



1. The Heir



2. The Levee



3. Orgies



4. The Arrest



5. The Marriage



6. The Gaming House



7. The Prison



8. The Madhouse

An Examination and Interpretation
of
Narrative Features
in
'A Rake's Progress'
by
Robert L.S. Cowley

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of M.A. in the
English Department, the Faculty of Arts, 1972.

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Synopsis

A Rake's Progress is examined to discover in what ways a pictorial narrative can be narrative in a literary sense. The personality, actions, and background of the central character are considered from established literary-dramatic points of view in the body of the thesis. The Rake is seen as both a well-defined individual and a universal study of a reactionary who aspires towards ancient ideals; a mock-hero in a complex work. An explanation of misunderstood and neglected details is attempted and it is shown how they contribute effectively to what is thought to be a coherent work. It is argued that the heroine is not a pathetic and unfortunate addition to the story, but that she is an integral part of Hogarth's imaginative thought. His detached attitude towards her is considered as major evidence of a comic and melodramatic style. In the third part Hogarth's treatment of recurrent emblems is compared to the poetic purposes of iterative imagery and it is claimed that Hogarth's religious "imagery" shows that the progress is a multi-layered allegory. It is claimed in the conclusion that Hogarth manipulates his authorial viewpoint and chooses what he is prepared to disclose or not to disclose like a writer; that the symmetry of the work is comparable to the appearance of a short poem; that Hogarth's progresses offer a unique quality of multiplicity to the concept of narrative; that there is evidence which shows that Hogarth maintained a close relationship with his subscribers, anticipating that of Dickens; that A Rake's Progress represents a transitional work between simple, picaresque fictions and philosophically more complex ones.

78,000 words

With some imagination one can easily find a torso in every summer cloud, and a silhouette in every ink blot.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Ronald Paulson for giving an afternoon of his time to talk about Hogarth, his generosity and scholarship provided much inspiration; Dr Peter Davison for being prepared to comment with such constructive rigour; Miss H.M. Rogers of the Barber Institute for being so tolerant about the loan of books; my wife for being a "right hand".

Thesis

that in the pictures of A Rake's Progress William Hogarth presents a coherent and complex narrative

that a spatial and representational art form may be discussed in terms usually associated with literary narrative

that a pictorial narrative can have affinities with a literary narrative.

Contents

I. Introduction

- a. The Formulation of the Argument and the Limits of the Study 1
- b. The Form of the Study and the Development of an Approach 8
- c. The Importance of Reversal 10
- Terminology and Assumptions 18

IIa. Tom Rakewell and his Progress 20

- The Laughing Audience (136/130) the Subscription. 21
- Ticket.
- Plate 1, The Heir (138/132) 29
- Plate 2, The Levee (140/133) 46
- Plate 3, Orgies (141/134) 60
- Plate 4, The Arrest (143/135) 76
- Plate 5, The Marriage (145/136) 90
- Plate 6, The Gaming House (147/137) 101
- Plate 7, The Prison (148/138) 113
- Plate 8, The Madhouse (149/139) 123

IIb. The Contribution of Sarah Young as a Recurrent Figure and Agent of the Sub-plot 148

- (i). Sarah's First Appearance (Plate 1) 149
- (ii). Sarah's Second Appearance (Plate 4) 153
- (iii). Images of Sarah's Presence (Plates 2 and 3) 157
- (iv). Sarah's Third Appearance (Plate 5) 158
- (v). Sarah's Fourth Appearance (Plate 7) 160
- (vi). Sarah's Last Appearance (Plate 8) 163
- (vii). An Evaluation of Sarah's Contribution to the Narrative 164

III. 'Symphonic Imagery' 172

- a. Fire and Disease 174
- b. Religious Imagery 178
- c. The Necklaces 189

IV. Conclusion: Hogarth, 'the Writer of Controlled Narratives' 200

Appendix One: Historical, Biographical, and Technical Background to the Publication of 'A Rake's Progress'. 220

Appendix Two: Mercedes Gaffron's Catalogue of the Effects of the Glance Curve as Applied to Hogarth's 'The Laughing Audience (136/130)' 234

Bibliography 239

List of Major Illustrations

	The paintings of <u>A Rake's Progress</u>	frontispiece
1.	<u>The Laughing Audience</u> (136/130)	opposite page 21
2.	<u>The Heir</u> , Plate 1 (138/132)	opposite page 29
3.	<u>The Levee</u> , Plate 2 (140/133)	opposite page 46
4.	<u>Orgies</u> , Plate 3 (141/134)	opposite page 60
5.	<u>The Arrest</u> , Plate 4 (143/135)	opposite page 76
6.	<u>The Marriage</u> , Plate 5 (145/136)	opposite page 90
7.	<u>The Gaming House</u> , Plate 6 (147/137)	opposite page 101
8.	<u>The Prison</u> , Plate 7 (148/138)	opposite page 113
9.	<u>The Madhouse</u> , Plate 8 (149/139)	opposite page 123
10.	<u>The Painter torn between Olympus and Everyday</u> <u>Life</u> by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder	opposite page 127

The Hogarth Illustrations are taken from Ronald Paulson's Catalogue of Graphic Works, the earliest defined states. Gheeraerts' picture is reproduced from F. Württenberger's Mannerism.

Minor illustrations occur throughout. These are not referred to directly in the text and so are not numbered. They show the later state variations, again based on Paulson's Catalogue, and are placed opposite appropriate pages in the text.

Introduction

Ia. The Formulation of the Argument and the Limits of the Study

One of the earliest and noblest enjoyments I had when a boy was in the contemplation of those capital prints of Hogarth, the Harlot's and the Rake's progresses, which, along with some others, hung upon the walls of a great hall in an old-fashioned house.

Charles Lamb ¹

Lamb said truly that we "read" his prints, and "look" at other pictures. He might have added that the type is of the smallest, and the page is crammed to the margin.

Austin Dobson ²

David Kunzle is at pains to establish the precise nature of narrative pictures:

'Narrative' is currently used to describe a wide range of sixteenth to eighteenth-century painting and engraving, especially Flemish and Dutch, of everyday or 'genre' social subjects in which typical figures are engaged in doing something fairly specific in familiar surroundings. Subsidiary episodes here are not used to project the situation backwards or forwards, and such pictures are not usually conceived in series of inherently connected scenes. By my definition 'narrative' can never be applied to pictures depicting a single moment in time. ³

Two aims of the thesis are, firstly, to discover exactly in what ways Hogarth's progresses are in accord with Kunzle's definition and, secondly, to see whether they can be said to be narrative in a literary sense. If it can be shown that a pictorial convention, the narrative progress, is coherent and that its component pictures can be apprehended in an orderly way, then the convention accords with Aristotle's definitions of literary plot. (Hogarth was ultimately influenced by Aristotle, according to Professor Ronald Paulson, through the neo-classical art-critics and the aesthetics of the Spectator Papers. ⁴)

Aristotle argues that:

The elements of the action must be so plotted that if any of

these elements is moved or removed the whole is altered or upset. For when a thing can be included or not included without making any noticeable difference, that thing is no part of the whole. 5

and

complications should develop out of the very structure of the fable, so that they fit what has gone before, either necessarily or probably. To happen after something is by no means the same as to happen because of it.

Part II of the thesis is concerned with the degree to which the visual elements of Hogarth's art exist in causal relation to each other and with the degree to which a progress is a coherent and complicated whole.

Claude Bremond, in discussing the cartoon strip, assumes that 'la bande dessinée. . . est un genre essentiellement narratif'.⁶ If the cartoon strip is a narrative form, then it is more likely that Hogarth's complicated series are essentially narrative, although they extend over fewer pictures than many cartoon strips. Bremond also argues that the idea of a narrative, its 'aventure', may be expressed in a variety of forms.⁷ It is now known that the paintings of Hogarth's early progresses were subordinated to the needs of the prints and that the latter were frequently revised. A deeper insight into Hogarth's imagination may be arrived at from a comparison of one medium, the paintings, and another, the various engraved states.⁸

Hogarth devoted a chapter of his Analysis of Beauty to the way in which a spectator responds to an intricate visual form.⁹ He begins with the Aristotelean assumption that art is imitation and argues that 'this love of pursuit, merely as pursuit, is implanted in our natures'. Significantly, he applies the point to prose fiction before applying it to pictures:

It is a pleasing labour of the mind to solve the most difficult problems; allegories and riddles, trifling as they are, afford the mind amusement: and with what delight does it follow the well-connected thread of a play or novel, which

ever increases as the plot thickens, and ends most pleas'd,
when that is most distinctly unravell'd?

Hogarth sees the attraction of fiction as the taking of an intellectual pleasure in what happens next. He applies his argument to design, 'intricacy in form, therefore, I shall define to be that peculiarity in the lines, which compose it, that leads the eye a wanton kind of chace, [sic] and from the pleasure that gives the mind, intitles it to the name of beautiful'. He assumes that a narrative movement exists within a picture and expects a lecteur to enjoy the following of this movement, the apprehension, and, therefore, the subsequent expression of which he thought to be 'chase'-like and so linear.

Although modern psychology of perception is suspicious of the theory that the eye physically follows the lines of a picture, it is claimed that phenomenological evidence exists to support the belief that a spectator abides by a convention of perception when examining a picture-space; Mercedes Gaffron calls the convention the 'curve of the glance'.¹⁰ Her theory represents a refinement of Northrop Frye's idea of a 'participating response' in which the reader of a book follows the 'trail of words from top left to bottom right' and who does something similar when he considers a picture.

Hogarth was to consider the relation between actual movement in time and implied movement in representational art:

The best representation in a picture, of even the most elegant dancing, as every figure is rather a suspended action in it than an attitude, must be always somewhat unnatural and ridiculous; for were it possible in a real dance to fix every person at one instant of time, as in a picture, not one in twenty would appear to be graceful, tho' each were ever so much so in their movements; nor could the figure of the dance itself be at all understood. 12

Hogarth is arguing (unlike Kunzle) that single pictures are to be considered as visual cross-sections of incidents existing in space-time and invites the drawing of inferences about their undisclosed remainders.

It is likely that complex and interrelated pictures display narrative features beyond those of simple cartoons. It is intended to identify these features and to delimit some of the inferences possible in A Rake's Progress.

Critics after Hogarth himself have responded to him in literary terminology perhaps inspired by the requests to be judged by a dramatic 'criterion'.¹³ Lamb praised the 'dumb rhetoric of the scenery' ; Ellis Waterhouse observed that Hogarth compressed 'into the small compass of a picture the whole matter of a novel'; Sacheverell Sitwell declared that the pictures are 'scenes from plays' and 'that we can see hints or suggestions of the before and after of the story'. R.B. Beckett noted that Rouquet, the first commentator, used the word 'roman' of Hogarth and added 'that a case might be made out for Hogarth as the originator of the eighteenth-century English novel'. E.H. Gombrich, perhaps ironically, but with a grain of truth, suggested that Marriage à la Mode 'is equivalent to at least two volumes of Richardson's novels'.

More consciously aware of the difficulties, Nicolette Coates wrote of Hogarth that 'familiar with the methods of the Augustan literary satirists, Pope, Fielding, and Swift, he was able to find pictorial devices equivalent to theirs'. John Harvey wrote that 'a man studying a painting by Hogarth sees a host of distinct details each one of which has an almost allegorical burden and requires such close scrutiny that it might well be called an "ocular fixation". And the spectator's eye may rove as it pleases, so that the details may be read in order'. Harvey is closest to defining the nature of the "literary" experience of Hogarth's narratives, but none of the commentators substantiates his observations by stating precisely, or in detail, how the progresses may, or may not, parallel literary structures.

A study of Hogarth cannot be undertaken without reference to Ronald

Paulson; his Hogarth's Graphic Works, II is a comprehensive collection of the engravings, their states, and the doubtful prints.¹⁴ The Catalogue, I is so authoritative a source of information that booksellers base their catalogues on it.¹⁵ In the autumn of 1971 Paulson's biography, Hogarth; His Life, Art, and Times in two volumes, was published.¹⁶ The Times Literary Supplement estimated its length as 'half a million words' and concluded its review, 'henceforward no one working in any field that Hogarth touched can afford not to begin with Mr Paulson's splendid book'.¹⁷ In view of Paulson's authority no apology is offered for the continuous reference made to his works.

Paulson is exceptional in that he considers Hogarth's progresses in relation to other narrative forms (significantly he came to Hogarth with a literary background.¹⁸) He has acknowledged privately that work is needed concerning the parallel between literary and pictorial narratives and discusses the problem briefly in the biography:

Whether the origin of a particular artistic device is visual or verbal is a difficult question, but at any given historical moment one can arrive at generalized answers. Although usually considered verbal, devices such as parallelism and contrast, analogies, puns, even irony could have been learnt from the Bubble prints (often appearing in pairs) as well as the poems of Butler and Dryden and Pope. The vocabularies of art and literature were in many ways similar. The only technique which I take to be purely literary at this moment in time, and characteristically Augustan, is the playing off of a simple, often popular, form against new, complex, sometimes contradictory meanings. Irony is part of the effect, but the operative element in this mode is allusion: the reader recognizes the echoes of a travel book or an epic or of a particular scene in a particular epic. Beyond this, the general satiric metaphor, in which the folly or the evil is shown crowded and overwhelming in a narrow space with a single, trampled representative of virtue, was equally likely to appear in the poetry of Dryden and the prints after Brueghel.¹⁹

Paulson analyses A Harlot's Progress and considers something of the interrelation between the first progress and literary influences, but he could not within the limits of even a large biography present an adequate analysis of the narrative structure of the individual progresses. It is

proposed to concentrate in detail upon A Rake's Progress in order to establish its narrative features; to show its coherence; to discover what correspondence it has with dramatic or literary modes. Reference is made especially to A Harlot's Progress, the precedent for and the complement to A Rake's Progress, in order that the consideration of one narrative remains in context.

Four justifications are offered for making a particular study of A Rake's Progress. Firstly, unlike the original paintings of A Harlot's Progress, those of the second progress survive to add an early dimension to the idea.²⁰ There was more revision of the prints of the second progress than of the first and, while this may be a disadvantage aesthetically, the alterations provide a deeper insight into Hogarth's imaginative development of a narrative subject. If quantity is of value, then it should be noted that A Rake's Progress is a longer, more elaborate structure than A Harlot's Progress (eight pictures rather than six) in which Hogarth presents two important characters instead of one.

Secondly, A Rake's Progress is the only progress in which the prints may be studied as the dominant factor over the painted modellos. As Arthur Wesinger and W.B. Coley point out, Hogarth took more care with the paintings of the next progress, Marriage à la Mode; he hired engravers to prepare the prints while he devoted himself to the elaborate paintings.²¹ The challenge for him in 1743 and thereafter lay in selling the paintings as artistic ends in themselves and not merely as the means to the end of the preparation of plates.

Thirdly, A Rake's Progress is the only major progress to include verse-captions with the prints which provide a literary dimension to Hogarth's story in pictures. (The later Four Stages of Cruelty is of secondary importance and it can be shown that its verses perform a

similar function to those of A Rake's Progress.)

Fourthly, A Rake's Progress is overshadowed by the reputation of the other progresses. Paulson, for example, devotes a chapter, sixty pages in length, to the first progress, but only ten pages to the second. He refers to 'some of the flaws in this long ambitious series' when discussing The Madhouse.²² Waterhouse claims that 'the "Marriage à la Mode" series is incomparably superior to "A Rake's Progress"'.²³ Peter Quennell sees the progress as 'more loosely constructed than the previous series' and he devotes a passage to the 'sensible objections' of Hogarth's critics.²⁴ Yet it can be argued that A Rake's Progress is an underestimated work. It is thought that the flaws can be shown to be superficial or non-existent according to the initial assumptions of the critic. Another aim, therefore, is to show that the work is worthy of reconsideration.

There are three limitations to the scope of the thesis. Firstly, Hogarth asked that his progresses be considered as dramatic art (above). As Paulson observes, Johnson's Dictionary sees the term author, which Hogarth used, as primarily referring to a 'first beginner' in general and to a writer only thirdly.²⁵ It is necessary to state an awareness of the differences between the dramatic and the literary. Nicolette Coates acknowledges that 'literature could give him his subject-matter, but not a visual language' and explains that Hogarth acquired his 'vast new repertory of facial expressions, gestures and types. . . from the contemporary theatre, which was rich in a variety of new and popular entertainments'.²⁶ Paulson supports her in his evaluation of the influence of Gay's Beggar's Opera which he sees as a 'decisive aesthetic event'.²⁷

It is proposed, nevertheless, to retain the idea of narrative because it is traditionally associated with linear art; because it remains the

term applied to history painting and cartoon strips; because commentators continue to emphasise the readability of Hogarth's works; because the usual audience is a single spectator who contemplates the prints in a non-theatrical context, maybe leafing through the pages of a catalogue or an atlas folio. As a means of diminishing the problem, the progress is examined through concepts generally applicable to both narrative and dramatic modes.

Secondly, the thesis is concerned with a problem of aesthetics and it is not intended to provide an extensive insight into the artistry and attitudes which make Hogarth a man of his times. It relies for its basic information upon traditional sources (including Paulson) except where these are considered inadequate.

The third limitation is a consequence of a literary approach. Hogarth's qualities as a painter are not the prime concern of such an approach and so his artistry is made subordinate to the consideration of narrative and, therefore, diminished. It should be remembered that the Tate Exhibition of 1972 unquestionably revealed Hogarth's mastery as a painter as well as a teller of stories.

Ib. The Form of the Study and the Development of an Approach

Parts II and III are similar in style to extended passages of "practical criticism", incidentally demonstrating the proposition that Hogarth's progresses can be discussed like literature. The pictures are approached through two literary aspects of narrative, character and setting, and several visual aspects which, it is argued, acquire narrative purpose in a pictorial series. These are the fundamental signs of monocular space perception and the theory of the Glance Curve (Part Ic, below) which provide a rationale for approaching the contents of a picture and help distinguish the important from the unimportant. 28

Part II is divided into two sections: the first, Tom Rakewell and his Progress, is an analysis and description of the Rake in so far as he is the pictorial equivalent of a literary character who develops over the course of the story. It concerns his relationship with the other figures he meets and his relationship to the pictorial field which contains him, the equivalent of a setting. Each picture is examined as one step in a 'series of inherently connected scenes' as Kunzle refers to them (above, Ia, p. 1).

The second section, The Contribution of Sarah Young as a Recurrent Figure and Agent of the Sub-plot, is a supplementary examination of the heroine of the story. She is treated separately because she is customarily seen as a flaw which disturbs the unity of the progress; because her presence provides the existence of the pictorial equivalent of a literary sub-plot; because it is argued that her ironic treatment sets the tone of the progress.

Part III. Symphonic Imagery takes its title from Richard Altick's examination of the imagery of Richard II. Three sets of "images" are examined, the existence of which was revealed by means of the analysis of Part II.

The Conclusion, Part IV, is concerned to establish the degree of coherence and complexity of A Rake's Progress, to discuss some of its narrative features, and to relate them to the principles of literary narrative.

Reference may be conveniently made to the captions which were composed by John Hoadly (1711-1776) a close friend (writing letters to Hogarth beginning 'Dear Billy'). It is important to emphasize that the verses were included with the prints at a stage when Hogarth could have altered his pictures to suit the verses, or vice versa, and so they may be taken to have his authority and to reflect his attitudes to his own work. They are considered as Hogarth's authorial voice present with, but

separate from his visual story.

Appendix One, Historical, Biographical, and Technical Background, sets the progress within the context of Hogarth's career and considers the implications of an elaborate and idiosyncratic process of publication. It includes some examination of The Marriage Contract, a preparatory sketch, and Southwark Fair a companion piece.

Ic. The Importance of Reversal

Mercedes Gaffron claims that:

In pictures painted with a pronounced perspective and with the represented objects in clearly defined positions, it is possible to reconstruct, according to these apparent changes in the direction of our glance, a certain fixed path which we seem normally to follow within the picture space. 29

The 'apparent changes' are those discovered when the differences between true and mirror-images of pictures are examined. She claims that the glance follows an asymmetric path from left to right in what she calls the glance-curve. She emphasizes that it has no existence as a physical path, but represents the process by means of which a spectator tends to explore a picture. The curve represents the 'central process of visual perception' in European culture, only to be discovered by the examination of its effects. 30

Mercedes Gaffron claims that the curve generally assumes a starting or viewpoint in the foreground to the left of centre. The glance then moves upwards and into the picture plane, before curving round towards the spectator's right of a picture (or a perceived space). As the glance approaches the right hand vertical boundary, it tends to curve either upwards and away from the centre or downwards into the foreground.

She implies that before Heinrich Wöfflin (1915) raised the left to right trend to the stature of a major element of design, artists only semi-consciously allowed for its existence. This created difficulties

for graphic artists concerned with the reversal of true images, particularly in the preparation of cartoons for tapestries or plates for printing. Raphael is cited because he did not allow for the dimensional effects of the glance-curve when reversing his idea from the cartoons to the tapestries. She suggests that he was unaware of the existence of the effects even though he applied them consciously in the drawing of the cartoon. Dürer, because he was a printer as well as a painter, eventually realized that a reversal of the whole must precede the process of printing, but she states that no artist is able to draw an intended picture in the reverse sense. ³¹

Mercedes Gaffron does not refer to Hogarth and it is Paulson's point that Hogarth not only was aware of the implications of the glance-curve, but allowed for its effects:

The first important fact about Hogarth as printmaker and painter, whose product was both the engraving and the modello for the engraving, is that, faced with the engraver's problem of reversal, he chose to paint his modello in reverse rather than paint it straight and then engrave it in a mirror. While often careless in the painting of details of reversal like hands and buttons, he was careful to reverse the general "reading" structure of the design. ³²

Frank and Dorothy Getlein go beyond Paulson in general terms; they see the ability to draw in reverse simply as a matter of the printman's practice. 'He acquires the habit of aiming in just the opposite direction from where he is looking, like Annie Oakley using a mirror to shoot over her shoulder.' ³³

Hogarth's later theories of intricacy support the view that he was aware of a concept like the glance-curve, although not necessarily as a phenomenon outside the picture. The intricacy which 'leads the eye a wanton kind of chace', for example, may be viewed as a description of the conventional way the spectator explores a picture. ³⁴ Mercedes Gaffron demonstrates that a lecteur's chase is not wanton to the point of arbitrariness, a fact which Hogarth seems to have sensed, but did not

express directly. Paulson adds that Hogarth's 'print-orientated' spectators tended to read a picture in a left to right direction and that his early commentators (with little relative experience of paintings) also read from left to right. ³⁵

The practical value of Mercedes Gaffron's theory lies in its solution to the problem posed by the discussion of poly-centric compositions of knowing where to begin, continue, and end. (It should be emphasised that her position was considered tenable at least as recently as 1967. ³⁶) The literary narrative provides a time-continuum for the reader to follow in its arrangement of verses, scenes, or paragraphs. Mercedes Gaffron supplies a conventional order of discussion which may be repeated from picture to picture and which is appropriate to a study of Hogarth because he was likely to have been professionally aware of the phenomena which produced the idea of the curve. It is only a general tendency, however, and must not be treated as a precise path.

The important effects of the glance-curve are analyzed in such a way that value can be assigned to pictorial elements by means of their relation to the curve. 'All objects within the range of this path are recognized spontaneously, while we must look separately for those located outside in the right foreground or in the upper left foreground.' ³⁷

The spontaneously recognized elements are visually more important than those which have to be searched for as a general rule. It is possible to see the degrees of value as corresponding to the way in which the elements of a story contribute more or less importantly to the whole. In the case of an ironist the unobtrusive element may present a significant, but discreet comment which undercuts the obvious validity of elements well within the curve of the glance. In The Prison, for example, the Rake's bundle is present in the bottom right hand corner



The Prison: The Rake's bundle

The emblem placed in the inconspicuous bottom right corner.

and is displayed with a gridiron tucked into its cord, similar to the emblem of St Lawrence ('who was martyred. . . by being roasted alive' ³⁸). If the parallel is just, it raises all sorts of comic implications and antitheses. The use of such an inconspicuous emblem anticipates Jane Austen's use of the verb seem in her opening to Emma in which the unobtrusive, but tentative meaning questions the honesty of the description of the heroine's ideal life (and reveals the author's attitude as ambivalent). F. and D. Getlein argue that the fact of reversal itself tends to make an ironist of the printman:

The discipline of working in reverse. . . endows the artist with a moment of surprise when he actually prints his print. It keeps his mind closely on the immediate work before him. But above all this reverse vision forced upon the print-artist also enforces a certain detachment, both from the work and from what the work is about, and detachment is the soul of the intellectual vision peculiar to the art of the print. 39

The analysis of Parts II and III makes use of Mercedes Gaffron's catalogue of effects to confirm the importance of elements to the narrative within the progress, including the ironic touch. Specific items in her catalogue are listed and applied in detail as a source of narrative information to The Laughing Audience in the second appendix.

Introduction: References

1. Charles Lamb, Poems, Plays and Essays (London, 1895), p. 287.
2. Austin Dobson, William Hogarth (London, 1891), pp. 66-7. (Hereafter referred to as Dobson to avoid confusion with the many "Hogarth" titles.)
3. David M. Kunzle, 'The History of the Picture Story or Narrative Strip from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries' (Ph. D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute, 1964), p. 5. (Hereafter referred to as 'The History of the Picture Story'.)
4. Paulson traces how Hogarth was influenced by neo-classical attitudes; firstly by Jonathan Richardson ('The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', Eighteenth-Century Studies, I (1967), p. 70) and via Shaftesbury and Richardson by Renaissance critics such as Alberti, Dufresnoy, and Le Brun. In order to raise his status 'the Renaissance painter. . . turned to literary criticism' and 'beginning with a few analogies made between Aristotle in his Poetics and Horace in his Ars Poetica, he adopted all the rest as well' (p. 71). Paulson claims that Hogarth followed Le Brun's insistence upon the Aristotelean concept of 'unity in action' in a picture 'quite literally' (p. 75).
5. Aristotle on the Art of Fiction: "The Poetics", translated and edited by L.J. Potts (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 28-9 and p. 31. (Hereafter referred to as The Poetics.)
6. Claude Bremond, 'Pour un gestuaire des bandes dessinées', Languages 10 (1968), p. 94.
7. 'Pour un gestuaire des bandes dessinées', p. 94.
8. Appendix One, Paulson's description, p. 226, note 19.
9. William Hogarth, Analysis of Beauty (1753), edited by Joseph Burke (Oxford, 1955), Chapter V, p. 42. The subsequent quotations are

from the same page. (Hereafter the work is referred to by title.)

10. See Ic. Mercedes Gaffron, 'Right and Left in Pictures', Art Quarterly, XIII (1950), pp. 312-331. (Hereafter referred to by title.) She claims that the relationship between the physical movement of the eye and the lines of a picture has to be established.

11. Northrop Frye, 'Communications', Listener (9 July 1970), p. 34.

12. Analysis of Beauty, p. 147.

13. The famous request: 'I therefore wished to compose pictures on canvas, similar to representations of the stage; and further hope that they will be tried by the same test, and criticised by the same criterion.' (Anecdotes of Hogarth Written by Himself, edited by J.B. Nichols (London, 1833), facsimile reprint (London, 1970), Chapter II, p. 9.)

The subsequent quotations including Lamb's are referred to in this note:

a. Charles Lamb, 'On the Genius and Character of Hogarth', Poems, Plays and Miscellaneous Essays (London, 1895), p. 291.

b. Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in Britain, 1530-1790 (Penguin, 1953), p. 229. (Hereafter referred to by title.)

c. Sacheverell Sitwell, Narrative Pictures, Survey of English Genre and its Painters (London, 1937), p. 2.

d. R.B. Beckett, Hogarth, English Master Painters (London, 1945), p. 26.

e. E.H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion (New York, 1960), p. 338.

f. Nicolette Coates, Hogarth, The Masters, 69 (1967), p. 4.

g. John Harvey, Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators (London, 1970), pp. 54-5. (Hereafter referred to by title.)

14. Ronald Paulson, Hogarth's Graphic Works, two volumes (Yale, 1965).

(Hereafter referred to as HGW I and II.)

15. Weinreb and Douwma Ltd., Catalogue 4, William Hogarth: prints, p. 5.
16. Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times, two volumes (Yale 1971). (Hereafter referred to as H I and II.)
17. TLS, (5 November 1971) and Robert Melville, New Statesman (10 December 1971), p. 836; H I and II are referred to as a 'masterpiece'.
John Taylor, Sunday Times (5 December 1971) claims that H I and II 'must be one of the best ever books about the eighteenth century'.
18. Paulson is Professor of English at the Johns Hopkins University. He has published, among other works, 'Theme and Structure in Swift's Tale of a Tub' (Yale Studies, Volume 143 (New Haven, 1960)) and Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England (New Haven, 1967).
19. H I, pp. 76-7.
20. The paintings of A Harlot's Progress were destroyed by fire in 1755.
21. Paulson suggests that the paintings of Marriage à la Mode are to be seen as saleable objects (H I, p. 479) and, therefore, the paintings become more important in relation to the engravings.
Wesinger and Coley's Preface (p. xxxiv-xxxvii) to Hogarth on High Life: The Marriage à la Mode Series from Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's Commentaries (Weslyan University Press, 1970) is useful in indicating the change in policy between A Rake's Progress and the next series.
22. H I, p. 333.
23. Painting in Britain, p. 132.
24. Peter Quennell, Hogarth (London, 1955), p. 127 ff. (Hereafter known as Quennell.)
25. H I, note 9 to p. 263.
26. Hogarth, The Masters, 69, pp. 4-5.

27. H I, p. 189.
28. The clues to monocular space perception are listed by Donald M. Anderson as relative apparent size, overlap, relative position in the field, light and shadow, and aerial perspective (in Elements of Design (New York, 1961), pp. 25-41). He refers to Hogarth's deliberate confusing of these clues in Satire on False Perspective (282/239, 1754).
29. 'Right and Left in Pictures', p. 312.
30. 'Right and Left in Pictures', p. 317.
31. 'Right and Left in Pictures', p. 329.
32. H I, p. 409.
33. Frank and Dorothy Getlein, The Bite of the Print (London, 1964), p. 12. (Hereafter referred to by title.)
34. Analysis of Beauty, Chapter V, of Intricacy, p. 42.
35. H I, p. 409 and p. 256.
36. Rudolf Arnheim notes that Mercedes Gaffron's investigations represented the present state of the hypothesis in his reprint edition of Art and Visual Perception (London, 1969), p. 24. (Hereafter referred to by title.)
37. 'Right and Left in Pictures', p. 317.
38. LeRoy H. Appleton and Stephen Bridges, Symbolism in Liturgical Art (New York, 1959), p. 42. (Hereafter referred to by title.)
39. The Bite of the Print, p. 14.

Terminology and Assumptions

1. Lecteur. There is no precise term for the spectator of a visual narrative. Claude Bremond makes use of the phrase 'le lecteur-spectateur' (Languages, 10, p. 94). For the purposes of this thesis the phrase is abbreviated to lecteur and it is hoped that the French word offers a reminder of the experience special to the readable picture.
2. The idea. Hogarth's subject exists as paintings and prints; the various editions of the latter differ considerably. The term refers to what is common to a subject in a variety of media (H I, p. 416).
3. The moment or the present moment. Robert Hughes observes that Caravaggio 'painted what Lessing was to call the "pregnant moment", the instant's gesture that sums up an act or situation'. Hughes states that 'the action of his painting was stopped at its climax like a photo-flash'. (Caravaggio, Masters Series, 93, p. 5.). Donald Wilcox suggests that Hogarth might have used a camera if he were alive at the present time (Omnibus BBC I, 12 December 1971). Hogarth referred to pictures as presenting 'a suspended action' (Autobiographical Notes). The term 'moment' designates the significant gesture in each of Hogarth's pictures to which other elements relate.
4. Left and right, etc.. The term left refers to the left-hand side of a print as the lecteur views it (but not of a painting because of the reversal of images). The term right refers to its right-hand side as he views the print (but not of a painting). Terms such as top, bottom, the right way up, refer to paintings and prints alike.
5. Picture, painting, print, and plate. The term picture applies to all forms of the idea; painting to both the modellos in oil for the early progresses and other more independent pictures in oils; print or engraving, refers to graphic art only. The term plate refers either to the copper-plates on which the pictures were inscribed ('the multiple original') or the individual pictures of A Harlot's Progress and other prints without title.
6. State. 'A "state" of a print is created by changing the plate after the printing of some impressions' (The Bite of the Print, p. 98). Hogarth's work was frequently revised and the differing states are defined according to HGW I and II.
7. It is assumed that the prints were intended to be hung in a numerical order and in horizontal line from left to right as were the paintings.
8. The individual pictures of A Rake's Progress are referred to by the titles inscribed on the frames of the paintings. Whereas there is a loss in the awareness of sequence, it represents a gain in the awareness of content.
9. Thomas Rakewell and M. Hackabout are referred to throughout as the Rake and the Harlot for brevity's sake.
10. The thesis takes as its "basic texts" the pictures in Ronald

Paulson's first complete edition of Hogarth's Graphic Works, Volume II: Plates. Reference to individual pictures is made by means of the title, the plate number, followed by the Catalogue number and, where appropriate, the date, for example, The Laughing Audience (136/130, 1733).

IIa. Tom Rakewell and his Progress

Tom Rakewell. . . is determined to emulate the stereotyped rake; who would get a young girl pregnant and buy her off; ape all the latest London fashions; wench and gamble; be arrested for debt; recoup through a loveless marriage with a rich old hag; lose it all at gambling; go to a debtors' prison; and die of chagrin and tertiary syphilis in Bedlam.

Ronald Paulson



1/3^d Rec^d I see it is a "Receipt" a copy
 Half a Guinea being the first Payment for these Prints, & of which
 Represent a Rakes Progress & the 9th a Fair which I promise
 to Deliver at Michaelmas next on Receiving one Guinea more
 Note the Fair will be Deliver'd next Christmas at Sight of this receipt
 the Prints of the Rake's Progress will be a Guinea each till the
 Subscription is over

W^m Hogarth

1. The Laughing Audience (136/130)

IIa. The Laughing Audience (136/130, 1733), the Subscription Ticket

I have endeavoured to treat my subject as a dramatic writer: my picture is my stage, and men and women my players, who by means of certain actions and gestures, are to exhibit a dumb show.

William Hogarth ¹

Hogarth offers a comment upon A Harlot's Progress in its subscription ticket, Boys Peeping at Nature (125/120, 1730-1), which Paulson sees as an artist's manifesto to the progress which follows. ² It is reasonable to assume that Hogarth presents a similar prelude to A Rake's Progress in The Laughing Audience. The picture is examined to discover what insights it provides for an understanding of its progress. ³ Unlike Boys Peeping at Nature a fantasy, The Laughing Audience is a naturalistic sketch.

The scene is divided into three groups of figures: the musicians in the foreground, the amused audience in the middle ground, and the gallants and their attendants in the gallery. The design is unorthodox because it lacks recessional lines; there is only one diagonal line of heads, but many verticals and horizontals. The resultant effect is one of flatness and height appropriate to the close atmosphere of an auditorium, but presented in defiance of conventional perspective. ⁴ The close effect is maintained by the fact that the parallel groups are graded in reverse order: the smallest figures (only the heads of the musicians) occur in an exaggerated foreground, while the largest, the gallants, occupy a foreshortened background. The picture repeats in a different situation the impression of severely enclosed space present in the high-walled settings of A Harlot's Progress. ⁵ The unconventional design of the second subscription ticket intimates that the settings of A Rake's Progress are also claustrophobic in their effect.

The viewpoint is unusual; instead of the lecteur being placed at the

vantage-point of a street corner or on the open side of a room (as in the majority of Hogarth's pictures), the customary roles are reversed so that the lecteur observes the audience from within the illusion of a play, while the audience, supposedly, watches the performance of which he is a part.⁶

The role of imaginary performer represents a joke against the lecteur and the artist who composed a scene in which characters laugh at or appear bored with him, their creator (the picture has been subtitled The Author's Benefit⁷). The audience reflects the lecteur's possible spectrum of response as a real critical observer of the picture.⁸ The invitation to identify with the scene would appear to be what Geoffrey Grigson intends when he writes of 'the peculiar imaginative quality of Hogarth's visualizing self' in this picture.⁹ The viewpoint is designed to bring the lecteur, as a prospective customer, into a more intimate relationship to the picture and its subsequent progress, perhaps to help persuade him to honour his agreement to buy. The invitation corresponds to the ironic flattery of verbal fiction in which the reader is directly addressed as 'gentle' or as in Fielding's case as 'sensible'.

The significant moment of The Laughing Audience reveals two types of audience as studies in varying degrees of concentration; the professionals and the play-goers. The serious, self-enclosed expressions of the musicians contrast with the open laughter of the audience behind them. The simultaneity of these attitudes suggests that the performance is of a comic song in an opera rather than a straight play.¹⁰

The musicians are separated from the pit by a spiked rail which suggests that the occupants of the pit need barring in the manner of wild animals. Ten of the eleven "animals" are laughingly engrossed in the performance to the extent that they unconsciously reveal their true

selves to the spectator-performer: nine are gap-toothed, while the tenth is toothless (the fang-like nature of their teeth accentuates the animal parallel).

The exceptional member of the pit is usually taken as a critic.¹¹ He is distinguished from his colleagues by his down-turned, closed mouth and by his refusal to look directly at the stage.¹² His dissociation from the performance, while he appears of the same social and age-group as the laughing members of the audience, affords a double interpretation: he dislikes the performance which they enjoy and he dislikes the people with whom he sits. His detached attitude raises questions of taste: does the involvement of the audience indicate a lack of discrimination? Conversely, is his disapproval narrow and isolated in the face of general laughter? It is characteristic of Hogarth that the critic's face is as lined and plain as the rest; approval and disapproval are similar in appearance.

A second figure in the pit ignores the performance; an orange-seller turns her back to reach up to the gallant in the gallery. Her outstretched arm directs the spectator-performer towards the remaining figures in the picture who also ignore the performance. The gallants have faces as lined as the amused members of the audience and contrast with the smooth faces of the women close to them, but their mouths are closed and their appeal lies in their worldly maturity rather than their handsomeness or youth. These elderly figures do not delude themselves like some of those who laugh (or the young man who aspires to the status of a rake in the progress) because they deliberately reveal their true selves without embarrassment under the scrutiny of the spectator-performer.

As well as revealing contrasting studies in concentration, the picture highlights social distinctions. Paulson assumes that the laughing

audience is lower class.¹³ While it is unprofitable to pit one general term against another, the plump bodies, the wigs, fans, and plain, but sound clothes suggest a more prosperous class, closer to the Rakewell family in substance than 'lower-class denizens of the pit'.¹⁴ The mature gallants are the most aristocratic figures of any associated with A Rake's Progress. Their condescension or indifference towards other social types draws attention to the unapproachability of the aristocracy on anything but their own terms and emphasizes the essential differences in taste between theirs and other classes.¹⁵

The relationship between the gallants, the orange-sellers, and the women on the right of the gallery is the one significant anecdote; the woman responds to the gallant's proximity by accepting his offer of snuff; the orange-seller, while apparently only offering the gallant an orange in the course of her duty, is positioned sufficiently close to him to suggest that she responds to his advance. The power of two identical gallants (Janus-like in their placing) is to attract both the member of the audience a well-to-do woman, and the humble orange-sellers.

The main point to note in connection with A Rake's Progress is that the subscription ticket presents the images of two genuine rakes who represent an ideal to which the Rake, foolishly, is to aspire. Their confident approach to women contrasts with his gauche attitudes. Their unapproachability is prophetic in that the Rake is never shown to arrive in aristocratic circles. The similarity of dress between the orange-sellers and Sarah Young also draws attention to the dangers for the humble of becoming a victim of the rake-figure.

While both the Rake and Sarah lack the lupine expressions of the gallants and the knowing look of the orange-seller, the implied meeting between the gallants and the women in the gallery offers a model for the undisclosed meeting between the Rake and Sarah. When attempting to assess

the degree of Sarah's responsibility for her downfall, it is relevant to note that the women in the gallery unobtrusively respond to the gallants' advances and the orange-seller in the pit makes an open, even rude, attempt to attract a gallant's attention.

The presence of gallants surrounded by women anticipates the particular situation in Orgies in which the Rake and his friend entertain the harlots in the Rose Tavern. The pose of the gallant on the right is similar to that of the Rake's friend who also gazes with inclined attitude towards the throat and bosom of the woman next to him. The Rake experiences the close attention of two harlots but, whereas the orange-seller merely plucks at the heedless gallant's sleeve, one harlot successfully steals the Rake's watch. The dominant male figure, the gallant, receives gifts as his due, whereas the unsuccessful character allows himself to be placed in a position in which he loses his composure and his possessions with ultimately disastrous results.

The Laughing Audience is a study in the delusion of the elderly which heralds the follies of an aged father who wrongly believes that he can direct the life of his son from beyond the grave and prepares for the delusions of the naive pseudo-rake who wrongly believes that he can emulate the mature nobility, can buy off a wronged woman, and avoid the consequences of debt by means of a rich marriage. The picture precedes the delusions of a girl of humble origins who is attracted to a man she thinks is a gallant and who persists in believing that she can appeal to his better nature.

The involvement of some of the audience when contrasted with the indifference of others, introduces a theme of discrimination. One cause of the Rake's downfall lies in his inability to differentiate between matters of true value and meretricious things. Like the critic, the Rake is of similar social status to the amused audience, but he has acquired

a vision of a superior world which separates him from his own kind and so he too finds himself in a limbo between those he admires and those whom he wishes to leave behind. The laughter of the audience with its hints of animality anticipates the animal-human parallel in the progress and, if the audience laugh at the drama which follows, their amused response to a story of suffering assumes the callous insensitivity of brutes.

The last point to stress is that the subscription ticket, whilst outwardly a simple sketch, is ironical in tone and establishes a detached attitude likely to be extended to the progress. The ironically-chosen title, the audience, the lecteur, and perhaps the artist himself are placed in ambiguous relationship to one another. The indifference of the gallants and the critic may be seen as Hogarth's own judgement; he asks the question whether A Rake's Progress (watched by the audience) is a work likely to please the connoisseurs and nobility of his day. The glum and unconcerned response of the critic and the gallants not only implies a doubtful answer, but undercuts the uncritical acceptance of the work by a middle-class audience. At this stage in his career Hogarth had only once achieved popularity and he did not know whether he could repeat his success. Perhaps only a satirist with Hogarth's ambivalent attitudes could so question the value of his own work. ¹⁶

The Laughing Audience: References

1. Anecdotes of Hogarth Written by Himself, p. 9.
2. H I, p. 259; 'Boys Peeping should be contrasted with the frontispiece of Hudibras, Hogarth's earliest manifesto' and the mottoes of the ticket show that 'Hogarth is attempting in The Harlot's Progress something new and at the same time old, traditional: sanctioned by an ancient authority' (p. 261).
3. There is commercial sense at work behind the idea of a subscription. Hogarth issued it as a receipt for the first down payment (Appendix One). The subscription ticket was designed to persuade customers to return. Paulson describes the purpose of Boys Peeping at Nature as an 'announcement, a lure, an elaborate joke, and a statement of aesthetic intention' (H I, p. 259). Dickens was to transfer the idea to the cover designs of his novels (particularly Dombey and Son) which included emblems, meanings of which hinted at the substance of the plot to follow.
4. An idea to which Hogarth was to return in Satire on False Perspective (282/239, 1754).
5. The Laughing Audience is longer than it is wide, 7" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
6. The idea is comparable to the device of a play-within-a-play in which the audience and the players are the same figures. The opening of Tartuffe comes to mind.
7. The Bite of the Print, the caption to Plate 2.
8. Hogarth's identification of himself with a dramatist is well-known (above, the epigraph). Paulson notes an occasion when Hogarth performed in Ragandjaw (1746), Garrick's bawdy parody of Julius Caesar, in which Hogarth played the Devil's Cook. He had difficulty in remembering his lines (H II, pp. 32-3).
9. 'Hogarth as Literature', Listener, 23 December 1971, Volume 86, 2280,

p. 878.

10. In view of Hogarth's interest in The Beggar's Opera (he had already painted the subject at least six times), it is reasonable to propose that Gay's work was likely to have been on Hogarth's mind.
11. 'Only one of them is sourly restrained, presumably a critic' (HGW I, p. 154.
12. His head is in profile, whereas the full faces of the other figures are shown.
13. H I, p. 324, 'lower class denizens in the pit, sour-faced critic, and bored fops'.
14. H I, p. 324.
15. There is a hint of an Olympus picture in the design with the gods (represented by the gallants) in the box, surrounded by their servitors.
16. Hogarth became fond of this Swiftean style of self-denigration as he grew older. He depicted himself as being arrested in Calais Gate (192/180, 1748-9) and replaced his own face with that of a friend-turned-enemy in The Bruiser (238/215, 1763).



2. The Heir, Plate 1 (138/132)

IIa. Plate 1, The Heir (138/132)

A beginning is that which does not itself necessarily follow anything else, but which leads naturally to another event or development.

Aristotle ¹

And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

St Luke ²

The first picture of the progress is concerned with the initial situation of the story, the figures which sustain the plot, and the milieu which they inhabit. The situation involves in order from left to right a portrait of the father, his son Tom Rakewell, Mother Young, and her daughter Sarah. The characters are presented in recently changed circumstances; the father is dead, the Rake is taking possession of the Rakewell home, and the pregnant girl who came to seek marriage finds herself being bought off. The room is plainly furnished, but is sufficiently cluttered to indicate that it belonged to a prosperous and parsimonious merchant. As well as being the beginning of a narrative, the scene represents a state of transition between one régime and another.

The figures are set against a corner space, the vertical line of which (emphasized by being the boundary between a black hanging and a lightly shaded wall) bisects the picture. Unlike The Laughing Audience, the picture offers an impression of carefully limited depth, but the geometrical shapes of the floor, ceiling, and walls are similarly oppressive. The masses are led off the margins of the picture in a way which suggests that the wings are blocked. The two doorways are apparent outlets, but the one reveals only a cupboard and the other, although leading to areas beyond, is blocked by the Youngs, The overall impression is one of enclosure maintained from A Harlot's

Progress and anticipated in The Laughing Audience.

The Rake, as the hero of the story, occupies a position in line with the background corner so that its vertical appears to continue down the curving silhouette of his right arm and his leg, or along the tailor's measure (opposite page 178).³ The continuation of the line is prominent because it contrasts with darker areas to the left, the notary (or bailiff's) shadowy arm, and the Rake's immediate shadow. In The Heir the Rake is placed at the centre of a tableau of figures and objects aligned parallel with the frontal plane and forming an asymmetric triangle, the longest side of which coincides with the bottom left to top right diagonal. The placing of the notary, behind and to the left of the Rake, and the kneeling tailor, below and to the right, enhances the Rake's superior position. The alignment of these two lesser figures with each other gives the triangle a sense of pyramidal depth.

