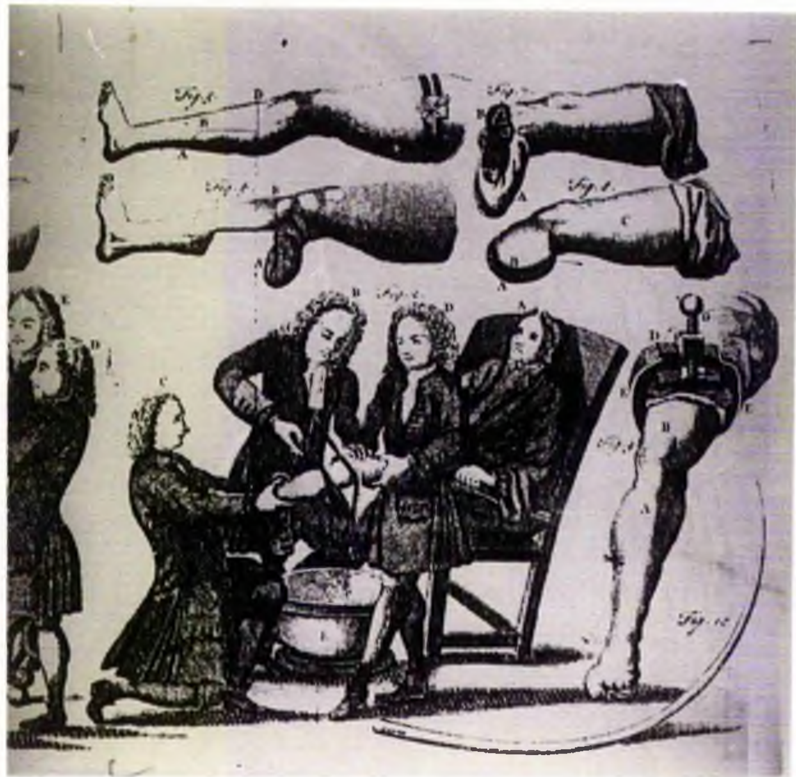

191. Joseph Wright of Derby, The Old Man and Death, oil painting, 20 x30ins. 1773, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.

192. B.S.Albinus, *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani*, Leyden, 1747. Copy in the Wellcome Institute History of Medicine Library.

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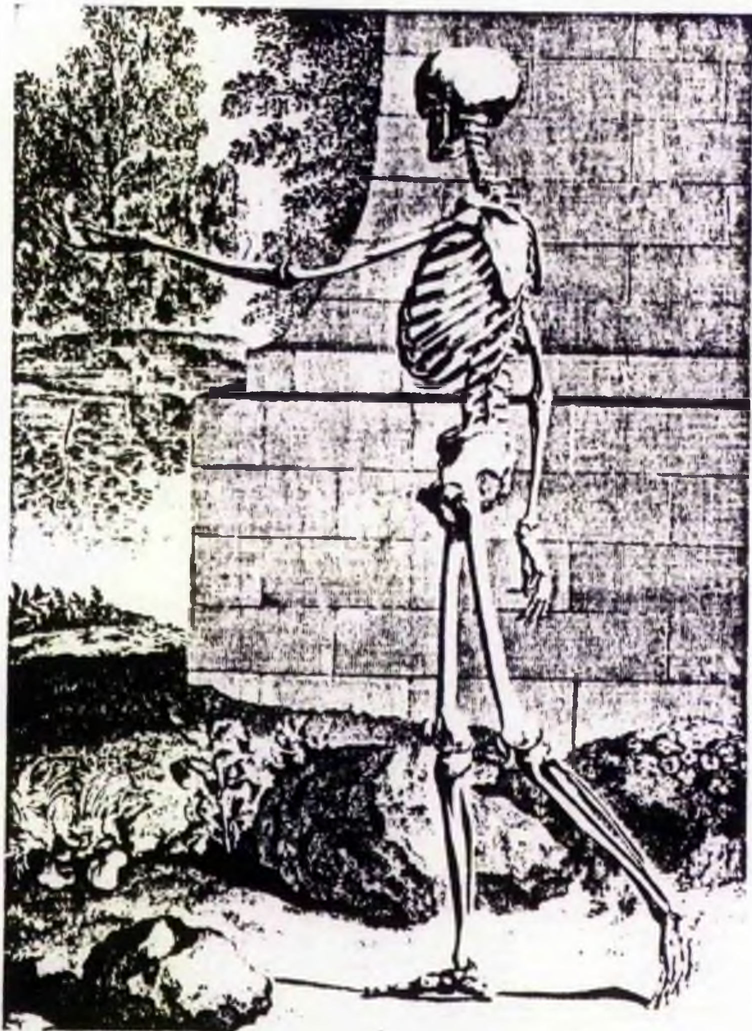

193. Thomas Rowlandson, Death and the Apothecary, or The Quack Doctor, aquatint, 1815-16, from *English Dance of Death* vol.i.85. B.M. No.12421.

194. Thomas Rowlandson, The Undertaker and the Quack, aquatint, 1815-16, from *English Dance of Death* vol.i.185. B.M. No.12433.

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197. Thomas Rowlandson, The Dram Shop, aquatint, 1815-16 from *English Dance of Death*, vol.i 253. B.M. No.12658.

198. George Cruikshank, The Gin Shop, engraving, from *Scraps and Sketches* Bk.II p.9., c.1829. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery. No.3446.

197

198

The *GIN* Shop.

199. Thomas Rowlandson, The Doctor Dismissing Death, engraving, 6⅛ x 7⅜ins. 1789, London, B.M. No.7608

200. Thomas Rowlandson, Death greets the Doctor, pen and water-colour over pencil, 7½ x 5⅞ins. 1800, San Marino, California, Huntington Library, Huntington Collection.

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201

201. James Gillray, Brittania between Death and the Doctors, engraving, 9½ x 14½ins. 1804, London, B.M. No.10244.

202.

202. Anon. The Siege of Warwick-Castle; or The Battle between the Fellows & Licentiates. c.1768 source unknown.