The pyramid is superimposed upon the bisecting corner line and so it associates elements from both halves of the picture. The Rake's figure divides the background into halves and unites elements of the tableau (page 178). Because of the way he is facing, elements to the right within the tableau concern the Rake directly and elements to the left concern him less, but they concern him, for example, more than elements to the left outside the pyramid. The design contributes an order of priorities to the reading of the picture which begins to compensate for the lack of delineated sequence in pictorial art.

The Rake's pose is graceful and relaxed, but this impression is undercut by the tailor's arms which divide the Rake's body into disjointed thirds. Unlike the faces of the true rakes in The Laughing Audience, his is round and unlined. His expression, instead of showing pleasure at the proximity of women, is blank, perhaps dismayed. His hair is auburn in the painting and Hogarth may have attempted to convey something of the colour in the

engraving by making the full lips of similar tone to the hair. He is tidily and modestly dressed in comparison with the bewigged rakes whose elaborate clothing he is to assume in The Arrest.

In the subscription ticket the gallant offers snuff with one hand and simultaneously places his other to his heart. The Rake's hands similarly contrast; one offers money to a wronged woman and the other continues to assist the tailor. The conflicting gestures indicate the suddenness of the Youngs' intrusion and reveal something of the Rake's values: he deals with a matter of dress at the same time that he resolves an important human problem -- in the manner of kings.

Four characters within the pyramid respond to the Rake's immediate presence and their reactions reveal more of his character and attitudes. The Youngs react violently and sorrowfully to the offer of money.⁴ The first of a series of servile figures, the tailor, bends before the Rake. Tailors are traditionally identified with pride and the emblem is subordinated to the Rake who, symbolically, employs Pride to make new clothes. The notary robs his employer and represents the first of a series who cheat the Rake while his attention is turned elsewhere or while his senses are confused as a result of his predilections. The attitudes of these minor characters diminish his stature as an heir: the notary sees him as a gull to be cheated; the tailor sees him as nothing more than an object to be measured; the Youngs see him as an irresponsible father-to-be and a promise-breaker.

Three lesser figures (other than the father in his portrait) exist outside the main tableau; their function is similar to those of the walking on parts in a play, or story, who personify the responsibilities of the main character, reflect his positive attitudes or defects, perform tasks, and generally contribute to the central situation. A cat is sited prominently within the curve of the glance; its thinness in a miserly



The Heir: the father's portrait

The old woman's faggots have been changed from wood shavings in the painting to sticks. The shape adds to the several cruciate forms already present in this area of the picture. Note the cross-like arrangement of the hammering servant's arms (page 180).

context indicates its search for food and the inclination of its body pathetically parallels the curve of Sarah's and the expression and direction of its gaze repeat those of the mother. Both the Youngs and the cat seek the reduction of needs which material wealth cannot satisfy. The deferential pose of the old woman who lights the fire repeats before the portrait of the father the attitude of the tailor before the living son. It may be deduced from her position in the picture, her age, and jutting chin especially, that she is intended as the father's servant now carrying out the wishes of the heir. Similar evidence indicates that the notary was the father's agent who takes advantage of the Rake's distraction to exploit the change of authority. The implied movement of the servant's nailing from left to right in the background challenges the curve of the glance and so emphasizes the apparent encroachment of the dark, smooth hangings across the lighter, cracked walls. The hangings threaten to obscure the father's portrait and the coins fall from their hiding place as if Hogarth intended their descent, tantalisingly in front of the miser's nose, to represent a diversion. The leftward movement of the hangings reflects the fact that the new world of the son is turning to invade the old world of the father.

The left of the picture is so devoid of human interest that attention is drawn to its emptiness. The father's portrait occupying the focal point of the room, if not of the picture, is an after-image of the presence which once filled the vacuum. The many objects arrayed about the portrait provide an opportunity of making a further character study (in a literary sense) of the influence which pervades the more visually striking side of the picture.

The father sits in his portrait aligned with the curve of the glance, wearing the same hat and spectacles as those on the mantelpiece below. He weighs coins similar to those which appear elsewhere in the room and

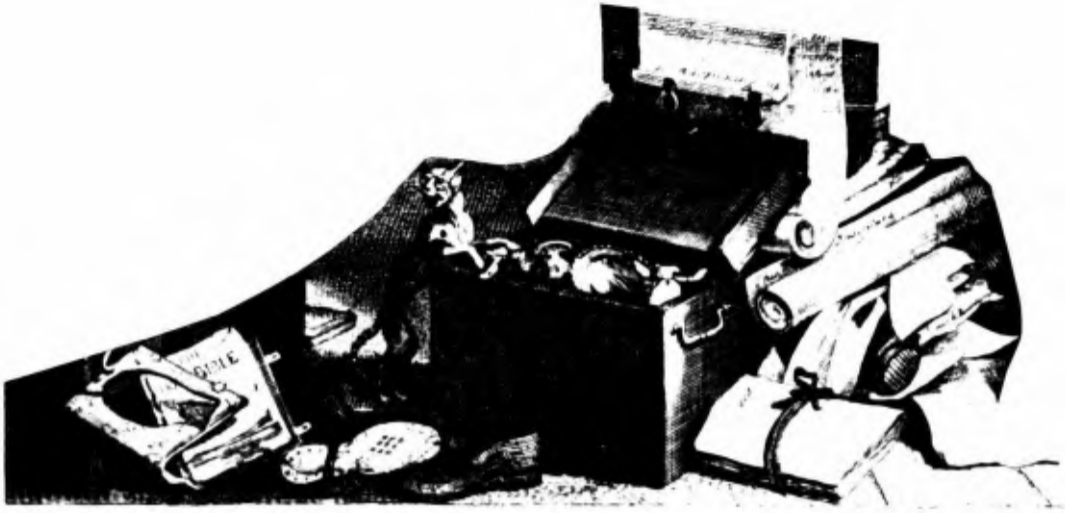
counts them into bags similar to those in the treasure-chest. The meat spit and smoking jack, the jug and the bowl, all of which have been hitherto locked away, the save-all upon the mantelpiece, the neglected "hanging-bar" for the grate ⁵, and the solitary candle are signs of physical self-denial because the father has denied only the implements of daily life and not of luxury. The spectacles, walking stick, and the crutch are signs of physical failure and are, perhaps, the outward symptoms of the mental deterioration, the figurative short sightedness, which is termed 'untoward' in Hoadly's caption. The treasure, bonds, other legal papers, and the scales indicate a precise, obsessively acquisitive, commercial sense which was contemporary in its technical nature rather than miserly in the traditional sense (as is argued below). The heterogeneous mixture of articles in the boxes and cupboards to the far left suggest a small-minded unwillingness to dispose of trivia: the note in the memorandum book reveals that the 'putting off' of only a shilling is as worthy of record as the return of a son.

The large jug and bowl, the wigs, the boot, and especially the swords in the cupboard are signs of an undisclosed and distant appreciation of drink and a fashionable life subsequently to have been denied (because they had been locked up). The scarlet and furred hat, similar to a cardinal's (repeated in the portrait) offers a pretentiousness developed in the escutcheons to the right with their arrogant motto and clamp-emblems. The sending of a son to Oxford, an ostentatious manifestation of social aspiration and the power of wealth, and the recorded visit to an 'ordinary' (cheap though it may have been) with its associations of gambling ⁶ are indications present in the first "chapter" of the story which develop into major causes of the son's downfall later in the narrative. Even the large self-portrait points to a form of self-glorification, while the family name signifies one who successfully gathers as well as one who

successfully spends. The objects reveal a personality divided between contrasting forms of egoism, greed, and pride and hint at a remote, but outward-going taste in life which had been subsequently denied or directed into miserliness. The left hand side of the picture reveals both the physical nature and the character of the Rake's inheritance.

Hogarth treats the Rake's response to his father's death paradoxically; he rejects his father's way of life, but accepts his wealth. Only the lecteur may perceive that the Rake is so placed as to confront the Youngs with the image of the dead father's personality, divided between miserliness and self-indulgence, literally backing him up, and only the lecteur may draw the appropriate conclusions. An attentive lecteur is in a position of omniscience comparable to that of the audience of a Shakespearean comedy, like Much Ado About Nothing, in which characters are allowed to deceive each other, but not the audience.

The sequence within the main tableau, derived from an order of priorities based on the glance-curve and approximating to the order in which information is presented in a verbal narrative, begins on the left with the memorandum book (conspicuous because of its light shade) and the treasure chest (prominently placed in line with the curve of the glance). The curve continues past the piled papers to the notary; his sly glance directs the lecteur upwards and on to the Rake whose figure is weak in its effect because his body is aligned with the movement of the glance rather than against it. The glance is only challenged by the fiercely-drawn face of Mother Young, the most consistently aggressive character in the story. Movement is continued by means of the swing of her arm, apparently a brawnier extension of the Rake's own, to conclude with the figure of Sarah in a remote corner of the picture. Her attitude is further weakened by the fact that she is bent away from the other characters and the lecteur.



The Heir: the treasure chest and the pile of papers

The titles of the documents (right) are legible. Note the mutilated bible which replaces the memorandum book of the first state (opposite page 39). The shoes placed at odds with each other are an emblem to be repeated in the last picture (below).

The Madhouse: the misplaced shoes

These were added to the engravings beside the Rake's feet (page 127 and page 187).



The sequence includes legible references which supply information about the origins of the initial situation from before the point of the father's death and which are excluded from what Rudolf Arnheim would call Hogarth's 'path of disclosure' (an idea derived from Aristotle's concepts of 'Anagnorisis' and 'Tying and Untying'⁷). The memorandum book is a device which reveals a character's private thoughts, comparable to an item in the epistolary method of prose fiction, and its revealed dates, May and June, 1721, limit the historical antecedents of the story. The entries record the fact of the Rake's return from Oxford, followed by a meal in a restaurant. The miser's traditional treasure-chest is a statement of the considerable fortune with the Rake, heroically, is to squander. A hoard is readily shown by the fairy-tale emblem, but the intangible details of a modern business-man's affairs are harder to reveal.

Hogarth solved the problem by means of the pile of tumbling papers which, apparently accidentally, provide significant information about the past. The superior position of an indenture at the top of the pile suggests that the father first entered into a legal contract, logically concerning the son's inheritance in a picture called The Heir. 'Lease and Release' (added to the first state) indicates that the contract may have involved the conveyance of property and the paradoxical title conveys something of the father's contrariness⁸. The presence of 'Fines and Recoveries' suggests that the father subsequently regretted his generous impulse and so began an attempt to bar the entail by means of the courts, but the inferior position of these documents confirms the central premise of the narrative, that the son enters an unrestricted inheritance. The mortgages and bonds at the bottom of the pile act as vague, and therefore infinite, indications of the sums of money involved and comment upon the purely legal nature of the relationship between the father and son. The India Bonds were moved from their insignificant position in the painting to a

point in the prints below the Rake's toe as if to confirm the association of the documents with him. The memorandum book suggests that the Rake has returned home from Oxford in order to mollify his father in a restaurant. The only disclosed source of disagreement between father and son which might have made the former apply restrictions is the fact of the Rake's life at Oxford, including the Youngs. According to the precedent of some of the popular versions of the parable the prodigal's father was not as generous or as forgiving as St Luke describes him.⁹ The onset of the father's death leaves the Rake financially free.

The handling of his own family affairs from an early age would have made Hogarth sufficiently knowledgeable of legal jargon to use it to his advantage. The Hogarths suffered bankruptcy and a sojourn in the Fleet; his father died in 1718, leaving William to move house twice by 1735 and to help his sisters set up shop. He was, of course, preparing the Engraver's Bill to go before Parliament in the months before publishing A Rake's Progress.

The letters in the angry mother's apron tumble in a heap similar to that of the financial documents with which they contrast. The letters establish a previous agreement to marry as an initial influence upon the story and so the Rake's offer of gold is a significant admission of his part in the affair referred to by the letters and ring, representing evidence of past behaviour different from that of the present moment in exactly the same way that letters may be present in and contribute evidence to a literary narrative.

The arrangement of the tableau confirms that the memorandum book, the legal documents, and the love letters co-exist in the context of a wider causal pattern. Superficially, the father's fortune enables the Rake to ward off the Youngs, but, underlying the signs of miserliness to the left, are other indications of the father's traits which show

themselves to be inherited by the son: aspiration, self-display, contrariness, heartlessness, and impotence. The ordering of the situation into a sequence makes it possible to argue that the father's behaviour is the principal determinant of the narrative rather than the son's profligacy at Oxford which, because it occurs to the right, becomes a response to and effect of the father's excessive behaviour.

Paulson observes that Le Brun and other critics emphasized the theatrical quality of 'sublime history painting' and insisted upon 'the final folly of the literary analogy -- on the unity of action' in a picture.¹⁰ Paulson believes that Hogarth followed Le Brun's precepts 'quite literally' and sometimes joined 'incidents from different times in order to get his beginning, middle and end into a single painting'.¹¹ Arnheim and then Mercedes Gaffron make the point that an awareness of the effects of the glance-curve offers an explanation of the traditional allocation of symbolic meaning to the sides of pictures.¹² Such an awareness would make it especially tempting for the printman, wishing to include the Past and the Future in the Simultaneous Present Time of a picture, to systematize the traditional belief to his advantage.

Paulson supports the possibility in Hogarth's case in an analysis of temporally meaningful elements in A Harlot's Progress:

In Plate 1 he shows from left to right, the York Wagon and the young girl who has just dismounted, the girl in conversation with a procuress, and the waiting figure of the aristocratic keeper: past, present, and future. In Plate 2 the Jew and his mistress are in the foreground, the escaping lover in the background, and the future prophesied in the pictures of Old Testament retribution on the wall. . .

There is usually a central group and one in the rear; the first represents the present, and the second (which through the disposition, focus, light and shade, one sees second) the next step in the action; the walls then convey exegesis, commentary and prolepsis. 13

Paulson does not extend his analysis to the whole progress and so it is proposed to examine each picture of A Rake's Progress internally and in relation to its adjacent pictures in order to discover whether the pattern

is developed into a systematic use of the "geography" of a picture as a means of, symbolically, extending the temporal limits of a pictorial narrative.

It is stated on page 29 that The Heir represents a moment of transition. In terms of a possible association between temporal elements and their disposition, not only are the relics of the father's most remote way of life and the signs of his miserliness confined to the left, but a further more recent phase may be discerned. The open doors and book, the raised lid, and the scattered papers represent the consequences of a rummaging among the father's effects which took place some time before the present moment, but after the father's death (because it would be out of his character to have left precious things unguarded).

The only important elements to challenge the left-side/past-time association are the figures of the Youngs and the emblems of the funeral which are placed well to the supposedly future, right side of the picture. The Youngs are characters from the Rake's past: the letters convey the fact of his liaison with Sarah in another place; the ring is an emblem of his previous promise; the pregnancy is a result of his past love. The Rake intends to return them all to his past. The escutcheons are memorials to the late father and as such refer back in time.

These are, however, ambivalent elements: the pregnancy refers to both conception and subsequent birth (Sarah's daughter appears in The Marriage and The Prison). To 'progress' the Rake may be imagined as having to pass beyond them out of the only doorway which leads out of the room. Succeeding pictures show that he only pushes them forward, as it were, towards Sarah's rescue of him in The Arrest. The escutcheons ostensibly warn the world to beware of the Rakewells, but their position in direct line above the Youngs (emphasized by the coincidence of the vertical line of the door) connects them with the escutcheons as well as the father. Beware

is a present and future verb so the Rake is warned by his own motto (the equivalent of an innuendo in literature) to avoid the Youngs in the future. The rest of the story shows the ironic truth of this warning because the apparently enfeebled Sarah, like the clamps, never lets the Rake go; she is even to repay his offer of gold.

Rather than weakening the proposed temporal association, therefore, the disposition of these ambivalent elements strengthens it. The Youngs' outward relationship to the past is delusory and their less obvious meaning represents the truth. This is not to say that present elements do not exist to the left of the corner line, but the cat, the old woman, and the notary do not reappear.

Apart from those already noted, there are two alterations to be considered at this stage. Hogarth replaced the memorandum book with a large, mutilated Holy Bible. The shape of the hole in it corresponds to the shape of the sole of one of the boots beside it and the tooled design of the cover stretches incongruously across the sole.¹⁴ No character other than the miser is sufficiently mean to damage a bible in order to mend a boot. The task of sewing the sole is unfinished and it is reasonable to assume that this was a task upon which the miser was engaged when he died. The anecdote is a device which recalls a moment of past time to the present and indicates the suddenness of the father's death.

The mutilation adds an element of superstition as a premise. The father has put his desire to save before his respect for the Word of God by proposing to walk upon the cover of a bible; the implied consequences of his sacrilege are his own death and his son's downfall to which a loss of luck at the gaming table is a major contribution. The father's attitude is similar to the son's whose offer to Sarah is an attempt to replace an honourable promise with money. The Christian association invites the interpretation that the sins (and the luck) of the father are to descend

upon the son and, thereby, confirm the importance of the father to the story.

In the third state Hogarth rearranged the dates in the memorandum book so that the recorded events all happened in May beginning not on the third, but on the first. His intention was to evoke the rituals of love and marriage associated with May Day and to link the events more closely to the Rake's activities in Oxford.¹⁵ (The alteration is typical of an adjustment made to a novel to strengthen its internal logic.) The memorandum book was also repositioned below and to the right of the tailor's measure so that it becomes a secondary cause of the situation to the right of the picture, associating the activities of the Rakewells more closely with the figures of the Youngs.

Hogarth's use of colour confirms some of the initial expectations. It is noted above that the father's hat and the Rake's hair are red so that, symbolically, the latter may be interpreted as an inherited characteristic (pages 30 and 33). The association of the rake-figure with red (noted in connection with The Marriage Contract and apparent in both versions of Before and After) introduces the traditional associations of the colour: danger, lust, pride, fire, and a choleric disposition.¹⁶ Sarah's bonnet has a touch of pink about it and she wears a pink rose in her bosom as if to emphasize her sentimentality (whereas her mother has none). Objects are generally in focus in the painting and light in shade. The miser's portrait and the contents of the cupboards are the least defined; Hogarth develops the evidence of the miser's psychological state between the painting and the prints, emphasizing it when reversal causes it to appear on the left of the picture.

The opening lines of the caption draw attention to the father's 'Vanity of Age', a theme to which Hoadly was to return in the last

Verse Caption to 'The Heir'

O Vanity of Age, untoward,
Ever Spleeny, ever froward!
Why those Bolts, and Massy Chains,
Squint Suspicions, jealous Pains?
Why, thy toilsom Journey o'er,
Lay'st thou in an useless Store?
Hope along with Time is flown,
Nor canst thou reap ye Field thou'st sown.
 Hast Thou a Son? In Time be wise --
He views thy Toil with other Eyes --
Needs must thy kind, paternal Care,
Lock'd in thy Chests, be buried there:
Whence then shall flow ye friendly Ease,
That social Converse, homefelt Peace,
Familiar Duty without Dread,
Instruction from Example bred,
That youthfull Mind with Freedom mend,
And with ye Father mix the Friend?

caption and to the father's perpetual irascibility: he is 'untoward', 'spleeny', and 'froward'. In listing these qualities Hoadly emphasizes the psychological effects of miserliness, the verbal equivalent of Hogarth's visual study. The last couplet of the first verse paragraph puzzles over the pointlessness of the miser's obsession developing the platitude that he cannot take his money with him. In interpreting the miser's life as a 'toilsom Journey', Hoadly implies that the father is a self-made man and so the presence of the fashionable accoutrements in The Heir shows something of the son and the father's social aspirations.

The second paragraph, besides drawing attention to the difference in outlook between the generations -- 'He views thy Toil with other Eyes' -- observes that the paternal feeling is 'lock'd' in the father's chests, as a result of which the ideal harmony of a parental relationship is made discordant. Hoadly places effective responsibility for the Rake's career on the father because the former has received no parental 'Instruction from Example bred'. Hogarth reveals no ideal from which his figures can be shown to deviate, but Hoadly supplies the lack with an explicit list which balances with the traits in the first paragraph: 'Friendly Ease', 'Social Concourse', 'Familiar Duty without Dread'. The obvious moral provided customers with a norm by which to judge the pictures expressed in terms different to that of art.

The caption relies upon the picture to sustain the narrative line, unlike the simpler captions referred to by Hilda Kurz¹⁷ and, if anything, it confuses rather than clarifies because the earlier couplets address the father in a continuous present tense and only euphemistically refer to his death, 'thy Toilsom Journey o'er'. Significantly for an understanding of the causality of the narrative, Hoadly adopts the father's viewpoint referring to the central character of the narrative only as his father's son.¹⁸

The first caption functions as an alternative means of defining the

inward nature of obsession (difficult to convey visually) and of emphasising one element as an important cause of what is to happen in the story. The caption provides a retrospective warning to the father, supplies a moral, and the heavy balance of the couplets enacts the fundamental antithesis of the design.

The purpose of the first picture is expository, showing how the present situation is arrived at out of a convincing illusion of the past. A double sequence of events is evident; on one hand, concerned with the consequences of the relationship between the father and the son which is to become the visual equivalent of a main plot and, on the other, between the Rake and the Youngs, the pictorial sub-plot. The first picture presents a classic opening which satisfies the expectation of an epic narrative by beginning in media res. Hogarth chose to approach his story through the father's character rather than the Rake's relationship with Sarah in the same way that Shakespeare preferred to approach his central character through his father's ghost rather than through Hamlet himself. Hogarth was to make a similar approach in Marriage à la Mode in which his path to the young couple is by means of the parents who have predetermined the marriage.

It has been possible to begin an analysis of the causality of the narrative and to complete an examination of its opening unit, the complex design of which would appear to satisfy Aristotle's requirements of the beginning of a fiction. In one way the analysis of the situation in an expositional picture is less artificial an exercise than that of a novel or play because the independent existence of space-bound pictures, although part of a series, permits the commentator to extract the necessary ideas without distortion. To establish situation in linear art the commentator must assume that the work exists in an artificial moment of rest.

Lastly Paulson argues that the 'first plate is. . . a matter of choice: the Rake is poised between the lawyer counting his money and the girl he has gotten pregnant, and like the Harlot he chooses wrongly according to fashion'.¹⁹ Unlike the exposition of A Harlot's Progress in which the Harlot's antecedents are minimally presented -- she may come from York, the clergyman may be intended as her father -- Hogarth has devoted a large part of The Heir to a careful study of the father's character as a symbol of the Rake's origins. It is as intense and as elaborate, if not as universal or as puzzling, a study of the way in which pictorial art can make external a psychological state as Dürer's Melancholia. By emphasizing Hogarth's 'obsession', as he sees it, 'with the choice of Hercules paradigm', Paulson, although he notes the causality within the first picture, underestimates the deterministic basis for the Rake's behaviour in the personality and influence of the father.²⁰

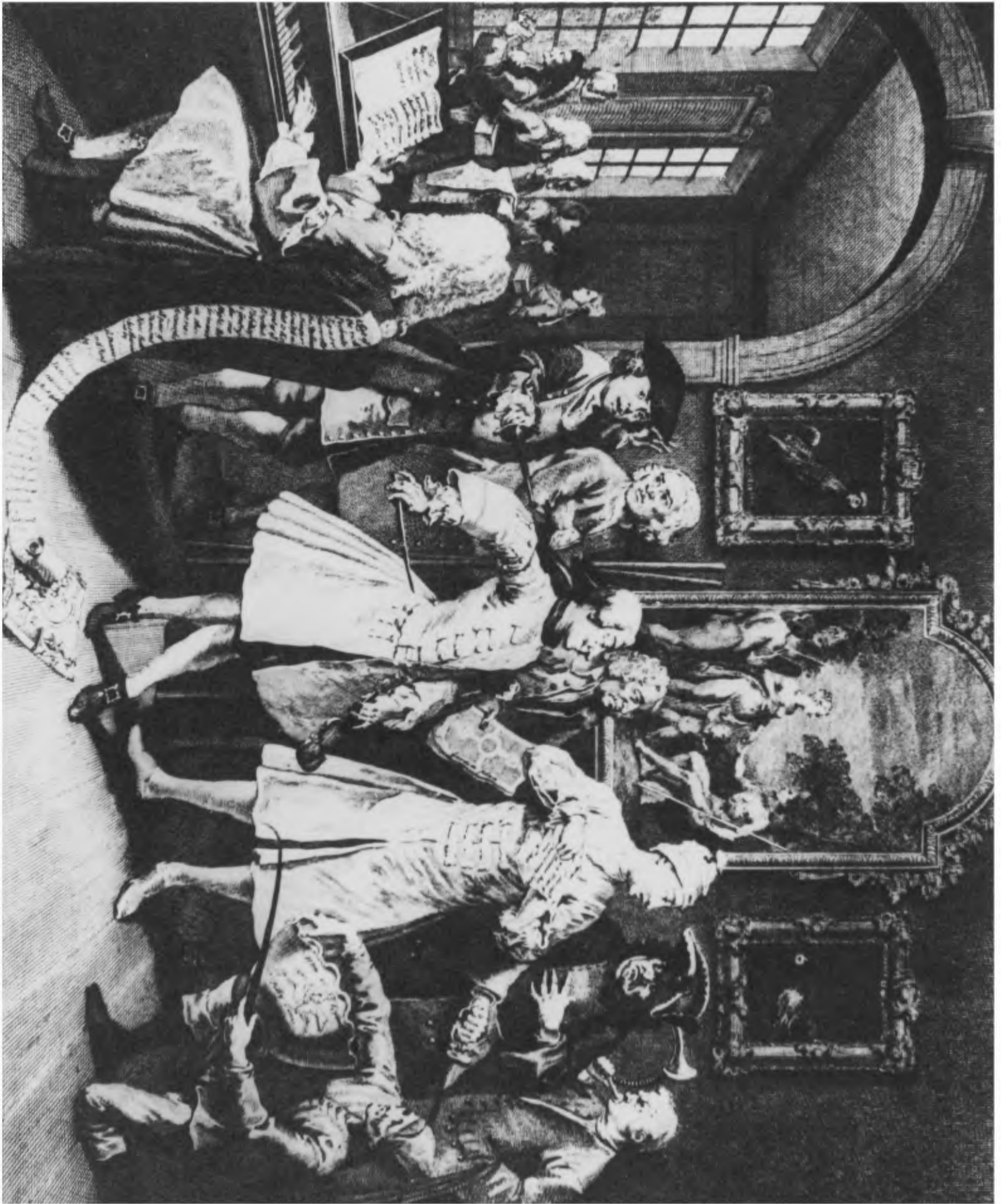
Not so his son. . .
 And then mistook reverse of wrong for right.
 (For what to shun will no great knowledge need,
 But what to follow is a task indeed.)

Alexander Pope²¹

The Heir: References

1. The Poetics, p. 27.
2. St Luke xv. 12.
3. The point of the Rake's elbow occupies the geometrical centre of the picture.
4. The significant contribution of Sarah Young and her mother is discussed in Part IIb (i).
5. Paulson's identification, HGW I, p. 161.
6. NEED 14b. 'an eating-house or tavern where public meals are provided at a fixed price'. In the seventeenth-century 'the more expensive ordinaries were frequented by men of fashion, and the dinner was usually followed by gambling; hence the term was often used as synonymous with gambling-house'.
7. Arnheim's phrase as used in Art and Visual Perception, p. 364.
Disclosure (ANAGNORISIS) is a 'change from ignorance to knowledge' (The Poetics, p. 31). The editor sees the change as 'the revelation of unknown facts, or the clearing up of factual misunderstanding' (p. 81). Arnheim extends the idea to represent a means of discerning an author's principle of selection, arrangement and priorities which compares more closely with Aristotle's concept of 'tying and untying of a knot'. Aristotle says 'what is outside the play, and usually also some of the incidents inside it, are the tying; and the rest is the untying'.
8. Below, p. 41.
9. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 379.
10. 'The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', p. 75.
11. 'The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', p. 75.
12. Art and Visual Perception, p. 23.
13. 'The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', p. 75.

14. The Holy Bible is a holey book, literally; one of the visual puns of which Waterhouse disapproves (below p.229).
15. W.H. Auden in his libretto to Stravinsky's opera sets the opening scene on May Day. The duet begins:
- The woods are green and bird and beast at play
For all things keep this festival of May.
16. See Appendix One, p. 222 for reference to The Marriage Contract.
17. See note 3, p.231 , Reference List to Appendix One.
18. The verses are sufficiently independent of the pictures to have warranted their publication in Dodsley's Collection of Poems (1758).
19. H I, p. 419.
20. Appendix One and H I, p. 417.
21. Epistle to Bathurst, ls 199-203, published in 1733 at a time when Hogarth was preparing the paintings of A Rake's Progress.



3. The Levee, Plate 2 (140/133)

IIa. Plate 2, The Levee (140/133)

A middle is that which itself follows something else and is followed by another thing.

Aristotle ¹

Not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country and there wasted his substance.

St Luke ²

The second picture is part of the formal development of the narrative which extends to include the third picture. In the context of a prodigal story the development is represented by a dramatic change of milieu and activity subsequent to the son's receipt of his portion. It is to be expected from this change in the original, therefore, that there are few references to the previous picture and its contents. The second is more concerned with continuous and anticipatory signs than with the relics of an old order which had already changed.

The Rake is now a young man of expensive tastes surrounded by the representatives of pastimes of the rich. An array of figures is set against the back wall of a large room placed parallel to the frontal plane. An absence of recessional lines within the larger area of the picture to the right brings the wall close to the foreground, as in The Marriage Contract and The Laughing Audience. A sense of depth is presented beyond that of the subscription ticket because an archway dominates a third of the background on the left. The ceiling and side walls are not shown and the archway leads to an ante-chamber which implies more space behind. Unlike the first setting of the narrative, this room offers the opportunity of escape.

Whereas the father's room is heavily beamed and Dutch or Flemish in architecture, the son's is spacious, smooth-walled, and baroque. The father's room is cluttered, but the son's is sparsely furnished. The

absence of personal belongings and the 'capricious' presence of the dancing figures in contrast to the solidly set figures of the first picture suggest that the setting is more permanent than the activities of the characters which inhabit it.³

The central tableau lacks the close-knit unity of the pyramid in the first picture. It consists of a line of figures stretched across the foreground and repeated in the ante-chamber in which a smaller, more united 'train' of minor characters is parallel with and to the rear of the main tableau. At first glance it is difficult to distinguish the Rake, the only character to return to the narrative, from the figures who attend him because he is changed in appearance: his hair is hidden, his profile reveals a sharper nose and perhaps a puffier face. He now wears a fastened pink coat instead of a suit, and pink slippers instead of heavy black shoes.

He is recognizable only because a small majority of the larger figures is turned towards him. Gilpin is reported as commenting that the 'principal figure is very deficient' and Paulson observes that 'Rakewell indeed is so generalized a figure that Hogarth hardly bothers to match his face from print to print'.⁴ There is some point in the lack of identification, however, because Hogarth was attempting the ambitious task of showing his protagonist in an indecisive mood and therefore as an inconspicuous figure. He makes the satirical point that, although the Rake is the rich master, he is little different in appearance from the servitors who surround him. The change is also an inevitable sign of the dramatic difference in a prodigal's circumstances (and, consequently, perhaps in his physique).

The parade-like arrangement of the figures emphasizes the successive nature of the main tableau which is more obviously sequential than the pyramid of The Heir. Hogarth may have realized the inherent possibilities for narrative in the succession while painting the picture because The Levee is the only one in which the copy was made from a mirror image and so the

engraving does not reverse the modello.

A musician sits at the harpsichord on the far left contemplating the book of an opera entitled The Rape of the Sabines (by 'F.H.' in the painting). A cast list was added along with an exaggeratedly long scroll which hangs from the musician's chair. The scroll catalogues the list of presents which Farinelli 'Condescended to Accept of Ye English Nobility and Gentry for one Night's Performance in the Opera Ataxerses'. The rococo curve of the scroll gives literal direction to the way in which information in the anecdote is to be read (with the tendency of the glance-curve) from the music book down the scroll to the page resting below its curled end in what amounts to the visual equivalent of a large full-stop.

The Rake approves of erotic and violent opera and the theme of The Rape of the Sabines is also evocative of the sinister Rape of Ganymede picture placed within the same setting of The Marriage Contract. Both pictures indicate that popular folk-lore and a certain form of history painting possess a common element transcending social differences. The title of the opera has its ridiculous side, however, because it is grammatically based upon the title of Pope's Rape of the Lock and because an 'Epistle to Rake' (reminiscent of the Epistle to Bathurst, for example,) is positioned immediately above the book of the opera, apparently by chance. 'Rape' loses its serious meaning because the cast of the ravishers is played by castratos and the Sabine maidens by 'notoriously loose sopranos'.⁵ The joke also comments upon the Rake's sexual prowess which is only revealed as the assumption from outside the path of disclosure that he is the father of Sarah's child. He is disclosed as interested only in the sexuality of others.⁶

The last item in the list reads 'A Gold Snuff Box Chac'd with the Story of Orpheus Charming Ye Brutes by T. Rakewell Esq.' The Rake is set apart as the only named donor from the anonymous 'Nobility and Gentry' to

whose status he aspires. The catalogue of gifts is modelled upon a contemporary newspaper report:

His Royal Highness the Prince hath been pleased to make a present of a fine wrought gold snuff-box, richly set with brilliants and rubies, in which was enclosed a pair of brilliant diamond Knee buckles, as also a purse of 100 guineas, to the famous Signor Farinelli. 7

The Rake's patronage of so costly a performance in conjunction with the Prince of Wales may explain why the scroll-memento is so ostentatiously displayed, but a matter of pride to the Rake is only seen as a matter of folly by the lecteur. Unlike the Prince's design, the Rake's snuff-box, while paying Farinelli the compliment of an association with Orpheus, tactlessly equates the 'Nobility' with the 'Brutes' charmed by the legendary singer. The Rake, unwittingly (unlike his calculating creator) equates the Prince and his friends with the animals which within the context of the narrative strengthens the animality implied in The Laughing Audience (page 23) and introduced to the progress by the cat's attitude paralleling those of the Youngs in The Heir (page 31). 8

The frontispiece of the poem dedicated to the Rake (below the scroll) in conjunction with Epistle to Rake offers an ironic contrast with the worthy men to whom Pope wrote -- Addison, Arbuthnot, Bathurst, Cromwell, or Jervas. The frontispiece shows Farinelli upon a pedestal and, thereby, reveals the Rake's approval of the singer rather than the song, foreign rather than native culture, extremism rather than moderation, and the propensity towards the sort of self-glorification which may be bought. Not only does the propensity parallel the father's suppressed trait, but the addition of the equation between the sole of a boot and the cover of a bible in the first picture corresponds with the sacrilegious implications of the epigraph to the frontispiece, 'One G-d one Farinelli'. 9

The elaborate anecdote of the musician is a means of including further references to events occurring outside the path of disclosure which reveal



The Levee: the figures immediately surrounding the Rake

Their emblems lightly encircle him. Note that the disposition of the bully's arm appears an extension of the Rake's own.

more of the Rake's character. Because Hogarth could not express the psychology of a character economically in visual terms he made use of the literary technique of a verbal list to convey his point; almost the antithesis of an illustration to a novel which also strengthens the established themes of the narrative, provides them with a different dimension, and enlivens a dull area. The anecdote is an example of the way in which current events were to favour Hogarth; the contemporary success of Artaserses and accounts of it in the newspapers supplied him with a ready-made satirical comment at the expense of the Opera of the Nobility and the Prince. The additions demonstrate that he was prepared to sacrifice pictorial verisimilitude and chronological consistency for the sake of a 'wisecrack' which also contributes to the narrative line and the psychology of the central character.¹⁰

Seven figures immediately attend the Rake; their number, their emblematic badges of office, and their roles as fashionable and expensive temptations are reminiscent of a parade of the Seven Deadly Sins assembled before their master. In Spenser's Faerie Queene, the sins are yoked to the 'wagon beame' of Satan, a personification of Pride.¹¹ Hogarth's figures are not so much the personification of sin, but of vanities which reflect the Rake's view of the pursuits of an ideal man about town. Hogarth's point is that harmless figures are the potential agents of destruction for a foolish character.

The Rake is partially encircled by four of the figures: the gardener's plan is overlapped by the Rake's right elbow; its edge leads on to the line of the violin which overlaps his coat; the violin leads to the line of the jockey's whip and bowl; in turn they also overlap the Rake's coat; the line of the swordsman's weapon and arm disappears behind the Rake's left elbow. The slightness of the overlap suggests that these figures captivate or, figuratively, ensnare him in a web. The quarter-staff

player, gardener, and jockey wait patiently and the fencing master and dancing master seem to perform for their own amusement; reacting to the Rake less as a gallant who knows his own mind and more as a temporizing customer.

The Rake's figure divides the train into two groups: a more harmless one to the left and a potentially more violent one to the right. Although his body faces the lecteur squarely, his head and shoulders are inclined towards the swordsman and his weapon and away from the dancing master and his bow. The Rake's letter refers to the supposed readiness of the captain to do him a service in a matter of 'Honour'. The latter's corpulence undercuts his outwardly gallant pose, but, although the captain is referred to as 'Hackum' in the painting, the name is removed from the prints perhaps to increase the serious associations with feuding. A narrative sequence is thus apparent: the main predictions of the first picture are realized: the Rake spends like a prince; the clothes for which he is measured in The Heir seem to await him in the alcove; he is presently losing interest in harmless vanities to the left of the picture and turning towards his immediate future preoccupations with violence and bloodsport to the right which prepare for the depravity of the next scene.

It has been noted that the father's portrait is an influential after-image in The Heir.¹² Three large paintings hang above the Rake in The Levee, an apparently sublime Judgement of Paris flanked by studies of gaming cocks.¹³ Whereas the Rake's indecision is disclosed in the present moment, Paris is shown as making his decision in the picture-within-a-picture; his hand is on the point of releasing the apple to Venus. The Rake is not shown at the moment of committal to a specific path, but like Paris, who foolishly agreed to judge between the goddesses, he is already launched on his spending spree and his head turns towards

more sinister ideas. In retrospect it is realized that this moment corresponds to that in a Shakespearean tragedy when events take an ominous turn.

The judgement picture anticipates the Rake's undisclosed choice and, by showing the crucial event in the story of a famous hero, suggests that the present scene is a burlesque of a more universal crisis. Hogarth makes use of the picture-within-the-picture not only as an opportunity to make satirical points, but to present an oblique reflection of an action which is presumed to take place in the interval between pictures. By only presenting an image of the Rake's choice, Hogarth has diminished its importance to the narrative in order to emphasize his indecision.

The Judgement of Paris is a further sign of the Rake's lack of genuine taste; he is a 'connoisseur' of 'dark pictures'.¹⁴ As in his choice of opera the Rake prefers an erotic theme, identifying less with the founder of Rome and more with Romulus, the violator, and less with Paris the great lover and more with him as the indolent observer of naked women. Conversely, Paris's famous romance, Hogarth suggests, may have its true basis in such mean or foolish love affairs as that between the Rake and Sarah.

In a prodigal story the possibility of repentance remains, but the ill-omened nature of Paris's fate at the hands of women works against the likelihood of the Rake's revival. The lecteur may raise questions about the way in which Hogarth's narrative relates to the fatal events of the legend: on whom the Rake bestows his golden apple of choice (or who may take it away from him, like the harlots in Orgies); which beauty is to accompany him wherever he goes; having favoured Aphrodite, has he offended Hērē, the goddess of motherhood, by his treatment of Sarah, and Minerva with his silliness?¹⁵

There is a sense of kinetic movement across the history painting

Verse Caption to 'The Levee'

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

between one bobbing cock erect on the left and the other ducking on the right. They seem to jeer at the scene between them, ridiculing both the subject of the grand painting and the intelligence which supposedly hung them together. In the same way that the escutcheons comment upon the figures below them, the upright attitude of the bird on the left draws attention to the fact that the Rake's own energies may have been most in evidence in the past.

Hogarth first made elaborate use of the device of pictures-within-a-picture (perhaps corresponding structurally to the idea of a story-within-a-story like that of the Man of the Hill in Tom Jones or the 'history of Leonora' in Joseph Andrews) in A Harlot's Progress Plate 2, in which scenes from the Old Testament comment upon the Harlot's double-dealing and the Jew's retributive attitude. The pictures indicate how the Harlot is to wake up and discover that his protection is withdrawn. By such a means Hogarth was able to withhold the direct presentation of a violent incident until the prison scene as he chose to withhold the presentation of an actual choice in A Rake's Progress. The device is used even more subtly in The Heir (pages 32 to 33).

The first sentence of the caption is addressed to a personification of Prosperity and the second to Pleasure. Both sentences emphasize the stagy, crowded character of the picture by including lists of personified traits similar to Spenser's parade of the sins. The idealized nature of the figures makes the relationship between the picture and its caption less direct in the second picture. The domestic virtues of the first caption: 'Paternal Care', 'social Converse', 'Familiar Duty', etc., are generalized in the first sentence of the second caption into more fundamental attributes: 'Memory', 'Faith', 'Love', and the 'Brain' (the intellect). The virtues locked in the miser's chest and the ideals enslaved to the son's vices invite comparison: the similarities correspond to what Hogarth

and Hoadly between them saw as the son's inherited characteristics and the differences as the son's reaction against his father.

Prosperity enters the 'unprovided Mind' with a speed appropriate to the downfall of a prodigal. Hoadly condemns the quality herself; she is treacherous, morally destructive, and, anticipating the theme of the next picture, beguiles 'with Harlot's smiles'. Kunzle, in discussing the 'perfectly sinful and criminal man' in the context of the Deadly Sins stresses the importance of the harlot as a central form of temptation:

The best definition of the rake, who can come surprisingly near this ideal, is the male victim of the harlot, the most dangerous sort of woman and the favourite embodiment of the devil's wiles. The rake, therefore, is a man whose principal and motivating sin is that of lechery, from which all other sins radiate. 16

Pleasure is accompanied by Venus, Lyaeus, and their 'train' who associate pleasure with forms of erotic love, drunkenness, irresponsibility, and the sources of inspiration in music and poetry.¹⁷ The parade of pastimes is reflected in the listing of the train of Pleasure in a catalogue of personifications similar to Spenser's. Hoadly maintains Spenser's traditional use of animalist imagery, but scales down the effect: Spenser's loathsome Gluttony becomes 'swolen Excess', lustful Lechery -- 'vicious Taste', revenging Wrath -- 'Mechanic Honour', and Vanity, 'a gentle husher' in The Faerie Queene is paralleled by Hoadly's 'apish Dance'.¹⁸ Only Avarice and Idleness are not paralleled, omissions which may be accounted for by their presence in the personalities of the Rakewells.

Hogarth presents a temptation scene in contemporary terms in which a parade of figures had their identifiable counterparts (note 8 to page 49). Hoadly generalizes so that the individuals also acquire universal attributes (the scene is a 'district of Vanity Fair' according to one commentary¹⁹). Paulson shows that Hogarth both parallels and parodies the conventions of traditional history painting in his progress; Hoadly

shows that the moral lessons comparable to those to be drawn from the grand tradition can also be drawn from Hogarth's art.

The caption seems to strengthen the causal relationships between one picture and the next, one caption and another, and in the reference to 'Harlot's smiles' perhaps one progress and another. The verses continue to express the psychology of the picture, but in a way which oversimplifies Hogarth's view. They reflect the dramatic change in situation between the pictures; whereas the tone of the first caption is masculine and biblically moral, the second is feminine and neo-classical, but the balanced listing of qualities, the rhetoric, and the mock-heroic style of the couplets remains common.

Finally, the predictions of the first "chapter" of the story are only partly realized. The Rake's tendency to give or lose money is developed into a desire to buy prestige which, along with his ambitions, falsely classical in character, represents a new element appropriate to an early step in a narrative. The trait is, however, consistent with a character already established as possessing too much money, a veneer of education, and a foolish temperament. The staginess of the tableau and the displayed spectrum of the Rake's tastes make the picture outwardly static, while the presence of many figures who represent medieval emblems of temptation as well as people makes the scene more insubstantial than the obviously realistic scenes which adjoin The Levee. (The Rake's buttoned up appearance makes him less of a person than in either The Heir or Orgies.) The scene reveals a moral development of character in its decline from harmless, semi-civilized pursuits on the left to more depraved and dangerous ones to the right. The emphasis upon the continuity of actions in The Levee, the corresponding absence of relics of past behaviour or permanent habitation, and the emphasis upon amusements, recalls the impermanent quality of Southwark Fair. The recollection implies that the Rake's version of the

civilized life is no more than a transitory and exceptional phase in his career.

This year a Reservoir, to keep and spare,
The next a fountain, spouting thro' his Heir,
In lavish streams to quench a Country's thirst,
And men and dogs shall drink him till they burst. 20

The Levee: References

1. The Poetics, p. 27.
2. St Luke xv. 13.
3. Lawrence Gowing in the Tate Catalogue (p. 32) draws attention to the delusory, mercurial, and insubstantial quality of the figures by associating them with the Commedia del' Arte.
4. Gilpin is quoted by J. Nichols and G. Steevens, Genuine Works of William Hogarth, pp. 126-7 (hereafter known as Nichols and Steevens) and HGW I, p. 43.
5. HGW I, p. 163.
6. In Orgies a harlot makes advances to a passive Rake, while his male companion takes the initiative. The Rake marries an aged bride and even Sarah has to rescue him from the bailiffs.
7. Grub Street Journal, 10 April 1733.
8. Attention is drawn to the musician because his back is to the audience in a picture containing many allusions to contemporary life; consequently his identity has become a matter of curiosity. As Mercedes Gaffron suggests of Rembrandt's Return of the Prodigal, in which the son kneels before the father with his back towards the spectator, the lecteur tends to identify with the musician. Bearing in mind Hogarth's manipulation of the vantage point in The Laughing Audience, the disposition of the musical anecdote suggests that he himself may have had sympathy with the musician if, in the early stages of his career, he accepted the traditional belief that music was a manifestation of moral and universal harmony. (Hogarth was to juxtapose another musician with noisy figures in 1741, but the Enraged Musician (170/158) is an unsympathetic figure.) The initials F.H. associate the mythical opera with Handel and it is to be wondered whether Hogarth aligned

himself with 'English Handel' against the insensitive connoisseur of foreign art to the right of the picture. Ironically the placing of the musician to the far left suggests that he is responsible for the dancing of the figures to the right to his tune.

Paulson notes that the maker of the harpsichord, I. Mahoan, possessed the royal patent; the quarter-staff player may have been James Figg; the fencing master, Dubois. Lichtenberg suggests that the dancing master was called Essex and that the gardener was Charles Bridgman (Commentaries, note to p. 205 and p. 207).

9. P.H. Lang, George Frederic Handel (London, 1967) p. 250. Lang reports a contemporary craze of 'Farinelli worship'. The singer performed twenty-eight times in the opera.
10. One piece of evidence from the memorandum book in The Heir. The Rake entered his inheritance early in the 1720s. Artaserses was performed in 1733 so there is a ridiculously long interval of ten years between the first and second pictures. In the painting 'Silly Tom' won at Newmarket in 1729. Hogarth added topical material regardless of chronology.

I am grateful to Miss Sylvia Jones of Birmingham University Library for help in preparing the background to this passage and to the late David Lepine, organist of Coventry Cathedral, for information about the musical anecdote.

11. The Faerie Queene, Book I, Canto IV, Stanza 37.
12. Above, Part IIa, Plate 1, p. 32.
13. HGW I, p. 163. Paulson sees them as the cocks which the Rake set fighting at Newmarket, based on the fact that his horse won there. It is suspected that Hogarth changed the race course from Newmarket to Epsom in the print because the Prince of Wales raced at the latter course.
14. HGW, p. 163.

15. E.V. Rieu notes that Hērē is 'the goddess of motherhood and in this capacity controls the Eileithyial, the minor goddesses of childbirth' (The Iliad (Penguin, 1949), p. 468).
16. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 561.
17. The Oxford Companion to English Literature states that Lyaeus is an alternative for Dionysius: 'Later he appears a god of vegetation, a suffering god, who dies and comes to life again, particularly as a god of wine, who loosens care (Lyaeus, Luaios) and inspires to music and poetry.' (Sir Paul Harvey (Oxford, 1951), p. 147.)
18. The Faerie Queene, Book I, Canto IV, Stanza 13ff.
19. The Bite of the Print, p. 150.
20. Epistle to Bathurst, ls 175-78.



4. Orgi, Plate 3 (141/134)

IIa. Plate 3, Orgies (141/134)

The one essential requirement of any self-respecting orgy [is] the heavy outnumbering of the men by the women.

Kingsley Amis ¹

With riotous living.

St Luke ²

The purpose of the second picture is continued into the third because Orgies shows more of the range of the prosperous and foolish man's tastes. The division of St Luke's verse into two epigraphs shared between the pictures draws attention to the fact that the next step in the Prodigal's fortunes, his abrupt decline, has been delayed by Hogarth. The picture develops the Rake's established interest in sensational themes into a complicated web of analogies with the heroic world. Hogarth, himself, stated a mock-heroic attitude to Orgies in his parody of Swift's Battle of the Books, called the Battle of the Pictures (175/163, 1744-5), in which he shows Orgies as one of the only two 'modern' pictures to defeat the 'ancients'; it splits a Feast at Olympus. (The other successful picture is A Midnight Modern Conversation (134/128, 1732-3), itself a model in design and subject for Orgies.) Hogarth implies that the moderns outrival the ancients only in their carousals.

The Rake is drunk in the small hours at the Rose Tavern Covent Garden, the first identifiable setting of the story. Quennell notes that 'by 1721, in addition to taverns, brothels, bagnios, Covent Garden contained some twenty-two gambling hells' and so the Garden's reputation confirms the general depravity of the scene. ³ In design Hogarth returns to the enclosed corner space of The Heir, except that the shadowy corner line has been moved to a less important position further to the right emphasizing the apparent closeness of the Rake to the lecteur to the left. There are no windows or cupboards, the wings are blocked, the single doorway is filled

with figures and beyond the door a servant is to be seen descending the stairs as if to imply that the windowless, fire-lit scene is set in a cellar. The enclosed space of The Heir is made increasingly claustrophobic in sharp contrast to the airy scenes on either side of Orgies.

The figures are crowded round the focal point of an oval table similar to that in The Marriage Contract and the engraved version of A Midnight Modern Conversation. The placing of a table before a corner space partially solves the problems of design in which tables are set against backwalls parallel to the frontal plane. Advantage is taken of the relatively greater space to the right to vary the arrangement of figures and their activities.⁴

The Rake is identified by his role as a solitary man among women, by his position in the important left foreground, and by his being the centre of a carefully treated incident in which his pocket-watch is stolen. His position suggests that the situation to the right of him is the effective consequence of his behaviour as the events of The Heir are those of his father. Outwardly his figure represents a study of the graceless, drunken, aristocratic debauchee, but an examination of the detailed context shows that even his claim to this debased status is false. Unlike Zeus, or Jove, in The Battle of the Pictures, who sits squarely at his table, the Rake has collapsed; his lips open slackly, and his right eye droops not only as a sign of drunkenness, but as a sign of loss of perception, anticipating the semi-blindness of his bride in later pictures and his inability to learn from the lessons of The Arrest. The pattern of the cloth indicates that he wears a similar silvery-grey coat to that which is being prepared for him in The Heir and The Levee. His disarray recalls that of the sexually exhausted youth in After (153/142) except that the drunkenness is the cause of the Rake's untidiness. (The Levee represents the only occasion in the narrative when the Rake's coat is fastened and he is not



Orgies: the Rake surrounded by harlots

Compare the arrangement of the harlot's hands in this, the third state, with that of the earlier one (opposite page 60). Note the relationship between the recurrent lantern and the point of the Rake's scabbard (page 65).

open, to his associates.) The previously drawn and badly sheathed sword provides evidence of a recent violent gesture and his inability properly to manipulate the symbol of a self-considered gentleman.

The Rake's weight is supported awkwardly on his thigh, while his left leg is rudely cocked on the table in a gesture of assumed negligence. His attitude is so precariously held that he appears more likely to fall out of it than move out of it of his own free will. The dynamic of his body suggests that he revolves about himself in an anti-clockwise movement which challenges the clockwise movement of the glance around the table; it may be imagined that the scene whirls before him.

A harlot caresses him with one hand and passes his watch to a colleague with the other. Hogarth shows the watch at the moment of transfer poised between the harlots' hands rather as the apple is poised between the hands of Paris and Venus. Hogarth had difficulty in adjusting the hands to his satisfaction. In the painting the recipient's hand is above that of the donor. In the second state the donor's hand is bent back at the wrist to facilitate the apparent upward movement of the watch and to make it stand out against the dark ground of the recipient's dress. In the third state Hogarth reverses the hands so that the hand above becomes that of the donor and the lower hand, palm upturned and cupped, becomes the hand of the recipient.

The alterations increase a sense of sinuous movement which begins with the glass held by the Rake's right hand, passes up his arm, and is taken up by the caressing hand of the donor. It continues along her arm behind the Rake's head, includes the watch, and continues down the recipient's arm to end with her hand close to the Rake's glass. The movement suggests that the glass and the watch stand in a cause-effect relationship to each other, making the Rake's drunkenness responsible for his loss.

Similar watches are found in other scenes in Hogarth's art usually

where women are responsible for the betrayal of a man or where a woman is prepared by another to bring about the eventual betrayal of mankind. The watches are either the objects stolen from men or the preoccupations of those who are betrayed.⁵ Pope's famous simile seems relevant:

'Tis with our Judgements as our watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own.⁶

Hogarth's pocket-watches represent masculine attributes of orderly thought or moral judgement to be circumvented or acquired by women.

The smooth-faced, decisive harlots remove the Rake's symbol of moral awareness. They regard him as a dupe, as does the notary of The Heir, and their bold intimacy contrasts with the outward deference previously shown to the sober Rake. After the loss of his pocket-watch, the fifth picture, The Marriage, is to reveal a change in the Rake's attitude from a minimum of sympathy towards women to an absolutely selfish and unscrupulous one. His present sloppiness and vulnerability in the company of women contrasts with the self-assured attitudes of the gallants in The Laughing Audience, the dignity associated with Roman Emperors (even though they may have lost their heads), and the upright posture of Jove in The Battle of the Pictures surrounded by his fellow gods and goddesses seated at a respectful distance.

The arrangement of the figures implies an elliptic, clockwise movement in accord with the tendency of the glance. The movement begins with the Rake and includes the 'posture woman' on the right within its circumference.⁷ The vulgarity of the bored, quarrelling, and drunken harlots represents a decline from the statuesque array of figures in the second plate. Their indifference to the Rake contrasts with the attention outwardly given to him in The Levee. Even a prosperous man is of no importance when he is one debauchee among others. In Orgies not only is his untidiness reflected in that of the company, but it extends to include the spoliation of the image of the whole world.



Orgies: the Rake's male companion



Orgies: the posture woman

The equipment for her performance is held behind her in such a way that the platter appears as a halo (pages 95 and 182). Her decorated stocking and its contrasting darns are particularly clear in the painting.

The violent implications to the right of The Levee are realized in the squirting of gin, strengthened in the engraving, the brandished knife, the action of the incendiarist in the background, and the (unconfirmed) possibility that the Rake's companion, caressing a harlot's throat, was intended as a contemporary strangler.⁸ This last incident together with those of the women who attack each other and who exploit the Rake represent reversals of the conventions of romantic, civilized behaviour in which man assumes an initiative over women.

The posture woman balances with the Rake in the exaggerated foreground; both figures are seated away from the table, their bodies turned to the right, and their legs protruding. While he wears a badly sheathed sword, she wears, even more ridiculously, a stocking darned in red and embroidered with a green coronet. The similarities comment upon their social and heroic pretensions: both represent the sport of the assembled company; he has challenged the images of the emperors in a mockery of a battle (below) and is having his pocket picked and she is about to pose on the table of the "gods" the chief of which is too drunk to appreciate her.

The exact nature of the posture woman's dance is implied by the presence of the platter and candle in combination with the ballad singer's song The Black Joke.⁹ Notes and Queries suggests that the Joke may have had to do with 'wrestling' and the text of The New Black Joke (1780) implies that the original song was about man's gross admiration and desire for women's sexual attributes.¹⁰ A typical verse reads as follows:

The warrior who fires thro' powder and smoke,
Will take a good aim when he shouts at a joke,
A black joke and belly so white;
Whenever this battle he taketh in hand,
He ne'er quits the field while he's able to stand,

Chorus:

To a coal black joke that will passion provoke,
It is like a scotch coal it will burn without smoke,
A black joke and belly so white. 11

The Rake's collapse and the evidence of his mis-sheathed sword suggest that the posture woman is to receive little response to her Dionysian wrestling upon a platter belonging to John Bon-Vine. Her garter, also a mockery of an aristocratic ideal and perhaps intended as a reward for the principal guest, hangs neglected from her chair. The bawdy song is both a prologue to the imminent tableau vivant and an epitaph to the Rake's sexual appetites; there is subsequently no evidence of his lechery beyond a glance in the progress.

Broken objects, spilt liquids, scattered food, and untidily heaped clothes contribute to a theme of wanton destruction. In particular the staff and broken lantern, the defaced portraits, and the cracked mirror provide evidence of the Rake's achievements in the tavern. Significantly, the relics of past action which do exist to the right of the Rake occur either in the background or in remote corners. The evidence is also indicative of Hogarth's ironic attitude. The sword points at the broken head of Julius Caesar cut from the painting above. The end of the scabbard appears, through overlap, to be thrust into the broken lantern. The disposition of these trophies well to the left and immediately below the Rake indicates that the swordsmanship in which the Rake shows interest to the right of The Levee has been exercised in a pointless and cruel game such as wresting a lantern from the watchman. (It may be construed at the same punning level of the Holy/holey bible that the harlots revenge the watchman for the loss of his lantern by stealing the Rake's pocket-watch.)

Seven of the portraits of the twelve Caesars hang in chronological disorder in the background.¹² That Hogarth intended their vandalism to have been carried out by the present company is shown by the facts that in the painting a head of Caesar broken from its frame lies close to the Rake's foot and is partially obscured by the posture woman's



Orgies

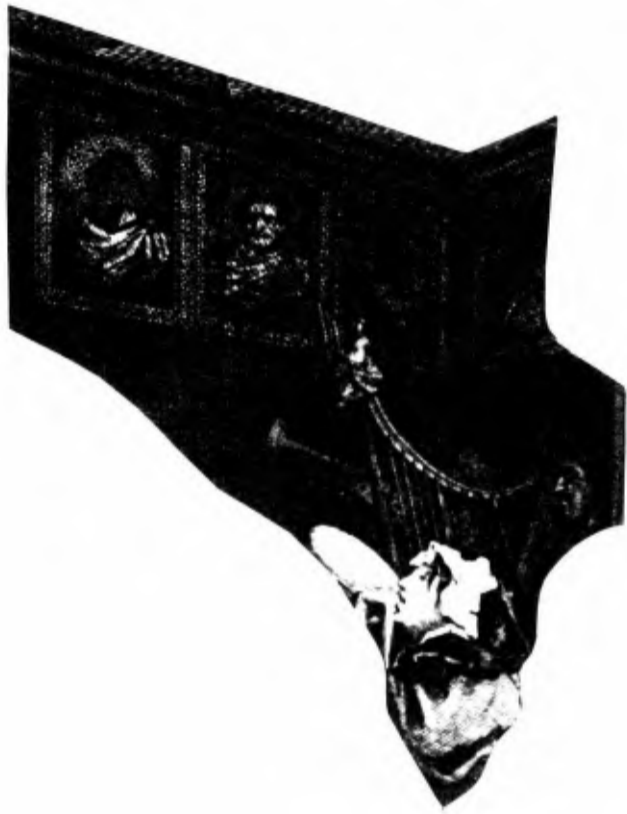
From left to right: the portrait of Pontac which replaces the damaged study of Julius Caesar in the third state (pages 70-71), the shattered mirror, and the Totus Mundus being burnt by the bored harlot.

clothes, while a second head of 'Julius' was added to the print. The Rake is responsible, as the leader of the company, for the destruction of the emperors and for having magnanimously spared the head of Nero, the most infamous. The effect lies in the fact that, no matter what heroic virtue is associated with the deed, the Rake's foes are images and so his feat remains one of meaningless self-acclaim. The family's bravado, first introduced into the narrative in the escutcheons of The Heir and maintained by the Rake's interest in the seedy braggadoccio to the right of The Levee, is only a façade because the reputations of the real emperors mock the heroic appearance of the action.

The Rake's serious attitude to his activities is demonstrated by the thoroughness with which the mirror has been shattered (its cracks have been emphasized in the prints). An accurate reflection of self has been smashed as if the viewer did not like what he saw. Lichtenberg develops the implication: 'the mirror, the universal portrait of all present, is also slashed through; perhaps it was a suicide in effigie performed by Rakewell's sword'.¹³ A broken mirror is a traditional warning of misfortune as is a damaged bible (The Heir). The Rake does not literally commit suicide, but his life is wilfully self-destructive in various ways from this point onwards.

The mock-heroic is developed in a number of ways. The circularity of the table with its Olympian associations also connects with the circular structure of Limbo and Hell emphasized by the destructive, ruddily lit, and subterranean character of the scene. The shape is repeated in the hemispheres of the 'Totus Mundus', the intermediate stage between heaven and the underworld, which is positioned above the present action, and in the posture woman's platter as if to suggest that she dances somewhere at the centre of the Ptolemaic universe.

The harlot who sets fire to the image of the world with a ridiculously



Orgies: the head of Nero and the musicians

Note the **position** of the carved point of the harp (King David) as if in opposition to the "giant" bust of Nero. (The head of a carousing harlot appears at the bottom of the illustration.)

small flame offers a parallel between present trivialities and deeds of eternal significance. Because the map hangs near the unharmed Nero, her act parodies the purgation of the world arising not from divine wrath, or an emperor's megalomania, but from a harlot's boredom. Because the Rake has already been identified with Paris and three "goddesses" steal his judgement, the incendiarist assumes the role of Helen who was ultimately responsible with Paris for the burning of Troy. Dobson draws a comic parallel between the incendiarist and Matthew Prior's poem The Female Phaeton.¹⁴ Phaeton is represented by 'Kitty' (Lady Catherine Hyde) whose tour in her mother's carriage set the fashionable world on fire. If the analogy is valid, then it adds to the comic mixture of social and pseudo-heroic aspiration and aristocratic and godly fallibility present in the scene.

The function of the large map, so incongruous in a tavern, is similar to that of the father's portrait and the Judgement of Paris. They contribute elements from a legendary past or future which widen the scope of the disclosed moment. The power of the device lies in the fact that the map and the pictures may be considered as metaphorical or as real, as apocalyptic or as trivial as the lecteur wishes.

Special consideration is given to the inconspicuous musicians in the shadowiest corner because of their potential for comedy. Attention is drawn to two features: the upturned eye of the harpist indicates that he is blind and the carving on the point of a ten-stringed harp shows that he plays King David's harp.¹⁵ This reference is part of a motif which combines the ideas of King David and St David of Wales (first introduced indirectly in The Levee with its reference to the Prince of Wales). Subsequently the blind harpist to the right of Orgies is placed back-to-back with the observant Welshman to the left of the adjacent picture The Arrest.

The carved figure of King David, harpist and warrior, is positioned so that it just overlaps the frame of Nero's portrait. Hogarth burlesques the size relationship between David and Goliath because the carving is a pygmy in relation to the giant bust of Nero who is thus identified appropriately with Goliath. The upward movement of the harp suggests that the carving physically challenges the emperor enacting the Rake's undisclosed attack on the other emperors as well as recalling the heroic battle of the Old Testament. Hogarth has arranged a mock-confrontation between classical and hebraistic cultures and opposes the musician-poet of the Old Testament to the Philistine of the Roman world who was also a connoisseur, poet, and musician by repute. The Rake is a comic synthesis of these heroes, their qualities, and their achievements. His present state of exhaustion may be seen as the ludicrous consequence of his attempts to emulate them.

The Second Book of Samuel establishes David's reputation as a voyeur in his first meeting with Bathsheba:

And it came to pass in an evening-tide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. 16

The images of Nero, King David, and the Rake await the posture woman's dance; ironically both Sarah Young and Bathsheba bear their respective heroes offspring, but the amusing difference between King David, and the harpist of the Rose and the Rake in his present condition is that the modern musician and voyeur cannot see the performance for which they play-- and pay. In an analogy between the early relationships of the narrative and Paris, Helen, and the burning of Troy, the blind harpist present at the burning of the tavern, the blind witness of the tableau vivant, parallels the blind Homer who imagined himself present at Ilium.

The moral and religious implications of the musical anecdote are extensive; harps and trumpets are heavenly instruments, according to the

Book of Revelations. If the instruments represent Christian symbols, then it is apt that the harpist should be separated from the evil company by his blindness and that the trumpeter, figuratively speaking, should be protected behind the supposedly moral force symbolized in the ten-strings of the harp which St Augustine associated with the Ten Commandments.¹⁷ In the same way that the image of King David prepares for the presence of St David's leek in The Arrest, the harp strings anticipate the presence of the tablets of the Commandments similarly disposed in The Marriage. The difference between the unbroken strings and the cracked tablet is a measure of the Rake's moral decline and a satirical comment in that there is good present in the tavern, but none in the church.

The blind harpist in a tavern-setting recalls the opening of John Marston's 'melodrama bordering on farce' The Dutch Courtezan.¹⁸ In the first scene Freevill describes how 'cogging Cocledemoy' (a 'knavishly witty City companion' in the dramatis personae) fools the host:

[he came] late into mine host's Mulligrub's tavern here, calls for a room. The house being full, Cocledemoy consorted with his movable chattel, his instrument of fornication, the bawd Mistress Mary Faugh.

Freevill recounts that 'a blind harpist enters, craves audience, uncaseth, plays':

Cocledemoy, perceiving none in the room but the blind harper (whose eyes heaven had shut up from beholding wickedness), unclasps a casement to the street; very patiently pockets up three bowls unnaturally, thrusts his wench forth the window, and himself most preposterously with his heels follows. The unseeing harpist plays on.

The allusion anticipates the central situation in Orgies where a contemporary man-about-town consorts with various bawds in the Rose. Cocledemoy, incidentally, compares Mulligrub's Tavern to hell; he says that its vintner thinks of nothing but 'hell and sulphur'. Freevill's story associates the unseeing musician with the idea of the divine protection customarily associated with those who are vulnerable when in the presence



Orgies: the chain of objects

The point of the Rake's sword points to a Caesar's head.
The pills lie between this and the next. The posture woman's
tumbled clothes overlap her skirts to the right and
include her corset, not unlike an ironically arranged
cutlet frill.

of depravity.

The musical incident is one of several farcical pastiches of references to classical literature, the bible, and Jacobean melodrama in the narrative (the culmination is in The Madhouse). The Rake, as protagonist, is provided with further heroic and universal dimensions and his orgy is treated in essentially erudite and ironical ways. Hogarth's moral point is that the evils of history, ancient and recent, coalesce in the immediate and eternal present of art.

The major alterations maintain the ironic attitude. A box of tumbled pills has been added alongside Julius's head in the foreground which lie so close to it that they invite the recollection that Caesar suffered from 'the falling sickenes'¹⁹ (opposite page 70). The association not only implies that the Rake also suffers from epilepsy, but offers a parallel between the facts of Caesar's political downfall in reality, the disability which caused him to fall down and the present downfall of the broken image of his head with the Rake's present physical and moral downfall and his continuing economic downfall. The pills also provide an explanation for the Rake's seizure in The Gaming House and another reason for his death to add to despair and syphilis.

The movement in front of the table from the Rake to the posture woman, or vice versa, is realized in a chain of diverse objects connecting the figures (opposite page 70). It includes her clothes and discarded corsets, symbols of a cast off sense of moral restraint. Her clothes partially obscure the Caesar's head so that the mighty is subordinate to a petticoat. The chain links the woman to the Rake by way of the pills positioned between the Caesar's heads, a glass, and the sword so that lechery, drunkenness, aspiration, and military vainglory are connected with him.

In the third state Julius Caesar's portrait is replaced by one of 'Pontac' the founder of a famously expensive French 'ordinary' in Lombard

Verse Caption to 'Orgies'

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

Street. Pontac's is reported by Bryant Lillywhite as 'the resort of extravagant epicures, where. . . a ragout of salted snails, and chickens not two hours from the shell were to be had'.²⁰ Hogarth suggests that the seedy taverners themselves revere one of the most decadent, foreign ordinaries of contemporary London. By equating Pontac's with even the headless emperors, Hogarth mocks at the reputation of the real restaurant (frequented by the Whig lords) and the Rake's pretensions.²¹ In introducing a reference to a particular French ordinary, Hogarth makes a connection between Orgies and the memorandum book of The Heir. Both father and son visit French ordinaries and the fact strengthens the causal relationship between the influence of the father and the character of the son.

The first sentence of the caption draws attention to the moral consequences of man's corruption of woman. If the right halves of the first and second pictures show the direful consequences of 'Vanity of Age', then Orgies presents the destructive consequences of 'Vanity of Youthful Blood'. The opening phrase is a variation upon the grammatical structure of the first caption. The repetition draws attention to the vanity common to the Rakewells, but by addressing the son instead of the father Hoadly emphasizes the Rake's present responsibility for his own actions even though their implied source lies with his father. Hoadly accuses 'Youthful Blood' of being ultimately responsible for the theft of his own watch. The assumption that a woman is a man's gift from heaven which, once corrupted, becomes an 'Abler Minister of Ruin' is important for an understanding of Sarah Young's contribution to the narrative (Part IIb). In the second sentence Hoadly presents the degeneration of the Rake's 'Being' in the familiar image of the fortress. The metaphor confirms the warlike implications of the scene; the Rake is destroyed by a 'riotous Gang' who gain access because 'the Guard of Reason' has been made drowsy by 'misused Wine' (another 'Gift divine'). The second verse sentence rhetorically

invites the lecteur to apply what he reads to the far less obviously moral picture.

Finally, the scene is a study in which characters are shown as imitating, emulating, or challenging their ideas of godly or heroic behaviour and in so doing reveal themselves as uncivil people, as beasts rather than gods. Correspondingly, Hogarth once again implies that the affairs of the ideal world may have had their reality in the insecure lives of rakes and harlots. The reversal of established orders is shown in the relationship between the sexes: the women are vital, shrewd, and alert, whereas the men (although viewed as ultimately responsible for female corruption) are outnumbered, enfeebled, and enslaved.

Succeeding scenes, The Levee and Orgies, are concerned with the range of the Rake's tastes and show a measurable decline from the refined expression of sexual themes in The Rape of the Sabines on the far left to a coarse celebration of a no less sexual theme in The Black Joke; from the decorously seated man playing the harpsichord to the immodest singing of the shabby pregnant woman.

Hogarth decreases the possibility of the redemption of his prodigal, already made less likely by the identification of the Rake with Paris and predestined by the mutilated bible and now the cracked mirror, by presenting him in association with superhuman states of corruption. In doing so, Hogarth takes the opportunity of raising the status of T. Rakewell Esq. from an individual plane to a mock-heroic one in which he and his companions are the serious rivals not of heroes, but of their images. By presenting two scenes concerned with the study of riotous living, Hogarth has added a dimension to the parable. Orgies is the more substantive complement of the unworldly parade of trivialities, or incipient vices which form The Levee. Although the story does not move between the two, Orgies represents a development of character, a moral decline, and an elaborately treated pastiche.

Orgies: References

1. Daily Telegraph Colour Supplement, 320, 4 December 1970.
2. St Luke xv. 13.
3. A Harlot's Progress, Plate 3 is set in Covent Garden, according to an inscription on a measure.
4. There are seven figures in The Heir; fifteen in The Levee; seventeen in Orgies, ten of which occur to the right of the central point.
5. Prominent pocket watches occur in eight other scenes:
 - a. The Theft of a Watch (1727), Tate Catalogue, 20, p. 16. A man leaving a bordello has his watch taken by women as they say farewell. Hogarth is concerned with the sinuous and delusory movements of their hands.
 - b. 'A Harlot's Progress', Plates 1 and 3 (127/121 and 129/123, 1732) Mistress Needham wears a watch as she acts on a man's behalf; the Harlot appears to admire it and she subsequently displays a similar watch in the third scene.
 - c. 'Industry and Idleness', Plates 7 and 9 (186/174 and 188/176, 1747) Tom Idle's whore rifles his pockets while he sleeps and finds several watches. Subsequently he examines similar, stolen watches as the same whore betrays him to the watchmen.
 - d. Cruelty in Perfection (203/189, 1750-1) Ann Gill has stolen her mistress's watches for her lover's sake. In return Tom Nero has brutally murdered her.
 - e. Analysis of Beauty II (211/196, 1753) A husband gesticulates towards his watch at a ball, while his taller and perhaps much younger wife accepts a billet-doux from another man.
6. An Essay on Criticism, ls 9-10 from The Poems of Alexander Pope (London, 1963), p. 144.
7. A phrase originally used by Trusler or Lichtenberg. See Lichtenberg's

- Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings (1784-96) translated and edited by Innes and Gustav Herdan (London, 1966), p. 222. (Hereafter referred to as Lichtenberg's Commentaries.) The phrase is taken up by Paulson, HGW I, p. 165.
8. Reported in Omnibus, BBC 1, 12 December 1971.
 9. There are references but no text in the Madden collection of ballads in the CUL. The Manchester Public Library refers to the song as a tune only. The Music Room of the British Museum has a copy of the New Black Joke only (below note 11).
 10. Notes and Queries, Sixth Series VIII, p. 211. F.W. Tonkin writes 'As the waltz reminded Byron's country squire of the black joke only more affetuoso'.
 11. Taken from The New Black Joke (c. 1780) by 'P.H.'
 12. After Titian, HGW I, p. 164; 'the old pictures of the Twelve Caesars', Quennell, p. 131.
 13. Lichtenberg's Commentaries, p. 218.
 14. Dobson, p. 53 and The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior, II (London, n.d.), p. 236. Dobson's comment reads: 'one (like Prior's "Kitty") sets the world on fire (in a map)'.
 15. Paulson notes, following J.T. Smith, that the blind Welsh harpist John Parry lived near Hogarth (H I, p. 544, note 6 to Chapter 13). The fact may have given Hogarth the ideas for both the blind harpist and the Welshman in The Arrest.
 16. Samuel II xi. 2.
 17. George Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (Oxford, 1966) p. 176, 'St Augustine, in his sermons, explains the Ten Commandments in terms of the ten strings of David's harp'. (Hereafter referred to by title.)
 18. The following quotations are taken from The Regent Renaissance Drama

Series edited by M.L. Wine, The Dutch Courtezan (London, 1965),

Act I. i, ls 10-32. Wine categorizes the play as a melodrama on

p. xxi of the Introduction. The last quotation is from V. ii. ls 4-6.

19. The Life of Julius Caesar (1579) by Plutarch, translated by Thomas North, edited by George Wyndham (London, 1896), Volume V, p. 17.
20. Bryant Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses (London, 1963), p. 450. He quotes The Metamorphosis of the Town (1731).
21. 'It could be argued that [Hogarth] had always supported, spiritually at least, the Leicester House Party'. (HGW II, p. 365). The references to Whig lords is in Letter LIX of Swift's Journal to Stella (Oxford, 1948), p. 608.



5. The Arrest, Plate 4 (143/135)

IIa. Plate 4, The Arrest (143/135)

Crisis of feeling is a harmful or painful experience, such as death in public, violent pain, physical injuries, and everything of that sort.

Aristotle¹

When he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

St Luke²

The fourth picture presents a 'crisis of feeling' and a partial crisis of action; the Rake is humiliated publicly and painfully if not physically. The imminence of arrest is only a step towards a true crisis of action because the Rake's liberty (established in The Heir) is threatened but not curtailed. The idea of arrest is consistent with the predictions of previous pictures because the Rake is shown to have wasted his 'substance' and now is 'in want'. After Carnival there is Lent, but, although the scene is set in March, it does not lead to repentance.³ The crisis of action is partial because Sarah Young returns to interrupt the arrest and to satisfy the Rake's need. Her intercession postpones the irreversible crisis of action until between The Gaming House and The Prison.

The design of The Arrest is the most open of the progress. To one more familiar with the thunderous sky of the later states, the sky-blue and cloudy white are as startling as they are in the painting of Southwark Fair. The enclosing walls of the corner space have been opened outwards to reveal a vista so that the picture offers the greatest sense of depth. The roofs of the houses and the St James's palace form a true horizon line, but the sky is remote and is made increasingly hostile, the buildings do not invite entry, and their lack of interest contrasts with the variety of incident found in the pictures which decorate the walls of preceding rooms.

From the sordid tavern the Rake has passed to the salubrious environs of a palace, but, ironically, he is more enclosed than in any preceding

picture; he stands confined between the shafts of his sedan behind the front chairman's back and cut off from the road leading to the palace by the advancing figures of Sarah and the bailiffs. He may only retreat into the temporary refuge of the chair, the box-like shape of which anticipates the rectangular designs of the rooms in which the Rake is subsequently to be found.

For the fourth time Hogarth has dramatically changed the appearance of his character. In previous scenes he is represented as of approximately the same height, but in The Arrest he is reduced by about a quarter and in the third state the revealed area of his body is reduced by nearly half through the superimposition of the added group of gambling boys.⁴ The Rake's wig is bunched over his staring eyes, his neck is hidden by a high collar, and the large bow and band attached to his hat seem to choke him rather than to flow behind like the plumes of the gallants in The Laughing Audience. Both his stock and his sword dangle ridiculously, the latter (out of harm's way for anyone else, but dangerously for him) protrudes between his legs. His gloved hands flap loosely and his overlarge and elaborate coat appears to swamp him. He wears the uniform of the gallants, but, whereas they fit their clothes, he is too undignified and small for his. His hat, coat, sword, and cane resemble the trappings of the strutting monkey with a red cloak in Southwark Fair; a figure most fully treated in The Tailpiece to the Catalogue (288/244, 1761) in which Hogarth chose to see the monkey also as semi-blind and watering the stumps of trees labelled 'EXOTICS'.

The left to right sequence of events and the proposed temporal associations with set areas of the picture are not immediately apparent. The relationship between the various figures is a complex and deliberately contradictory one concerned with themes of restraint and release, action and observation. Because The Arrest, like Southwark Fair, is a street scene,

the presence of characters is temporary and, although the confrontation is important to the plot, the realized and implied activities are confined within particularly close temporal limits. Hogarth draws attention to their immediacy, as he does in The Heir with the introduction of falling coins or in Orgies by the squirting of gin and the welling of liquid from a pitcher, by showing the interaction of important objects with gravity. The theme of downfall is central to The Arrest because Sarah's falling workbox is a focal point. The lamplighter's oil descends on the Rake, the rear chairman lifts the lid awkwardly and the second bailiff's cudgel is poised threateningly above Sarah.

By ordering the experience of the picture into a sequence of actions it may be seen how the figures relate in terms of causes and their effects. Thomas Cook has established the place-time relationship:

Rakewell. . . going to court on the first day of March which was Queen Caroline's birthday, as well as the anniversary of St David. The high-born Welshman with his enormous leek establishes the chronology. 5

The Rake's personal season of denial begins as he approaches the social zenith rather later in the afternoon than the rest of the attendants at court. His sedan has just turned out of Ryder Street into St James's.⁶ The first bailiff holds the Rake's lapel and proffers the arrest slip. As in The Levee the decisive moment is not shown, but the split-second imminence of the Rake's downfall is anticipated by the oil and work-box which fall, but have not quite fallen.

Sarah is the heroic rescuer who stays the first bailiff and braves the cudgel of the second. Her gesture adds another reversal of roles to those found in Orgies because the damsel, formerly shown as in distress, rescues the embattled hero. The action of subsequent pictures shows that the Rake remains free so that, against the implications of the falling objects, she achieves the impossible. The supposed warrior who "defeated" the emperors in their portraits is rescued not from a formidable enemy, but from the



The Arrest: the open circuit of hands

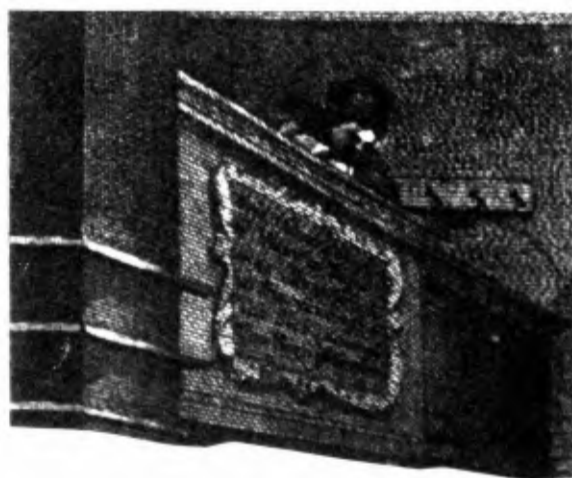
Note the presence of Sarah's necklace (pages 192-3) and the decorated knob of the first bailiff's cudgel (page 81).

elderly, though real bailiffs. The weapons of a hero are of no avail against the forces of a modern, commercial society as Mario Praz has pointed out in reference to later fiction.⁷

The stay of arrest is presented in a combination of multiple gestures which prescribe a ballet-like pattern of checks and balances. The effect is foregrounded because the hands of four figures outside the central tableau unite in self-contained operations rather than outward going ones: the rear chairman's hands enclose him in a circuit with the lid of the chair; the front chairman holds the shafts and is yoked by the strap passing from shaft to shaft; the lamplighter's hands, synchronized in a pouring and filling action, connect via the thread of oil; the Welshman's hands join secretively in his muff. The visual effect, as well as highlighting the contrasting generosity of Sarah and the bailiff, enacts the refusal of the parable, 'no man gave unto him'.

In contrast, the gestures of the central tableau present an open circuit of actions on the point of closure. It begins with the Rake's lapel held by the bailiff while his other hand proffers the slip. This part of the circuit is forcibly held open because Sarah restrains the bailiff's arm. Simultaneously she gives her bag to the Rake with no sign of a check. The movements indicate that the circuit is about to be closed by the Rake's acceptance of the arrest slip the force of which is nullified by his immediately-preceding acceptance of Sarah's gift. The circuit provides an antithesis in which the premeditated action and symbol of constraint are matched by the impulsive gesture of restraint and the symbol of financial liberty.

Several characters witness the moment from the periphery of the scene. A street boy takes advantage of the Rake's surprise to steal his cane, a point made clearer in subsequent states where he is replaced by another boy who more obviously sneaks a handkerchief from the Rake's pocket



The Arrest: the Welshman, and The Marriage: the observer on the balcony

Compare the details of the Welshman's figure with the anonymity of the observer. Note the parallel between the Welshman and the dog at his feet.

(opposite page 82). The lamplighter is so distracted that he allows his oil to spill. The Welshman to the left is a puzzling figure; superficially, he is one of Hogarth's anonymous observers upon events who neither influence events nor recur. The witness on the balcony of The Marriage, the visitors to The Madhouse, and the figure who watches the Harlot's arrival in London come to mind. The Welshman serves to block off the whole of the left wing and his leek sets the scene on St David's Day, unnecessarily so because the rear chairman's leek serves the same purpose. Hogarth has even troubled to parody his stare and upright stance in the attitude of the dog at his feet. Aesthetically, he counterbalances the tendency of the other figures to be grouped towards the right of the picture, but, nevertheless, he remains a carefully studied figure apparently without a narrative role.

Because the idea of a conspicuous, but meaningless figure is contrary to the emergent trend of necessary elements, it is argued that the Welshman has a purpose which Hogarth failed to communicate clearly. Both the rear chairman and he display their national emblems which suggests that the Rake's chair is readily recognizable to a fellow national. The rear chairman is more in advance of his colleague in helping the Rake to descend in an unexpected place, perhaps because he is intended as having foreknowledge of the arrest. The Welshman's downturned expression and joined hands may signify a sense of disapproval combined with satisfaction with what he sees. The evidence points to the Welshman as a fashionable creditor who has arranged for the chairman to bring the Rake past his bailiffs (and so the large figure to the left of a picture remains responsible for what occurs to its right). It would be consistent with Hogarth's sense of humour to see him as having intended a conspiracy in which the Welshman celebrates the arrest of an Englishman on his saint day, while the latter is on his way to celebrate the birthday of a foreign queen rather than that of a

native saint.

As may be expected from a street scene, objects do not play as important a part as previously, but two emblems comment ironically upon the Rake's situation. In the same way that the Welshman's attitude is repeated by the dog, the statue of the saddler's horse emerges from behind the lamplighter's back in step with the Rake as he emerges from his chair. The half-observed inscription 'Hodson Saddler' suggests that the Rake emerges to be saddled both with the results of his spending and the consequences of Sarah's intercession.

Secondly, the first bailiff's cudgel (but not the second) is carved with the head of a man in a short wig so that the Rake emerges from his sedan to be confronted by his own image in the grasp of a bailiff. Sarah's intervention prevents the confrontation from being irreversible, but the symbol correctly anticipates the Rake's ultimate arrest. Hogarth's Rake is the equivalent of the wooden toy, or tool, of the bailiffs and their master and his destiny is eventually as much under their control as the puppets of Southwark Fair are in the hands of their dwarf master (Appendix One).

The Rake moves from the right to meet his future and his desired goal, the palace, is placed to the left. Previously only clearly past elements in the Rake's career have been found on this side and so the structure of The Arrest questions the pattern which is thought to emerge from previous pictures. The symbolic associations only conform if Sarah's viewpoint, and not the Rake's, is assumed as central to this picture. On her reappearance Hogarth has placed her close to the geometrical centre of the scene and has increased her stature in relation to the Rake. She is the only recurrent figure decisively to influence the course of future events. She rejects a past to the left, symbolized by her milliner's box, and turns to involve herself once again with the Rake. Subsequent

pictures show that she follows him finally to Bedlam so that she faces her future for the second time. Paulson repeatedly emphasizes choice as a major theme in Hogarth's art and, while the events of The Levee and Orgies may indicate the Rake's inclinations, if not the actual moments of decision, The Arrest presents Sarah's disclosed crisis rather than the Rake's. Other factors support this reading: the bailiffs and Sarah combine to prevent the Rake from reaching the palace, but, because the Rake's career from this moment in the story takes a path away from the palace, then the building is appropriately placed to the left as a delusory sign of an unfulfilled ambition, a mirage. The Welshman, whether a creditor or not, does not reappear so he is appropriately placed on the past side. The previous association of St David and King David (Orgies) invites the interpretation that this Welsh David observes a favourite son destroy himself in rebelling against his father, like Absalom.

Hogarth's additions are extensive, evidently dating from about ten years after the publication of the progress.⁸ In April 1733 White's coffee house was burnt down and so, sometime afterwards, Hogarth reminded his customers of the relevance of the event to the tale of a rake and by so doing added satiric interest to the blank row of houses. Algernon Bourke, the historian of White's Club, describes and evaluates the additions:

The fire resulted, as we know, in the temporary removal of White's to the bottom of the street. White's, in fact, moved into a house already painted by Hogarth in the middle of the background of his picture. Here was an opportunity which he was quick to seize in order to give additional point to his satire. He accordingly introduced in the engraving a sign bearing the word 'White's' projecting from the front of Gaunt's, and added a portentous flash of lightning, with a barbed head like a harpoon, issuing from a thunder cloud, and pointing straight at the house. The place by this time had become notorious for the high play that went on, and was fair game for the great satirist.⁹

Bourke reveals the aptness of the fire as a means of strengthening the internal unity of the story. The Rake's gambling obsession which had only



The Arrest: the tableau of gambling boys

Added to the third state.

emerged as important after his marriage in the later states now has origins in The Arrest and the reference to White's adds to the meaning of the ordinary as a gambling establishment in The Heir and the gaming associations of the cocks and racing cup in The Levee.

The additions not only gave Hogarth a specific reason for the Rake's arrest, but enabled him to suggest that the Rake, as well as emulating the Prince of Wales in his entertainments and the gods in his carousings, also emulates the most ambitious gamblers of the time. Bourke notes that the clientele of White's -- like Pontac's -- was associated more with the Whigs than the Tories so that the Rake's political tendencies continue to be radical and contrary to Hogarth's own. By contrasting the exclusive White's with the street-boys club, 'Black's' (a common term for coffee-houses perhaps synonymous with today's "Joe Lyons" ¹⁰), Hogarth suggests that gambling absorbed the extremes of society and that the most aristocratic people cheat or lose their possessions in the manner of the street-boys. White's, the "good", is to prove more dangerous than Black's, the "evil", even though a member of the latter club steals his handkerchief. The Rake is poised between the two clubs having connections with both, but belonging to neither.

In placing the street-boys in the foreground and treating them with Bosch-like care, Hogarth expresses a greater interest in and concern for their affairs. One gambling boy has lost so much that he is reduced to nakedness and offers the tools of his trade as a stake. His body is tattooed in the same place as the Rake in The Madhouse and, therefore, anticipates the consequences of gambling with 'enthusiasm' as it is resolved in the story. One boy reads 'The Farthing Post'. As early as 1712, The British Mercury had surveyed the growth of popular journalism with concern:

Some time before the Revolution, the press was again set to work,

Verse Caption to 'The Arrest'

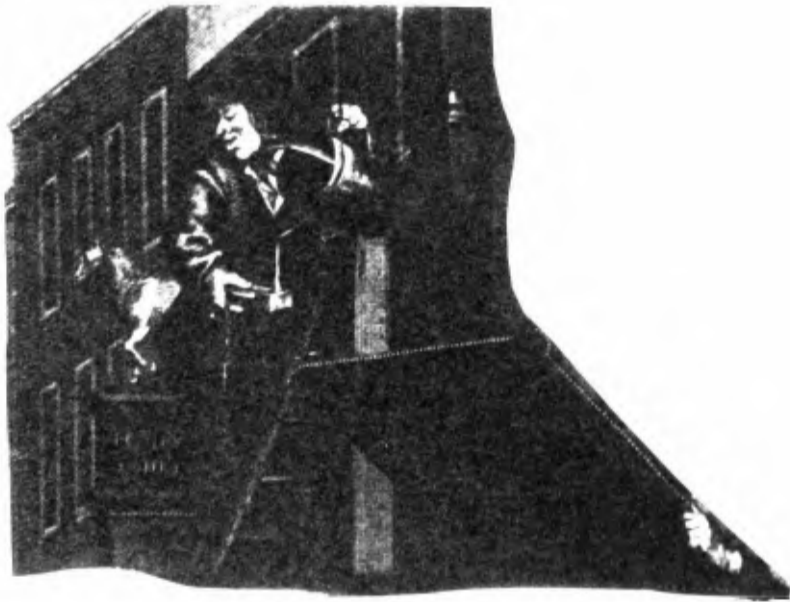
O Vanity of youthfull Blood,
So by Misuse to poison Good!
Reason awakes, and views unbar'd
The sacred Gates he watch'd to guard;
Approaching views the Harpy Law,
And Poverty with icy Paw
 Ready to seize the poor Remains
That Vice hath left of all his Gains.
Cold Penitence, lame After-Thought,
With Fears,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

and such a furious itch of novelty has ever since been the epidemical distemper, that it has proved fatal to many families, the meanest of shopkeepers and handicrafts spending whole days in coffee-houses to hear news and talk politics, whilst their wives and children wanted at home; and their business being neglected, they were themselves thrust into gaols. 11

The passage draws attention to a contemporary suspicion of reading for pleasure which, when associated with a card stuck in a 'mercury's' hat reading 'Your Vote and Interest -- Liberty', assumes a more serious meaning; the slogan associates the boys and the Rake, whom they overlap, with an ever-spreading radicalism. (Alexander Andrews records that two hundred such half sheets a month were published on average in 1731. 12)

The Rake is to have a sudden concern for personal 'liberty' now that his is threatened and he needs someone's 'interest' and a 'vote' for him. Unlike the Prodigal Son on whose behalf no one intercedes, Sarah takes his part and, thereby, assumes some responsibility for his fate. It may be claimed that Hogarth's original contribution to the rake tale effectively prevents the possibility of the prodigal's repentance which might have followed a true arrest at this point. In the painting the word 'Arrest' is not filled in on the slip. The bailiffs, therefore, look more like footpads than agents of the law and Sarah's action appears to protect the Rake from robbery. The Welshman is a callous witness who refuses to help a peer in distress. Only the subscribers, and not the casual visitor or the pirate, were in a position to perceive the comic reversal of roles. In surprising his customers Hogarth could intimate that his paintings were themselves delusory objects as the ironic treatment of the audience and the spectator-performer of the subscription-ticket forewarns.

The fourth caption is more directly concerned with the narrative line (perhaps reflecting the importance of a turning-point). It alludes to specific characters as a series of moral personifications: the Rake is again addressed as 'Vanity of youthful Blood'; Sarah is 'whom he hath



The Arrest: the lamplighter

His oil threatens to "anoint" the Rake below (page 183). Note the recurrence of the lantern now set on a post (page 176-7) and the juxtaposition of shapes below forming the suggestion of a masonic triangle.

wrong'd, and whom betray'd' and perhaps his 'guilty Pleasures dead'; the bailiffs are 'the Harpy Law'. The central situation is expressed as a personification of 'Reason' ('drowsy' in the third caption) who awakes to see the unguarded and so ransacked 'Being' as vulnerable to the forces of poverty and the law, once the train of Prosperity has departed. Hoadly provides a list of suitable melancholies:

Cold Penitence, lame After-Thought,
With Fears, Despair and Horrors fraught.

But Hogarth's Rake, pointedly, displays no evidence of remorse. The penultimate line, 'Call back his guilty Pleasures dead', may refer to many amusements and even to Sarah as she may have been intended outside the path of disclosure. The force of the inverted adjective dead draws attention to the fact that the Rake's 'frantic' energies, never disclosed as such, have declined and only return as memories and mirages.

The print extends the mock-heroic associations of The Levee and Orgies so that, not only does the heroine rescue her hero to the accompaniment of a lightning flash, but the spilling of the lamplighter's oil offers as close a visual parody of Doctor Faustus (among other references) as that of the incendiarist in Orgies who burns "Ilium". The descent of the oil enacts the Old Man's argument for persuading Faustus against suicide:

I see an angel hover o'er thy head,
And with a vial full of precious grace,
Offers to pour the same into thy soul,
Then call for mercy, and avoid despair. 13

The angel is represented by a substantial-looking lamplighter perched upon a ladder who spills his 'vial' of oily grace more by accident than design. His expression is a sneer rather than one of angelic concern and, although the stream of oil is poised to 'pour', it does not actually pour into the Rake's soul. The Old Man leaves Faustus to ponder, 'I do repent, and yet I do despair; / Hell strives with grace for conquest in my breast'. The emphasis on choice in Hogarth's work makes Marlowe's

passage an apt parallel because, although the threat of arrest constrains the Rake, Sarah's "angelic" intercession provides him with the opportunity to repent, but The Marriage shows that, like Faustus, the Rake is to confirm his 'former vow made to Lucifer'.¹⁴ If Sarah (as well as the lamplighter) assumes the attributes of Faustus's Good Angel who wishes to intercede on his behalf and warns that it is 'never too late if Faustus will repent'¹⁵, then her lament for Faustus is an apt epitaph for the Rake:

O Faustus, if thou had'st given ear to me,
Innumerable joys had followed thee.
But thou did'st love the world. 16

The analogy justifies the fact of Sarah's calculatedly fortuitous reappearance to some extent, because, within the conventions of moralities and melodramas, angels may materialise without warning in times of crisis.

The fact that a pictorial anecdote parodies a literary incident does not prevent the anecdote from being an imitation of others. The falling oil recalls Portia's set speech on mercy.¹⁷ The lamplighter continues as a comic embodiment of heaven whose 'mercy' refuses to be 'strained' and 'droppeth as the gentle rain' on the Rake. Sarah's generosity and his acceptance are blessed because mercy 'blesseth him that gives and him that takes'. The paradox is enacted literally because the Rake is to receive the arrest slip and Sarah's bag simultaneously. The Shakespearean analogy recalls the careless generosity of male figures and the shrewdness of the female in the comedies, which contrast with the exaggerated helplessness of the Rake when confronted with the acuteness of the harlots or Sarah's initiative in The Arrest.

The incident also recalls the ritual in which the Lord instructed Samuel to take his 'horn of oil' and anoint David in the midst of his brethren, 'and the spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward'.¹⁸ Instead of the 'brethren' acclaiming Hogarth's caricature of David, however, they arrest him! When analogies are of similar weight

it is virtually impossible to decide which Hogarth had uppermost in his thoughts. One attribute of the mock-heroic work is that it draws associations to itself which add to its variety and apparent effect of high seriousness. The importance of a theme of anti-Christ to the progress (Part IIIb. (ii)) and the various references to David perhaps makes the Old Testament association pre-eminent.

In conclusion, Sarah's offer draws attention to the fact that the present moment is an ironic reversal of that in The Heir. Her fortunes have changed for the better; the unborn child and her oppressive mother have disappeared and she functions as a beneficent agent at 'Liberty'. At the end of the first half of the progress, the Rake's fortunes both decline sharply (represented by the arrest) and, paradoxically, rise as a result of her contrived intervention. Like the slack-rope walker, or the flying-man of Southwark Fair, the Rake enters the second half of his story with his affairs in a state of precarious balance rather than with the financial stability with which his story begins.

The Arrest: References

1. The Poetics, p. 32.
2. St Luke xv. 14.
3. Paulson frequently observes that Carnival scenes are followed by Lenten in Hogarth's art (e.g., H I, p. 154).
4. His figure is approximately nine units high in Plates 1-3 and seven in Plate 4.
5. Anecdotes of the Celebrated William Hogarth, engraved by Thomas Cook (London, 1813), p. 49.
6. Hon. Algernon Bourke, The History of White's (London, 1892), p. 18.
7. Mario Praz, The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction, translated by A. Davidson (London, 1956); the central theme.
8. The Tate Catalogue claims that the alterations date from c. 1745 when a second edition was printed (p. 33), but they refer to events of the early 1730s which makes it likely that the altered version was on sale before the last copies of the first state were sold off. What is certain is that the Artaserses of The Levee was not performed until 1734, after the fire at White's so that Hogarth again destroyed the chronological verisimilitude of his progress.
9. The History of White's, p. 18.
10. London Coffee Houses, pp. 122-3.
11. Alexander Andrews, The History of British Journalism (London, 1859), Issue 369, 30 July 1712 is cited.
12. The History of British Journalism, pp. 93-4. Paulson associated the slogan with Wilkes, but it is unlikely that he was connected with 'Liberty' as early as 1744-5.
13. Doctor Faustus, Act V. i, ls 57-61, New Mermaid Series (London, 1965).
14. H I, p. 275.
15. Doctor Faustus, Act II. ii, l 80.

16. Doctor Faustus, Act V. ii, ls 96-8.
17. The Merchant of Venice, Act IV. i, ls 181-202, New Shakespeare Edition
(Cambridge, 1968).
18. Samuel I xvi. 12 and 13.



6. The Marriage, Plate 5 (145/136)

IIa. Plate 5, The Marriage (145/136)

He went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and
he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

St Luke ¹

Two little angels come from heaven,
One brought fire, the other brought frost,
Go out fire, come in frost.

Traditional Saying.

The predictions of catastrophe are not realized in the first picture of the second half of the narrative. The allocation of two pictures to a study of the Rake's spending, and the addition of Sarah's return, postpones catastrophe to a numerical point extending beyond the resolution of A Harlot's Progress. In The Marriage the Rake is shown as irrecoverably surrendering the personal freedom bought for him by Sarah Young in order to marry an elderly heiress rather than Sarah. The Marriage accords with the essential implications of a rake tale, but introduces a new, ironic element; the Rake 'joins himself' to a 'citizen' of the fashionable world (in the servitude of marriage) and the humiliation of feeding swine may be imagined as occurring in the undisclosed interval between the wedding and The Prison where the bride reappears in a very different attitude.

In design Hogarth returns to a low, enclosed structure, but the minute interior of Mary-le-Bone Old Church is a rectangular recess rather than an angled corner. ² The wings are blocked by the solid-looking pews to the left and the altar and its rails to the right, but the Rake is not enclosed by figures because he has no immediate desire to escape from the central situation. The rectangular design is developed into a dominant feature of the setting, as expressed in the square masses of the balcony, the empty pews (the shape of which is repeated in miniature in the poor-box), the heavy 'T' shaped roof-beam, and the

angled brackets which repeat the shape of the smaller window to the right. So harsh are the straight lines that curving ones are foregrounded in contrast, for example, the altar rail, the arch of the window to the left, and the series of circular shapes which rises in a vertical line to the ceiling behind the bride's head. In symbolic terms the square of earthly existence predominates over the circularity of perfection in a materialistic church scene.

The main tableau parallels the frontal plane in an irregular triangle beginning on the left with the dogs in the foreground (who assume precedence over the human beings in the glance-curve). The apex of the triangle is again represented by the Rake's head and it declines to end with the vicar at the right. As in The Heir, the tableau is superimposed upon a background divided into halves by the clumsy wooden upright, the line of which is continued down the bride's gown instead of the Rake's clothes. The division between the setting and the frontal tableau is particularly emphasized in the painting because light, entering from the rear windows, makes the silhouettes in front stand out and further diminishes the importance of darker, background figures placed behind the path of the light. A sense of pyramidal depth is maintained by a gradation rising from the boy kneeling in the foreground (instead of the tailor) by way of the bride to the taller figure of the Rake set slightly behind her. The similarities between the first pictures of each half draw attention to their function as beginnings; the Rake enters into an inheritance in the one and a marriage in the second, but with profound differences. The parallel also makes it likely that features to the left of the post are more concerned with past ideas and that events to its right are more concerned with the present and the future.

For the fifth time in succession Hogarth has radically altered the Rake's appearance. He is more than restored to his full height and appears



The Marriage: the tableau of dogs

Note the bitch's wall-eye.

taller because he is placed next to particularly short figures. For once he looks like the true gallant; his pose is elegant, his face smooth, his eyes knowingly turned sideways, and his fine clothes fit him. The predominant colour about him is, ironically, "golden" and the passionate red has been transposed to those younger figures who do not unite themselves to a 'frosty' citizen. The Rake is not the dominant figure in his own story at least for the second time. He is one of five figures attendant on the bride and, on what in reality is her day, Hogarth has ironically adopted the elderly woman's view so that for the only time in the progress no one pays attention of any kind to the presence of the main character.

The anecdotes read readily from left to right. Laurence Bradbury, in commenting on the chained dogs of Marriage à la Mode (Plate 1), remarked that dogs are the 'give aways' in Hogarth's art.³ The bitch, seated demurely on her stool, caricatures the attitude of the bride; her wall-eye and white chest cruelly reinforce the human blindness and the bareness of the human bosom. Any pathos present in the bride's lot is immediately undercut because the dogs take precedent in the glance-curve. Hogarth's pleasure in identifying himself with the events of his pictures is realized in the fact that the dog is customarily associated with his own pug. The anecdote, also presented in a triangular shape, not only draws attention to the idea of the animal-like nuzzling and whispering which may be imagined to have preceded this moment, but, because of its position well to the "past" side, indicates that such preliminaries are finished with now that the wedding takes place. A footstool has already been placed before the bitch, whereas it is only being placed before the bride. The animal incident draws attention to the brutal, sub-human motives at work and functions, therefore, in the same way as the father's portrait as a means of conveying the character

of an undisclosed and previous relationship.

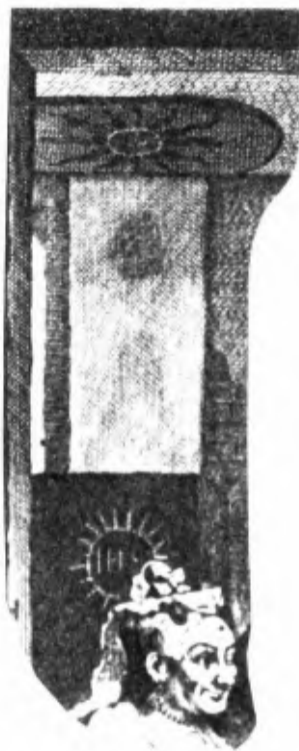
The bridesmaid arranges the bridal gown as the ring is to be put on her mistress's finger. The timing suggests that she is concerned with the outward appearance of ceremony rather than with its essence (as are the other figures). Traditionally, the Rake is construed as eying her, while marrying her mistress.⁴ There is a precedent in The Marriage Contract because there the rake-figure more obviously attends to a note, while rings are exchanged. The interpretation in The Marriage rests only on the arbitrary evidence of the line of a figure's glance, but the presence of the bridesmaid does mean that the image and the reality of the woman whom the Rake has doubly wronged, Sarah Young, are present at his wedding and that his attitude to his bride is deceitful and unscrupulous. With the understandable exception of the harlots in Orgies, all the women exploited by the Rake are made to appear with him on his wedding day, as they are in The Prison. The disposition of the bridesmaid at a distance from the Rake and to the left of the post (along with Sarah) suggests that the Rake's future lies with the aged and not with the youthful figures whom he is known to prefer. (The bridesmaid's self-absorbed attitude suggests that she, if not the Rake, has no immediate interest in anything other than her own action.)

The grey-haired bride in The Marriage Contract appears of an age similar to the Rake's bride, but the partial-sightedness of the latter suggests that she has an abnormally limited view of the world and her husband. Like her groom in Orgies, who fails to perceive the true nature of harlots, the bride is blinded by the attraction of his youthful appearance, which, on the evidence of preceding pictures, is also false. (Her anger in The Prison is a measure of her subsequent disillusion.) The crucifix is evidence of her piety, but her décolletage is so extreme that it, along

with the behaviour of her bitch behind her, counters the impression of her devout modesty. Her aged, smiling face recalls the ironically happy faces of The Laughing Audience and this is the point where their true purpose as tunes in the overture, figuratively speaking, is realized in the opera which succeeds. Hogarth's detached treatment of them also counteracts the pathos of the bride's role in The Marriage and points up her self-deception.

The kneeling charity boy draws attention to the fact that the wedding is not to be a preliminary to childbirth even though evidence of the groom's fertility is prepared for in The Heir and present in the figure of Sarah's child.⁵ The painting makes one dramatic contribution to the idea; the boy's hair is red like the Rake's in the first picture and like his daughter's in The Prison. Whether Hogarth intended the boy to represent an illegitimate son is impossible to say, but the innuendo is there and his figure, like the bridesmaid's, is a cruelly placed image of the legitimate heir which the Rake's choice of a wife prevents him from having. Ironically Sarah's child is female so that the Rakewell family dies with the Rake and nullifies the hopes implied by the escutcheons of The Heir.

The tableau is completed by the vicar and his curate. The shabby appearance of their church, their neglect of the poor (implied by the famous incident of the cobwebbed poor box), and their part in a dubious wedding add up to a formidable criticism of their responsibilities as churchmen. If the analogy with Picart's A Catholic Wedding is valid, it suggests that the marriage (in an Anglican context) is so dubious as to border on the heretical and hints that the Rake's religious preferences are as extreme as his political associations are made to be.⁶ As with the beauty of the harlots' dresses in Orgies, which contrasts with the vulgarity of their actions, the delicate brushwork of both the cleric's



The Marriage: the circular shapes rising above the bride's head

Note the glory behind her head, her crucifix earrings, and rosary necklace.

vestments and the white and gold bridal gown contradicts the ugly expressions of the wearers.

The purpose of objects is two-fold: firstly, they define the milieu as a well-known church with a reputation for clandestine marriages. The near-illegible inscriptions on the pews, the references to the negligent church wardens, and the monumental mural to the Taylor family identify the church and criticize its officers.⁷ Secondly, a number of references comment upon the moral and religious implications of the central situation. Paulson, for example, suggests that 'the evergreens on the altar are appropriate to the perennial quality of the old woman's lust'.⁸

The bas-relief of the Taylor family, an ironic variation on the escutcheons of The Heir, repeats the graduated structure of the main tableau. Its depiction of a family harmoniously at prayer (after the famous relief of Thomas More's family) is ridiculed by the future lack of harmony and present lack of family relationship apparent in The Marriage -- the distance between the Rake and Sarah is at its greatest. At the same time the triangular design of the monument repeats those of the tableaux so that the groups, including the dogs, harmonize visually. Its position to the left of the post in the far background also draws attention to its ambivalent purpose as a memorial and a sardonic epitaph to the family unity of the Youngs who struggle beneath it. The emblem is a fine example of the way in which the appearance of an object is transformed by a knowledge of the wider narrative line.

Sacrilegious implications may be drawn from the arrangement of the circular shapes above the bride's head. An 'IHS' emblem is enclosed in a 'glory' as a pulpit decoration and it is overlapped by the bride's head (like the platter behind the posture woman in Orgies) in a way which suggests that it is her halo rather than Christ's. Paulson suggests that one shadow in line above this sign is the mark formed by the rubbing



The Marriage: the wave-like motif of arms

The child on the left is ultimately associated with the wedding-ring (held in the Rake's hand). Note the presence of the bridesmaid's necklace (page 193).

of the vicar's head and back and the other is supposedly made by the hanging of his hat.⁹ Taken with the glory, simply as shapes, they suggest the presence of a ghostly figure, also complete with its halo, perhaps corresponding to the idea of the Good Angel at work in The Arrest. A second glory is repeated in the ceiling canopy above the pulpit to emphasize the parallel. The juxtaposition of the shapes in line with the bride (like the escutcheons in line with the Youngs in The Heir) suggests that the old woman is intended as a parody of the bride of Christ (confirmed by the presence of her crucifix, the shape of which is repeated in her earring) whose marriage is observed by a human witness on the balcony and by an ethereal presence who presides over the ceremony.

The beginning of the Creed is legible on the far right, but the rest of the lettering has fallen away as if to suggest that the church and its principal occupants are devoid of belief (a device comparable to the effect of the mutilated bible in The Heir). The numbers of the second five of the Ten Commandments, concerned with social duties and not belief, are legible on a second tablet. The Ninth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour', is cracked as if to communicate the special falsity of the Rake's second promise of marriage to a poor 'neighbour'.

Hogarth makes the minor tableaux of his pictures generally reflect the values of the foreground, as, for example, in The Levee where the patient attendants in the ante-chamber repeat the attitudes of the waiting figures in the foreground. Hitherto, Hogarth has not attempted to connect the major and minor groupings into one pattern, but in The Marriage he unites the fore-arm movements of both groups into a series of parallel or opposing forces similar to the movement of interrelated arms to the left of Orgies. The sequence begins with Sarah's

Verse Caption to 'The Marriage'

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

infant on the far left; her small forearm reaches in the same direction as Mother Young's larger arm which then thrusts into the pew-opener's face. Sarah's arm, encircling the child, seems an extension of the pew-opener's brawnier arm which pushes at her, Sarah's, shoulder. The arms of the mother and the pew-opener push at each other horizontally, while their other hands are raised in opposition and so they extend the motif into a wave-like crest. The angle and direction of the mother's arm is carried across the picture and repeated in the foreground by means of the bridesmaid's larger arm. The direction and movement of her arm is repeated in the bride's whose fingers lead to the ring, the main focal point of the picture.

The Rake's fingers, holding the ring, move towards the bride's from the right, challenging the glance and so drawing attention back to the ring. The dancing chain of movement associates the child, one fundamental of the progress, with the ceremony which, morally, should have preceded its birth and the association emphasizes the fact that the father is not marrying the child's mother. Visually the 'chase'-like movement encourages a reading of the picture from left to right: the growing intensity of the movement, becoming larger, leads to the ring in a visual climax.

While Hogarth's narrative moves from arrest to marriage (in its way as much a crisis of feeling as an arrest) Hoadly's brief caption treats the ethics of a man obsessed with 'Gold', drawing upon themes present in both The Arrest and The Marriage:

What Shames will Nature not embrace,
T'avoid less Shame of lean Distress?

The later couplets anticipate the compromises necessary to a marriage in which 'Antipathies engage'. The need for gold supplies both the motive for marriage and a cure-all for the Rake, who has experienced a 'sting of Shame' already, and for the bride, who represents 'hoary Age'. Her gold

supposedly bestows the 'Charms of Youth' on her, masking her 'Deformity', but not deceiving him as she is deceived. In this caption particularly, Hoadly assumes the role of an omniscient psychologist solemnly revealing, and then judging the inward thoughts and attitudes of figures.

The first picture of the second half returns to a major theme of The Heir. The Rake, having exploited the youth of a woman without means, now turns to her opposite, the elderly woman of means. The difference between the ages of the married couple -- the Rake unites himself with a woman old enough to be his mother -- recalls the gap between the generations anticipated in both The Laughing Audience and The Heir. There is to be no more harmony between the husband and the wife than there is between the father and son and the mother and daughter.

The wintry evergreens contrast with the spring emblems of The Arrest. The Rake rejects the offer made to him by youth in spring time in order that, by surrendering himself to a personification of Winter ('hoary Age'), good times may return. The implicit optimism parallels that of the Prodigal Son who returns home, destitute, to be forgiven. Any satisfaction that the Rake may be imagined to derive from the marriage is excluded from subsequent plates; the mood of the second half of the narrative remains wintry.

Finally, in terms of the mock-heroic analogy, the scene ridicules the romantic supposition in which the youthful hero wins his beautiful heroine as a reward for endeavour as an Orlando, a variation upon the Prodigal Son suffering at the hands of his elder brother, strives for and gains his Rosalind. The wedding also ironically parallels the heroic stories of sudden courtship; the Rake acquires his bride as magically as Perseus apparently won his Andromeda. Similarly, the Rake's callous and prompt desertion of one heroine for another recalls Jason's desertion of Medea for Creusa. In A Rake's Progress generally, loyalty is belittled and in

The Marriage particularly, empty friendship is rewarded. Once more the fortunes of a diminished Sarah decline, while the Rake's appear to rise.

The Marriage: References

1. St Luke xv. 15.
2. HGW I, p. 166.
3. Introductory Lecture to the Tate Exhibition.
4. Lichtenberg's Commentaries, p. 238-9. Trusler confuses the bridesmaid with Sarah (See Part IIb, The Contribution of Sarah Young, n. 17 to p. 158).
5. It may be argued that to a mid-eighteenth century audience marriage was primarily for procreation; contemporaries would have seen the Rake's marriage as doubly unscrupulous, he shows neither concern for future generations nor the bride.
6. HGW I, p. 167.
7. The identification is recorded in Nichols and Steevens and their note is reported in HGW I, p. 167.
8. HGW I, p. 166.
9. HGW I, p. 167.



7. The Gaming House, Plate 6 (147/137)

IIa. Plate 6, The Gaming House (147/137)

Cogit Amor Nummi.

The motto of White's Club ¹

The immediate change from a wedding with its domestic implications to the public world of the gaming room challenges the romantic attitude to marriage, but is sardonically appropriate to a marriage of convenience in which 'antipathies' unite. Hindsight reveals that the Rake's true crisis of feeling and action replaces the study of nuptial bliss which should follow the wedding. The contrast repeats situations found in the first two pictures which present the Rake as in retreat from a romantic entanglement to the security of the masculine pastimes of the fashionable world. The earlier scenes hint at a Rakewell family interest in gambling and the later ones develop the hint into the means of downfall.

In design The Gaming House repeats the rectangular structure of The Marriage. The interior is as claustrophobic as Orgies and even an archway and the fireplace are wired off from the company. The painting is perhaps the shadowiest of the eight, lit only by candles and the dull glow of the fire. The setting is, predictably, more defined in the prints as a spacious, classical interior, austere and delicately lined. An unexpected insubstantiality is present in an otherwise solid room because clouds of smoke billow from above the cornice of the rear wall indicating that it is no more than a partition.

The design recalls that of Orgies because both present a tableau built around the oval eye of a table. In each scene the Rake is threatened by the danger of an incipient fire when in a vulnerable mental state; in Orgies he is drunk and in The Gaming House both he and his fellows are preoccupied by their obsession; in each the Rake's imagined route to the door is barred. So complementary are the scenes (structurally and as

studies in degeneration) that it is easy to imagine that the Rake's gambling spree takes place on the other side of the partition and that the same incendiarist is responsible for both fires. The oval design becomes a means in Hogarth's art of presenting obsessive pursuits: in Cruelty in Perfection (204/190) the doctors are amused by the disembowelling of a corpse; in An Election Entertainment (215/198) the politicians carouse around one oblong and one circular table; in The Cockpit (228/206) the gamesters quarrel and bet around the edge of the pit. Gowing suggests that The Gaming House has the 'symmetry and density of the classical bacchanal'² and his comparison recalls Hogarth's own association of Orgies with a Feast on Olympus in the Battle of the Pictures. Like Nero, whose image the Rake has spared in the earlier scene, the Rake destroys himself in amusements while the world burns behind him; unlike Nero's Rome, the Rake's world burns twice.

The identity of the setting is a matter of some debate. The inscription on the collar of the dog, 'Covent Gar [den]', offers the most likely identification. Both Orgies and Plate 3 of A Harlot's Progress are "placed" by verbal references to the Garden so that it is a favourite milieu. Bourke, however, claims this gaming room for his club: in the early days the coffee-house was 'the common rendezvous of infamous sharpers and noble cullies'.³ Quennell objects, seeing the room as too sordid and bare, and refers to the inscription on the collar.⁴ The connection should not be dismissed, however, because Hogarth added direct reference to White's in The Arrest which seems to have been prompted by a later realization that the interior of The Gaming House was like White's and uncannily relevant to the tale of the pseudo-Rake. By the mid-1740s, when Hogarth made the alteration, the Old and the Young Clubs at White's had been formed with the deliberate purpose of excluding undesirables. As Bourke explains, it was 'inconvenient to say

the least that one of these gentlemen should rub shoulders with the judge who might afterwards have to sentence him for highway robbery'.⁵ It is consistent with the Rake's duality of character that he would find Covent Garden to his tastes as well as St James's and consistent with Hogarth's fondness for combining several ideas in one ambiguous element. In the same way that the Rake comes no closer to the palace than the street outside, he comes no closer to the actual clubs than to the public gaming room of the coffee-house which served them.

The Gaming House is the only picture, the design of which Paulson discusses in detail in the biography:

But within this chaos a careful pyramidal structure can be made out. The twin candles held high by the croupier, the night watchman's staff, the raised right arm of Rakewell, and the line of the overturned chair indicate the apex of the triangle. The movement of the eye in the plate is upward towards the fire, but held down by the crossings of lines going in other directions -- especially the arm of the gambler drawing in his winnings, crossed by Rakewell's arm and clenched fist in a gesture of loss. The base of the pyramid is the four gamblers in the foreground.⁶

The Rake kneels close to the lower border of the picture so that he dominates the middle foreground of a picture for the first and only time. Other characters are disposed behind or beside him so that his whole body is open to inspection. The arrangement of the tableaux is not divided into the familiar major and minor groups, but a carefully graded 'progression' of gamblers forms a backcloth to the individual study of the Rake's despair. As in The Marriage, in which the arm motif unites the tableaux, the upward movement of the Rake's arm is continued in the middle ground by the reaching arms and gazes of those figures who notice the fire. In consequence the Rake's seizure is connected with smoke and fire as if to indicate that his state of feeling is similarly hot, enveloping, and destructive, especially because the source of the fire is not disclosed. In previous scenes the tailor, the jockey, the chairman, and the charity boy have knelt, or bent, before the Rake. In The Gaming House he kneels



The Gaming House: the money-lender

Compare his profile with that of the father's portrait in The Heir.

as a sign of submission to the forces which bring about his downfall.

The Rake's clothes are plainer than in The Arrest or The Marriage, but they are neither as elaborate nor as plain as the range of clothing behind him; not only does he fit into the middle range of gamblers, but his sober dress suggests that his interest in clothes wanes after his wedding. Although he continues to be tidy, his coat remains partly unbuttoned as a sign of his continuing vulnerability. Instead of the luxuriant hair of The Heir, the Rake's head is startlingly bald, a "death's head" which anticipates those of the madmen and that of his own dying state in The Madhouse. The stiffness of his pose, his set teeth, and his clenched fists indicate an attitude of extreme tension which amounts to a fit. The teeth, fists, and stiffness suggest Caesar's epilepsy, while the stiffness and the hairlessness suggest the onset of what Paulson diagnoses as 'tertiary syphilis' (the epigraph to Part II, page 20). There is no reason not to suspect that Hogarth intended a combination of the two brought about by despair. The protagonist is never shown to regain his feet subsequently.

The arrangement of figures about the table invites the glance to enter the picture from the left and curve around the table in a clockwise movement which may be seen to begin and end with the composed figure of the money-lender who initiates the cycle. It is easy to read the picture in a 'progression (in the print from left to right) from eagerness to passion to apathy (or anticipation if one reads this gentleman to be a highwayman)'.⁷ The money-lender sits comfortably at his own oval table writing a promissory note: 'Lent to Ld Cogg 500'. His jutting chin, spectacles, and plain clothes are similar to those of the father's portrait in The Heir and it is appropriate that the Rake should lose catastrophically in the presence of an image of his miserly father who risked at most a shilling at an ordinary. The money-lender is traditionally



The Gaming House: the anguished cleric

The ends of his stock hang parallel in the painting. Note the placing of the drunken gambler's hand above him as if in unconscious blessing (page 106).

identified as 'Old Manners', the only man with a contemporary reputation for having made money from gambling; the implied warning is not to be perceived by the Rake, Manners is seen to lend and not to play.⁸ Lord Cogg's careless eagerness contrasts with the money-lenders' concentration and yet both reveal foolish attitudes towards each other; Lord Cogg trusts a money-lender evidently unconditionally and he lends his '500' to a man with a name which (among others) meant to cheat in contemporary argot.⁹

Behind and slightly to the right, two gamblers turn from the table. The elaborate costume of the one is similar to Lord Cogg's and the sober clothes of the other, whose stock identifies him as a cleric, are similar to the money-lender -- in a gaming room the man of God and the money-lender are indistinguishable. The well-dressed character gazes impassively at the watchman, as if the situation has no fear for one of his status (or self-esteem). In sharp contrast the cleric's anguish signifies the split-second moment of realization which the Rake has already experienced and passed beyond. The timing draws attention to the fact that Hogarth is concerned always with the consequence of crisis in his central character rather than its crucial moment. The cleric's feeling is expressed, not in an open gesture of despair, but in one of shame. In the Rake's world the cleric is guilty and morally weak, while the money-lender is right and strong.

A brawling incident is placed beyond the impassive lord and the cleric to the left of the Rake. A bald-headed man with staring eyes and clenched teeth similar to the Rake's, threatens a fellow gambler with a sword held awkwardly like a dagger. His attitude is a model for the kind of vicious response to a supposed cheat that a rake might make. Between this angry man and his opponent stands a richly-dressed figure who restrains the angry man, but appears too drunk, or bemused, to realize the good he is

doing. His left hand is raised in a gesture of unconscious blessing over the cleric; the guilty man of God receives his blessing from a drunken man of the world who performs the sort of selfless deed which should be the responsibility of the former. Ironically, the cleric is unaware of the benediction because of his shameful gesture, but he may be blessed because, unlike the Rake, he shows remorse.

The cringing opponent overlaps the croupier who stands next to him in the sequence. Both the croupier and his colleague turn to watch the flames and the latter's arm draws attention to them in a second gesture of unconscious blessing as part of the significant upward movement in the picture. The Rake's arm (as a basis of the movement) is superimposed upon the reach of the winner's arm as he gathers his money. Their extended arms, one with the fist clenched and the other with fingers open, form a cross so that only the lecteur may perceive that success is opposed and cancelled out by loss. Hogarth's point in diminishing the winner's role is that the winner of any coup is solitary, anonymous, and unimportant in relation to the feelings of the losers.

The Rake has broken from the circle, overturned his chair, and subsided to a kneeling position. His upraised arm, just to the right of the geometrical centre, divides the picture into halves. The figures who react from the recently finished game, fight in consequence, or acquire money for the next throw appear to the left of the Rake, as if to indicate, symbolically, that these experiences no longer have personal meaning for him.

The surprised and snarling dog watches the human crisis. Both the upset chair and the dog are traditional omens of bad luck in gambling circles, according to Douglas Hill.¹⁰ The chair overturned at a moment of catastrophe recalls similar external signs in Hogarth's other narratives: the overturned stool present at the Harlot's death; the upturned table

and broken mirror present when the lovers lose their innocence in After; the fallen chair in Plate 6 of Marriage à la Mode present at the moment of the countess's suicide; the stool overturned as Tom Idle plays above an open grave in Plate 3 of Industry and Idleness. As if to emphasize the point, the dog rests its paws on the Rake's chair in yet another unlucky gesture.¹¹ Whereas in The Heir, The Arrest, and The Marriage luck is on the Rake's side, it deserts him in The Gaming House and his misfortunes bring him to the kind of broken headedness anticipated by the torn and broken wig which lies to his right.

As the glance moves beyond and to the right of the Rake it meets an anecdote in which money is being counted just behind the winner and, although appropriately placed to his right as if to anticipate the next stage in his success, its position to the right of the Rake disturbs the pattern in which proleptic elements occur on this side of him. Hogarth's satirical point that losers kneel, sit, or lean in ear-shot of other people's money being counted is so tantalizing that its effectiveness justifies its position. Furthermore, the temporal movement from past to future is generally diminished in this picture anyway, because the tableau is placed behind the Rake as a consummation of his experience.

On the far right, below an extremely anxious gambler who bites his crossed fists, there sits a highwayman (identified by his spurs and pistol) so enclosed in his own thoughts that he does not respond to a boy who offers him a drink.¹² His hands are linked about his crossed legs so that the obvious losers to the right, including the Rake, are crossed (in their luck) in some way. The direction of the highwayman's gaze encourages the lecteur to read from the right of the picture around the foreground back towards the Rake by means of a chain of objects similar to that in the foreground of Orgies. (Incidentally, the highwayman's gaze is customarily assumed to be a sign that he desperately contemplates stealing from the



The Gaming House: the Rake and the highwayman

Note the upward movement of hands, the dog with its paws on the chair, and the light edges of clothes and chairs which connect the dog, the Rake, his wig, and the highwayman's pistol.

Rake. ¹³⁾

In the engraving the light edge of the highwayman's dark coat, leading from the pistol butt in his pocket, and the flowing line of the Rake's coat descend to unite in the discarded wig on the floor. The association allows for the highwayman's proposed use of the pistol on the Rake or for the possibility of the Rake being invited, with deliberate irony, to use the pistol on himself. Paulson equates the figures from a moral standpoint in support; the Rake is 'a more respectable robber, who has also lost his ill-gotten gains'. ¹⁴

Another undulating movement begins with the upper knob of the chair-back to the left of the Rake and rises along its length to continue up the edge of the Rake's coat until it disappears behind his neck. The line then descends the edge of his coat to meet the wig in the trough of the wave and rises again to include the highwayman. The paws of the black dog are placed on the line as if to initiate the chain and, if this chain is a deliberate ploy, then the bad luck associated with the dog and the chair surrounds the Rake and includes both the broken image of a head (represented by the wig) and the highwayman's despair. The black dog happens to overlap the money-lender and it is possible that Hogarth also intended the money-lender of Covent Garden and his dog to represent the original source of misfortune. ¹⁵ (The curve of the money-lender's chair is indicated by another "thread" which may draw the shameful cleric within the movement.) Borrowed money is fed into the cycle by means of the money-lender, but it is only the desperate man who contemplates the robbery of a similarly penniless colleague in order to begin over again.

There are few permanent details to comment upon the central situation. The advertisement above the fireplace, positioned at the end of the rightwards movement of the glance is a diminished replica of the tablets to the right of The Marriage, a visual parallel which makes the advertisement

Verse Caption to 'The Gaming House'

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

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

a gamblers' Creed. It reads, 'R. Justian / Card Maker to his Maj. [esty] . . . Royal Family' and it adds to the Rake's association with the royal family established in The Levee and The Arrest. Since the Rake shares the costly pleasures of a prince, but is consistently prevented from approaching royalty, the advertisement represents an ironic epitaph to his social aspirations. At the climax of his narrative Hogarth has reversed the timing of The Heir, The Arrest, and The Marriage, in which Sarah's intrusions are timed too late to embarrass the Rake, because the watchman arrives just too late to save the Rake from catastrophe. By his tardiness the watchman unwittingly adds his revenge to that of the harlots for the Rake's earlier theft of the lantern. Ironically, the watchman's lamp is conspicuously unbroken, and a glowing object in this picture.

Hoadly moralizes predictably upon the 'misuse' of gold; the opening panegyric is structurally similar to the praise of women in the third caption and so in another way unites the themes of womanizing and gambling as causes of downfall. Gold is a blessing when put to good work, but a bane as the tool of avaricious 'lust'. The second couplet indirectly refers to the central gesture of rejection in The Heir:

Of Weeping Virtue Sweet Redress,
And blessing Those who live to bless.

Ironically Sarah's presence in the story as the only character who weeps challenges the belief. She refuses to be content with gold and, although she blesses the Rake with her gift in The Arrest, Phoebus Apollo's gold is shown as beneficial only to the inglorious money-lender, the obscured winner, and the anonymous figure having money counted into his hands.

The last couplets state the 'sad' consequences of gambling in a list similar to the horrors, fears, and pangs of the caption to The Arrest. Hoadly views the scene as the 'Purchase of a tortur'd Mind / To an imprison'd Body join'd'. The image corresponds to the broken wig in the picture in

anticipation of the degeneration of the last scenes.

In conclusion the circular structure of The Gaming House intimates that gambling is a cyclic process; stakes are acquired, played, and acquired again. By arranging the figures of his merry-go-round so that a study of despair confronts the lecteur, Hogarth declares that there is to be no renewal of luck for the Rake. At a comparable step in the parable the Prodigal's fortunes change for the better:

And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger. 16

The Prodigal Son recovers from his obsession, but the Rake destroys himself and so his progress becomes an anti-parable. (As a result the parable can no longer be meaningfully used as a source of epigraphs.)

In The Heir the Rake relates to the character of his inheritance which becomes a cause of future situations. In The Gaming House the left to right trend of cause and effect is changed; the Rake's past is placed squarely behind him and so he becomes an image of the universal gambler. He may be imagined as having borrowed money from the precise money-lender (so like his father) in foolish emulation of Lord Cogg and his attitudes; he may have been involved in a brawl as the aggressor; he may even have gained as an anonymous and infrequent winner. Above all other characteristics, he is the universal loser who takes on the bad luck, shame, guilt, anxiety, despair, and futile envy of the others who are equally desperate. The Rake's folly lies less in the fact that he has thought he could win and more in that he does not realize that he cannot compete with the financial reserves of a Manners or the privilege of a Lord Cogg. In his losses the Rake's emulation of the heroic world is no longer a mockery but a reality. Thus the sixth picture not only presents a sequence which reads from 'eagerness' through 'passion' to 'antipathy' or 'anticipation', but the gambling scene presents a much

more finely differentiated, psychological study than Paulson implies and into which moral considerations barely intrude.

Lastly, Hoadly, in suggesting that power in a chaotic world devolves upon 'Chance', draws attention to the inherent love of risk which is a main feature of the story. The father played the stock market, recorded his disposing of a shilling, and incurred the Wrath of God to save a shoe. The son avoids an enforced marriage by a well-timed accident, enjoys cock-fighting, hunting and brawling, destroyed his own image, and identifies himself with adventurers like Paris, Romulus, and Nero. He carouses in the dangerous underworld, risks arrest in a public place, and succumbs to a game of chance. To the post-Augustan mind, conditioned to respect moderation and to trust common sense, the Rake's involvement with chance must have been an alarming trait comparable with the morbidly fascinating flying-man of Southwark Fair. Hogarth's elevation of gambling and risk appears to have been an original contribution to the tradition of rake-tales, in which it previously had been a supplementary characteristic, and in so doing he gave the tradition an economic dimension (appropriate to a capitalist world) which may have had its personal source in the economic precariousness of Hogarth's early life and in the bold gamble implied in his decision to pursue a career independent of the patron and the printseller. ¹⁷

The Gaming House: References

1. The History of White's, the epigraph. Bourke reports that Horace Walpole designed the coat of arms. The tag may be translated as: 'A love of money unites, compels or draws (people) together.' It may also be construed as a pun, 'A love of money "cogs" people' (below, note 9). White's, the coffee house and later the clubs, was notorious for its high play and so the choice of worthless nummi is ironic. Walpole, a collector of Hogarth, may have been inspired by his joke.
2. The Tate Catalogue, p. 32.
3. The History of White's, p. 27.
4. See note 3 to p. 60, IIa. Plate 3, Orgies.
5. The History of White's, p. 7.
6. H I, p. 332; 'progression' is Paulson's term in the same passage.
7. H I, p. 332.
8. HGW I, p. 168.
9. NED, cog has three meanings: to practice tricks in throwing dice (usually with intent to deceive), to wheedle, to fawn. All are appropriate.
10. Douglas Hill, Magic and Superstition, (London, 1968), p. 112.
11. Magic and Superstition, p. 112.
12. Lichtenberg's Commentaries, p. 249.
13. Lichtenberg's Commentaries, pp. 248-9.
14. HGW I, p. 168.
15. The similarity between Orgies and The Gaming House recalls the old saying, 'Lucky at play, unlucky in love'. The Rake is unsuccessful on both counts.
16. St Luke xv. 17; the italics have been added.
17. H I, p. 30 and pp. 39-40; chapter 3, The Fleet Prison, generally.



8. The Prison, Plate 7 (149/138)

IIa. Plate 7, The Prison, (148/138)

The untying of the fable should follow on the circumstances of the fable itself, and not be done ex machina, as it is in the Medea.

Aristotle ¹

The Prison presents the more realistic consequences of the profligate's career than the return of the Prodigal to a father's welcome. The Harlot is confined to Bridewell as early as the fourth step in the narrative, but by delaying the imprisonment until the seventh picture in his second progress, Hogarth was able to confront the Rake with those figures who have recurrent value in his story as he did in The Marriage: his mistress, his daughter, and his wife. Composing a scene in the Fleet would have had personal meaning for William because his father was also a scholarly dreamer and debtor comparable to the Rake, the alchemist, or 'T.L.' and it is to be wondered, therefore, how many of the Hogarth family, the women included, are to be found in this outwardly pathetic scene. ²

The Prison is the third rectangular setting in succession; the church and the gaming room prepare for the cell (Hogarth returns to a corner-setting in the last picture). As a measure of the Rake's increasing restriction, the leaded panes of the church windows give way to the protective wire grilles of The Gaming House and these are superseded by the gratings of the open cell door; ajar as if to suggest that the authorities have no fear that these prisoners will escape. Ironically, there is less light in The Gaming House, a study in liberty, than there is passing through the gratings into The Prison.

Previously the figures are disposed into clearly defined major and minor tableaux, so that a particularized figure like the Welshman in The Arrest, separated from the others, creates a problem of communication. In The Prison the major figures divide into two clusters of similar visual

weight: a slightly larger one centres round Sarah and a smaller one round the Rake which balance about the focal point of the alchemist's fire. Their separateness is especially marked in the painting because areas of white pigment against a darker ground -- faces, arms, bosoms -- polarize the figures. Although the caption leaves a lecteur in no doubt as to which are the morally wronged, both clusters are treated with similar care in the picture.

The Rake has been partially raised from his stiff, kneeling attitude to a passive, seated one which conveys bewilderment and helplessness. His bald head is again covered by a short wig below which a fringe of dull brown hair, surprisingly, shows. The growth of hair is improbable because the assumed interval between the Rake's losses and his imprisonment seems too brief to allow for the growth of more than a stubble. The association of hair with regeneration also contradicts the progressive degeneration which otherwise dominates these last scenes. Although this detail does not disturb the fundamentally orderly movement of the narrative, it remains a feature which can only be explained as the consequence of an error, one of those details which Paulson says Hogarth was 'careless' with when reversing the structure of the design.³ The fact that the feature recurs in the print suggests that the hair was engraved by Scotin rather than by Hogarth who might have noticed the contradiction.

The Rake's appearance is compounded of elements already present in the progress. His eyes stare abstractedly like the fencing master's in The Levee; the lower part of his face repeats the downturned expression of the highwayman in The Gaming House, even to the dimple; the open spread and the placing of the Rake's fingers recall his own limp fingers in The Arrest; his clothes, once fine, are now as shabby as those of the bailiff's who attempt to arrest him; his feet lift indecisively as they do in The Levee. Even the pot-boy repeats the situation of the boy who serves the

highwayman in The Gaming House. The Rake represents a visual summary of the experiences of his own downfall, at once surprised, bewildered, indecisive, and badgered not now by fawning attendants, but by his moral and financial creditors. Not only has he lost his protective top coat, but his undercoat is undone nearly to the neck and his breeches are unbuttoned as if to symbolize his increasing lack of defence. There is no positive red about him in the emotionally exhausted final scenes. Hogarth is preparing his protagonist for the nadir where clothes and their colour have no meaning.

For the first time since The Arrest other characters pay positive attention to the Rake, if only to demand or threaten. The appearance of his elderly wife has altered drastically in comparison with his which deteriorates only gradually. Like the elderly figures in The Laughing Audience, whose amusement reveals their true selves, the wife's anger now reveals her honest shrewishness and present poverty. Paradoxically she displays more vitality in the prison scene than in the church, so much so that she is recognized only by her one eye; even her wedding ring is conspicuously absent. One fist rests on her husband's shoulder as if to belabour him; the other extends across the middle of the scene towards Sarah's daughter and counters the openness of Sarah's hand. In The Arrest Sarah acts positively to rescue her one-time lover, the wife acts to spur her husband into action; Sarah's action is sentimental and pathetic, the wife's is practical and pitiless. In immediate contrast Sarah responds by swooning dramatically and is suitably punished with a slap!

The gaoler demands 'Garnish money' from behind the Rake. The verbal reference, the unpacked bundle, and the open door signify that the Rake has just arrived in prison.⁴ The reference to garnish is not included in the painting and so Hogarth clarified the situation as an arrival-scene for the subscribers. The burly gaoler is the first figure in the story to

The Prison: the arms of the figures which enclose the Rake

The arm on the left belongs to the wife. Note the presence of the gaoler's book and key and his position in front of the gate which make him a caricature of St Peter (page 187).



The Prison: Sarah's cluster

Her mother is thought to be the figure on the right (note 21 to page 161). Compare Sarah's disarray to that of the harlots in Orgies.

bend over the comparatively frail Rake and effectively bars his exit from the cell. The pot-boy holds the mug of beer and thrusts out his hand for payment. The repetition of the incident from the preceding picture suggests that history, or the events of a progress, repeats itself and that the despondent gambler, a highwayman or the 'more respectably robber' continues to behave foolishly.⁵ The Rake has not learnt from, or was not aware of the highwayman's example so that his self-destruction persists because he indulges in a relative luxury when penniless in the Fleet.

The pictorial arrangement of the arms of the figures about the Rake recalls the disposition of emblems in The Levee. The outstretched right arms of the wife and the pot-boy are aligned parallel to each other and confine the Rake like the shafts of the sedan in The Arrest. The gaoler's right hand crosses in front of his own chest ostensibly to indicate an item in his book, but the line of his forearm also represents the third side of a rectangle which encloses the Rake on three sides only allowing him to move into the interior of the prison towards Sarah and his daughter. Paradoxically, however, the wife appears to pin him with her fist to his chair as if adding to his confinement. The Rake's passive attitude indicates that he no longer has the initiative to move and that the various means of confinement represent comic overstatement.

The figures in the second cluster are not consciously aware of the Rake. T.L. only gazes distantly in his direction and Sarah has collapsed in the undisclosed, but immediate past as a result of her realization that her lover is before her. Sarah's crying daughter (her red hair identifying her with her father and the pink flower in her hat associating her with her mother) turns her back on her father and repeats her mother's attitude of rejection in The Heir. The woman members of the cluster, supposedly sympathetic to Sarah, concentrate on their over vigorous tasks of revival.

The alchemist sits between the clusters oblivious to the hysterical



The Prison: the alchemist

Compare his profile with that of the father (opposite page 32) and the money-lender (opposite page 104).

scene before him. By virtue of his inbuilt furnace with its tubular chimneys he is the isolated, eternal inhabitant of the cell. His goggles and his Punch-like profile recall the other narrow-seeing, bespectacled, precise, and elderly figures of the progress preoccupied by the idea of wealth -- the Rake's father and the money-lender. (In the last plate of an Election (221/201), a mischievous boy associates the spectacles with a skull-and-cross bones as if to imply their deadening effect.) The alchemist's search for the philosopher's universal cure-all in prison is a comment on the Rake and his failure, his foolish optimism and dissociation from reality.⁶ Hogarth has balanced his protagonists so that the clusters represent opposing armies in a battle scene. The alchemist is disposed as a comic arbiter of fate -- semi-blind and indifferent. His position in the picture makes him sum up the follies of the other debtors whose dreams, like his, persist in spite of the reality of their punishments. T.L. offers his 'New Scheme for paying ye Debts of ye Nation', according to a paper which falls from his grasp. Unwittingly he releases the grandiose scheme, but holds onto the paper concerned with his own debts. Sarah is present (in the absence of any other explanation) as a consequence of giving her money away and of following the Rake. Even the gaoler and the pot-boy represent minor studies in self-delusion. The gaoler expects garnish from such a spendthrift as the Rake, while the pot-boy is sufficiently naive to have brought him beer before obtaining the money from a type he ought to have known well.

The Rake has ambitiously written (or partially written) a Five Act drama and has had it submitted to the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, 'I have read your Play and find it will not doe. yrs. J R. . h'. Paulson's description of Rich as the creator of 'a world of fascinating unreality full of tricks, optical illusions, people flying through space or being devoured by dragons' is an ironical comment upon the Rake's unlikely choice



The Prison: the alchemist's still behind the wife's head

The shadow of the vapour rises above. Note the wife's one eye and lack of a necklace (page 193).

of an impresario; his dream (and he has identified himself with heroes) does not match the expectations of the contemporary master of illusions.⁷

Apart from those objects already considered, three items comment upon the central relationships: a pair of wings drops incongruously from the canopy of the four-poster above Sarah; the alchemist's distillery is placed above the wife; and a row of books and crucibles are set above the Rake (their numbers reading in reverse order 3, 2, 1). In sequence the softness of the feathers comments upon Sarah's sentiment, the distillery upon the volatility of the wife's anger, and the books on the Rake's muddled intellect.

The wings represent evidence of a futile and impractical attempt to escape from The Prison. The inventor, no less ingenious than the other schemers, has also failed because the wings remain in prison. The curtains of the bed below are closed and it is reasonable to suggest that a modern Icarus has perished because of his ambitions as the Rake is perishing because of his.

The glory on the pulpit cloth in The Marriage is placed as if to represent the bride's angelic halo. On her second appearance, the round shape of the lower vessel of the still now forms a darkened halo as if to suggest that her anger is associated with the forces of evil. The condensing vessel, also above her head, corresponds to the second, shadowy halo above the ethereal presence in The Marriage. A formless shadow rises from the still, like a wisp of smoke, and its presence seems to suggest that the ethereal presence and its ideal associations dissipate as the wife's illusions are destroyed.⁸

Because Sarah and the Rake confront each other in rival groups the picture presents a difficulty in establishing the central viewpoint, comparable to The Arrest. Although Sarah is positioned further into the middle ground than the Rake, she is on the conventionally more important

Verse Caption to 'The Prison'

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

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

side. It is proposed to examine the narrative line, therefore, firstly from Sarah's point of view and then from the Rake's on the assumption that a split-scene was intended. Sarah is placed on the opposite side of the picture to the door surrounded by inmates rather than prison officials. Her outstretched arm encourages the glance to pass from her to the Rake. It is reasonable to assume that she has collapsed less because a play has been rejected and more because a figure from her past has dramatically reappeared to discover her already established in prison. The last picture shows that the Rake represents all her future and so he is appropriately placed to the right.

The Rake on entering prison has ordered beer in an impulsive moment and is now seated, cast down, because Sarah, her daughter, and even Sarah's angry mother add to his burden of guilt (symbolized by the bundle in the corner). The Rake's plight is worsened by the fact that his wife is imprisoned with him. He does not even have the consolation of having her as far away as 'the precincts of the Fleet', as Richard Hogarth had his family.⁹ The figures to the left of the Rake represent those who suffer the consequences of his previous behaviour and, in accordance with the left to right pattern of temporal associations, they symbolize his experience of the past which he is to relinquish in the last picture. The pattern holds good for everyone except Sarah who is yet to reappear. There is a danger of distorting the reading of the progress to make the events fit an abstract pattern, but it seems reasonable to seek for an interpretation if only to see whether a justification exists.

The justification perhaps lies in the caption which conveys an elegaic mood by taking 'Remembrance' as its theme. It contrasts the memories of the virtuous man, 'which gild the Evening of his Day', with those of the 'Guilty Wretch confin'd', who is lost in 'Seas of sad Reflection'. The relevance lies in the fact that Hoadly with Hogarth's approval assumes

that the figures which confront the Rake are essentially the Guilty Man's memories. They are all abused 'Gift[s] of Heaven' (an idea which also recalls the triple gifts of wine, women, and gold which the Rake has misused throughout the narrative) and the Rake, therefore, sits to the right of the seventh picture contemplating a retrospective view of his experience which includes Sarah as an image of a sexually attractive woman.

Hoadly exaggerates the scope of the progress: the Happy Man recalls 'Treasures' from as long ago as 'Life's earliest Stretch' and the Guilty Man fails to recall virtues 'fetch'd from early Youth'. The second paragraph is ridiculously elegaic. Once again Hoadly parades his list of defects -- 'broken Faith', 'wrested Truth', 'Talents idle and unus'd', abused 'Gifts' -- and concludes with couplets which anticipate The Madhouse with such gruesome relish that they conflict with the gentle, bewildered attitude of the Rake in The Prison. The inappropriateness of Hoadly's conclusion may be judged by comparing the lines to the melodramatic attitude of the actor in Garrick in the Character of Richard III (177/165) with which they are more in accord.

In Hogarth's narrative art of the 1730s prison is a place of dreams: T.L.'s schemes, the alchemist's quests, the ambition associated with Icarus form a sympathetic background to the Rake's illusions (realized in the play-script in visual form). In Bridewell the Harlot wears her fine clothes to the amusement of her fellow prisoners and, even as she raises her hammer to beat the hemp in response to the threat of the warder's cane, she gazes abstractly from the picture. In the Rose Tavern the Rake's drunken imagination bestirred him to an emulation of heroic action, in The Prison his wife tries to awaken him to responsible action, but the final situation is to show that she fails. In terms of the mock-heroic, therefore, the Rake, like Samson, is enfeebled by his womenfolk:

Sarah in The Arrest is amazonian, the wife in The Prison attacks him like a tragi-comic Medea. The lack of a single viewpoint indicates that the plight of Sarah and the Rake are of similar value and, although their decline 'follows the circumstances of the fable' (the epigraph), the coincidence of their downfall is as calculated as their earlier meetings.

In the penultimate picture the Rake's bad luck continues: those elements from his past which he would wish to avoid converge upon him, seemingly by chance, in circumstances wherein his opportunities to take evasive action are removed. The combination leads to his taking refuge in an insane world. At this stage in his own career Hogarth implies that restriction and freedom, the disciplined and the frantic, have not been reduced to 'contraries' as in Industry and Idleness where the dissimilar ends of Tom Idle and Francis Goodchild are represented in similar crowded scenes. In A Rake's Progress restriction destroys its opposites. The Rake emulates, but cannot sustain the expensive freedoms of his imagination and, although a woman rescues him from his creditors, her gesture eventually leads him to a greater enslavement.

The Prison: References

1. The Poetics, p. 37.
2. Reported in Hogarth's Prisons by Ronald Paulson, a Radio 3 Broadcast.
3. The Welshman is the second. Sarah Young is customarily seen as a flaw, but the central argument of Part IIb. is that she is a consistently regarded element of a mock-heroic work. See H I, p. 409 and note 32 to p. 11, Introduction Ic.
4. NED 5: Money extorted from a new prisoner either as a gaoler's fee or as drink-money for the other prisoners. The key word is new. In a debtor's prison it was expedient to collect money immediately upon arrival. The Beggar's Opera is cited (ii. vii (1728) 27). The gaoler to his prisoner: 'You know the custom, Sir, Garnish, Captain, Garnish.' Hogarth's family experience of the Fleet and his public experience of the work leading to The Committee of the House of Commons (1729), Tate Catalogue 27, would have given him authoritative knowledge of the corrupt practices in prisons. Lichtenberg also sees garnish as the "welcome" from a prisoner (Commentaries, p. 256). Paulson is unjustified in suggesting that the gaoler demands 'more garnish' (H I, p. 7).
5. HGW I, p. 168.
6. The book is entitled 'Philos:^{phers} stone'. It is altered to (Philosophical' in the engravings as if to point up the intellectual connotation.
7. HGW I, p. 26.
8. The boiling liquid bubbles from the larger to the smaller vessel as if to imply that the wife's large anger passes to the vessel containing the Rake's gentler attitude.
9. See note 2.



9. The Madhouse, Plate 8 (149/139)

IIa. Plate 8, The Madhouse (149/139) ¹

An end. . . is that which itself naturally (either of necessity or most commonly) follows something else, but nothing else comes after it.

Aristotle ²

Uxor. -- What ship is that with so many owers, and straunge tacle; it is a greate vessell.

Civis. -- This is the ship of fooles, wherin saileth bothe spirituall and temporall, of euey calling some: there are kynges, queenes, popes, archbishoppes, prelates, lordes, ladies, knightes, gentlemen, phisicians, lawiers, march-auntes, housbandesmen, beggers, theeues, hores, knaues, &c. This ship wanteth a good pilot: the storme, the rocke, and the wrecke at hande, all will come to naught in this hulke for want of good gouernement.

William Bulleyn ³

It is self-evident that The Madhouse represents the deterioration of the prosperous, but foolish man's physical, mental, economic, and social powers, but, paradoxically, Hogarth's moral purpose is especially muted in the last picture. The fact that the Rake is not dying alone and unlamented may be interpreted as a small reward for his one redeeming act of kindness in The Heir in which by offering Sarah money the Rake does at least acknowledge an obligation.

In designing The Madhouse Hogarth returns to the angled structure of The Heir and Orgies, while retaining the prison-like solidity of the walls and bars of The Prison. Unlike these earlier structures, however, the angle of The Madhouse is so sharply inclined to the right that the left hand wall stretches from one margin to the other to make a foreshortened background. The end of a series of barred galleries (with cells leading off) apparently extends to infinity. There are more exits from the last picture than in previous ones; the left margin is filled by the open doorway of a cell (repeated in the middle ground) which admits strong rays of ironic sunshine. A third and fourth closed door are positioned in the far background; the latter on the far side of a 'gate of open ironwork

(erected in 1729)' which forms the effective backwall of the scene.⁴

All other doorways in the progress stand open to the left of the Rake and stand shut to his right on the future side of the last picture. The movement from open doors on the "past" side to shut ones on the "future" side is emphasized by the numbering of the cells 54, 55, and 56. Not only does it imply the existence of fifty-three cells to the left (symbolized by the preceding scenes), but the numerical progression confirms the impression of an infinity of cells to the right of cell 56.⁵ The doorways are deceptive exits because they only reveal heavily barred windows inside the cells. Exit along the gallery is checked by the iron gates, and, because the heads of more female visitors appear in the gallery beyond, the implied sequence of numbers, the repeated doors, and their heads combine to suggest that the image of the central pen in which the Rake is placed also extends, mirror-like, into an open-ended future. The doorway to the left is balanced by the stairway which suggests that the limits of the madhouse extend to unknown upper regions. As with every other route to areas beyond the central scenes of the progress, the stairs are blocked.

The Madhouse is an identifiable milieu; Paulson notes that 'it is probably no coincidence that in 1734-35 the governors of Bethlehem hospital were soliciting subscriptions to pay off the debt for the new wing'.⁶ His biographer imagines Hogarth's experience of the hospital:

He must have visited Bedlam many times, looking at Caius Gabriel Cibber's statues over the stone piers of the great gate, like Michelangelo's Night and Morning: Raving Madness (or acute mania), chained, drawing in his breath and about to bellow forth his anger represented by the madman in cell 54, and Melancholy Madness with a vacant expression represented by the Rake. ⁷

It is appropriate that the gentle Rake of The Prison should be associated with contemplative madness because, although evidence of the Rake's violent behaviour is present in the story, he is never revealed in a threatening attitude, whereas the last scenes particularly draw attention

to his imaginative powers.

The central tableau consists of a close-knit triangle of characters, the base-line delineated by the recumbent figure of the Rake flanked by the figures of Sarah and the warders. The strong vertical element in the design is repeated in the disposition of the lesser figures who tend to be placed in vertical line behind each other, rising from the lying or kneeling figures in the foreground to the raised figures in the foreground-shortened background. The arrangement of the madmen divides into three groups: the solitary madman in cell 54; four figures placed in a cluster about the door of the second cell; a pyramidal group about the stairs to the right.

In the three scenes preceding the last, the Rake has stood, knelt, and sat; now his decline is complete as he lies on the bare floor. His physical decline is also reflected in the deterioration of his clothing; all that is left of his finery in The Arrest or The Marriage is a pair of loosened breeches (merely an unrealistic loincloth in the painting).⁸ The Rake's bare torso is more substantial on the point of death than when clothed in life; paradoxically his manner of dying seems visually more important to the story. His head has been returned to the shaven, skull-like appearance of The Gaming House as a confirmation of his now inferior status. In the painting his figure is a stark, apparently pure, white; the loin cloth is a wisp and the reds and pinks have been transposed to the warder and the scarlet gown of the pope-like singer.

Significant changes were made in the Rake's pose, mostly between the painting and the print; the lids were lowered over the staring eyes; the down-turned expression was changed to a grin; Sarah's arm, tucked across her body in the painting, was made to overlap the Rake's right arm in a proprietorial gesture of concern; the Rake's other arm was raised from his chest so that his fingers clutch at his head. In the paintings of both



The Madhouse: the main tableau

Note how the arms of other figures are made to overlap the Rake (compare with the painting in the frontispiece). The Rake's arm has been raised to balance the warder's to offer the illusion that the warder tears the lovers apart (page 163 and compare with the bully's arm in The Levee, opposite page 50). Note the glory behind the warder's head (page 187) and the chain from the madman's block of stone disappearing behind Sarah's bottom (page 164).

The Gaming House and The Madhouse the Rake's fists are clenched: in the last painting the Rake's wrist and ankle are shackled as a sign of the violence of his subsiding fit. In the print the kneeling warder, who busies himself only with the chain behind the Rake's wrist in the painting, unlocks the shackle from his ankle, the wrist having been freed. These last alterations suggest that Hogarth wished to emphasize that the Rake's seizure is passing. The standing warder rests his hand on his knee in the painting, but it has been repositioned on the Rake's shoulder in a gesture of sympathy. Paulson notes that:

most commentators on the plate have recorded, based on what they see, that Rakewell is being chained after suffering a (perhaps suicidal) fit. Certain external evidence, however, argues for his death and the unlocking of the fetters, no longer needed; the line from the poetic inscription, "Behold Death grappling with Despair," suggests that he is at least sinking into death. 9

The alterations to which Paulson does not refer at this point relax the formality of the Rake's pose, but also offer internal evidence which works against the Rake's death rather than his dying. Hogarth made him support more of his own weight and gave him sufficient strength to hold his hand to his head. It is arguable that it is more dramatic to suspend the Rake, framed in the continuous present tense, on the verge of death, aware and yet not aware of his insane surroundings, than it is to make him oblivious, and more appropriate to a circularity of structure (below, page 139).

Paulson suggests that the composition of the tableau is a parody of a Pietà in which Sarah holds the Rake like a weeping Mary -- as well as Cibber's Madness. Paulson claims that 'peculiarity' results from the attempted fusion of two analogues so that 'confusion is evident in Hogarth's small revisions in the shoulders and even the head of the Rake'.

It may be argued in addition that the alterations clarify the puzzle of the Rake's dying and counteract the possible reaction of subscribers against the sacrilege of a parallel with Christ. The parallel, most clear



10. The Painter Torn Between Olympus and Everyday Life by
Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder

in the painting, is systematically diminished (the grin, the Christ-like cloth replaced by the breeches, the bare feet given a mortality by the solid pair of shoes). In the prints the plastic effect, whereby the Rake's white figure appears to float before the others, is decreased because they are made to overlap, or contain, the Rake, as minor figures do in The Levee, The Arrest, or The Prison: Sarah holds him, the warder's sympathetic hand rests on him, and both hands of the kneeling warder overhang his legs. One alteration is ambiguous; the patch recalls the wound in Christ's side, but may also have been intended to hide a self-inflicted wound or the exceedingly mortal sign of syphilis.

Paulson offers the hint of a third significant analogue; he relates parts of the last two pictures to the work of a Flemish painter:

The pose of Rakewell's head and left arm, however, may have been based on Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder's etching, The Painter torn between Olympus and Everyday Life. . . Hogarth's idea and composition in Pl. 7 bear a general resemblance to Gheeraerts' design. 10

An attractive explanation for the alterations is that, in order to diminish the obvious association with Christ, Hogarth rearranged his tableau to make it a parody of the Painter instead. By raising the Rake's hand, Hogarth repeats the Painter's gesture of bewilderment; Sarah touches the Rake in a gesture similar to the wife's in Gheeraerts' composition; the Painter's grandmother rests her hand on the Painter's shoulder. More generally, the model's pose recalls Sarah's state of collapse in The Prison and the wife's bare bosom and worried expression are also similar to Sarah's in the penultimate picture. A mercury peeps from behind the Painter's easel and holds his wand over the Painter's head in a way which sets a precedent for Hogarth's more unobtrusive use of objects as ironic haloes.

It is to be suggested below that Hoadly pays tribute to the creative power of madness. If Paulson's analogy with Gheeraerts' picture is valid,

then A Rake's Progress is a parable of the romantic artist's search for sensation and its hero is indifferent to the conventions which draw him away from living the dream of an 'Olympian' past towards a modern 'Everyday Life'. Gheeraerts' Painter depicts what is effectively a burlesque of Melancholia, the humour of poets. The evidence of The Prison, at the least -- Icarus' wings and the Rake's play -- suggests that Hogarth thought along such lines, but, as he frequently seems to have done, he took advantage of a chance to give a tentative idea greater strength and purpose. Thus the scenes which precede The Prison are studies in which the melancholic acquires the necessary experiences for his art. Kunzle notes of The Levee, for example, that there is 'a reminiscence, however slender, of a traditional series of Characters and Professions or Arts and Sciences' and the Rake's fashionable pursuits parody the artist's schooling of the kind which Hogarth with his pragmatism would have despised.¹¹ Gheeraerts' Painter transforms his human model into the kind of ideal which Hogarth only drew satirically or as an emblem; Boys Peeping at Nature (125/120) expresses his sardonic attitude. The Marriage is a means by which the artist buys further liberty to dream and play and perhaps to write the 'five-acter' which is beside him in prison.

Paulson claims that 'the idea of art as subject, and a judgment that is aesthetic rather than moral, was present in some of Hogarth's earliest work. From The Beggar's Opera onward, he was concerned with the relationship between the worlds of the artist and of reality'.¹² The single pictures from The Distrest Poet, Southwark Fair, and The Sleeping Congregation are seen as 'among Hogarth's fables of the artist'. Paulson interprets them as continuations of the tales of harlots and rakes. It is suggested in this thesis that the Rake, himself, fits the pattern more closely than Paulson states. As was observed at the beginning of this discussion, Hogarth's critical attitude to the follies of his hero is muted as if out



The Madhouse: the religious maniac in cell 54

Note the portraits of the saints and the crucifix placed behind him so that he gazes at its shadow. The cross leans over the figures of Sarah and the Rake placed immediately below and to the right.



The Madhouse: Whiston's diagrams as they appear after the alterations of 1763

Note the globe chained to the cell door on the left.

of a special kind of sympathy in the last picture.

Such interpretation makes Rich's rejection of the Rake's play the tragicomic crisis of the artistic parable and subsequently the 'Painter'/Rake retreats into the destructive, because pointless, world of imagination. Not only do the alterations add a dimension to the progress, but they present the Rake in a more mortal context by associating him with an ideal other than Christ. The sacrilegious analogy remains to be appreciated, however, by 'the witty literary audience' rather than by 'the most naive'.¹³

The figures outside the main tableau ignore the Rake in a manner consistent with the general tendency of the story. The religious maniac in cell 54 (a parody of Cibber's Raving Madness¹⁴) gazes in the direction of the shadow of a large cross thrown on the inward side of his cell wall; his paranoia is revealed in the titles of the portraits on the wall behind him, '[C]lement', 'St Athanatius', and 'St Lawrence'. The three saints were early fathers of the church, two of whom, Pope St Clement and St Lawrence, were martyred violently. It would seem that the madman fears a primitive church based on martyrdom and Hogarth's point is that the madman's worship is as excessive as the Rake's profligacy and, by revering the shadow of the cross, he ignores the reality.

The religious maniac's gaze leads in the direction of more madmen about cell 55 and, particularly, to the anecdote of the geometrician who has inscribed a chained projection on the wall of Bedlam. The joke is a parody of the Ptolemaic vision of the universe in which the world is suspended tranquilly from heaven. In this instance the diagram enacts the craziness of the madhouse because the stable globe has been tilted so that it floats slackly on its chain suspended from a heaven occupied by a religious maniac.

The silhouettes of the sun and moon are drawn below the world and a

ship, perhaps ironically intended as Alexander Barclay's 'Ship of Fools' (the epigraph), floats impossibly through space without the support of sea and wind. The projection is threatened with destruction by a bomb fired from a cosmic mortar. The various emblems taken together have religious connotations. The ship can be taken as a 'symbol of the Church' sailing without direction or basis towards a state of religious confusion and fear. (The interpretation is strengthened by the fact that St Clement of Alexandria originally approved of the ship as a 'suitable device' for Christian rings.¹⁵) The sun may represent Christ and the crescent moon his mother, the Virgin Mary.¹⁶ The general situation implies that the Rake's dying is accompanied by a vision of a profoundly disturbed solar system threatened, as the Rake has been threatened, by the fire of an apocalypse. (The implications of the religious theme in the narrative are developed in Part IIIb.) In 1763 Hogarth superimposed a bedraggled Britannia on the projection in order to make a bitter connection between England and the apocalyptic vision he saw in Bedlam.

The geometrician wears a cap and toga reminiscent of the robes traditionally worn by a Homer, Pythagoras, or a Roman emperor. His is a figure traditionally associated with the theoretician William Whiston, noted for a scheme proposing to establish longitude by means of a mortar bomb.¹⁷ The features of the anecdote correspond just as closely to some of the more notorious achievement's of Whiston's career. As a follower of Newton he also attempted to explain the cause of the deluge in terms of the passing of a comet (the mortar bomb).¹⁸ Hogarth's ridicule represents the destruction of the Ptolemaic universe, the empirical image of the post-Copernician world of science, and one of the Old Testament's cherished assumptions. If applied to the Rake's situation, the interpretations suggest that his admiration of the ancient world is biblical and classical and destroyed by the onset of the fire of contemporary madness.

Douglas Hill summarizes Whiston's influence upon the contemporary world:

[Whiston] foretold that an approaching eclipse of the moon would be accompanied by the appearance of a comet which would herald the end of the world. His words were widely publicized, and caused a city-wide panic, when the comet duly appeared near the appointed time. Thousands of Londoners fled from their homes: there were riots, stampedes and overall hysteria for many days. 19

Hill's account explains the presence of Whiston's caricature in Bedlam as a false prophet and an instigator of panic. He also accounts for the presence and position of the projection in relation to the sun and moon; the projection is about to fall between them as if to suggest the imminence of eclipse as the comet-like bomb arches over the world. The anecdote also parodies the superstitious omens of catastrophe which foretell the death of a heroic figure, the signs of cosmic disturbance which anticipate the deaths of a Julius Caesar or a Macbeth, for example.

The letters 'LE' have been inscribed above Whiston's diagrams as if to indicate an incomplete spelling of Nathaniel Lee's name. He was confined in Bedlam between 1684 and 1699. His tragedy, Alexander, 'remained a stock piece at the chief London theatres for nearly 150 years' and so Lee would be well remembered.²⁰ The themes of Lee's plays anticipate the nature of the Rake's downfall, 'in many of his plays he had dwelt on madness, and had described with startling realism "a poor lunatic" in his Caesar Borgia'. His history forms a model for the Rake's extravagant career, particularly his lack of balance and his nostalgia.²¹ The editors of Lee's plays describe his experience in Bedlam: 'he was placed on a milk diet, his fine head of hair shaved off and he was confined to a cell'.²² The Rake's condition, especially his loss of hair and the presence of his bowls of spilling gruel, may have been consciously modelled upon Lee's reputation, but whereas the real madman was a successful tragedian, who survived to leave prison, the Rake's artistic failure is a cause of his



The Madhouse: the "three-eyed" astronomer

He gazes through his paper telescope at nothing, although the roll is effectively in line with the king above him.

breakdown and a justification for placing him in Bedlam along with the other poet, lover, and the lunatics.

Below the geometrician a bald astronomer peers through a rolled paper telescope (in line with the figure of the king) as if into the future. His partial sightedness is exaggerated because a scar on his cheek offers the illusion of a second closed eye.²³ He is apparently capable of more than human percipience, like Tiresias, who chooses to close two of his three eyes. Ironically the image of the universe for which he may search is inscribed on the wall behind him. Like the Rake he concerns himself with remote affairs and ignores the reality of his situation.

A crowned and naked madman sits in cell 55, simultaneously regarding his image in a sunlit mirror and urinating.²⁴ In The Madhouse the lunatic king's delusion of grandeur contrasts with his naked and incontinent state to which he is oblivious. His situation combines within one incident both the Rake's decline to unabashed nakedness and his aspirations to heroic stature and the fashionable world of the Prince of Wales.

A mentally defective tailor squats below the king and completes the quartet. His modest occupation and his least grandiose form of madness completes a social range of lunacy. Whereas the tailor of The Heir measures the Rake to satisfy his vanity, the mad tailor measures nothing as a sign of his foolishness and the Rake's present need for clothes no more substantial than air. The presence of the tailor links the content of the last picture with the first in a cyclic form. In the painting the tailor's white face and palms, focal points, indicate that his vanity and blindness are important themes typical of the group to which he belongs and which repeats the Rake's own traits. Across the axes, the tailor's measuring balances with the geometrician's diagrams and the astronomer's examination of the heavens compares with the king's contemplation of himself in the mirror. Along the verticals the situation suggests that the



The Madhouse: the pyramid of madmen on the stairs

Note the head of the barking dog at bottom left.



The Madhouse: the bag-like object on the stairs


The dog's paw is beside it (page 134).

theoretician draws the universe for which the astronomer seeks and the tailor measures the air to suit an emperor who admires his own nakedness.

On the far right, silhouetted against a lighter background, a similarly complex cluster of madmen, inscriptions, and emblems is organized into a close-knit pyramid. Whereas the first group to the left is concerned with the sense of sight, the musician, singer, dog, and the love-lorn listener are concerned with hearing. For the third time musicians serenade the Rake, but, instead of a belated aubade at a levee or an operatic accompaniment to a bawdy song and dance, the mad fiddler laments, and, because Whiston's projection is threatened by fire, the fiddler parodies Nero's recital which accompanied the burning of Rome and the pope sings away oblivious to the fire and the fiddling.

The melancholic lover sits on the stairs, his legs crossed and his hands clasped, absorbed in his own thoughts. His medallion shows the bust of a woman (as much of her breast is revealed as of the posture woman's in Orgies or Sarah's in The Prison). It may be assumed that, Orlando-like, the star-crossed lover has carved the name of his fair, 'chaste and unexpressive she' upon the banister rail rather than upon the trees. The phrase 'Charming Betty Careless' comments aptly upon the disdainful nature of the beloved of courtly romance and refers to a contemporary strumpet who supposedly caused William Ellis to run mad. Fielding was to describe her as 'inimitable' and Quennell sums her up as 'a young woman celebrated alike for the sweetness and innocence of her face and the outrageous lubricity of her conduct'.²⁵ Betty's dual reputation recalls the Rake's, and presumably Ellis's, catastrophic interest in sensational beauty regardless of the moral depravity which may accompany it. Time once again worked to Hogarth's advantage because Betty Careless was to become an epitome of the pathetic decline of beauty into old age.²⁶

If the similar dog of The Arrest was intended to belong to the Welshman, the Rake's fashionable creditor, then the barking dog in the last picture represents the fashionable and commercial world's contempt for the lover whose excessive adoration has reduced him to penury. A bag-like object is placed beside the dog on the stairs, a small oval pouch with a rectangular upper structure and short cross-piece. In the absence of any other explanation, it looks like a church-collection bag (an emblem of a chapel is inscribed on the newel post) and, if it is, the dog barks for a contribution, or repayment from the destitute lover, even in Bedlam. (The stairs are Hogarth's final exit from his story and it would be consistent with his fondness for including his personal viewpoint in his pictures to understand him as hinting that he, too, deserves a donation.)

Immediately above the dog the chapel sign, , placed above an elision, 'Æ', is inscribed on the newel-post. It may be assumed from the themes of degeneration elsewhere in the progress and the existence of the incomplete name 'LE' that these devices also represent the remnants of words. The AE, for example, recalls the characteristic spelling of Caesar (present in Orgies) and the 2H in association with the chapel indicates an incomplete reversal of the letters in IHS (present in the glory behind the bride's head in The Marriage).²⁷ The gallery of the madhouse may be seen as an anti-church with the madman worshipping in his side-chapel and signified as such by the sign of the ship of the church on the wall. The area around the stairs may have been intended to represent the broken image of a chapel-porch. 'AE' suggests that the supposed path to heaven (AE-terna) leads up the stairs. In this context the prominent circular knob on the newel-post repeats the shape of the globe (behind which a mad fiddler plays) and it evokes associations, not only with Whiston's projection, but with the circle as a symbol of eternal



The Madhouse: the heads of the visitors

Compare the disposition of the head of the woman to the right with her attitude in the second state (opposite page 123).

harmony. (In the unfinished first state (248/139) Hogarth decorated the knob with a petal design as if he were considering a more explicit parallel between an ideal and the solid knob.) The chapel sign, in conjunction with AE as a recollection of the title of the Caesars, suggests that in the madhouse the broken authority of emperors is subordinate to the broken and reversed symbol of the Christian church. The proper relation between the two arises when the world is threatened by fire and when such a figure as the Rake is dying (a parallel to Christ deposed). The point is both suggested and robbed of meaning by the fact that the emblems are incomplete. The mad pope represents the customary Protestant ridicule of the Roman church and is a study of the lunatic possessed by a delusion of spiritual grandeur; sacerdotum on the right balances the regnum of cell 55 on the left.

The madmen interrelate in the horizontal bands of the picture as well as in their clusters. The Rake is the most lowly madman. In the middle band the religious maniac, the astronomer, the tailor, the musician, and the lover tend to suffer from practical and specific obsessions. The geometrician, the king, and the pope with their rarefied ambitions occupy the superior level.

The female visitors intrude into these bands, their smooth feminine faces contrasting with the grimaces of the madmen. Paulson notes that the galleries in Bedlam 'were reserved for the visitors, who amused themselves by looking into the cells. While this voyeurism was acceptable to mid-eighteenth century London, it was especially characteristic of the fashionable folk Rakewell emulated who now come to observe him'.²⁸ Later in the same passage Paulson sees the madhouse as a 'metaphor for society' and adds that 'people madder than any of the inmates are allowed to come in and observe them'. Hogarth conveys the women's sensation-seeking curiosity by differentiating carefully between their interests. One woman

holds her fan to her face as if to hide the sight of the urinating madman, while her friend (visually the twin of the other) peers to see him. In the painting the second woman merely gazes in the general direction of the King, but in the third state she is made to peer specifically at him from behind her friend's back. For the only time representatives of the fashionable world advance towards the Rake. Their indifference and condescension is a female reply to the Rake's previous contempt for women. Although the visitors serve as a reminder that the scene is only a comic vision of the mad world, from which the sane are safely separated, Hogarth's criticisms are present for the curious to note and heed. His final alteration, the addition of the deranged Britannia, swung the balance between the comic and the serious towards the latter -- society as a whole is mad.

The concentration of the evidence of the Rake's failures, human, financial, and artistic in prison, results in his seeking refuge in delusions and the consequences lead to the asylum. Sarah Young (but not his wife) deserts her family to accompany him and is placed on the Rake's left (past) side and weeps a farewell as he dies. In the first scene, The Heir, the Rake's established past is presented through the relics of his father's life on the left. In the last picture the Rake, having been placed to the right of centre in the preceding four pictures, is moved well to the left so that the sequence of The Heir is reversed in The Madhouse. If the progress is viewed as a horizontal unit, the wings (approximately the first two-thirds of the first picture and the last two-thirds of the eighth) balance. The Rake's story is enclosed by avarice at one end and by a study of madness at the other.

It has already been noted that the Rake's figure in The Prison appears compounded of previous elements.²⁹ Similarly, the last picture not only reveals the inevitable downfall of the protagonist (as predicted, for

example, in Southwark Fair), but it also represents a drawing together of many oblique allusions to emblems, characteristics, and incidents present in preceding pictures. There are at least twenty references to previous scenes in The Madhouse.

The open door of cell 54 is similar in size and position to the open cupboard door in The Heir. The largest doors in the progress lead nowhere and the miser's rubbish-filled cupboard is the equivalent of a religious maniac's cell, and vice versa.

The spilling milk repeats the overflow of liquids in Orgies and The Arrest and reflects the continuity of activity in the three scenes. In the last the overspill suggests that, while the Rake's vitality, or inability to be contained in physical bonds is finite (indicated by the size of the smaller bowl in relation to the larger), it is still flowing at the end of the story.

The bald heads of the Rake and the angry gambler in The Gaming House, exceptional in the sane world, anticipate the rule of Bedlam.

The Rake's shoes, heel to toe in The Madhouse, are prepared for by a similar pair in The Heir. They suggest that at the end of the son's career he is reduced to the same state as his father at the beginning.

The projection of the world repeats the shape and idea of the Totus Mundus and the platter in Orgies. All three emblems are threatened by some kind of fire. In the last picture both the images of the world and the fire have deteriorated into abstract hypotheses.

The glory decorating the pulpit cloth of The Marriage is reduced to an empty, childlike cartoon behind the warder's head.

The altering of the warder's shirt to a clerical stock makes him repeat the appearance of the remorseful parson in The Gaming House. Only in an insane world does a clergyman act according to the ideals of his vocation which he fails to match in the sane one (and Hogarth only added the point as an afterthought!).

The bespectacled father, the one-eyed bride, the begoggled alchemist (and the droopingly-eyed Rake in Orgies) find their exaggerated parallel in the astronomer who gazes through his modern aid to perception at nothing with two of his three eyes shut.

The warlike Rake who has challenged the images of emperors and destroyed his own mirror-image in Orgies is reduced to the incontinent madman who admires his crown in his mirror. His kingdom is no longer even a shabby tavern, but a lonely straw-filled stall.

Greater attention is drawn to the Rake's nakedness because of the addition of the naked street boy who stakes most of what he possesses on one throw. In The Arrest the Rake is the boy's social superior, but in The Madhouse he becomes the inferior even of a bootboy. Nakedness is exceptional in St James's Street, but it is the rule, like baldness, in Bedlam.

The sophisticated musicians of The Levee, the harpsichord player and the dancing master (because of his violin), have their correspondence in the mad musicians to the right of The Madhouse.

The vitality of the harlots in Orgies is reduced to a tiny portrait hung about the neck of a lunatic lover and the inscription carved on a banister.

The expression and pose of the lunatic lover repeats the gloomy attitude of the highwayman in The Gaming House. Ironically, the thumbs of the highwayman are pressed against each other as a sign of the determination of the man of action, while the thumbs of the lunatic cross as a sign of his lack of fortune in love.

The seven pictures of the Caesars in Orgies, like the harlots beneath them, are diminished to a single letter.

The setting of The Marriage is concentrated into an emblem on the newel post and the central message of the church within the drawing is broken and reversed as if in consequence of the accommodating actions of the churchmen in Mary-le-Bone Old Church.

The Rake's gridiron in The Prison finds its patron in the portrait of St Lawrence fixed to the wall of cell 54.

The cell-windows repeat the shape of a similar window in The Prison. The various bars, gratings, and grilles unite The Gaming House, The Prison, and The Madhouse as studies in various forms of imprisonment.

The blank windows, two above each cell door, repeat the square shapes and disposition of the twin funeral escutcheons in The Heir, but the shapes are quadrupled in the last picture and their emptiness mocks at the arrogant hopes of the first.

The black and white dog finds his precedent in The Arrest and here he barks at the lover. In the mad world an inferior form of life is his true self and his discriminate barking derides the lunatic, human state.

The relationship between the dog and the lover repeats the situation common to the shouting pot-boys of The Gaming House and The Prison. Their shouts are replaced by barking with no more or less effect.

The last picture is a controlling factor, a visual finale (including encores) to which preceding elements are made subordinate. The repetitions encourage the lecteur to review the rest of the progress, using the last picture as a key, and the existence of the repetitions encourages him to work against the left to right movement of the narrative. The protagonist seems to be drawn to his downfall along predetermined steps included with him as the experience of his dying state. The opportunity to review works

Verse Caption to 'The Madhouse'

Madness, Thou Chaos of ye Brain,
What art? That Pleasure giv'st, and Pain?
Tyranny of Fancy's Reign!
Mechanic Fancy; that can build
Vast Labarynths, and Mazes wild,
With Rule disjointed, Shapeless Measure,
Fill'd with Horror, fill'd with Pleasure!
Shapes of Horror, that wou'd even
Cast Doubt of Mercy upon Heaven.
Shapes of Pleasure, that but Seen
Wou'd split the Shaking Sides of Spleen.
O Vanity of Age! here see
The Stamp of Heaven effac'd by Thee --
The headstrong Course of Youth thus run,
What Comfort from this darling Son!
His rattling Chains with Terror hear,
Behold Death grappling with Despair;
See Him by Thee to Ruin Sold,
And curse thyself, and curse thy Gold.

against the possibility of emotional involvement in the pathos of the downfall. Philosophically, the recurrence of detail raises the question whether, in spite of the presence of 'progress' in the title of the work, anything really has changed, been gained or lost, at any level other than the simply biographical. In the last picture Sarah, still lamenting, the tailor, still measuring, the Rake or his father's shoes, still untidily placed, are present at the end as they are at the beginning. Hogarth anticipates T.S. Eliot's paradoxical theories of history as expressed in the Quartets which challenge Aristotle's assumptions made about the ordering elements in a narrative (the epigraph):

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from. 30

The story of rakes and harlots, like the historic rise and fall of kings, may also be seen as circular. While individuals come and go the interdependent process of prostitution and profligacy continues. A general similarity of structure is apparent between the last plate of A Harlot's Progress and The Madhouse. The Harlot is mourned by her own kind who continue their profession, even beside her coffin, and the Rake dies to the noise of other gesticulating madmen. Hogarth's last pictures frame their protagonists within a context of continuous action; only the narratives are complete. Even the threat of apocalypse drawn on the wall of The Madhouse, from which Frank Kermode argues that we derive our sense of an ending, is suspended in the eternally present tense of art. ³¹

Hoadly's last caption repeats the historical and aesthetic paradox because the second paragraph is an apostrophe to the Rake's father which repeats the opening phrase of the first caption, 'O Vanity of Age', the father is ever-present and immutable. Hoadly addresses madness (in the first paragraph) as chaotic, destructive, and horrific in a series of paradoxes: madness is characterized by 'Pain', 'Tyranny', and 'Mechanic

Fancy'; it is associated with 'Rule disjointed', 'Shapeless Measure', and 'Shapes of Horror'. Yet madness builds 'Vast Labarynth and Mazes Wild'; its structures are 'fill'd with Pleasure' (as well as horror); these create laughter 'that but Seen/Wou'd split the Shaking Sides of Spleen'. Hoadly may have betrayed himself into unconsciously recognizing the powers of Hogarth's own creative imagination which was to erect 'Labarynth and Mazes Wild' until the end of his career. Bathos or the Tail-Piece (240/216, 1764), his last picture, consists of broken emblems which unite to form a coherent picture of anarchy. Hoadly concludes, in spite of himself, with an unequivocally disapproving couplet which places the final blame on the father, which emphasizes that the father's avarice as the essential cause of the son's decline, and implies that he is to be the ultimate witness of the son's dying.

The mock-heroic associations of the picture are complex. Paulson argues that Alexander Pope in the Dunciad 'Played off Christ against Theobald, an anti-hero and anti-Christ, and set up the activity of Dulness and her forces as a black parody of God and his creation'.³² It seems logical to apply this interpretation to A Rake's Progress. Hogarth (and Hoadly) 'play off' Christ against the Rake, as the suffering son, and 'set up' the father and the forces of Avarice (which lead to Madness) as a 'black parody' of God and His creation. The father's hopes as laid upon the Son through his inheritance are mixed blessings; he is to be despised, misunderstood, exploited, and rejected by the world because of his initial possession of wealth. (This kind of allegorical interpretation is developed in detail in Part IIIb.) By placing an analogue with Christ in a modern context Hogarth, like Eliot, says that a historical interval of two thousand years can have diminished meaning in narrative art.

Legouis and Cazamian compare Lee to 'the decadent dramatists of the Renaissance with their tendency to frenzy and morbidity'. Any allusive work

which concludes with a mad scene recalls the death of Webster's Duchess who is imprisoned with what Cariola calls a 'wild consort of madmen'.³³ The Servant lists the 'several sorts' who come to torture the Duchess with sleeplessness:

There's a mad lawyer, and a secular priest,
A doctor that hath forfeited his wits
 By jealousy; an astrologian,
That in his works said such a day o' th' month
Should be the day of doom; and, failing of 't,
 Ran mad; an English tailor, craz'd i' th' brain
 With the study of new fashion; a gentleman usher
 Quite beside himself with care to keep in mind
 The number of his lady's salutations,
 Or 'How do you?' she employed him each morning:
 A farmer too, an excellent knave in grain,
 Mad, 'cause he was hind' red transportation;
 And let one broker, that's mad, loose to these,
 You'd think the devil were among them.

The madman's song begins,

O let us howl, some heavy note,
 some deadly-dogged howl,
 Sounding, as from the threat'ning throat,
 of beasts, and fowl.

The Mad Astrologer asks 'Doomsday not come yet? I'll draw it nearer by a perspective, or make a glass, that shall set all the world on fire upon an instant'. Earlier the Duchess observes in the same scene:

Th' heaven o'er my head seems made of molten brass,
 The earth of flaming sulphur, yet I am not mad.

In the second scene of the play Antonio at the same time that the Duchess raises him as a sign of their equality in love discourses on ambition:

Ambition, Madam, is a great man's madness,
 That is not kept in chains, and close-pent rooms,
 But in fair lightsome lodgings, and is girt
With the wild noise of prattling visitants,
Conceive not, I am so stupid, but I aim
Whereto your favours tend. But he's a fool
That being a-cold, would thrust his hands i' th' fire
To warm them.

It is impossible to say whether Hogarth had The Duchess of Malfi in mind because both Webster and he were working within a tradition of stock attitudes to madness (stretching back beyond and including The Ship of

Fools), but it does seem that Hogarth read the play, or a similar source, and extracted appropriate elements.³⁴ (As far as present investigations have gone, it is unlikely that Hogarth saw the play performed, but it is possible that he read an unperformed revision by Nahum Tate.) Some references to Webster's play even illuminate obscure features in The Madhouse; there are eight madmen in Webster's dance and eight who surround the Rake; Webster's astrologer is imprisoned for false predictions of apocalypse; the tailor's madness is caused by his occupational obsession with fashion; the melancholy lover corresponds to Webster's 'gentleman usher'. Significantly the supreme fear of Webster's madmen is of a creditor -- the 'broker' is 'the devil' to them -- and the parallel offers another explanation for why a madhouse succeeds a debtors' prison in A Rake's Progress (Part IIIa. p. 174). The nature of the madman's song -- they 'bell' and 'bawl' their parts -- explains the presence of the dog whose barking intermingles with the singer's 'deadly-dogged howl' and a madhouse is an appropriate home for rabies-infested animals. The mad astrologer's words combine the purpose of both Whiston and the astronomer, the one searches for 'Doomsday' through a 'glass', the other draws a diagram of the world about to be set 'on fire upon an instant'; the division of Webster's character into two suggests that Whiston is the original contribution of Hogarth to the tradition. Antonio's words draw attention to the length of tradition and superficial behaviour in visitors (to the madhouse or 'fair lightsome lodgings'), whose 'wild' noise and 'prattle' implies that they are the cause of incurable madness and who are mad themselves. Madness, according to Webster, is the consequence of ambition; the Rake's aspirations and marriage are a cynical comment upon a steward's motives for marrying a rich, beautiful Duchess. Antonio's concluding aphorism is an apt epitaph because Sarah and the Rake have been the fools who thrust their hands into the fire to warm them.

Webster's play refers to the torture which punishes the ambitions and follies of characters who think they can outwit and live independently of the powerful, whether they be creditors, the beau monde, possessive parents, or princes of the church.³⁵ It comments upon the relationship between the Rake and Sarah in that both Webster and Hogarth's characters are severely and savagely punished for their sensuality.

In conclusion, The Madhouse represents a psychological analysis of recurrent fears and superstitions: the chaotic nature of the madness which distorts the ideal; the danger of religious enthusiasm; the threat of political ambition; the arrogance of astronomy and the prediction which proves false; the triviality of personal vanity; the foolishness of obsessive love. In less universal terms, the picture derides the contemporary fears of the papacy, puritanism, and the periodic panics cause by proclamations of Apocalypse. The Rake, like Lee, is a reactionary who attempts to recreate a perverse heroism arising from a vision of the legendary past impossible to relive in a modern society without it becoming sordid, wrong morally, and self-destructive. He is the victim both of universal fears and prejudices and of their realization.

The Madhouse: References

1. Paulson divides variations of this engraving into three states: an unfinished, but very clear, proof (248/139, 1735), the second state issued to subscribers (149/139, 1735), and the third state including Hogarth's last alterations (150/139, 1763).
2. The Poetics, p. 27.
3. William Bullein, 'A dialogue both plesaunt and pietiful, wherin is a godlie regiment against the Fever Pestilence with a consolation and comferte against death' (London, 1573), reported in The Ship of Fools by Alexander Barclay, prefaced by T.H. Jamieson (Edinburgh, 1924) p. liv.
4. H I, p. 327.
5. The curl of the 6 in 56 has not been cut. It would be unreasonable to assume that this is cell No. 50 because the irregular figure would destroy the possibility of an infinite sequence (HGW I, p. 169).
6. H I, p. 327. The Madhouse and The Gaming House are treated in some detail in the biography, H I, pp. 326-332.
7. H I, pp. 326-7.
8. Paulson refers to a 'metaphor of apparel' H I, p. 327. (Part III, p. 173 below.)
9. H I, p. 333. The following quotations are from the same passage. Bakewell's broadsheet concludes that the Rake is taken from the gallery to a dark room in which he expires. (An Explanation of the Eight Prints of 'The Rake's Progress'. . . Copied from the Originals of Mr William Hogarth according to Act of Parliament (London, 1735).
10. HGW I, p. 170.
11. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 379. The Tate Catalogue entitles The Levee as 'Surrounded by Artists and Professors'.
12. This quotation and those which follow are from H I, pp. 420-2.

13. Appendix One, p. 224 .
14. See H I, note 9 to page 126 above.
15. Symbolism in Liturgical Art, p. 90 and p. 2.
16. Symbolism in Liturgical Art, p. 65: 'And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet'. (Revelations xii. 1).
17. HGW I, p. 170.
18. NDB, Volume XXI, pp. 10-14. Benjamin Hoadly (Tate Catalogue, 118, c. 1743) was Whiston's major controversialist. Hogarth would have been in a privileged position to know of the theologian's less famous arguments through his friendship with the Hoadly family. Whiston's Apostolic Constitutions (1708) denied the Trinity and his Aryan heresies may be apt justification for a satire which shows the destruction of the established order of Being. His chief work, Primitive Christianity Revived (1711) is similar in its central proposition to the religion worshipped by the madman in cell 54.
19. Magic and Superstition, p. 129.
20. NDB, Volume XL, p. 805.
21. Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (London, 1961), p. 655: 'His short existence was darkened by mental troubles, his end hastened by excesses. He seems to have led. . . a life of feverish excitement and pleasure. . . He is above all, a belated Elizabethan. In him reawakens the temperament of some among the decadent dramatists of the Renaissance with their tendency to frenzy and morbidity'.
22. The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas Scroup and Arthur Cook (Scarecrow Press, 1954), p. 16.
23. His face is unusually marked; was there a contemporary astronomer, similarly scarred, of the comic standing of the cobbler John

Partridge, whose almanac was ridiculed by Isaac Bickerstaff? (Paulson offers an analogy between the fall of Kings as presented in The Bickerstaff Papers and Southwark Fair (H I, p. 321)). The astronomer may be meant to search for the scene in Royalty, Episcopacy, and Law (47/44, 1724). Gowing describes the scene as the 'moon, a common location for the lunatic extremes of the eighteenth-century satire, viewed through a telescope' (Tate Catalogue, p. 14).

24. Clearly drawn in the unfinished proof, but more obscure in the published states.
25. Aemelia (1752), Volume I, chapter 6, l 299. (Everyman, 1962) and Quennell, p. 136.
26. Betty Careless advertised, rather wistfully, for custom in her new coffee house in Prujean's Court (London Daily Post, 28 November 1935). Nichols and Steevens report that 'from being in a state to receive company the woman had long been reduced to shun it; and, after repeated confinements in various prisons, was buried from the poor's house of St Paul's, Covent Garden, April 22, 1752' (p. 174, note 2).
27. In the second state a magnifying-glass reveals a hint of a down stroke, suggestive of the 'I' partly obscured by the vertical line of the chapel "wall" as if to suggest that Hogarth intended to add the letter beside the reversed 'S'. He may have been too cautious to make more direct reference without good reason for the presence of an IHS sign; he had justification in The Marriage.
28. H I, p. 327.
29. See Part IIa. Plate 7, p. .
30. Little Gidding, V, ls 1-3, The Four Quartets (London, 1959), p. 58.
31. The subject of The Sense of an Ending, Studies in the Theories of Fiction (OUP, 1967).

32. 'The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', p. 87.
33. Quotations are from the first hundred lines, unless indicated in the text, of Act IV. ii of The Duchess of Malfi, New Mermaid Series, edited by Elizabeth M. Brennan (London, 1964).
34. The London Stage, Part 3 (1729-47), edited by Arthur H. Scouten (S. Illinois, 1961) shows no reference to a performance. John Russell Brown, Revels edition (London, 1960) implies a gap between 1691, when the play is mentioned as being performed, and 'the present century' (Introduction', p. lix). The reference to Tate is in the same passage.
35. Both the Duchess and the Rake suffer in the hands of relatives who wear scarlet caps!

IIb. The Contribution of Sarah Young as a Recurrent Figure and Agent of the Sub-plot

And the Lord plagued Pharoah and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.

Genesis ¹

It is scarcely likely, to say the least, that a poor milliner would carry about with her sufficient money to relieve a fine gentleman in peril of the tip-staves. Her presence after Plate 1 is an illustration of that "pathetic fallacy" of which we occasionally hear so much. Someone, it must be supposed, had remarked upon the want of tenderness in A Harlot's Progress, and Hogarth met the objection in A Rake's Progress by the introduction of his ruined sweetheart. But her reappearances are ill-managed and almost superfluous. She adds little to the effect of the scenes in the prison or the madhouse, and they would scarcely suffer by her absence.

Austin Dobson ²

The judgement passed by Hogarth's first definitive biographer -- and repeated by later critics ³ -- represents an important criticism of Sarah Young and her function in A Rake's Progress. The epigraph questions the degree to which the progress is a coherent narrative if a recurrent figure is 'almost superfluous' and so it is necessary to examine the particular contribution made by Sarah in order to discover whether the inner consistency of the progress is challenged (and, incidentally, to estimate the relevance of Dobson's observation).

Hogarth presents a youthful, self-willed woman, whose sexual misadventures prove disastrous, in four of his pictorial series⁴. The Harlot sets the pattern; in the first plate of A Harlot's Progress she is a young girl, newly arrived in London, probably from York, attracted to the way of life represented by the notorious Mistress Needham and Colonel Charteris. Subsequent prints show her decline from the position as mistress to a rich Jew to that of a common prostitute. Her fall results from an over-confident belief in her own ability to manipulate more than one lover. Apparently without thought for her son's future, she dies leaving him in the company

of other prostitutes. Paulson suggests that the popularity of Hogarth's first progress resulted from the combination of the protagonist who makes critical decisions with 'the pretty young girl from the country. . . In the Rake she is replaced by a male protagonist and displaced to Sarah Young'.⁵

Ann Gill in Cruelty in Perfection (203/189) has been murdered by Tom Nero, the presumed father of her unborn child. Her wilfulness is shown in a letter which states that she has deserted her mistress and stolen her goods for her ungrateful lover's sake.

The first plate of Marriage à la Mode (268/228) shows the marriage negotiations of a merchant's daughter. Succeeding pictures reveal her as bored with an aristocratic marriage and as taking for her lover the lawyer who negotiated the contract. Her husband is killed by the lawyer as a result of her affair and the last picture shows that she has deserted her family through suicide on hearing of the execution of the lawyer.

Sarah Young more than rivals these figures in importance. Five of the six pictures of A Harlot's Progress and Marriage à la Mode are concerned with the decline of their heroines. Sarah, the secondary figure, appears in five of the eight pictures of A Rake's Progress and it is to be shown that her presence is hinted at in two others (as is the countess's in Plate 3 of the later progress⁶). The self-willed and passionate woman is sufficiently characteristic of Hogarth's major progresses and many single pictures (note 32 to page 189), including and apart from A Rake's Progress, to suggest that the figure is a more fundamental feature of Hogarth's imagination than Dobson suggests.

IIb(i). Sarah's First Appearance (Plate 1)

Unlike the Harlot and the Countess Squanderfield whose temptations and downfall are both shown within the disclosed limits of the progress, Sarah Young appears in The Heir as a fallen woman, pregnant and weeping. As in

the case of Ann Gill, her initial excesses can only be deduced so that the degree of self-responsibility for her downfall cannot be assessed exactly as it can in the instance of the young woman in Before and After whose loosened corsets and satisfied smile indicate compliance in her own seduction.

A hunched Sarah, balanced by the similarly hunched figure of the servant lighting the fire, stands on the far right. In the painting the whiteness of Sarah's plain face and clothes, apparently pure, ironically belies the fact of her pregnancy and the pink of her ribbon and rosebud with its sentimental association is prominent by way of contrast. The Harlot's beauty, innocence, or propensity to feeling and her own identification with such attributes are also signified by a rosebud pinned to her bodice. Their careers contradict the initial premise; the Harlot is the willing victim of a brothel-keeper and a deflowered Sarah chases a profligate. The red rose, as a symbol of martyrdom, gives them a common link which anticipates the extremity of their suffering, the consequence of their vanity.

Sarah's attitude of miserable inactivity is marked in comparison with her mother's vigour: Sarah holds rather than wipes with her handkerchief, but her mother's angry body is twisted, her fist is clenched, and the point of her elbow is turned towards the Rake. The upward movement of her forearm is opposed to the downward movement of Sarah's. Her mother's left hand protrudes from beneath Sarah's right to demonstrate her indignant awareness of the visually inconspicuous fact of Sarah's pregnancy. The harder outline of her upraised fist contrasts comically with the softer form of Sarah's hand hidden in her handkerchief; the fist threatens, the handkerchief laments.

In an unfriendly context such as this, the linking of the mother and daughter's arms implies that the former has forced the latter into the

room. The crossing of their arms confirms the blood relationship and indicates the hostility. The difference in attitude is maintained throughout the story; nowhere does Sarah act as accusingly towards the Rake as her mother. Whereas the Harlot comes to London presumably on her own initiative and confronts her future, Sarah turns away from the Rake, presumably having been forced to come to London, because she has foreknowledge of what London life has to offer. The contrast between the Youngs is emphasized by the differing states of their aprons. The mother's holds the letters, relics of the past, and Sarah's hides the child she carries, an emblem of the future. The letters are placed upside down to the Rake (and the lecteur) as if Hogarth wished to suggest that they reflect the generally reversed order of conventions and to make their reading something of a game which undercuts the seriousness of the situation.

The upper letter reads 'To Mrs Sarah Young. . . in Oxford'. It establishes Sarah's origin and, together with the repositioned memorandum book, offers evidence that the Rake and Sarah have at least lived in the same town. There is slight external evidence which suggests how Hogarth may have imagined his undisclosed romance. Bakewell's broadsheet published with the smaller prints, having Hogarth's approval, notes that the mother and Sarah Young are 'the Rake's bed-maker and her daughter' who have followed him from Oxford.⁷ The value of the evidence is two-fold: it shows Sarah's antecedents to be modest (comparable with the orange-sellers in The Laughing Audience) so she would displease a miserly prospective father-in-law whose escutcheons imply his unbending pride and whose counterpart in Marriage à la Mode marries his child into a lord's family. Secondly, the broadsheet explains how Sarah and Tom might have only too conveniently met. (The proximity of the mother to the Rake hints at her energetic persuasion of her daughter to make a match with one of the young college gentlemen with prospects.)



The Heir: Sarah Young and her mother

Note the partly legible letters in Mrs Young's apron. Compare Mrs Young's pose with that of the figure in The Prison (opposite page 116) and her daughter's in The Madhouse (opposite page 126). Note the interrelationship between the figures, the verticals of the doorway, and the escutcheons above.

The lower letter reads, 'Dearest Life. . . & Marry you'. No legible signature is shown so that the proposal (and the child) can only be taken as the Rake's for want of a rival. On the strictest of counts there is no evidence to state that the Rake was the man who actually did propose. Sarah holds the ring (rather than wears it) as a sign that the ceremony nearly took place and that she or her mother took the initiative in organizing it rather than the Rake. His attempted termination of the friendship contrasts with the sentimental declaration in the letter, but it is significant that Hogarth reveals no reference to 'love' -- Sarah is only 'dear'. His offer of money shows his modicum of pity, but to her mother Sarah is to be overawed and her rights need establishing whether or not she wishes them to be. The mother's anger is ambiguous; it is either righteous or indignant because the Rake ignores her, or both. Because Sarah is a personified statement of the Rake's past excesses, because she is named and supplied with background, she evokes more sympathy than, for example, the harlots of Orgies or even the nameless bride of The Marriage.

Hogarth's attitude is more ironic and less tender than would appear. The mother's angry expression, while in accord with Hogarth's later theories of naturalism, is grotesque.⁸ The presence of her daughter's letters in the mother's possession implies the latter's previous act of discovery and outrage. The extreme contrast between their aggressive and submissive attitudes suggests that Hogarth regarded the injured Youngs humorously rather than sentimentally. The gulf between the generations recalls his wry detachment in The Laughing Audience. The comic associations were strengthened by the alterations to the third state of The Heir. By making the Rake return home from Oxford on May Day, Hogarth suggests that the rites of Spring love have led to her pregnancy which is an ironic joke at her expense because Sarah's resultant experience is a burlesque of the

romanticism of pastoral poetry like Herrick's Corinna's Gone A-Maying (Sarah's child in The Prison is ugly, for example). The change also suggests that both characters are intended to have arranged their affair according to a literary convention, a flamboyant gesture which anticipates the Rake's claim to be a dramatist, Sarah's wearing of the rosebud while pregnant, and her noble act of self-sacrificial generosity.

Further evidence of Hogarth's detachment is found in the disposition of the funeral escutcheons. The whole escutcheon is placed over the dominant mother, but the one bled off at the margin is placed over Sarah. Ironically it is to be the ineffectual Sarah who lasts the course and not the mother. The entrance of the humble Youngs is also commented upon in heraldic terms and so their status and attitudes assume grandiose rather than sentimental characteristics. Less tangible evidence is apparent in Hogarth's timing, the Youngs materialize just too late to gain a recompense. Hogarth made obvious stage-management an initial premise in order to establish the Rake's good fortune which is to defeat everything, including the Youngs, until The Gaming House.

The basic situation, therefore, involving the philandering son of a skinflint father, a fallen, but remorseful mistress jilted probably on her wedding day, and an outraged, but probably conniving mother, amounts to an initial situation which Northrop Frye would recognize as deriving from The New Comedy of Menander.⁹

IIb(ii). Sarah's Second Appearance (Plate 4)

Part of the surprise caused by Sarah's change from a minor character to one who more than shares the viewpoint of The Arrest, arises from the fact that Sarah's re-entry is delayed until after The Levee and Orgies. An interval of two pictures is considerable in a complex work of only eight units.

Sarah's external appearance reflects the melodramatic nature of her return. She is dressed in her unvarying uniform of cap (tied with a pink ribbon), gown, and an apron which contrasts with both the Harlot and the Rake's assumption and loss of finery, but the fact that Sarah is no longer pregnant is commented upon by a neatly tied bow at her pulled-in waist which suggests that the matter is also neatly tied up. (The apparently virginal Harlot wears one in Plate 1 of her progress.) The changes are so extreme that Hogarth was concerned to place the matter of her identification beyond doubt by inscribing her work box with her full name. In The Heir attention is drawn to her name in a negative way because it appears upside down in the letter. In The Arrest her name is the right way up, but the lettering points towards the bottom of the box which suggests another comic reversal of the accepted order -- Sarah is an incompetent milliner (like the alchemist whose books are numbered wrongly) who cannot inscribe her name properly and a heroine whose values are topsy-turvy.¹⁰ The transformation is emphasized by a ridiculous reversal of the size of the Rake's figure in relation to hers.¹¹ Even her apron, the largest white area, stands out from the more 'plastic' side of the picture, according to Mercedes Gaffron, drawing attention away from the Rake's colourful, but obscured, finery.¹²

In The Heir subordinate figures unrelated to Sarah ignore her, but in The Arrest the Welshman, the lamp-lighter, the black and white dog (whose white front parallels Sarah's as the bitch parallels the bride's), and the second bailiff (Dobson's tip-staff) stare at her intrusion. The second bailiff reacts specifically because his stick is raised in ineffectual surprise, anger, or even awe.

It may be argued that the change in Sarah's attitude disturbs her consistency (and that of the progress) as it is first established, especially because Sarah is to revert to a passive role in The Marriage.

Two considerations suggest that the transformation is consistent: Sarah is passive when the Rake has no need of her, but when he is in difficulty she rises to the occasion only to subside when the need is past. Her decisive actions (the second occurs in the interval between the last two scenes) reveal the impulsive, superficially self less, short-sighted character of her loyalty. The second consideration indicates that Sarah's action must be humorously and not realistically interpreted. From the evidence of the Rake's spending and his need to marry an heiress, Sarah's bag cannot match the amount of his debts. So wide is the discrepancy that Trusler valiantly manipulated the accounts to make them seem realistic -- the Rake has an immediate debt of fifty guineas and only has twenty on his person. Sarah offers him enough to cover the difference. ¹³

In comic conventions such intrusions and reversals of the customary relationship between the hero and the heroine are commonplace. Belinda and her belles are more than a match for the Baron and his wits and the lock has to be snatched away by a deliberately disarming deus ex machina. Portia easily rescues Antonio from the guileful Shylock. Trulla vanquishes Hudibras in single combat (81/77). Instead of Perseus rescuing a chained Andromeda in the nick of time (123/118), Sarah Young rescues Thomas Rakewell from the threat of the Fleet by means of a heroic gesture in a non-heroic context. The intrusion is made portentous and simultaneously undercut by the flash of Jove's thunderbolt, a comment upon her role as an agent of fate.

The falling box enacts the subsequent downfall of both Sarah and the Rake and is thus in turn a realization of the treatment of downfall in Southwark Fair. Hogarth, in presenting Sarah as dropping her box and simultaneously giving her profits to the Rake, shows her moment of exact decision and, therefore, crisis. She faces a humiliating future to the right which always includes him. In moral terms a fallen woman has been

given the opportunity to recover a position of industrious respectability (although it should be remembered that seamstresses were traditionally morally suspect and only pink ribbons fall from her box of vanities), but her third meeting with a worthless lover prompts her to cast away the possibility of redemption and to follow him.

Similarly, the Harlot's greed for a second lover results in the crisis with her Jewish keeper. The decisions of both Hogarth's early heroines in the second steps of their narratives are followed by an extreme diminution of status in succeeding scenes. Sarah reverts to her submissive role in The Marriage and the Harlot degenerates to a common prostitute. Both figures are changed from the apparent pawns of elderly women to agents who influence events. The Arrest is only an apparent crisis for the Rake, but Sarah's real crisis leads her to the Fleet after one more appearance, whereas he arrives after two. The difference incidentally confirms the impression that she arrives there first (Part IIa, Plate 7, pages 115-6).

In A Rake's Progress choice is devolved directly upon the secondary figure so that Hogarth places responsibility for the nature, if not the inevitability of the protagonist's downfall, on someone other than himself. Aristotle's observations on the deus ex machina are relevant at this point:

The deus ex machina should be used for matters outside the drama -- either things that happen before and that men could not know, or future events that need to be announced prophetically; for we allow the gods to see everything. As for extravagant incidents there should be none in the story. 14

Sarah is both a 'deus ex machina' and mortal and 'extravagant' in her behaviour. Hogarth only contradicts Aristotle if Sarah is seen as the heroine of a tragedy, which Aristotle is discussing at this point in The Poetics, and not of a comedy. Although Sarah's own motive for action is sentimental, Hogarth's timing of her interruptions, his abrupt turning of her from a



The Levee: the seamstress in the alcove

Identified by her box in the company of other clothiers.



Orgies: the pregnant ballad-singer

She is holding the broadsheet of 'The Black Joke'.

lamb into a lion, his associations of her with a portmanteau of literary characters (a Good Angel, a Portia, a Corinna) prove that his ironic attitude is maintained from her first appearance.

IIb(iii). Images of Sarah's Presence (Plates 2 and 3)

Between Sarah's first and second appearances there are indications that Hogarth intended to sustain her image in the intervening pictures. The only female figure in The Levee waits in the ante-chamber. So minor is she that she is identifiable as a seamstress only by the box which she holds in the company of other clothiers. Hindsight reveals that this generalized figure anticipates Sarah's possession of a similar box in The Arrest. (In the painting the whiteness of her costume draws more attention to her than the grey monotone of the prints.) Sarah's resemblance in The Heir is repeated in Orgies because the ballad-singer to the right is also pregnant and wears the familiar cap and gown, even to the pink ribbon in her bonnet and an untidy bow at her waist. In a negative sense the ballad-singer's pregnancy highlights the fact of Sarah's absence.¹⁵

The seamstress stands on the past side of The Levee facing Sarah's figure on the future side of The Heir. Her attendance on the Rake, assuming that one picture does relate to its neighbours, suggests that the wronged woman of The Heir has accepted the fact of her rejection and now contemplates her previous distress while awaiting her employer-lover's approval of the contents not of her apron, but of her box.

The ballad-singer stands on the future side of Orgies (as Sarah does on her preceding appearance) and her position prepares for Sarah's re-entry. Her figure provides the lecteur with a degenerate image of the Sarah whom he might expect to meet. The singer is differentiated from Sarah only by the facts of her shabbiness and her coarse song. The realistic image of Sarah's future is the thesis to the antithesis of Sarah's

reappearance in The Arrest.¹⁶ Whereas in The Heir Sarah is turned to confront her true, prophetic self in The Levee, she turns her back on her likely, but falsely prophetic self in Orgies.

In both cases the parallels draw the idea of the absent figure more closely into the structure of the narrative in a way comparable to the fleeting experience of déjà vu which Joseph Heller explores philosophically and as a literary device in Catch 22. The ballad-singer is a delusory after-image while the seamstress is a prophetic mirage. The lecteur is confronted with a moral choice: will Sarah submit or will she deteriorate by her next appearance and Hogarth's reply is an ironic surprise -- she does neither.

IIb(iv). Sarah's Third Appearance (Plate 5)

A superficial reading of The Marriage suggests that the kneeling bridesmaid is Sarah; the latter wears a necklace tied with pink ribbon, the red rose, an apron, and, in addition, pink cuffs as if to show that she is even more sentimental than Sarah (a point lost in the engravings). So alike are the figures that one commentator assumes that the bridesmaid is Sarah.¹⁷

"Young" Sarah and her angry mother parallel the smooth -faced bridesmaid and the aged bride who becomes angry on her second appearance. The Rake, ironically, marries the equivalent of Sarah's mother in temper, although he is as yet unaware of the fact. At the same moment as he places the ring, he looks in the direction of another woman with the daughter's attributes, paralleling the double-dealing of The Marriage Contract.

It is consistent with Hogarth's previous attitude that he has relegated Sarah to the background in sharp contrast to her dominant presence in The Arrest (by the third state her figure had to be recut, a technical sign of her unimportance).¹⁸ The cruelty of the struggle between the mother

and the pew-opener is thus diminished by its distance from the main tableau and the farcical implications of an undignified struggle are correspondingly increased.¹⁹ A comic pattern begins to emerge. Sarah acts dramatically and selflessly when alone with the Rake (as in The Arrest, The Madhouse and presumably in the undisclosed past romance), even forcing other characters to pay attention to her. When accompanied by her family she is passive in comparison with her parent and other figures who dominate and even bully her under the guise of doing good for her sake. The mother's aggressive attitude is developed into as fruitless a violence as on her first appearance; ridiculously the more violent she is the more ineffectual she becomes. In the first picture she addresses the Rake, but it is her daughter who elicits his response. In The Marriage she is thwarted by an anonymous pew-opener, merely the Rake's creature for the day. Unlike her daughter her size is decreased in proportion to the increase in her aggression.²⁰ It is appropriate that such a persistent pair should discover the whereabouts of the clandestine marriage and equally consistent with the tardiness of The Heir that they find the Rake too late to influence events.

Sarah is present for three reasons. Firstly, she is a normative figure, visually and morally. She is inarguably present with her likeness so that her real presence may be compared with both the ideal image of the sentimental and self-contained bridesmaid and its parody, the virginal, eager, and elderly bride. Hogarth contrasts Sarah, the knowing victim of the Rake, with his innocent and potential victims. Sarah's presence as a mother signifies that the marriage, if not illegal, is immoral and that those concerned are compromised. Sarah's rejection reveals that the Rake's unscrupulous attitude to women, characterized in The Heir, is deepened. Hogarth's choice of viewpoint (following a scene in which he has placed Sarah first) reveals that he is artistically more involved in this scene

with the hypocrisy of the main figures than with his lesser exemplars.

Sarah is present on the far left, secondly, as a temporal symbol, as evidence of the Rake's past desire. The bridesmaid, a symbol of the Rake's present attention, is near the middle of the picture before the post and the bride is placed close to the Rake as a symbol of his future as a married man. The three figures co-exist in one moment of Simultaneous Time.

Lastly, Sarah's diminished stature is evidence that Hogarth intended that the Rake's remarkable good luck should continue to counter any moral forces opposed to him so that The Gaming House might be a catastrophic study of the effects which result from the withdrawal of luck. To achieve this end it is necessary that the Youngs fail in the earlier scene and so Sarah is both the victim of the Rake and of the omniscience of her narrator. Their sense of injustice is deepened by a means diametrically opposed to the solution for which they seek.

IIb(v). Sarah's Fourth Appearance (Plate 7)

That Sarah reappears after The Gaming House is an indication that Hogarth finds continuing use for her as a comic and dramatic foil. If her transformation from meekness to boldness and then to meekness again is dramatic and the fact of her reappearance in The Arrest is contrived, then her return to the story in The Prison to share the viewpoint with the Rake is doubly so. As with the earlier change the intrusion follows a scene in which she is absent, but instead of changing hers from a passive to an active attitude Hogarth causes her to decline to a state of collapse which precedes the Rake's in Bedlam.

Previously Sarah is tidily and modestly dressed, but in The Prison she is dishevelled in the extreme. Not only has she a pink tie on her shoe and a pink ribbon in her bonnet to suggest that her experience of

martyrdom and her sentimental reaction are at their most extreme, but her pink flower of The Heir and the bridesmaid's of The Marriage have been transposed to the little girl as if Hogarth wished to continue the sentiment and misfortune of the parent in the child. (The pathetic daughter of the countess, similarly deserted by her mother as Sarah's child is to be, displays a pink rose in Plate 6 of Marriage à la Mode.) Hitherto Sarah has acted with dignity, here she has fallen or thrown herself violently over a chair. In the same way that the Rake's figure in The Prison is compounded of previous elements, Sarah's figure in its unconscious dishabillée represents an after-image of the harlots in both A Rake's Progress and the earlier A Harlot's Progress. The Rake not only contemplates the figure of the woman that he wronged originally, but through her, a parody of the harlots, may perceive something of the women whom he has previously desired and who are finally denied him. Simultaneously the youthfulness of Sarah's body contrasts with the similarly dishevelled, but haggard appearance of the Rake's wife. She complains as much about the presence of youth as she does about imprisonment and her financial losses (the development of a theme implicit in The Laughing Audience).

Sarah's confusion is evident in her closed and open hands, the confinement of her person and its release from her clothes, the support that TL gives her, and the punishment her mother (and her colleague) mete out to the naughty daughter.²¹ The tension between restraint and release is most generalized in the contrast between the softness of the wings of Icarus, drooping above her, and the curtained bed, reflective of her dreams, and the harsh reality of the bars and gratings which also accompany her to the end. Her release from her corsets, as with the Rake's release from his clothing, is to become symbolic of Sarah's final release from restraint.

The Rake's seizure in The Gaming House attracts only the attention of

a dog, but Sarah's collapse is made to attract the pathetic response -- various characters attempt to revive her -- but the pathos is undercut by the absent gaze of TL, the rough way in which the women revive her, the unsympathetic ugliness of her crying daughter, and the bawdy image of the overturned stool, the legs of which point accusingly, like the muzzles of cannon, from between her legs. Paulson sees the Rake as 'going for a ride on a tiger' in consequence of his treatment of women; the presence of a swooning Sarah, her violent mother, his crying daughter, the irate wife (let alone the demanding gaoler and pot-boy) all threaten the Rake with a family feud of epic proportions from which, almost wisely, he retreats into a tragi-comic madness.²² It is appropriate that, having been diminished, Sarah is enlarged once again to rival him in size and to occupy the more important visual side of the picture.²³

In previous scenes Sarah has had reason to seek out the Rake at his parental home, on the way to a royal occasion, even at a secretive marriage in a remote chapel. In The Prison only the undisclosed workings of the indifferent authorities (Hogarth himself) bring them together. A gambling madness has led the Rake to the Fleet; Sarah has been brought there as a consequence of her impulsively generous action. The change in Sarah's appearance, her distress which is almost erotically treated, continues to indicate an attitude of derision. It is a premise of the narrative that Sarah allows the Rake to seduce her and then she permits her mother to accuse him while she stands by; in The Arrest she provides the Rake with his freedom; in The Prison she swoons at the sight of him while his wife and her mother offer to beat them both. Sarah's attitude is as consistently permissive as her family's is demanding. Her tolerance is pathetic and its treatment is comic.

IIb(vi). Sarah's Last Appearance (Plate 8)

The interval between The Prison and The Madhouse represents Sarah's final decision which prompts her to desert her unpleasant family and to follow the Rake into Bedlam. Frank and Dorothy Getlein observe of the last situation that 'there Hogarth has had his revenge, for surely the girl, still faithful to her betrayer, is the maddest creature in Bedlam'.²⁴

In The Madhouse Sarah's physical appearance is restored to the tidy state of The Heir, almost an anti-climax after so much extreme change. There is no pink about her cap-ribbon which suggests that her sentiment (and her martyrdom) is finished with. Her left hand holds a handkerchief to her temple again and tears appear below the same right eye as in The Heir. The balanced antagonisms of the previous picture have disappeared and the harmony between the figures is celebrated ironically by the fact that Hogarth finally allows the figures to touch.

The warder is the only figure in the story who concerns himself with her for her own sake. Hogarth's readjustment of the Rake's arm counters the sentimental illusion of the warder's blessing by offering at least the impression of the rough treatment meted out to the heroine in The Prison. Ironically the delusory gesture -- the Rake's arm seems to be the warder's on a first reading -- provides Sarah with the appearance of the wedding which she sought, but which only the lecteur may perceive.

In the first picture Sarah functions as a statement of the Rake's 'past excesses'.²⁵ In the last picture she represents evidence that his 'misdeeds' remain with him to the end. In addition Sarah has acquired the characteristics of a stubborn and self-indulgent love. Because her attitude and feeling differ little from those of the first picture, because she is a major element of the circular structure of the narrative, Hogarth's moral is that, while an individual rake may come and go, his victim remains to be duped again. The public world, represented by the Welshman, the spectator

on the balcony, and the 'prattling' visitors, may note as it wishes. The repetition shows that Hogarth maintains his detached attitude to her outwardly pathetic condition in a less obviously farcical way. Sarah's 'sad misery', like that of the Duchess, is accompanied by the implied sound of crazy music.²⁶ One of the chains hanging from the block of stone in the cell behind her disappears under the straw of the madman's bed and is overlapped by Sarah's bottom at its lowest end (clearest in the unfinished proof). The principle of overlap suggests that she is chained to the bed of stone as is the madman and in the same way that the projection is chained to the door of his cell. The connection ridicules the persistent, profitless, and lunatic nature of her love. As the Duchess of Malfi observes of herself, Sarah is 'chain'd to endure all your tyranny'.²⁷

IIb(vii). An Evaluation of Sarah's Contribution to the Narrative

Critical opinion generally sees Sarah Young as an agent of the sub-plot:

The drama of Tom's rise and decline embraces both a plot and a sub-plot; and the sub-plot. . . concerned the girl whom he seduced at the University and who pursues him with importunate devotion, through all the vicissitudes of his later life. 28

It is proposed to review Sarah's purpose in the story in order to see whether she does satisfy the conventions of a well-structured literary or dramatic sub-plot.

Sarah has some independent life in the first place: a name, an origin, a family. She has personal characteristics: a certain sentimentality, a submissiveness when surrounded by her family, a disregard for money, a self-indulgent love, a persistence, even an impulsive bravery. Her independence does not detract from the Rake as a central character, because these qualities complement his, and she shares with him such traits as vanity, self-indulgence, a tendency to dream, and a fondness for walking

a figurative tight-rope. Both Paulson and Kunzle acknowledge her complementary function by seeing her as a Mary Magdalene, or the Virgin Mary, to the Rake's Christ in the last scene and Paulson describes her as an 'aesthetic mediator' between the Rake's affectation and reality; as such she shares in his affectation.²⁹

Sarah contributes to the main plot without creating an imbalance. She dominates the viewpoint of one picture and shares that of another, but otherwise she is reduced to a minor role on her other three appearances. Kunzle considers how Hogarth may have organized his progress to incorporate her:

By postponing the marriage to the fifth stage, Hogarth is able to bring an entirely new element into the story of the rake: the virtuous foil, Sarah Young.

Kunzle perhaps puts his interpretation the wrong way round: Hogarth, rather than postponing the marriage to allow room for her, makes use of her to delay the Rake's crisis in order to give the narrative dimensions other than womanizing; themes, for example, of old age in opposition to youth, the delusory nature of appearances, gambling, and blind loyalty. Sarah's physical disarray, so reminiscent of the prostitutes, and her willingness to let a youth seduce her make her a figure consistent with the earlier tales of prostitutes described by Hilde Kurz and Kunzle and Hogarth's originality lay less in creating a new element and more in placing a traditional element, the harlot, in the tale of a rake.

The downfall of the agent of the sub-plot parallels that of the protagonist of the main-plot. Her career is traced from an unhappy, but by no means irredeemable state in the first half of the progress to one of tortured isolation at the end of the second. His attraction for her represents Sarah's slavery to mankind as a complement to the Rake's slavery to various other women. In so far that the narrative is concerned with choice she, more directly than the Rake, acts out the consequences of

a disclosed decision.

Whereas the Rake's reappearances logically follow, Sarah's are stage-managed, although her presence in the story is necessary. The contrivance indicates that Hogarth was not concerned to establish a realistic cause for her recurrence. Comedy, whether displaying mock-heroic characteristics or not, exploits coincidence for the sake of its drama and it is also one sign that the pathetic figure is an object of humour.

Sarah has overt associations with morality in a work which implies a theme of moral development in its title and which may be listed as modern commentators see her: 'poor Sarah Young' and an 'everfaithful and unsullied lover' (Paulson); 'a virtuous foil' (Kunzle); possessing 'importunate devotion' (Quennell); the 'forsaken faithful young woman' (Marjorie Bowen); a 'pathetic fallacy' (Dobson). Whenever her attitude and situation suggests these characteristics, Hogarth undercuts the pathos by means of an ironic comment. Even the degree to which she is passive and outraged is minimized. Her attitude is sorrowful, but not protesting at first. Miraculously, it seems, she finds the Rake on four of her five appearances. She pursues him while he attempts to buy her off or erect barriers between them. Her attitude and character suggest that she is as responsible for her own undisclosed seduction as the young woman of Before who has undone her corsets before she protests.

One feature makes Sarah a special means of uniting the narrative. By dressing her in the conventional uniform of the servant figure (those of the orange-sellers are models in The Laughing Audience), Hogarth was able to make use of her image to imply her continued contribution to the story without her having to be there, to make her resemble the harlots of Orgies or the bridesmaid to resemble her, and to provide a ghost, or an image of an angel of sorts, which haunts the Rake nearly as often as does Sarah herself.

To return to Dobson's objections, if the progress is seen as realistic then Sarah's inclusion is a flaw, a 'somewhat unfortunate addition to the simple outlines of the main theme' (as Quennell expresses it ³⁰). If the progress possesses mock-heroic characteristics, then the ill-management is part of a comic convention which is less concerned with the careful limitation of reality and more with amusement and ridicule. The claim that A Rake's Progress is a tragi-comic narrative goes some way to meet the objection that Hogarth could not match his characters' faces from picture to picture. There is less demand for consistent verisimilitude when dramatic change is an inherent quality. Hogarth's treatment of Sarah Young, more obviously than that of the Rake, shows that his work is mock-heroic in style.

The Contribution of Sarah Young as a Recurrent Figure: References

1. Genesis xii. 17.
2. Dobson, pp. 55-6.
3. 'At this point, to our utter astonishment, the ruined girl from plate one is reintroduced, as a result of Hogarth's foolishly listening to moralistic criticism of the Harlot. The word was that Moll's descent was too unrelieved by a spark of goodness. Hogarth, obviously knowing in his bones that goodness was no concern of his art, nevertheless tried to get some into the tale of the Rake. Sarah, the milliner, got pregnant and abandoned by Tom, is goodness and a very bad thing' (The Bite of the Print, pp. 150-2.) Marjorie Bowen, earlier, repeats Dobson's points in Hogarth, The Cockney's Mirror (London, 1936), p. 157-8.
4. The figure is least developed in Industry and Idleness in which Goodchild sings in church with Mistress West who wears a cap and necklace (Plate 2, 181/169). The scene is an ideal representation of the Rake and Sarah's courtship complete with clergyman, pew-opener, and a mother-figure. An unnamed prostitute is shown in bed with Idle and betraying him to the Watch (Plates 7 and 9, 186/174 and 188/176). The situations develop from Plate 3 in A Harlot's Progress in which the Harlot displays the watch as the justice appears and from Orgies and The Arrest in which a harlot steals from the Rake and in which the figure rescues him from the bailiffs rather than betraying him to them. The young woman in Before and After is also a prototype, but her attitude is without remorse.
5. H I, p. 420.
6. A similar figure appears in Marriage à la Mode (Plate 3, 270/230) in which a small, decoratively dressed woman weeps. Squanderfield adopts a semi-protective attitude.

7. An Explanation of the Eight Prints of The Rake's Progress. . . Copied from the Originals of Mr William Hogarth according to Act of Parliament, published by Thomas Bakewell (London, 1735).
8. Analysis of Beauty, Chapter XVI, p. 147; see note 12 to p. 3, Ia. Introduction.
9. Northrop Frye, The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957), p. 43.
10. There seems little chance that Hogarth overlooked a contradiction because the fact is apparent in the painting.
11. In terms of size ratio, Sarah represents eight units of measurement to the Rake's seven in The Arrest and the Rake represents nine units to her eight in The Heir.
12. Appendix Two, p. 234 .
13. John Trusler, The Complete Works of William Hogarth, introduced by James Hannay (London, n. d.), pp. 89-90. (Hereafter referred to as Trusler.)
14. The Poetics, p. 37.
15. A similar ballad-singer occurs in The Enraged Musician (170/158) singing of The Ladies' Fall instead of The Black Joke. She holds a newborn child in her arms.
16. The ballad-singer, while basically comparable to Sarah, contrasts in four ways:
 - a. They both wear a full-length gown under an apron, but while Sarah's clothes are tidy, the singer's apron is torn. Sarah's apron is white, the singer's is grey. In the paintings Sarah's gown is golden, the singer's a darker brown.
 - b. Sarah holds her ring and weeps over a broken promise of love; the singer sings an obscene ballad.
 - c. Sarah turns from the Rake implying rejection; the singer faces him and works for a payment.

d. The ballad-singer is an image of what Sarah might have become as the result of the Rake's seduction; in The Arrest Sarah is the reverse.

17. 'The next day Master Rakewell called -- saw her alone -- had his cut-and-dry interview politically over; and the result was they were married, by special licence, in a most incomprehensively private manner; and pretty, gentle, sorrowful Sally Young was Mistress Singlelove's bridesmaid' (Trusler, p. 96).
18. In terms of height ratio Sarah represents five units in The Marriage to the Rake's nine, but in The Arrest Sarah is increased to eight units. The bride is eight units, like Sarah, in The Marriage. The Rake, who is seven units in The Arrest, is nine and he is thus "taller" than both the bride and Sarah on this occasion.
19. A serious study of a pew-opener occurs in Industry and Idleness, Plate 2 (181/169).
20. In The Heir, where the mother only threatens, her height is seven units. In The Marriage, where she fights, her height is reduced to four.
21. There is circumstantial evidence, but no direct evidence to indicate that Sarah's mother appears in The Prison:
- a. The figures in The Heir and The Prison both wear a white cloth-cap bound with a light-coloured ribbon. It has ties in both, pinned together in The Heir and loose in The Prison.
 - b. The figures wear full-length gowns in both pictures, grey with what originally may have been dark blue patches in the paintings and a 'V'-shaped edging to the dress or accompanying apron. (The mother's figure in The Marriage is so generalized that it neither confirms nor modifies the pattern of her reappearances.)

c. The aggressive attitude of the mother in The Heir and The Marriage is matched by the aggression of the similar figure in The Prison.

d. Negatively, the mother-figure has accompanied Sarah on two of Sarah's three appearances and so it is reasonable to assume her presence rather than an unestablished figure.

22. HGW I, p. 43.

23. In terms of height ration Sarah is approximately six units of height to the Rake's eight.

24. The Bite of the Print, p. 152.

25. See Part IIb(i), p. 152 .

26. The Duchess of Malfi, (New Mermaids) Act IV.ii, l 28.

27. The Duchess of Malfi, Act IV. ii, l.61.

28. Quennell, p. 127.

29. H I, p. 420 and 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 385. The second quotation is from p. 379.

30. Quennell, p. 127.

III. 'Symphonic Imagery'

A final aspect of the use of iterative imagery in Richard II is the manner in which a particularly important passage is prepared for by the interweaving into the poetry, long in advance, of inconspicuous but related hints of the imagery which is to dominate the passage. The method is exactly analogous to that by which in a symphony a melody appears at first tentatively, indeed almost unnoticed, first in one choir of the orchestra then another until ultimately it comes to its reward as the theme of a climactic section.

Richard Altick ¹

Codes, moreover, cannot be cracked by ingenuity alone. On the contrary. It is the danger of the cipher clerk that he sees codes everywhere.

E.H. Gombrich ²

The concepts of metaphor and image are literary terms used on occasions to refer to pictorial art. Paulson writes of Hogarth's 'general satiric metaphor' and, most recently, Bernard Denvir acclaims Hogarth for propagating 'visual imagery about everyday life on a scale which has been unknown before, and served in his time those functions which are now performed by the mass media'. ³ Harvey allows the application of the term 'metaphor' to visual art, but denies that Hogarth made use of it: 'the lucid naturalism of Hogarth's manner frustrates metaphor. If Hogarth paints a wooden leg it must look exactly and only like a firm piece of timber'. ⁴ Harvey states of Hogarth that 'unlike Breugel and Bosch, he seldom used the subtler poetic resources, such as metaphor; he had no need of them'. ⁵

The difference of opinion is explained by the fact that Paulson and Denvir are concerned with the widest application of the term, whereas Harvey is thinking of specific 'metaphorical transformations'. ⁶ He describes how such transformation works in Gillray's John Bull and his

Dog Faithful:

As he tries to stumble forward, he is hampered by a dog (with Sheridan's head) who has sunk his teeth into the wooden leg;

another dog is tugging at his coat. The wooden leg looks very like a bone, making, in the sombre humour of the plate, a special attraction for the dog. John Bull's reduction to a walking skeleton is thus brought home with the harshest metaphor, for the dog Sheridan is biting not so much a wooden leg, as the bared bone of John Bull. 7

Harvey is correct in arguing that Hogarth 'seldom' used particular metaphor; he only uses transformation two or three times in the early progresses: in Plate 3 of A Harlot's Progress the configuration of the knotted bed curtain resembles the expression of the dying Harlot in Plate 5 so that the object is both a literal knot and an image of a face, a personification. (Hogarth repeats the same device nineteen years later in Cruelty in Perfection (203/189) in which Ann Gill's dead expression is repeated in a mask-like fold of cloth.) In Orgies and The Prison the disposition of the platter and the lower vessel of the still behind the heads of the posture woman and the wife, respectively, gives the objects both literal and figurative meaning as haloes.

It is argued that Hogarth compensates, as it were, for his relative lack of detailed metaphor by making use of recurrent objects, emblems, or shapes which in their purpose, rather than their individual metaphorical attributes, correspond to the idea of symphonic imagery as Altick describes its working in Richard II: 'Hogarth's practice of intensifying a single meaning by repeating it through a hundred multifarious details', as Harvey describes it, is 'converted to the highest purposes of poetic unity'.⁸ There are a number of "image clusters", or their equivalents, in A Rake's Progress: gambling, animality, religion, music or noise, tumbling and broken things, necklaces, fire and light, disease, and clothing are the major ones. Three clusters are considered in order to establish their contribution to the 'poetic unity' of the progress and to establish how they parallel literary imagery; fire and disease (treated together), religion, and necklaces.

The terms image and imagery are used to refer to particular pictorial

elements which, it is thought, sustain a symphonic purpose. The clusters have been identified as such (as a result of the analytical process of Part II) by their 'numerical preponderance' or, if a group of images is 'so closely related to one of the fundamental ideas of the progress that it is of greater importance than the comparative numerical frequency would imply', then by a small number of important elements.⁹

IIIa. Fire and Disease

Disease is considered as one with fire because the Rake's crisis in The Gaming House is expressed in terms of a physical seizure and because Paulson extends the well-known analogy between fire and disease to include what he believes to be Hogarth's personal association with venereal disease:

To fire meant in contemporary idiom to become lustful, but I have no doubt that it also carried the idea of infection; for one thing, Hogarth was too physically-orientated to have sent the Rake to Bedlam only on the basis of his mounting troubles. 10

In The Heir fire imagery is largely contained in the evidence of the father's past way of life, the disused kitchen implements, and candle-holders. They are both evidence of the father's denial of fire and the signs of present rediscovery and, therefore, implied renewal. To emphasize the point, fire is again to be lit in the Rakewell home by the old woman as the son enters into his inheritance. The symbols of renewal offer a visual prelude to the studies in anger, lust, madness, figurative hell-fire, and disease which are presented over the course of the narrative. The empty candle-holder between the escutcheons indicates that the emblem of the family pride is at the present moment as empty as the candle-holder; merely a vanity. It is argued in Part IIa. Plate 8 that A Rake's Progress is a parable of the artist. Fire is a traditional expression of inspiration and imagination; in The Heir the father's powers have been channelled towards acquisitiveness alleviated by only one or two narrow pleasures, but the lighting of the fire symbolizes the reawakening of a

greater imagination in the son -- curious, varied, and lurid.

The Levee is a transitional passage, an interlude, between the tastes more natural to the Rake as disclosed in the first and third pictures and as reflected in their imagery. The absence of fire imagery emphasizes the alien nature of the pursuits and perhaps suggests the Rake's lack of fundamental enthusiasm for them.

The theme of fire is presented in a 'different choir of the orchestra' in Orgies to that of The Heir. The fire-light illuminates a brothel instead of the family home and the fire which is about to be lit in the first picture reveals itself to be a hellish glow in the third, illuminating the depraved scene, the painted glow of which intensifies the red and gold of the harlots' dresses. The candle which burns the map assumes the power of a cosmic fire: the earth-scorching sun, the flame which destroyed Troy, or the purgation of apocalypse. Unlike the pyromaniac Nero, whose image contemplates the scene, the stupefied Rake is unaware of the imaginative implications of the situation in which he is involved. The pregnant ballad-singer, a symbol of one consequence of sexual fire, sings with unconscious irony of the fire which 'like a scotch coal. . . will burn without smoke'.¹¹ The Rake's drunkenness provides one reason for his present lack of fire in a situation intended to encourage it and the pills on the floor offer another. Lichtenberg (with Paulson's subsequent approval) sees them as aphrodisiacs or curatives for the disease which burns its victim.¹²

The images in Orgies correspond to the first development of the melody which begins with 'a tentative statement' in The Heir and, after the transitional passage, is treated fully in the third picture. Having been responsible for the release of forces which his father hid away, the Rake finds the vision which he has conjured for himself in the Rose Tavern too great, too "rosy", for his powers of apprehension. Hogarth, himself, if the

story is true, when confronted with the original situation in a real tavern was able to sketch, paint, and engrave the incident and, by so doing, remained its master. ¹³

In comparison with Orgies, the fire "music" of The Arrest and The Marriage is muted. In the same way that the preparing of the grate with shavings (in the painting) or sticks prepares for the stupefaction of Orgies, the baptism of the Rake with the lamplighter's 'merciful' oil prepares for the Rake's personal burning in The Gaming House. (The added thunderbolt indicates that the Rake's true enthusiasm is fired by gambling rather than sexuality.) Fire imagery is only present in the wedding scene in the ambiguous and stylized emblem of the glory behind the bride's head. The doorway on the left which, figuratively, leads to hell is firmly shut (in reality the vault). It is apt that the theme should be muted in a picture in which the viewpoint is that of old age and lovelessness, symbolized by the evergreens. There is some indication in The Levee and Orgies to suggest that the bride buys herself an impotent and diseased husband and so it is necessary to the Rake's purposes that any sign of his fieriness should be hidden behind the façade of his wedding clothes.

The Gaming House presents the imagery of fire as coming to 'its reward'. The Rake's paroxysm is the culmination of the theme of physical suffering prepared for by the hints of disability established in The Heir and Orgies of which the mysterious, free-burning fire is a dramatic externalization of the Rake's inward state of being -- a combination of epilepsy, syphilis, despair, and rage. Imaginatively, the Rake experiences a moment of intensity beyond any other shown in the progress. It may be assumed that the rejected play script is to represent the artistic expression of his experience.

The lantern, or lamp, a recurrent phrase in the melody of fire, shows

how Hogarth built his narrative symphony to its climax: in The Heir a lamp is one disused article among others; in Orgies the value of the now broken lantern declines further as a result of the Rake's theft; in The Arrest the lamp of The Heir is being prepared for use and a specific connection is made with the Rake through the falling oil; finally, when the Rake's career meets its irrecoverable setback, the lantern is shown as alight and revealed as the symbol of beneficent action.

The change from a 'climactic passage' to a coda begins to the right of The Gaming House, in fact, because the fire in the grate is enclosed behind a wire grille which anticipates the enclosure of fire behind the bars and within the furnace of The Prison. In the seventh picture the wings of Icarus languish in prison without him and their wholeness suggests that the modern Icarus has never been free to fly near the sun and so have the opportunity to soar and burn. The fire in the alchemist's furnace is subject to the narrow obsession of an old man (as it was in the undisclosed past). The gridiron promises that the Rake is to burn or suffer in a fire of his own making or on the rack fed by the fire of the anger of the people about him. The deadness of these emblems, especially the empty wings (symbols of the ancient parable of the powers and dangers of artistic imagination), and the subordination of fire to the futile rules of alchemy are epitaphs to the denial of the Rake's imaginative powers as represented by his **rejected play**.

As the exhausted Rake dies he is accompanied by abstract and therefore dispassionate representations of his vision or obscure references to fire: the portrait of a saint who happened to be martyred by burning; the diagram of a cosmic bomb threatening the image of the world; the empty cartoon of a sun placed behind the gaoler's head; the inscribed name or diminished portrait of a harlot.

To conclude, the melody of fire is introduced tentatively and after



The Heir: the figure of the Rake

The hidden, veiled crucifix in the centre piece of the window behind him and the right-angled shape of the frame, rising above the Rake's head (pages 180-1). Note the vertical line of the corner following down the line of the Rake's back (page 30) and the memorandum book as disposed in the third state. The figure of the tailor in The Heir may be compared with that of the tailor in The Madhouse (right).

a transitional passage it grows to climaxes in those scenes which depict the extreme degeneration typical of rakes. The melody then fades into a coda as the Rake declines. Fire is about to be lit in The Heir; it is well alight in Orgies, but its physical presence is not disclosed; its fuel is replenished in The Arrest and literally transferred to the Rake's person; its free-burning presence is disclosed in The Gaming House; it is contained in The Prison; it is dead again in The Madhouse.

IIIb. Religious Imagery

Paulson, as has been noted, interprets the Rake's final pose as that of a dying Christ. A number of obviously Christian elements elsewhere in the progress prepare for the analogy: the mutilated Bible (The Heir); the IHS sign (The Marriage); the crucifix and chapel sign (The Madhouse). What follows is an attempt to demonstrate the presence of an unobtrusive, but much more extensive network of Christian imagery in A Rake's Progress.

There are several justifications for claiming that the centre-piece of the window in The Heir represents a veiled crucifix positioned close behind the Rake's face. Differently shaped windows occur in The Levee, The Marriage, The Prison, and The Madhouse. No interior window in Hogarth's other six major narratives is so designed. The Rake is associated with the centre-piece through overlap and so the left arm and the foot of the cross protrude from behind his head and arm, separating the centre-piece from the window-frame on two sides. The loose fold of the funeral-hanging dangles to form a veil for the cross and to separate its upright from the window-frame at the top. There is no reason why the fold should have been left unhung because the servant is shown to have begun work on another wall without finishing that from which the fold dangles. The centre-piece is separated from the frame on its third side and its intersection is close to the Rake's face in line with the direction of his glance.

Space has been given to this justification because the implications are far-reaching. If Hogarth deliberately associated the presence of the Rake with a veiled cross as a premise of the story, then the progress in its entirety may be viewed as a parable of the anti-Christ unfolding in the life of a foolish young son of a modern merchant.

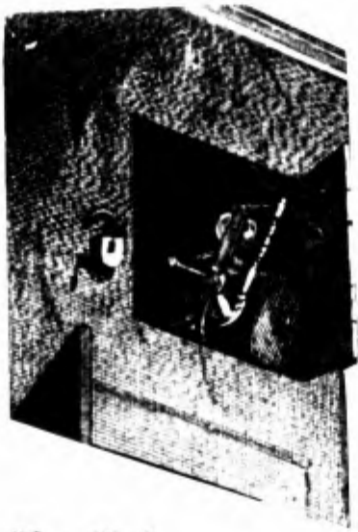
External information reveals Hogarth's personal and professional interest in symbols. Paulson explains that 'objects had a special meaning for him through his Presbyterian forebears who saw one of man's duties to be the spiritualizing of his experience' and that 'the visible world was, to the Puritan, full of symbolic significance'.¹⁴ When referring to Hogarth's use of Old Testament analogues in A Harlot's Progress, Paulson sees Hogarth as following the medieval tradition of intending physical objects to be 'spiritulia sub metaphoris corporalium'.¹⁵ Hogarth's apprenticeship (to a silver-engraver) required him to mix the real and symbolic in his designs as a matter of custom and principle.¹⁶

Hogarth became a freemason in the early 1720s, was proposed Steward of his Lodge in March 1734, and so must have been personally involved in masonic rituals as he prepared his progress.¹⁷ When writing of The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light by the Gormogons (46/43) Paulson notes that Hogarth's feelings 'about masonic symbolism must have been mixed', but by the 1730s he was clearly an 'insider':

on the one hand he would have observed (perhaps as an insider) their posturing and mystery for its own sake as folly and delusion, while at the same time as an artist he saw that they offered ways of "delineating a system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols" -- and a further sanction for his own inclination and practice. 18

Paulson suggests that the putto's lifting of the veil in Boys Peeping at Nature, the artistic manifesto to the earlier progress, is concerned with the way (derived from Addison, according to Paulson) in which the artist makes use of hidden meanings:

Lifting the veil is also, and perhaps most important, an allusion



The Heir

The cross pommée formed by the bob-weights of the spit in the cupboard.

to the veil of allegory by which the poet traditionally protected the Truth he was conveying. Hogarth associated his plates with the double meaning -- a "plain literal sense" and a "hidden Meaning" -- of epic allegory. 19

In so far as Hogarth repeats the symbol of a veil with a secret image of the crucifix in The Heir, he signals that a complex attitude towards the real and the spiritual is likely to be present throughout the rest of his second progress, consistent with his upbringing, experience, and established artistic practice.

Given the existence of this crucifix then other emblems in The Heir acquire quasi-religious significance. The father's tau-shaped crutches recall the emblem of St Anthony of Egypt, a favourite subject of medieval and renaissance artists, 'who defeated the demon of sensuality and gluttony' and who was tempted by the devil with gold.²⁰ The tau is also the concealed emblem of Moses, the serpent set upon a pole, and this parallel associates the law-giver of the Old Testament with the authoritarian attitudes of the Rake's father who may thus be permitted to mutilate his own book. The scales in the portrait and the bob-weights of the spit in the cupboard, forming a cross pommée, recall the emblems of St Michael the Archangel ('like unto God'), but instead of weighing souls, his parody weighs coins.²¹ The old servant's wood shavings were altered to a saltire-like faggot in the prints, a change which suggests that the reward of servitude to the Rakewells is similar to that of St Andrew. The falling money comically enacts the beatitude, 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth'.²² The man's hammer is positioned across his arm in a resemblance of a crucifix, as if to confirm the benign nature of his discovery (appropriately at the top of the picture).

It seems likely that Hogarth would have been tempted to include some masonic symbolism in his work, especially as he enjoyed including something of himself in his pictures. The right angle of the window-frame above the Rake's head is foregrounded because of its light tone and because it is



The Heir: disused implements in the box to the left

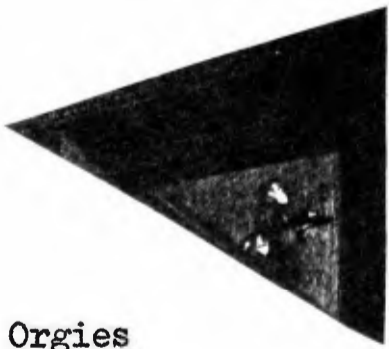
Note the triangular shape of the lantern with its hint of masonry.

the only part of the frame left uncovered by the hangings. Its shape invites an unlikely association with St Thomas the Carpenter and a more likely one with the masonic emblem of the set square. (The masonic triangle may also have been intended in the shape of the lamp obscured by the other implements in the box to the left.) If the shapes do have meaning, then the signs of the masonic ideal are present in the material setting surrounding the Rake along with the signs of a wider Christian truth. It is perhaps significant that these suggested masonic shapes (and several Christian ones) are not formal emblems. There is no evidence to indicate that the Rake is consciously intended to be a mason himself; these are accidents which he cannot perceive from his disclosed viewpoint.

The melody is introduced unobtrusively, but once the secret image of the crucifix is perceived, certainly not tentatively as, of course, are many symphonic melodies.

The Levee is the most pagan and least Christian picture, but the frontispiece of the poem dedicated to the Rake reads, 'One G-d one Farinelli'. The sacrilegious equation reveals the values of a character who confuses art with religion. The anti-Christ, rather than surprising the learned man of the Temple with his maturity, learns only how to enjoy himself and to substitute a figure of pride (Farinelli's 'condescension') for truth. If Kunzle's suggestion that the arrangement of the tableau is like a parade of the Deadly Sins is appropriate, then anti-Christ learns from their trivial imitations rather than from the virtues. As with fire the theme of religion is muted in The Levee.

In Orgies Christian imagery, like that of fire, is developed in ways consistent with the style of The Heir as the narrative reverts to the presentation of more familiar themes of evil. The Rake's misplaced sword forms a saltire with its scabbard, the crosspiece of which is foregrounded by the



Orgies

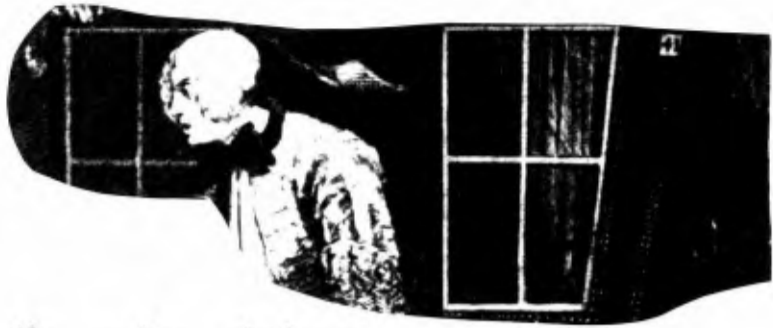
The triangular shape formed by the juxtaposition of the door-frame with the banister.

scarlet flash of the holster, but because the scabbard is empty the upper arm of the cross is no more than a stump. The Rake himself is now the ill-omened figure figuratively crossed by his own possessions. The change from the crucifix of Christ in The Heir to that of St Andrew comments upon the Rake's altered situation. In the first picture he is the new master, but in the third he is humiliated, not by a Roman governor (he has defeated the power of their images), but by the harlots of the Rose Tavern and he suffers from his excesses and not his devotion.

If the burning of the Totus Mundus is a prophetic image of Apocalypse, the presence of the trumpet recalls the 'great voice' of 'Alpha and Omega', or the seven angelic trumpets which herald the destruction of the world (there are seven broken portraits. . .).²³ The harp associated with King David and the Ten Commandments also recalls the harps of the 'four and twenty elders' who prepare for the opening of the seven seals (six of which have already been defaced).

The posture woman, as well as being a parody of Bathsheba, prepares to dance before an anti-Christ as would a Jezebel or 'THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS' whose naked flesh is to be eaten and burnt with fire.²⁴ The platter represents her anti-halo and her naked flesh is to extinguish the Light of the World. If Orgies parodies an enflamed scene in hell or the Babylon of Revelations, the Rake's situation represents the antithesis of Christ's Second Coming as an exhausted celebrant of depravity. The images anticipate the signs of apocalypse present in the final picture and indicate that the Rake is committed absolutely to evil.

The right angle of the doorframe forms two sides of a triangle, the hypoteneuse of which is represented by the line of the banister. The hypoteneuse coincides exactly with the upper left corner of the doorframe and the point on the upright where it meets the ballad-singer's head. The arrangement of lines is sufficiently contrived to indicate a hidden masonic



The Arrest: the Rake and the sedan windows

Note the alteration to the curtain of the closer window in the third state (compare with the illustration opposite page 76).

triangle . It is impossible to tell whether the present scene is intended as the antithesis of a masonic meeting or whether its position indicates that the way out of hell is by means of a respect for the masonic ideal.

The most significant images in The Arrest are found in the centre-pieces of the windows in the sedan chair. The crosspiece of the window closest to the foreground is silhouetted against the plane surface of the red curtain behind the window. The Rake is flanked by hidden images of the crucifix as he emerges from the sedan as he is flanked by the crosspiece of the window in The Heir. Hogarth had no other need to design centre-pieces in this form, nor did he need to repeat the characteristic in the second window. No other coach or sedan chair window has a crosspiece in Hogarth's graphic art. In the third state the curtain was rearranged behind the closer of the two windows so that its curving edge cut from one corner of the window frame to the other across the nodal point of the cross, thus transforming the true cross into another form of cancelled or imperfect crucifix. The modification not only draws attention to the existence of the cross, but makes it consistent with the further window of the sedan which was already obscured by the bailiff's arm. The existence of the same sign in a second picture, placed in a similar relationship to the same character, but expressed in a different form, is internal confirmation of Hogarth's deliberate intent.

The thunderous sky and lightning of the later states acquire meaning as the voice of an angry god who is not well-pleased with his son. Instead of performing the deliberate act of John the Baptist, or of Samuel, the lamplighter as a personification of Lucifer, the bringer of light, baptises the Rake by accident. The black christening renews the powers of an anti-Christ to do evil, figuratively to burn, as he steps from the bright red interior of his box-like chair.

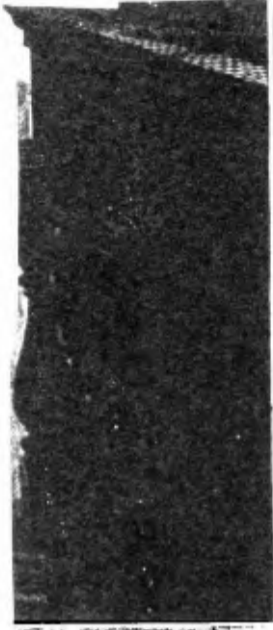


The Arrest

The frontal view of the façade of St James's Palace.

The design of the palace façade in the background invites an allegorical reading: the grating at the bottom is surmounted by a right-angled isosceles triangle which may have symbolic connections with masonry and the Trinity. The shape is Hogarth's most significant alteration from the real architecture of the façade. A comparison with 'a standard view of St James's Palace painted during Hogarth's life time' indicates that he modified the details, particularly emphasizing the cruciate and triangular forms. The latter is not apparent in a frontal view of the palace.²⁵ A smaller rectangle, divided into three, is placed above. On top a cross supports the circular shape of the clock enclosed in a diamond. The palace represents the gateway to the promised land characterized by Christian ideals: the circle of eternity, or perfection, is enclosed in a square of earthly existence, supported by the emblems of the crucifixion, the Trinity, and perhaps of masonry. As a warning perhaps, the gratings anticipate the confinement of the later scenes, representative of a fate subordinate to Christian precepts in the symbolism of the present scene. If the reading is acceptable -- and it must be emphasized that the decorations may be no more than a clock, windows, and architectural ornament -- then The Arrest is a parody of Christ entering his Ministry and a denial of the possibility of the Rake's redemption.

The shadowy figure in the pulpit of The Marriage witnesses a burlesque of the wedding of the Virgin. (Ironically the bride wears three decorative crucifixes as if to emphasize her holiness.) In the background to The Marriage Contract a madonna and child regards the betrothal below from a painting as if to suggest that Hogarth already thought of an analogy between the grey-haired bride and the Virgin Mary. In the background to The Marriage another, unwanted, madonna and child, represented by Sarah and her daughter, wait patiently. The tablets concerned with the beliefs and laws of the church of anti-Christ are appropriately cracked, broken,



The Marriage: the altar piece

The panelling forms the shape of a split crucifix.



The Marriage

The right-angled shape of the inset border of the window rising from behind the Rake's head.

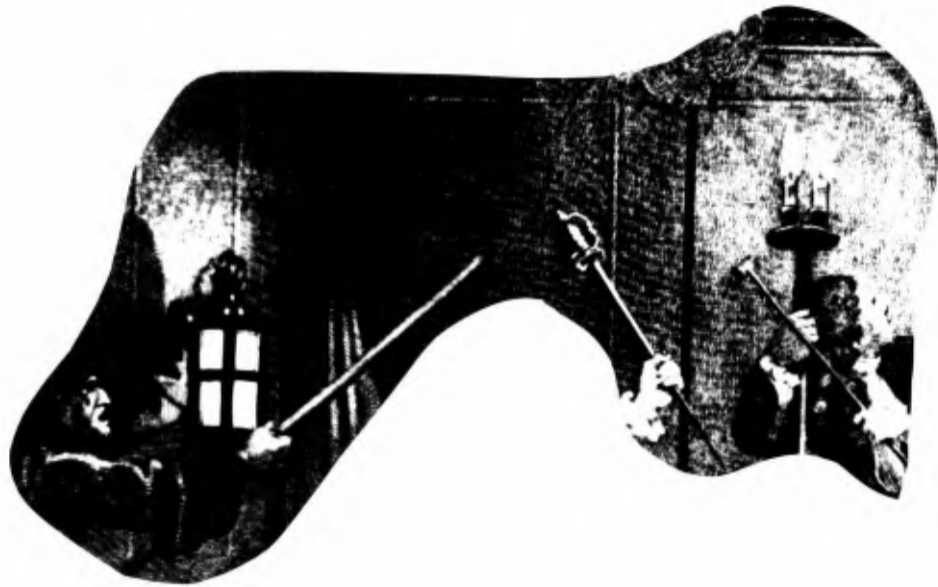
or conspicuous by their absence.

The altar piece to the right of the picture balances with the mass of the vault to the left; both are box-like structures with doorways, the one presumably leading upwards to heaven (The Gaming House) and the other downwards, via St James's, to the hell of Orgies. The panelled design of the altar piece is shaped like a crucifix and split down its upright, ostensibly to indicate the line of the door, but also to maintain the association of an imperfect cross with the Rake. The shadowy crucifix balances visually with the spider's web festooning the poor box on the left. Ferguson explains the significance of the spider:

The spider is used symbolically, first to represent the miser, for it bleeds the fly as the miser bleeds the poor; second to represent the Devil, for the Devil prepares his traps as the Spider does its web; and third, to represent the malice of evil-doers whose webs will perish like those of the spider. The cobweb is a symbol of human frailty. 26

The analogy equates the miserliness of the father in The Heir with evil and the cobweb comments upon the self-evident frailty of all the adult figures in the picture. The Marriage presents an imbalance between good and evil because the "devil's side" of the picture is that which Mercedes Gaffron considers to be the more important and so the web and its figurative victim, the poor box, outweigh the split and visually remote cross. The inclined border of the window space, a tonally light shape, rises from behind the Rake's head in a right angle, perhaps intended to balance with the wife's metaphorical halo which identifies her as belonging to Christ.

The Gaming House is also a climax in the development of religious imagery. Several pronounced lines in the picture are aligned towards the fire in the background; the watchman gesticulates at it with his staff as if to indicate that his lantern is linked with the fire above. Lanterns are ancient symbols of the Word of God and the watchman's reveals the silhouette of the perfect cross surmounted by three specks of light,



The Gaming House

The repeated Chi Rho confluations (to the right), the nimbus surrounding the candelabra, the fire above the partition, the watchman's lantern surmounted by the triangular points of light, and his staff in line with the fire.

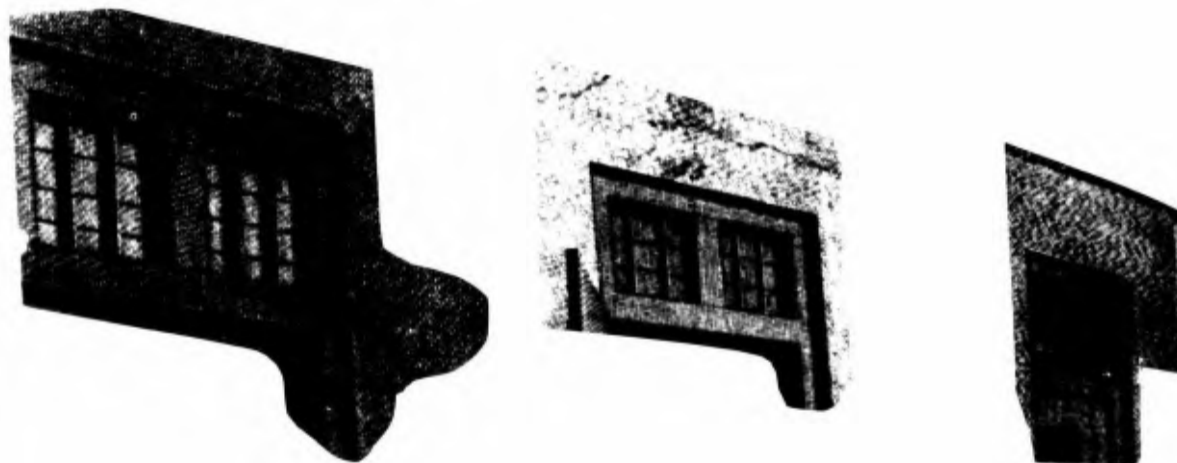


The Gaming House: the nimbus in the candle

It is above the anxious gambler (his fists are crossed). The candle illuminates the "creed" of the card-maker's advertisement (page 108-9).

a sign of the Trinity. Symbolically the Word of God arrives too late to save the anti-Christ from self-destruction. The watchman functions as an anti-Judas whose lantern attempts to identify the mysterious flames and smoke as the sign of divine presence, angry with the situation below and "blessed" by the figure next to the croupier. The angled line of the angry man's sword is paralleled by that of the croupier's gatherer, both of which form the inclined arms of crosses, the sword with the vertical line of the panelling, the gatherer with the pole of the candle-holder. Both objects are held, or seem to be held, at the nodal points of the crosses. The sword-haft and the blunt end of the gatherer form repeated confluences of the Chi Rho monogram of Christ in which the 'P' shape of the Rho is formed by the haft and, less obviously, by the oval crosspiece of the gatherer. The vertical of the cross is surmounted by candles encircled by a nimbus as a further confirmation of the presence of a hidden, sacred meaning. It is significant that the Rake's fist is clenched in opposition to these forces as if to imply that the experience of the anti-Christ is similar to that of the true Christ, but different in essence -- the Rake's distorted attitude suggests that the present moment is his personal Golgotha. The personal association with imperfect crosses is maintained in the foreground because the St Andrew's cross on the seat of the overturned chair is obscured by the corner of his coat.

Other factors offer variations on the theme: the clergyman's stock, the ends of which hang parallel in the painting, are altered to cross each other in the prints; another nimbus burns above the unlucky gambler to the right; the counting of money as a significant event is explained by Ferguson as 'a hand pouring money into another hand. . . is an allusion to the betrayal of Judas'.²⁷ The important emblems of fire and religion -- the lantern, the mysterious fire, the confluences -- harmonize at the climax of the narrative in one dominant chord composed of many images.



The Madhouse: the blank spaces above the cell doors

Compare with the disposition of the escutcheons above the doorway in The Heir. It is possible that they represent masonic emblems. Note the 'L E' (left) and the numerical sequence of cells, especially the mis-formed 56.

In The Prison the emptiness of the angelic wings comments on the spiritual void below; the image of the ethereal witness dissipates; the wife's halo, now darkened, has lost its inner meaning and, significantly, her crucifixes have disappeared. The presence of the gaoler gives an allegorical meaning to the picture because his book, key, and duty as Guardian of the Gate gives him 'the office opposite to St Peter, / and [to] keep the gate of hell'.²⁸ The gaoler gestures to invite the Rake to enter the resolution of his own narrative, passing the gridiron which anticipates the just burning of anti-Christ in a hell of his own making.

As anti-Christ dies in The Madhouse, the image of a stable universe is rocked: the star called Wormwood arches above the earth; the sun and the moon assume the prophesied sorrow of all creation at the death of Christ and have connections with the coming of the mother of Christ who precedes the casting out of 'the great red dragon' from heaven.²⁹ The lunatic draughtsman assumes the composite roles of an Old Testament prophet, an evangelist, and St John the Divine whose vision accompanies the apotheosis of anti-Christ. The Rake's semi-nudity and the bareness of his feet are signs of his final humility; the enhaloed warder, or clergyman, performs an unconscious mockery of a last rite and he and his colleague parallel Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus; the girl, who discarded the emblem of her occupation not as a fisherman but as a milliner in order to follow her master, kneels lamenting like those who knelt before the cross, a diminished shape of which leans over her. The stairs to the right lead out of this hell and the narrative past a broken chapel and a caricature of the pope, a satirical last chord to the melody.

It is suspected, without proof, that there is a number of masonic signs in the picture: the position of the Rake's hand across his body; his shoes placed at odds with one another; the rectangular shapes of the door frames in conjunction with the blank windows above, indicated by the bow of the

violinist who wears his music book, a right-angle, upon his head. These, or some of them, may communicate hermetic messages of warning and doom.

The religious imagery resolves the progress in a manner which transforms the idea of a coda into a resounding Last Trump! While it is inevitable that the interpretation of individual images will be questioned, it seems that, taken as a whole, they point conclusively to the existence of an allegorical purpose in A Rake's Progress. A summary of the allegorical reading follows:

The already unchaste anti-Christ rejects the narrow ways of his father as he inherits his kingdom. He learns the ways of the decadent world from frivolous tutors. He celebrates the completion of his education in a Bacchanal, bathed in the glow of hell-fire, consorting with harlots ('the favourite embodiment of the devil's wiles' (Part IIa. Plate 2, p. 54)). As he is prevented from reaching an exclusive paradise-on-earth, he is baptised by Lucifer into a life which leads to self-destruction. Instead of remaining unmarried he marries an unloved virgin in a parody of a Roman Catholic wedding and rejects his illegitimate child. Subsequently the anti-Christ's career reaches a zenith as he kneels in defiance before the symbol of the wrath of God in the presence of the signs of the true Christ. He surrenders his freedom and in consequence is made to pass through the gate of a hell on earth. He expires accompanied by the threat of apocalypse and the route of his ascension is up the stairs past the singing of the pope.

The reading gives direction to Kunzle's ingenious interpretation of the progress as a parable of the Seven Deadly Sins:

From an avaricious father the newly rich rake is inveighed by harlots, whose besetting sins of Avarice (again) and Pride (resulting in fatal physical beauty) exploit his Lechery to ruin him. His financial and physical ruin is actively aided by that companion of sexual revelry, Gluttony (or drink), and Envy (provoked directly by women) leading to Wrath, a vice which may result in the murder of a fellow and brigandage with more murder. Sloth has crept in of its own accord, as have Pride (or extravagant expenditure) alternating with Avarice (gambling). 30

Unlike Christ, whose life was one of seven-fold virtue, the life of his antithesis is concerned logically with the systematic experience of its converse.

While the consideration of other allegorical layers is not strictly relevant to a study of religious imagery, this is an appropriate point to

draw attention to another layer of allegory which may underlie the progress. Paulson in writing of Southwark Fair suggests that if 'one did not know the date of the painting one might conclude that it constituted Hogarth's attack on the ceremony he was prevented from painting'.³¹ The ceremony was the delayed marriage of the Princess Royal and the Prince of Orange due to have taken place in the autumn of 1733 and postponed until March 1734. Hogarth had hoped to paint the scene and publish a popular print, but the commission was given instead to his rival William Kent.

It is possible to interpret the progress itself, on which Hogarth was at work during the marriage preparations, as a parody of the career of a secular prince, perhaps of the unpopular Prince of Wales in view of the addition of the scroll to The Levee:

The King has died and so the Prince reigns in his place; the Prince holds court at his levee (the musician plays on a "royal" harpsichord); the Prince celebrates at a banquet fit for emperors; the Prince fails to reach the palace in time for a royal birthday and his subjects mock him for ignoring a native saint's day; the Prince marries his ugly Princess; the Prince plays the game of Kings -- the royal card-maker's advertisement replaces the tablet of the Creed of the preceding picture; 'a great Prince in prison lies'; the death of the lunatic Prince.

IIIc. The Necklaces

An examination of Hogarth's 'Modern Moral Subjects' and his portraits of the 1730s reveals that a seed-pearl necklace adorns the necks of his women figures. With few exceptions it is present in the studies of youthful, physically attractive women including members of his own family.³² Both Sarah Young and the Harlot wear such necklaces on more than one occasion, but not as a matter of course. The variation raises the possibility that Hogarth intended the necklace as a significant emblem with a hidden meaning.

The young woman in Before and After appears to be the prototype, as

she is for both progresses. ³³ She wears a necklace in the first picture in which she is young, attractive to her lover, and superficially pious (she reads both 'The Practice of Piety' and Rochester's notorious lyrics). In spite of her piety she allows her lover to come to her room and in spite of her protestations has loosened her corsets prior to her seduction. The necklace is then absent from a scene in which she displays her true and passionate self by continuing to make advances to her exhausted lover (the engraved version of After). The Modern Moral Subjects other than A Rake's Progress show that the necklace is worn by affected, complacent, short-sighted, and immoral women.

External information suggests that a necklace may have had symbolic meaning for Hogarth and his contemporaries. In Plate 5 of A Harlot's Progress the necklace has been transposed to an advertisement for which it is the illustration:

PRACTICAL
SCHEME
ANODYNE
NECKLACE
(NECKLACE)

Paulson describes the widespread association of the necklace with venereal disease in the early part of the century:

The other cure, besides the sweating treatment depicted in the Harlot's room is the Anodyne Necklace. Its advertisements, which ran for decades in nearly every newspaper, derived from a shop at the Sign of the Anodyne Necklace against Devereux Court outside Temple Bar, where two distinct remedies were sold; the necklace for teething children and for venereal disease. Judging only by the venereal disease ads a reader might well conclude that the disease rate had appreciably increased. 34

The Harlot wears a necklace throughout her career as a prostitute and it is only transposed to the advertisement as she dies of her occupational disease.

Some internal evidence confirms the possibility that Hogarth viewed the necklace symbolically. Firstly, it is worn by the goddess in Boys

Peeping at Nature, the subscription ticket to A Harlot's Progress (125/120, 1730-1); appearing both around the statue's neck and in the putto's portrait. Hogarth's Latin tags connect Nature -- and so her necklace -- with an approval of licentiousness in art, 'necesse est / Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum, / . . . dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter' and 'Antiquam exquirite Matram. Vir'. Secondly, in Plate 2 of the progress which succeeds, the necklace has been transferred from the Harlot's neck to her arm which is arranged in such a mannered gesture that it draws attention to the necklace-bracelet. The necklace has been returned to her neck in the third picture and so the change implies that the Harlot wears her courtesan's heart on her sleeve, as it were, in the exotic setting rather than about her neck as she does in more commonplace surroundings and that Hogarth himself was manoeuvring his emblem for effect. Thirdly, the extra care needed to inscribe the necklace on copper precludes the possibility that its variation was the product of accident or automatic thinking.³⁵ Furthermore there are few occasions when the necklace wearer does not wear a cap or bonnet which obscures the neck so that the necklace does not usually have the aesthetic purpose of breaking up large expanses of flesh.

Hogarth's sitters were well-to-do, but respectable women (with the possible exception of Lavinia Fenton³⁶) whose necklaces were the signs of their prosperity and personal pride. In an engraving a pearl necklace looks much the same as a bead amulet and so it would have been typical of Hogarth's irony and his preference for the ambiguous if he had invested what was a sign of innocent pride in his fashionable portraits with a more sinister meaning in his fictions. It may be wondered whether Hogarth, like Swift, chose to see outward attraction as disguising an inward malaise in all women.

The occurrence of the necklace in A Rake's Progress is examined on

the assumption that it is more than a decoration: a symbol of the wearer's youth, physical attraction, affectation, questionable morality -- and perhaps her infection with venereal disease.

The necklace first appears in Orgies; the posture woman, the harlots who spit and quarrel, and the woman who caresses the Rake all wear one. The barenecked harlots are subordinate, passive figures: the incendiarist is bored; the recipient of the watch is alert, but her role as a receiver is passive; the ballad singer's pregnant state is honestly shabby, coarse, and remote from the passionate states of feeling usually associated with the necklace-wearer. The necklace-wearers of Orgies confirm and extend the associations with the emblem established elsewhere -- other than in The Laughing Audience, to be discussed below -- they are corrupt, calculating, youthfully attractive, and outwardly lecherous creatures. They perform for man's benefit, but in reality manipulate him for their own ends (like the young woman in Before and After or the women in the earlier Theft of a Watch ³⁷). They wear the magnificent clothes of grand ladies in a shabby tavern (like the Harlot in Bridewell, Plate 4) and, although they may not realise it, carouse in the attitudes of goddesses. The presence of the Rake's pills taken with the meaning of the necklace as advertized in the earlier progress indicates that the whole company is both affected and infected. (Significantly, Hoadly not only refers to them as foes to 'Love', but also as 'Plagues'.)

The scene in which more clearly-drawn necklaces are found than in any other of Hogarth's original compositions is a prelude to Sarah's assumption of the necklace. She is appropriately bare-necked in The Heir where her lamentations, plainness, and pregnancy represent the antithesis to the self-confident necklace-wearer. (The Harlot loses her necklace at the point where she loses her confidence, or delusions, and has acquired a child.) Sarah's necklace in The Arrest classifies her with the prostitutes

and the implications further challenge Dobson's view that she is included to compensate for 'a want of tenderness'. The necklace coincides with her moment of supreme alertness, the recovery of her self-confidence, and her apparent moral regeneration, but it seems to serve as a devious innuendo; she may loiter in St James's Street less to note the fashions and more to attract custom. By relinquishing her box Sarah chooses to turn from a respectable life (and ironically her youth because she drops her name) to that of a camp-follower, but, because the emblem is already about her neck, Hogarth hints that her decision is predestined by her voluntary assumption of it. Sarah's gesture ostensibly makes her a friend to the Rake's being (Hoadly's phrase), but her generosity leads them both to crueller forms of bondage than simply imprisonment for debt. The necklace indicates that she may need to ward off, or already suffers from, the same disease which kills the Harlot and probably infects the denizens of the Rose, including her lover.

In The Marriage the diminished Sarah is once again bare-necked -- her necklace has been transferred to the bridesmaid along with other signs of sentiment. It underlines the bridesmaid's youth and attraction especially for the Rake, but undercuts the innocence of her demure exterior. The bride's necklace supports a crucifix (a symbol which, as a rosary, is contemptuously rejected by Sarah Malcolm³⁸). The combination of her finery, bared bosom, and the rosary indicates that, as well as being a black parody of the Virgin, she is a parody of the Belinda on whose 'white Breast a Sparkling Cross she wore' (Pope refers to a 'Necklace' later in the second canto³⁹). Her necklace represents a complex irony: it emphasizes the wife's folly as an attempt to recover her youth and create physical attraction; it suggests that she expects the extreme reverence offered to Belinda from her courtier; it is a sardonic comment on the fact that the only passion (like Belinda) she shows in the story is anger; it intimates

that her piety is merely the consequence of a thwarted sexual desire; it warns that her unwitting, but necessary protection against venereal disease is joined to the sign of her devotion. Lastly, her necklace gives extended point to the necklaces present in The Laughing Audience in which the necklace is worn, unexpectedly, by several elderly women, who would also wish to appear younger than they are, and not by the smooth-faced women in the background. The discreetly drawn necklaces in the subscription ticket are part of an impression of civilized appearance which the laughter reveals as hiding an ugly, even brutal truth, best exemplified by one necklace-wearer whose immoderate response -- also to an illusion -- makes her wig slip and reveal her baldness, itself not inconsistent with a symptom of venereal disease.

Unlike the Harlot who persists in wearing her finery and necklace in Bridewell, Sarah and the aged bride have lost theirs along with their illusions, but Sarah's attitude and appearance in The Madhouse are restored to that of The Heir with one significant difference -- her necklace of The Arrest is returned to her as an epitaph to her futile love for the Rake. All that is left to her now that her 'Master' dies is the equivalent life of an anti-Mary and its hazards.⁴⁰ If the necklace is a symbol, then the Rake's victim remains both to be fooled again and ready to exploit Man's follies as he has exploited hers.

Altick shows that certain words of multifold meanings in Shakespeare are played upon 'time after time like leitmotifs in music'.⁴¹ Hogarth's necklaces in the art of the 1730s act as a visual equivalent of Wagnerian leitmotifs or of those idiosyncrasies in prose fiction which acquire significance through their recurrence: it anticipates Pamela's interest in clothing, the functions of Sophia's muff in Tom Jones, Jagger's perpetual washing of his hands or Micawber's continued flourishing of his cane in David Copperfield, and Esther's possession of the keys in Bleak

House. In A Harlot's Progress the necklace is an individual motif identifying only the Harlot as a foolish character, in A Rake's Progress its purpose is more complicated; it identifies a group of people, often socially disparate, as having characteristics in common. It suggests that the underlying attitudes of the heroine are different from those conveyed by her general appearance. To the ironist the harlots, the aged bride, and Sarah are the same under the skin, like Judy O'Grady and the Colonel's Lady. The necklace confirms that the heroine is far more than merely an excrescence, but an indispensable element, not of a pathetic work, but of a comic 'opera' which is also part of a wider and consistent vision of an affected world.

A Rake's Progress offers clusters of details as purposive as different kinds of iterative image in literature. In each instance their presence makes the narrative more intense and subtle: fire and disease make its themes of degeneration more certain and complete; the religious images make it more universal and daring; the necklaces add to the unity of its tone.

Symphonic Imagery: References

1. The title and the first epigraph are from Richard D. Altick's 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II', PMLAA, Volume LXII (1947), pp. 339 ff. (Hereafter referred to by title.)
2. E.H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (London, 1972), p. 19.
3. H I, p. 76 and Bernard Denvir, 'Hogarth on View', TES (31 December 1971), p. 14.
4. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p. 28.
5. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p. 174.
6. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p. 28.
7. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p. 28.
8. Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators, p. 58 and 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II', pp. 339-40.
9. 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II', note to page 341.
10. H I, note 46 to p. 333, quoted on p. 543. It should be noted by way of qualification that there is a specific connection made between madness and penury in The Duchess of Malfi (above Part IIa. Plate 8, p. 141).
11. Part IIa. Plate 3, note 11. It is assumed that The New Black Joke is a revised version of the Old.
12. They are 'clandestine pills' (Lichtenberg's Commentaries, p. 217), 'vulgar pills' (p. 218) and 'French pills' (p. 189 and H I, note to p. 333).
13. Variousy reported: Quennell notes that the incident is recorded in Nollekens and his Times; Francis Hayman and Hogarth were together at King's Coffee House. Hogarth is reported to have warned Hayman to take care (p. 130).
14. H I, p. 267 and H I, p. 11.

15. H I, p. 267.
16. H I, p. 69.
17. H I, p. 343.
18. H I, p. 131. Paulson quotes Eric Ward, 'William Hogarth and his
... Fraternity', Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, LXXVII, (London, 1964).
19. H I, p. 261.
20. Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, pp. 104-5 refer to St Anthony.
Symbolism in Liturgical Art, pp. 27-8 refer to Moses.
21. Symbolism in Liturgical Art, p. 25.
22. St Matthew v. 5.
23. Revelations i. 10-11 and iv. 1.
24. Revelations xvii. 18
25. The quotation is from a letter by the Deputy Surveyor of the Queen's
Pictures (17 May 1972). The comparison is based on a painting in
the manner or school of Samuel Scott (c. 1745) which shows the
clock tower.
26. Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, p. 25.
27. Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, p. 48.
28. Othello's speech to Emilia (Act V. ii, ls 91-2).
29. Revelations xii. 1 and 3.
30. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 561.
31. H I, p. 318. General information in this passage is from H I, pp. 314-18.
32. The necklace is present in the following list of original compositions
of the 1730s, according to the Tate Catalogue and/or HGW II.
 - a. The outdoor and indoor versions of Before and After, 50-53
(1730-1); the indoor version was engraved (152-3/141-2, 1736).
 - b. Boys Peeping at Nature, an engraving only, 55-6 (1732) and
(125/120, 1730-1).
 - c. A Harlot's Progress, 57-62 and (127-132/121-126, 1732).
 - d. The Marriage Contract, 63 (c. 1732).
 - e. Sarah Malcolm in Prison, 73 (March 1732-3); the rosary is
omitted from the engraving (135/129).
 - f. The Laughing Audience, an engraving only, 82 (1733) and
(136/130).

- g. A Rake's Progress, 64-71 (c. 1733) and (138-150/132-139, 1735).
- h. The Sleeping Congregation, 24, painted before the period (c. 1728), but engraved in 1736 (151/140).
- i. The Distrest Poet, 75 (1735) and (156/145, 1736-7).
- j. Evening, 79 (1738) and (166/154).
- k. Strolling Actresses Dressing in A Barn, 85 (published 1738) and (168/156).

The following list of portraits is based on R.B. Beckett's catalogue Hogarth English Master Painter Series (London, 1945).

- a. The Woodes Rogers Family, 9 (1729).
- b. A Christening, 16 (c. 1729).
- c. The Wesley Family, 42 (1731).
- d. The Conquest of Mexico, 52-54 (1731-2).
- e. Lady Frances Hay (Lady Byron), 78 (c. 1735).
- f. Mrs Jane Hogarth, 97 (1735-9). A blob of white pigment highlights each individual pearl. Jane's necklace may have been Hogarth's particular model.
- g. Lady Thornhill, 99 (n. d.).
- h. Mrs Frances Arnold, 100 (c. 1738).
- i. Miss Mary Hogarth, 104 (c. 1745).
- j. Miss Anne Hogarth, 105 (1740-5).
- k. Mrs Catherine Edwards, 113 (1739).
- l. A Lady in White, 114 (1738).
- m. The Duchess of Bolton (Lavinia Fenton), 115 (1740).

33. Appendix One, p. 222 .

34. H I, pp. 254-5.

35. Each bead requires at least one separate controlled stroke of the burin as opposed to a simpler blob. Most necklaces are tied with a red or black ribbon which requires extra attention.

36. Lavinia Fenton created the part of Polly Peachum in The Beggar's Opera. She became notorious for her affair with the lord whom she eventually married (note 32 m). Her portrait was painted well outside the period.

37. The Tate Catalogue, 20, p. 16.

38. Note 32 e; the list of Modern Moral Subjects. Strictly this painting is a portrait, but included because it is the moral study of a youthful, passionate murderess. She is revealed as her honest self refusing to be comforted by the necklace.

39. The Rape of the Lock, Canto II, ls 7 and 109, in The Poems edited by

John Butt (London, 1963), pp. 223 and 225.

40. Kunzle's exact words are 'a Magdalene to her dying Master' ('The

History of the Picture Story', p. 385).

41. 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II', p. 339.

IV. Conclusion: Hogarth, 'the Writer of Controlled Narratives'

Literature is generally to be classed as time-art (in distinction from painting and sculpture, space-art).

Austin Warren ¹

Spatial art which presents its materials simultaneously, or in a random order has no plot, but a succession of similar pictures which can be arranged in meaningful order (like Hogarth's Rake's Progress) begins to have a plot because it begins to have a dynamic sequential existence.

Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg ²

The narrative elements in a single picture are important only if the picture refers to the context of an independent story as in history painting, or book-illustration. In a 'succession of similar pictures' the narrative elements internal to the succession increase in importance and may enable it to stand alone. Any connection with a literary text is lessened in Hogarth's art to the extent that his pictorial narrative represents a significant variation upon the original story. (The relationship between The Parable of the Prodigal Son and A Rake's Progress is discussed below.)

Mario Praz, after Antonio Russi, argues that all other arts are contained in any one art through the agency of the observer's memory; Praz calls this recollection of the oneness of art 'aesthetic memory'. ³ Parts II and III of this thesis represent the written expression of a lecteur's aesthetic memory of one art form, Hogarth's pictures, regarded with the attitudes and terminology usually associated with another art form, the literary narrative.

Austin Warren distinguishes between the simple structure of a picaresque novel, which 'begins to have a plot', and a 'more philosophical novel', which 'adds to chronology the structure of causation' and which shows a 'character deteriorating or improving in a sequence of causes operating steadily over a period of time'. ⁴ It is claimed in the thesis

that the development of a complex character is present in A Rake's Progress which displays its causation in the interaction of the father's obsessions and the undisclosed circumstances at Oxford with the personality of the main character. Warren observes that the 'situation at the end of a ['closely contrived plot'] is very different from that at the beginning'.⁵ According to these criteria, A Rake's Progress is comparable to a 'controlled' novel in matters of causality and development.

Not only has the Rake deteriorated by the end of his story (which begins with a kind of generosity and ends with madness), but the circumstances at the end may be seen as structurally similar to those of the beginning in a way which is far more artful than in a simple story. The last two pictures consist of many elements present in previous scenes which, nearly two hundred years before James Joyce, appear to anticipate the artistic theories expressed in Ulysses, or Eliot's Quartets, and found in the artistic practice of Finnegans Wake. Twentieth-century belief that Past and Future Time co-exist in Simultaneous Present Time arises from a suspicion, amongst other things, of the idea of historical progress. Hogarth's attitude to chronology (seemingly fundamental to the concept of his narratives) is more medieval or in advance of his time than might be thought of a man who claimed to have composed Modern Moral Subjects in the first half of the eighteenth-century. His alterations show that he was willing to place matters of theme, topicality, or humour before temporal consistency. Both Hogarth and Shakespeare (Othello is considered below) in their artistic practice anticipate Arnheim's contention that in art time cannot create order, 'it is order that creates time'.⁶

Hogarth's art remains 'modern' as well as universal in attitude, however, because of its obvious reference to contemporary events and literature, frequently identified in time by Hogarth's fondness for dates; its ridiculing of heroic attitudes held in a contemporary, urban society; its

concern for the impact of commercial attitudes upon absolute values; its seemingly photographic representation of external reality. The tension between the traditional and contemporary makes A Rake's Progress a transitional work between the picaresque tales of Bunyan and Defoe and the complex novels of Richardson and Fielding. The fusion between the medieval and modern is shown in the character of the image clusters discussed in Part III. The religious symbols make A Rake's Progress as complicated an allegory as The Faerie Queene, itself a backward-looking work, and the symbolic use of the necklace presents a personal and topical, rather than a universal, association of ideas.

At the same time A Rake's Progress is essentially Augustan in style: mock-heroic and melodramatic, ironic and allusive. The outwardly pathetic Sarah is an integral unit in a comic narrative in which every serious situation is undercut. One reason why she is taken seriously is that the progress is not generally recognized as melodramatic because the characteristic sense of surprise and dramatic timing is absent from a narrative form which is presented simultaneously. A Rake's Progress offers compensations: its box-like settings with their non-theatrical wealth of detail; the tableaux reminiscent of masques and pantomimes; its abrupt changes in the status and costume of recurrent characters; its use of contrasting plots; its sensational subject matter; its calculated exploitation of dei ex machina; its presentation of theatrical clichés -- songs, thunder and lightning, barking dogs, swords, smoke, treasure trove, and lunatics. Even its literary allusions are extracted from the more sensational incidents of melodrama or the more improbable and sinister happenings of the epic tradition.

Hogarth shares the problem with the playwright of depicting an adequate representation of the inward life. Tudor dramatists resolved the problem by means of the soliloquy and the aside, but Hogarth did so by a method

closer to the novelist. Warren observes of prose fiction that 'setting is environment; and environment, especially domestic interiors, may be viewed as metonymic or metaphoric views of character'.⁷ This view forms the basis of Paulson's claim that the general satiric metaphor is common to pictorial and literary narrative. Hogarth was in a position to make his settings more complex and influential upon the plot than those of a play because he composed for the spectator with time to explore their intricacies and, as a result, his narratives tend towards the contemplative and the poetic as well as the melodramatic.

It is reasonable to argue, as Warren does, that a playwright is absent from a play, that 'he has disappeared behind it'.⁸ In a third person narrative 'the author is present at the side of his work like the lecturer whose exposition accompanies the lantern slides or the documentary film'.⁹ It is true that Hogarth generally disappears behind his progress in a physical sense (although, like Alfred Hitchcock, he included something of himself in his scenes such as the dog in The Marriage which is thought to be a portrait of one of his pugs), but, because he could make use of setting to reflect states of mind, he insinuated his ironic self into his 'lantern slides' in the manner of a prose narrator. Unobtrusively he reveals himself, for example, through his choice of pictures-within-pictures, elaborate, often punning, verbal references, and through the choice of proper names which have their ironic meanings. Paulson argues that a painter's presence is conveyed through his choice of colour and that because of its absence in the prints, Hogarth is 'effaced'.¹⁰ It is arguable, however, that he never disappears, but reappears in the guise of a story-teller. He is particularly present in his treatment of Sarah Young, as is shown in Part IIb.

Hilde Kurz and Kunzle show that the captions to the picture tales of rakes and harlots effectively convey the narrative line. The captions to

an anonymous eighteenth-century Italian or Austrian version of The Parable of the Prodigal Son in six pictures shows the contrast; it can be seen that Hoadly was sensible to avoid referring directly to the Rake.

- 1 Filius Prodigus petit a Patre portionem substantie sue.
- 2 Filius Prodigus abit in regionem longinquam.
- 3 Filius Prodigus dissipat substantium suum vivendo lussuriose.
- 4 Filius Prodigus consumatis omnibus expellitur a meretricibus.
- 5 Filius Prodigus qui pascit Porcos.
- 6 Filius Prodigus revertitur ad Patrem suum. ll

Hoadly's verses are not essential and were considered sufficiently independent for Dodsley to have printed them in a Miscellany.¹² One commentator claims that they are 'pompous, pretentious, and ill-suited to Hogarth's style'.¹³ Indeed, their presence confuses the meanings of The Heir and The Madhouse by referring to the dead father in the present tense. Their positive contribution may be summarized: they assign motives and reactions and, by so doing, strengthen and vary the causal relationships in the progress. The verses reflect the cyclic and non-temporal nature of the structure by repeating phrases and returning to the topic of the father in the eighth caption. They demonstrate the important themes of the work: affectation, vanity and pride; the relationship between physical appearance and inner truth; the degree of man's responsibility for the corruption of woman; the variations and similarities in attitude between obsessive youth and obsessive age. The captions set the contents of one picture in contrast to another, emphasizing the melodramatic character of the progress in verbal terms. Hoadly develops his own patterns of imagery (generally classical) and his preference for themes of siege, battle, rout, and betrayal harmonize with Hogarth's interest in sensationalism. The linear movement of the verses from left to right confirms the visual movement of the pictures. By means of the balance of his couplets, the use of antithesis, the

exaggerated moral, and the grandiose tone, Hoadly indicates that his lines were inspired by an unmistakably funny work rather than a moral one with which they harmonize in tone.

Hogarth chose transitory themes which were best expressed as if they happened quickly: the immediate preliminaries and consequences of seduction; the quarters of a day; the constituent stages in an election. The quicker that the lives of rakes and harlots seem to pass, the more exemplary are their stories. A Harlot's Progress, for example, the study of the adult life of a girl, extends over an unrealistic minimum of five days. Hogarth's stratagem is analogous to Shakespeare's: the events of Othello appear to extend over three nights and the intervening two days -- from the discovery of Othello's marriage in Venice to his suicide in Cyprus. The reality would have taken weeks or months; the sense of speed increases tragic intensity and enables the playwright to range over time and space in defiance of the Unities. In A Rake's Progress the son acquires his fortune one day and seems to have buried his father, sold the parental home, and established himself in another by the next. On the night of his levee the Rake carouses late and is arrested at 1.40 p.m. on the next day. He seems to have wooed and won his bride overnight and spent her fortune in an evening. He is imprisoned on the fifth day and dies on the sixth. The swift passage of an adult life intensifies the sharpness of the decline, but ridicules it, too, in the manner of Solomon Grundy. The comic effect is heightened because the passage of the seasons is accelerated to suit the purposes of the mock-heroic -- The Levee is a spring scene, yet the interior of The Marriage is decorated with winter berries.

Hogarth's approach to the events of his narrative is also tactically the same as that of Shakespeare. The events of Othello could have been disclosed chronologically through the courtship and the wedding. Shakespeare

preferred to begin with sinister attitudes to the wedding night; Iago's innuendos, Roderigo's envy, and Brabantio's sense of outrage. Hogarth could have approached his subject through the son's life at Oxford and his romance. Instead, like Shakespeare, he preferred to report these potentially idyllic events and to approach the career of the son through the sad themes of the personality of his father, the nature of his inheritance, and the form of his regrets. Shakespeare chose to represent the personal life of Othello and Desdemona in public terms until Othello comes to strangle his wife. Hogarth also preferred to withhold situations; nowhere does Hogarth choose to show the Rake in the act of making a decision: he handles consequences in The Heir; he is indecisive in The Levee in contrast to the crucial moment in the Judgement picture above; his second proposal is not even referred to; the last three scenes explore fatal consequences from a point just after his irrecoverable loss.

In contrast Sarah is allowed to decide in The Arrest and, while the Rake apathetically acts out his career in the last scenes, the last picture shows that she has made a further critical decision between the seventh and eighth pictures. The minor figure appears more positive than the major one. (The degree to which the Rake is not at the centre of his own narrative is discussed below.)

Hogarth gave his progress a formal symmetry which is difficult to display in any other form than a short poem, the whole of which may be apprehended visually at once. A Rake's Progress divides between the fourth and fifth pictures and the halves balance visually and thematically. The study of avarice on the far left is opposed to the study of madness on the far right. The figure of the youthful Rake being measured for new clothes to the right of The Heir contrasts with his semi-naked state to the left of The Madhouse where he no longer needs new clothes; a measuring tailor is constant to both. A weeping Sarah on the far right of the first picture

recurs on the extreme left of the last picture. So balanced are the wings that the physical extent of the Rake's downfall is measured by the difference between the Rake and Sarah who stand at first and lie and kneel at the end. The similarity in attitude draws attention to variation in minor detail as in the case of the addition of a necklace to Sarah's costume in the last scene.

Paulson sees studies of Carnival as being followed by Lent in Hogarth's art. The movement within the halves of the progress is from indulgence to abstinence: the first three pictures show the Rake as spending; the fourth picture shows his arrest for debt. The fifth and sixth pictures show him at his wedding and celebrating it at the gaming table, but imprisonment and madness follow. The ironic difference between the halves is that the Lenten implications of The Arrest in the first half and the wintry celebrations of The Marriage and The Gaming House in the second are apparent rather than actual. A movement away from aggressive femininity is present in each half; from The Heir to The Levee, from The Marriage to The Gaming House. Each retreat is to an exclusively male refuge. In The Arrest and The Madhouse Sarah intrudes into predominantly masculine situations.

Each half presents a crisis in the third picture. Orgies and The Gaming House are set about tables, fire burns above, and the Rake loses his reason in each; metaphorically in the first, literally in the second. The second and seventh pictures, The Levee and The Prison, contrast; the one is a study of the prosperous life, the other of impoverishment. The halves pivot about the interval between the fourth and the fifth picture; apparent constraint in The Arrest contrasts with apparent release from debt in The Marriage. The words of the document, 'Lease and Release', in The Heir establish the rhythm of the whole work. The impression of balance is superimposed upon the sequential movement of the narrative from left

to right as with the lines of a poem. The visual symmetry of George Herbert's Easter Wings or The Altar offer extreme, but exact analogies (some poésie concrète comes to mind).

Hogarth developed his progress from The Parable of the Prodigal Son in the same way that Shakespeare exploited one of his historical or literary sources. The figures of the father and the elder son are combined and Hogarth's father in his miserliness assumes the grudging personality of the elder son. Whereas the father in St Luke's fable is a continuing source of forgiveness, Hogarth's father is withdrawn from the beginning and so the Rake has no refuge to which he can return. The father's authority, rather than his lot as a younger son, sets the Rake off on his adventures. The Rake receives all his father's wealth as an inheritance and thus Hogarth's premises are harsher and his world more unstable and dangerous for his character.

Hogarth makes use of the sudden change of milieu present in the parable. St Luke transfers his protagonist to an alien land in three terse phrases in one verse: 'gathered all together', 'took his journey', and 'wasted his substance'.¹⁴ The Prodigal Son is only revealed to have 'devoured his living with harlots' after the resolution of the story, but Hogarth rearranges the information into chronological order, as in the Latin version quoted above, leaves the mechanics of the change of setting undisclosed, and parades a complex array of temptations to which the Rake succumbs: opera, fencing, dancing, sport, a taste for fine clothes, gambling, drinking, whoring, seduction, the appreciation of bad arts. St Luke's far country is a vaguely pastoral environment (stylized conical trees form a background to all the pictures of the Latin version, whether interiors or not); the Rake's own society is the alien land -- perilous, urban, and falsely sophisticated. St Luke's story is concerned only with the moral; Hogarth's with the moral, the social, the psychological, and

the dramatic, of which the moral is the least.

The idea of famine, which forces the Prodigal Son into humiliation and repentance, is presented in two scenes by Hogarth -- the embarrassment of The Arrest and the indifference of the other gamblers in The Gaming House. Undefined, external forces cause the famine and the Prodigal Son is wholly responsible for his own repentance. Hogarth, however, devolves some responsibility for the fact and nature of the Rake's decline onto other well-established characters so that the Rake is not responsible for his own fate in an absolute sense. The fineness of the balance between external and internal influences at work on the central character is one which Aristotle would agree was tragic. The narratives run parallel over the course of the first half of the progress and until the point of crisis in the parable (presented comparatively late in the anonymous version, the fifth picture out of six, instead of the sixth out of eight). They then diverge, the parable to become a story of redemption and the progress a story of damnation. The parable does not advance in that the son leaves home, suffers, and returns home unchanged. The progress shows a marked change: a fortune is dissipated, a family dynasty is destroyed, and the universe disintegrates. St Luke's story is circular in its narrative content; Hogarth's is circular in its treatment as well. The difference is that between a simple, picaresque fable and a sophisticated, controlled narrative.

Although the Rake is a generalized figure, a Prodigal, perhaps an anti-Christ and a thwarted romantic artist, it is claimed that a subtle balance exists in his character, between the general and the moral, the particular and the psychological. He is irresponsible and unscrupulous as a new master. His previous promises are regretted, but only in terms of his personal inconvenience; he shows some concern for Sarah, but really equates sympathy with money. Perhaps as a reaction against his

father's austerity, he is represented as a sensualist with reservations because, although Hogarth shows him to be the father of a daughter, the Rake prefers to contemplate sexuality in others and marries a woman well past child-bearing. In his attempts to attain what he sees as a social ideal he reveals himself as vain, wilful, tactless, and open to ridicule and theft. He shows himself incapable of controlling the forces which his Faustean curiosity has set in motion so that they return to destroy him as obsessions. He suffers from the inevitable disease of rakes, but Hogarth complicates the situation by drawing attention to the father's paralysis and perhaps epilepsy. A combination of an unstable personality, a way of life which debilitates, and perhaps an inherently frail physique drives him to a contemplative rather than a raving madness.

Both Sarah and he are nostalgic reactionaries living out of their time: they admire the deeds of legendary heroes and gods whose activities, however commonplace in the world of epic and myth, are shabby, morally wrong, and self-destructive in a commercial and fashionable society. Both may be looked on as being forced to take refuge in Bedlam, a haven for foolish and impoverished dreamers. Hogarth's psychology may be that of a Jonson rather than a Shakespeare, but the distinction between a true rake and his imitation is a delicate one. A Rake's Progress is a study of a complex 'Humour' presented in a dynamically developing plot. Aristotle says:

[Character] should be lifelike. . . it should be consistent, even if the person who is the original of the imitation is inconsistent, and inconsistency is the basis of his character, it is none the less necessary to make him consistently inconsistent. [Characters should] say or do things as it is necessary or probable that they would be doing what they are; and that for this to follow that is either necessary or probable. 15

The Rake confirms this even to the paradox of being consistent in his inconsistency.

Hogarth's attitude to his character is revealed in the way he

manipulates the graphic artist's equivalent of an author's narrative point of view. The Rake is more often not the outstanding figure of his narrative. Although he is the largest figure in The Heir, interest is divided between the after-image of the father's presence and his son's activities. In The Levee he is one among many men and thus difficult to identify. In Orgies he is prominently placed and the fact signifies his responsibility for the activity to the right of him and that his present loss of reason is important to the narrative. In The Arrest the Rake is dramatically and progressively diminished as a visual object on whom others advance. His position to the right suggests that he does not control the situation to the left. In The Marriage the Rake's secondary position in relation to the bride confirms his Machiavellian and, therefore, inconspicuous role. Only in The Gaming House is the Rake at the centre of the stage; Hogarth concentrates on him as he destroys him. The Rake is diminished and apathetic in The Prison -- the situation to the left is not of his immediate making -- and he is only reinstated to prominence at the end, but even in The Madhouse interest is divided between the Rake's passive figure and those of the posturing madmen to the right.

There are limits -- the Rake is never diminished to the size of Sarah in The Marriage and no recurrent figure is permitted to compete with his more than twice, but his subordination underlines the fact that A Rake's Progress is the study of an ineffectual character whose drunkenness, despair, and melancholic madness alone are made central to the plot. If the progress were a succession of similar portraits, then this diminution would be the artistic weakness which Gilpin and others have argued, but because the Rake is part of a story, then the variations show an omniscient narrator manipulating his protagonist for the sake of effect (as the dwarf of Southwark Fair makes his puppets dance, but with

greater skill.

It has been argued that Hogarth intended a symbolic association between areas of his individual pictures and time. It appears from the analysis that Hogarth's approach was less systematic and deliberate than was first thought. The first three pictures and the last enclose the progress within the pattern, but The Gaming House demonstrates the degree of divergence. The initial and final stages of the gambling process are, admittedly, placed to the left and right of the Rake, but the whole process is placed behind him as a reflection of the present moment and so the movement of the picture is vertical and circular rather than horizontal and from left to right. In the fourth and seventh pictures the commentator has had to resort to the literary theory of alternating viewpoints to sustain the hypothesis.

It appears that Hogarth was aware of the implications of reversal and of the pundits' demand for unity of action within a single picture, but it is impossible to conclude that he formally arranged for the relics of past action to appear to the left and anticipatory elements to the right. Given an artist who knew that his paintings were modellos, the reverse of which he also knew were to be read in sequence from left to right, it is probable that he did no more than build his structures so that the left of a given moment was more concerned with the past simply because of the conventional direction of reading.

In a prose narrative events automatically assume meaning as past elements once they have been read, so that ironic devices like the flash-back or Heller's déjà vu, which resembles Hogarth's use of anticipatory and after-images, may be used. There is no need to argue that the preceding pages symbolize the past as the eye moves on. What makes the possibility of symbolism seem relevant to Hogarth, apart from neo-classical theories of unity in art, is that all the pictures of a narrative series can be

contemplated more or less simultaneously and no picture exists in meaningful isolation. As a result, the web of temporal relationships perceived seems to acquire significance beyond the immediate meaning of its constituent threads. Because Hogarth allowed the pattern to be overridden by other demands, it cannot be claimed that his significant use of time is more than a tendency inherent in the basic structure of his narrative art which he exploited as opportunity arose in a way beyond that of an artist who knew nothing of the effects of reversal or who was concerned only with one or two pictures at a time.

The clusters of iterative emblems provide the progress with a depth and a poetic quality comparable to a play by Shakespeare or a novel by Dickens. The religious imagery provides the narrative with an 'allegorical burden' greater than Harvey's tentative proposal.¹⁶ The suspected presence of masonic emblems may offer the work a further layer of hermetic meaning. The complex work of a complex narrative artist raises many questions which cannot be treated within the limits of a thesis. The problem of whether Hogarth included masonic signs in his pictures before Night (167/155, 1738) and, if so, to what extent and with what significance is such a question. The subject of the Rake and Hogarth's political views is another; they are more apparent in the progress than has been thought. The degree to which the obvious morality of the progress is underpinned by the morality in Jonson's comedies and, ultimately, inherited from Chaucer or Alexander Barclay's version of The Ship of Fools has also to be investigated (the 'ships' worthy of investigation are listed¹⁷). The three problems remain to be examined adequately elsewhere.

William Hogarth's progresses offer a unique multiplicity to the concept of narrative. The apprehension of consciousness was, for Virginia Woolf, 'a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end'.¹⁸ She considered that the true

representation of life in literature was not 'a series of gig-lamps symmetrically arranged'. The verbal narrative reduces, or refines the expression of the 'halo' to one strand of meaning -- as it did for Mrs Woolf. The structure of A Rake's Progress resembles a symmetrically arranged 'series of gig-lamps', but each lamp presents a multifarious moment which over a series offers a graduated impression of the totality of experience. A lecteur may contemplate the individual relationship between complex ideas existing simultaneously in a way which cannot be done in a film or a play for more than a moment without the arrest of movement which destroys the form.

Perhaps the best description of the attribute remains that of Innes and Gustav Herdan's introduction to Lichtenberg's Commentaries; ¹⁹ in outwardly praising Lichtenberg, they really refer to Hogarth's art: 'a dramatic, three dimensional action extending both backwards and forwards in time' and 'a living web spun out of multiple cross references'. Only operatic and choral music present this sustained, multiple effect in words and, like a film or a play, the performance cannot be suspended in order that a hearer may contemplate the nuances of sound. The shared characteristic with harmonic music (choral or symphonic) may explain why Altick's concept is so appropriate in its application to Hogarth's art. Themes coincide not only in a solitary detail at a given moment, the equivalent of the effect of the ambiguous word ('earth' in Richard II or 'rank' in Hamlet), but in several visual details existing congruently as a chord. In one picture the Rake is beset by frenzy, fire burns above him, a crucifix glows in a lantern, fire is imprisoned behind a grille. Words can only order the experience into a much more imperative and simple sequence. The multiplicity natural to a single complex picture, when deliberately conjoined with others, enabled Hogarth to reduce a narrative to eight or six steps without losing the complexity which even a lengthy

cartoon strip fails to achieve (Cruikshank's The Bottle and its sequel come to mind). The thesis shows that Hogarth's artistic practice denies the concept of the single line as the sole principle of narrative.

The elaborate process necessary to the publication of one of Hogarth's major progresses is set out in Appendix One. The multitude of newspaper announcements, which Paulson has shown to be a mine of information about the biography of Hogarth, reveals the existence of a special relationship between the artist and his customers which anticipated Dicken's confidential tone in Household Words. Hogarth's manoeuvrings, oblique references, and secretiveness are signs of a desire to woo a mass audience. Most of the subtler verbal jokes and some vital information were either withheld from the painted advertisements or made illegible from any distance so that the paintings did not give away many secrets. The paintings are provocative to the point of sacrilege, but the implications are toned down in the engravings which were consequently made more obviously moral (especially after the addition of the verses). Hogarth intended to appeal to the sophisticated who would have been amused by his irreverent wit, and to the 'bigots' who would approve of the moral.²⁰ Most of the alterations to A Rake's Progress may be ascribed to Hogarth's desire to please and intrigue as wide a readership as possible, although they tend to make the satire more biting for the perceptive to appreciate.

The special relationship was almost certainly not one way. Like Dickens, who was to alter the ending of Great Expectations at Bulwer Lytton's suggestion, Hogarth sought out and was influenced by his friends. The traditional stories of his asking visitors if they recognized the originals of his caricatures and of his eavesdropping upon the spectators of his pictures have their serious side. It may be assumed that the criticisms provided Hogarth with the opportunity to develop his publishable work in the light of what he learnt of popular reaction. It

is thought that the omission of William Tothall's name from The Heir and Handel's initial from The Levee, for example, was prompted by advice to be tactful.

Finally the thesis demonstrates that the views of the Chicago school, as quoted in the epigraphs, are too cautious. Hogarth's narratives are neither more nor less time-based than literary narratives. The 'dynamic, sequential' characteristic is less specific than in prose²¹, but the multiplicity makes the progresses as complex as the 'more philosophical novel'. It is claimed that there are ways in which A Rake's Progress is analogous to literature in addition to allusion and the general metaphor. Hogarth is present as an ironic story-teller in his own work in a way less obvious than the narrator of Tom Jones and his detachment precedes Jane Austen's subtle presence in her novels. He varies the degree to which his ever-present protagonist dominates his narrative in the same way that a literary or dramatic writer manipulates his character. Hogarth's method of approach to the events of his narrative, including his decisions about what to disclose or exclude, is analogous to a dramatist or novelist's approach to his plot. The way biographical incidents are made to succeed is comparable to the swift movements of a drama like Othello. The visual symmetry of the progress is similar to poetry in which the visual shape of a poem counters the left to right movement of words. Hogarth's development of his source is similar to Shakespeare's. It can be said that Hamlet conforms with and influences the revenge tradition in exactly the same way that A Harlot's Progress and A Rake's Progress relate to the verbal and visual tradition. Not only does Hogarth offer the general metaphor, but his use of recurrent details is analogous to the way in which metaphor works in the plays of Shakespeare, Marlowe, or Webster. The ambiguous nature of

the detail combines to present allegorical structures comparable to the most elaborate literary fables.

Charles Lamb, one of Hogarth's most enthusiastic admirers, compared the effect of The Madhouse to the effect of the madness in King Lear. It is the opinion of the present writer, who admittedly shares Lamb's enthusiasm, that, provided it is remembered that Lear is a tragedy and A Rake's Progress is a tragi-comedy, his analogy is not inappropriate.

Conclusion: References

1. Austin Warren, 'The Nature and Modes of Narrative Fiction' in Perspectives on Fiction, edited by Calderwood and Toliver (Oxford, 1968), p. 76. (Hereafter referred to as Warren.) I am grateful to Peter R. Miles for suggesting an appropriate title for this section.
2. Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative (Oxford, 1966), p. 207.
3. Mario Praz, Mnemosyne: the Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts, A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, Bollingen Series XXXV (Princeton, 1967), p. 58.
4. Warren, p. 76.
5. Warren, p. 76.
6. Art and Visual Perception, p. 23.
7. Warren, p. 76.
8. Warren, p. 83.
9. Warren, p. 83.
10. H I, p. 416.
11. In my possession. See also note 3 to p. 231 of Appendix One in which the captions to an early picture strip are listed.
12. H I, p. 443; the collection of 1758.
13. Marjorie Bowen, William Hogarth, The Cockney Mirror (London, 1936), p. 153.
14. St Luke xv. 13 and 30.
15. The Poetics, pp. 36-7.
16. Quoted in Ia. Introduction, p. 5.
17. Alexander Barclay, The Ship of Fools, edited by T.H. Jamieson (Edinburgh, 1924). In referring to the Illustrations Jamieson notes that 'the composition in the better ones is genuinely Hogarth-like' (p. xvii). The relevant 'ships' are:

Of ye vain cure of Astronomy
 Of carde players, and dysers
 Of the falshode of Antichrist
 Of negligent Fathers against their Children
 Of covetyse and prodigalyte
 Of the mutabylyte of fortune
 Of bodely lust or corporall voluptuosyte
 Of yonge folys that take olde wymen to theyr wyves not for love
 but for ryches.

18. Virginia Woolf, from 'The Modern Novel' in The Common Reader (quoted in The English Novel by Walter Allen (Penguin, 1958), p. 344).
19. Surprisingly quoted on the dust jacket.
20. 'Autobiographical Notes' in Analysis of Beauty, p. 209: 'for which I have suffered a kind of persecution nevertheless from the bigots'.
21. Scholes and Kellogg, p. 207.

Appendix One: Historical, Biographical, and Technical Background to the
Publication of 'A Rake's Progress'

Mr Hogarth being now engraving nine Copper Plates from Pictures of his own Painting, one of which represents the Humours of a Fair; the other eight, the Progress of a Rake; and to prevent the Publick being imposed upon by base Copies, before he can reap the reasonable Advantages of his own Performance, proposes to publish the Prints by Subscription on the following terms; each Subscription to be one Guinea and a half; half a Guinea to be paid at the time of subscribing. . . and the other Payment of one Guinea on delivery of all the Prints when finished, which will be with all convenient Speed, and the time publickly advertised.

Daily Advertiser, 9 October 1733

This appendix is an account of Hogarth's modus operandi and a setting out of the implications necessary to an understanding of the progress. He sold his progresses through a system of subscription in order to avoid the tyranny of the print and booksellers. The idea was not new among writers, but Hogarth's achievement was to assume the position of publisher to his own works and to be the first English artist to subsist for a lifetime independent of patronage.¹

His life-long ambition was to be a painter of serious subjects in his so-called 'modern' version of the sublime manner of history painting and his popular pictures were a means to the end of his continuing to paint as he wished. As a result the paintings of his early progresses, with the partial exception of the canvases of Marriage à la Mode, were made subordinate to the production of the prints on which his prosperity and freedom depended. Indirect confirmation of this attitude is found in the fact that the canvases of these progresses are much smaller than the single moral subjects, like Southwark Fair, and the conventional history paintings

which Hogarth was to compose later.²

Hilde Kurz describes the first surviving picture story of a rake, a broadsheet in sixteen pictures published by Callisto Ferrante (1611), Il Miserabile Fine de Quelli che seguono le Meretrici. It shows the career of a youth from his first sight of a courtesan to his burial.³ This broadsheet is probably the first surviving precedent for A Rake's Progress and it supplies, or implies, many of the narrative steps in both early progresses. Incidentally, Hilde Kurz notes that while early harlot picture tales tended to be sad, rake tales were 'tinged with comedy' and her point offers an explanation why A Rake's Progress is more consistently comic than A Harlot's Progress. Hilde Kurz concludes her article:

The identical combination of subjects as in Hogarth's earliest two moral lives is perhaps the strongest of several arguments in favour of his having known these engravings. Venice was not so very far from London in his Hogarth's time and his friend Arthur Pond, who copied Ghezzi, may well have had them among his stock of Italian prints.⁴

In surveying the rake-harlot tradition nearer Hogarth's own time Kunzle observes that 'at the beginning of the eighteenth-century the public imagination becomes fired more and more by the common criminal and his historically verifiable exploits'.⁵ He cites Wilde, Cartouche, Shepherd, and might have mentioned the general storehouse of Defoe's journalism and Gay's famous Newgate pastoral as evidence that crime and punishment themes were popular. (Paulson notes that Hogarth 'no doubt' read Mrs Davy's The Accomplish'd Rake (1727).⁶)

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Hogarth's first telling of a story over more than one picture is centred around the erotic subject of intercourse, central to the rake-harlot relationship. Kunzle writes of Before and After, (painted 1730-1 and engraved in 1736 (152-3/141-2)):

Hogarth did much more than merely develop the potential of the seduction scene as he conceived it here. The idea of a long Harlot's Progress must have come to him while he was working on Before and After, and he discovered that it was possible to make the narrative revolve round -- not a seduction per se, the

central moment of which was presupposed and could not be represented, but dramatic turning points, such as the Harlot's intrigue and her lover's flight behind the back of the Jew. 7

But Before and After represent as much of an immediate point of development for A Rake's Progress as they do for A Harlot's Progress. It is impossible to say whether the male or the female is the predominant figure of the painted versions.⁸ Hogarth's claim to originality, like Shakespeare's, lay less in his choice of subject matter and more in its treatment. By placing Sarah Young in the second progress as a particularized variation of the harlot prototype, hitherto only generalized in the traditional rake tale, Hogarth united the twin traditions into one story and guaranteed himself a broad-based readership (which Paulson compares to that of The Spectator in its heyday⁹).

It is reasonable to suppose that Hogarth came to compose A Rake's Progress encouraged to exploit the other half of his idea by the success of his first progress. That this was an obvious move is indicated by the fact that in less than a month after the publication of A Harlot's Progress an anonymous writer anticipated Hogarth by advertizing a verse-narrative for sale as The Progress of a Rake, or the Templar's Exit.¹⁰ The plagiarist made the 'logical transition from a harlot to a rake which Hogarth followed a year later', states Paulson, but it is argued that the artist had the idea in mind even before the anonymous writer.¹¹

Specific evidence of the preparation for A Rake's Progress is preserved in the study in oils, The Marriage Contract, which Paulson dates as 1733 in the biography, but which is brought forward a year in the Tate Catalogue.¹² It presents the same setting as The Levee except that the figures in the alcove wait with wedding clothes rather than the finery of just a bachelor about town. The pictures-within-a-picture are different, the scene hung behind the rake-figure shows a machine-

like structure from which a shower of blasphemous wafers descends as if to fall on the bridegroom's head, recalling the Rake's 'baptism' as anti-Christ in The Arrest. The shower of wafers is also not dissimilar to the shower of coins which falls from near the ceiling of The Heir.

A grey-haired bride, a cleric or notary, and the groom are seated around the familiar oval table, which anticipates that of Orgies or The Gaming House. The bride wears the same religious emblems as the bride in The Marriage and the fact that the latter is modelled on the former is made more certain because both display the same cluster of beauty spots over the right eye even though they face in different directions. The irony of The Marriage Contract lies in the rake-figure's lack of interest in the exchange of rings, which prepares for the Rake's eying of the bridesmaid in The Marriage. The groom's robe is bright red and, although his hair is hidden, it is reasonable to assume that Hogarth was preparing for the association of the Rakewell's with red in The Heir. A kneeling jockey presents his chalice, but his whip is tucked under his arm in the sketch, whereas he is made to hold it in his hand in The Levee. The modification draws attention to the way in which the whip was to be aligned with the bully's sword as part of a snare for the Rake. The foreground is filled with a miscellaneous lot of objets d'art, including the parody of Carreggio's Rape of Ganymede which was eventually to hang in Scene IV of Marriage à la Mode. The idea remains in The Levee as a grammatical echo in the title of the musician's opera, 'The Rape of the Sabines', and its comment upon the central situation was transposed to the more obviously brutal disposition of the little dogs in The Marriage.

The sketch offers a standard against which the finish of the paintings of A Rake's Progress may be judged (the latter are more carefully worked). The repetition shows that Hogarth did not waste his fund of imaginative ideas. Various anecdotes from a situation which he chose to abandon

reappear not only in the next progress, but in a series painted over a decade later. Such characteristic economy is relevant when justifying the significance of the recurrence of details like necklaces, watches, and lanterns because he was likely to use them judiciously and with care.

The first precise date in the history of A Rake's Progress itself was 9 October 1733 when Hogarth announced that he had begun to engrave his own work (the epigraph). Having rejected a career as an engraver in silver for that of a painter, Hogarth had only unwillingly undertaken the task of producing his own plates for A Harlot's Progress. His decision made the publishing process for both early progresses unusually long because he had to do most of the work himself and because a 'reproductive effect, a fully-covered plate that tonally resembled a painting, was called for'.¹³ Hindsight reveals that 'with all convenient Speed' was to be a forlorn cliché for most of Hogarth's career and in the case of A Rake's Progress over a year was to elapse until he could even state 'all the pictures being now entirely finished, they may be seen at his house, the Golden-Head in Leicester-Fields, where subscriptions are taken' (2 November 1734).¹⁴ He gave the excuse that he had been adding characters, but the biggest difficulty lay in the fact that 'in the Harlot's Progress he had set the pattern by attracting the most naive audience with his topicality and his simple moral tale, the art audience with his pretensions to history painting, and the witty literary audience with the interplay of the two and the general allusive readability of the series' and he was hoping to repeat this wide-ranging achievement.¹⁵

One difference between the paintings and the prints lies in the apparently unfinished character of the former when compared to the finished character of the engravings and to the general finish of Hogarth's portraits or serious history paintings. Waterhouse points to the patchiness of the paintings, seeing them as 'exquisite' at times and 'perfunctory' at others.

'Since the engraving was the lucrative element. . . the paintings could be skimmed'.¹⁶ It is evident from examining the paintings without their glass as they were hung at the Tate Exhibition that the visual masses of the composition are present and clearly defined, even if particular detail is not filled in. The first four paintings are relatively bright, whereas the last three are gloomy scenes in which detail is submerged in a way which cannot be reproduced on copper. The shadowiness of The Gaming House, for example, is effective atmospherically even though the lecteur has to peer to identify details known from the prints. A comparison between The Marriage Contract, undeniably a sketch, and The Gaming House shows the relative care with which the latter was prepared. The Tate Exhibition of 1971-2 revealed beyond doubt that 'painterliness' -- an impressionistic freedom -- is a sustained quality in Hogarth's art. This attribute is unexpected in the paintings of A Rake's Progress if the narrative is only known in the engraved and overworked form.

Waterhouse's criticism points to the important purpose of the paintings as modellos; there was no need for Hogarth to add to the paintings once he felt that he had expressed his idea sufficiently for the requirements of the subsequent printing process. The shapes of the card-maker's advertisement and the dog's collar in The Gaming House, for example, were blocked in as much as guides and memory aids for the graphic artist as they were as details to be read by prospective customers. By withholding detail Hogarth was able to foil the pirates and make his subscribers feel that they were receiving something special beyond what was on public view. Close examination of the paintings shows that very few verbal references in existence can be read from a distance of a foot or more.¹⁷ Visitors and pirates alike were in no real position to be more than aware that words were present if Hogarth separated viewers from his pictures by a light

cord placed at a distance of a yard (as the twentieth-century viewer was separated from them in the Tate Exhibition). Thus the paintings may be compared to the carefully prepared draft of an MS which was then used as a visual equivalent of a publisher's preview of a forthcoming work. It is to be supposed that Hogarth's disappointment at not being able to sell the paintings in the 1740s was due partly to the dissatisfaction of a then successful man who was inclined to forget their original purpose.

The language of colours is less valuable than it would appear, partly because the brighter colours have faded and partly because a hard-pressed Hogarth had no particular need to undertake the painstaking task of matching shades throughout the eight paintings when they were not intended as the end-product. Paulson observes that Hogarth did not worry greatly about colour as a 'reinforcer of his theme', perhaps for this reason.¹⁸ He believes that Hogarth's use of rich colours has a softening effect upon his sombre narratives because, unlike Goya, Hogarth had not learnt that paint could be ugly:

One is simply bewitched by the soft, lovely colors and texture -- and distracted from the relentless message. Take the brothel scene: surely something of Hogarth's point is lost as the eye glides from the soft pale greenish coat of the Rake to the rose-salmon dress, golden stole, and white gloves and bonnet of the whore next to him. The comment is made by the color and texture relative to the moral purpose is on the false gentility of these characters, contrasted with their gross actions. 19

The value of the colouring lies in the fact that the paintings may show which elements Hogarth, perhaps unconsciously, softened. The harlots in Orgies and the two, ugly clerics of The Marriage are treated far more

lovingly than would appear from the engravings and indicate a greater sympathy than would at first appear. Even more surprisingly, the bride of The Marriage is an elaborate and careful figure who is not treated with the colourful ridicule which is apparent in the Rake's clothes of The Arrest.

Both the prints of The Laughing Audience and Southwark Fair were in the possession of subscribers by January 1734. The latter is the first of Hogarth's panoramic crowd scenes composed in a style not to be included in a progress until the last two pictures of Industry and Idleness (1747). The picture was supplied with A Rake's Progress, perhaps to compensate subscribers for the delays, to offer them better value for money, and to recoup something of the cost of a very large canvas.²⁰

The 'Humours of a Fair' is a study in the apparent substance and real transitoriness of popular amusements and the downfall to be predicted for those who suffer from delusions. The study is typified by a company of players which performs 'The Fall of Bajazet' before an indifferent crowd as, ironically, its stage collapses beneath the actors. None of the anecdotes reveals the actual consequences of downfall (they are reserved for the progress), but they offer moments of precariously held poise, exemplified by the slack rope walker, or figures suspended in the act of physical, moral, or social downfall; the actor dressed as a Roman centurion about to be arrested is typical.

The picture depicts several incidents which resemble situations in the progress: the arrest of another elaborately dressed "actor"; two young girls being flattered in a city context; an anguished gambler and his boy; a citizen who loses his wallet to a thief. One figure may have special significance: the dwarf in the discreet bottom left corner blows his bagpipes as his foot pulls the hidden strings which make the puppet man (with red stockings) and woman (with a red gown) dance to his music.

The situation parallels the idea of a narrator making a Tom Rakewell and a Sarah Young perform to his omniscient command. Additionally, the dwarf's strutting dog is dressed in the costume of a gallant, overloaded with the same accoutrements as the Rake in The Arrest and so it takes little imagination to see the animal as a caricature of Hogarth's human "dog" who is also made to dress as a gallant. The dwarf's features bear a general resemblance to Hogarth's self-portraits, particularly as he shows himself in *Gulielmus Hogarth* (193/181).

Both The Laughing Audience and Southwark Fair represent people as enjoying themselves while confined in geometrically ordered, authoritarian settings similar to those of A Rake's Progress. Hogarth presents an unflinchingly ironic view of humanity in both companion pieces and their subject matter obliquely reflects the substance of the long-awaited progress. It may be assumed that they were intended to intrigue and therefore hold the interest of subscribers until the major work was ready.

On the tenth of May 1734 the London Journal announced that publication of the progress would follow the passing of the Engraver's Bill, protecting Hogarth's copyright.²¹ The Bill was given its assent on the fifteenth of May, the subscription was closed on the twenty-third, and the progress was issued on the day that the Act became law (25 June 1735). It did not completely protect Hogarth because a pirated version was already advertised on the third of June. The Daily Advertiser reads 'now printing, and in a few Days will be published, the Progress of a Rake, exemplified in the adventures of Ramble Gripe, Esq.; Son and Heir of Sir Positive Gripe'. In an attempt to minimize the effect of the plagiarism, Hogarth announced the publication of a cheaper set of prints issued in August and distributed through the agency of the printseller, T. Bakewell. An explanatory broadsheet accompanied these prints, probably authorized by Hogarth, and it

confirms, for example, that Sarah and her mother recur in The Marriage.²² To outwit the pirate Hogarth changed the name of his hero from Gripe to Rakewell (perhaps as a pun on Bakewell) and so was forced to re-edit his engravings even before he had published them.

The need points to an unexpected characteristic of Hogarth's graphic art. Engraving is generally regarded as a fixed medium, but one attribute of Paulson's Catalogue is that it reveals the extent of the variation found in a lightly cut series like A Rake's Progress. Nichols explains:

Not foreseeing, however, the immense demands for his prints, many of them were so lightly executed as very early to stand in need of retouching. The seventh in particular was so much more slightly executed than the rest that it soon wanted renovation and is, therefore, to be found in three different states.²³

Even when he was forced to work under pressure, Hogarth remained sensitive in his response to contemporary life. Nichols again explained:

In the first and last scenes of the Rake's Progress, Hogarth began to adorn the heads of his females in the fashion prevalent at the time he retraced the Plates. In short, the Collector, who contents himself with the later impressions of his work, will not consult our artist's reputation. Those who wish to be acquainted with the whole extent of his powers, should assemble the first copies together with all the variations of his capital work.

Paulson assumes that the initial state (corresponding closely to the paintings and forming the basis for Bakewell's small prints) was issued to subscribers, but thinks that the alterations of the kind described were made to Plates 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 'sometime shortly after the first issue' in order to satisfy additional customers.²⁴ The need indicates that Hogarth was by no means supremely confident of success when he came to launch his second project. He continued to add to the series out of necessity and/or interest to the point of over-elaboration until the last years of his life. Waterhouse laments the 'top-heavy piling up of wisecracks' which makes the earlier scenes 'tiring to read', and Gowing feels that the subjects were 'loaded and overwritten almost to the point of self-cancellation'.²⁵ Nevertheless, the later states offer the student of narrative,

if not the art critic, a privileged insight into Hogarth's literary imagination and changing attitudes to his own work in much the same way as Wordsworth's attitudes can be traced through the revisions of The Prelude.

Not only is A Rake's Progress the complement to A Harlot's Progress in terms of its origins, but the former represents a precedent in the financial sense. The success of the first progress, which Hogarth promised subscribers not to re-issue, enabled him to emerge as independent. It was logical that he would attempt to repeat his success with the same formula and it is thought that he began to prepare for his sequel immediately after the issue of A Harlot's Progress. Thus Hogarth's ambition is the best guarantee that the artistic features of the first progress are repeated with greater elaboration in the second and the success of A Harlot's Progress is the best justification for attempting to examine A Rake's Progress in the light of Paulson's discussions of the former.

Appendix One: References

1. H I, p. 280 ff. This section is based on the relevant parts of HGW I
H II.
 2. The paintings of A Rake's Progress are 24½" x 29½", but Southwark Fair
is 47½" x 59½" and the sublime history pictures are large, too;
Paul before Felix 120" x 168" and Sigismunda 39" x 49½".
 3. Hilde Kurz, 'Italian Models of Hogarth's Picture Stories', Journal of
the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Volume 15 (1952) pp. 136-68.
(Hereafter referred to as 'Italian Models'.) She translates the
captions as follows:
 - a. A youth sees the courtesan.
 - b. He feasts at her house.
 - c. He steals money to give to her.
 - d. He is caught and imprisoned.
 - e. On his release he sells his heritage.
 - f. He fights outside the harlot's house.
 - g. He is condemned to the gallows.
 - h. He becomes a robber.
 - i. He returns to the courtesan with his spoils.
 - j. He is sick with syphilis and carried to the healing waters
of the Guyana wood.
 - k. He becomes a beggar.
 - l. He warms himself at a fire in the open.
 - m. He sleeps under the butchers' benches.
 - n. He subsists on hospital broth.
 - o. He dies.
 - p. He is buried.
- Kunzle refers to a harlot story in the Douce Collection, Vita et Fine
Miserabile Delle Meretrici (c. 1590-1605), which predates
Ferrante's rake story.
4. 'Italian Models', p. 168.
 5. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 343 ff.
 6. H I, p. 325.
 7. 'The History of the Picture Story', p. 371. In Before and After 'Hogarth
for the first time has chosen a story which needs to be told over
more than a single scene' (also p. 371).
 8. If it is at all possible to isolate a significant moment in the

evolution of an artist's attitude, then the changes made between the outdoor version of Before and After (painted c. 1730-1) and the indoor (c. 1731) is one. The first versions are a satire upon pastoral love -- the gallant shepherd seduces his shepherdess in a woodland setting. The second places them in the privacy of a domestic, probably urban interior. H.B. Wheatley draws attention to James Hannay's suggestion that 'town literature and town art' date from Hogarth's era (H.B. Wheatley, Hogarth's London (London, 1909), p. viii). If what Hannay says is true, then the change of milieu between the versions of Before and After is a historical divide. A sketch exists of 'an old Harlot', probably the starting point for A Harlot's Progress (c. 1730, Plate 93, H I, p. 238).

9. H I, p. 288.

10. Daily Advertiser, 5 May 1731.

11. Paulson in referring to the Daily Advertiser, 5 May 1731 (H I, p. 289).

12. H I, Plate 119 and the Tate Catalogue 63. A second sketch exists in the Atkins Museum, Kansas; a reworked version of Orgies from a different viewpoint (Ross E. Taggart, 'A Tavern Scene: An Evening at the Rose', Art Quarterly, XIX (1956), pp. 321-3). Paulson questions its authority, seeing it as a copy, but Taggart's valuable point is that Hogarth was much more of a reviser than his reputation suggests.

13. H I, p. 283.

14. HGW I, p. 158.

15. H I, p. 288.

16. Painting in Britain, p. 130.

17. The judgement is valid from a standpoint two hundred years later because most references are in dark paint on a light ground and so are those least likely to fade.

18. H I, p. 333.
19. H I, p. 412.
20. A Harlot's Progress sold @ a guinea for six prints (3/6 each).
 Excluding Southwark Fair, A Rake's Progress sold @ a guinea-and-a half (4/6 each).
21. H II, p. 489 ff. (Appendix E provides the text of the Act).
22. London Daily Post, 26 July 1735 and R.E. Moore, Hogarth's Literary Relationships (Oxford, 1948), p. 50. It would seem that Moore first stated the connection between the name and the initials 'P.G.' on the miser's box in The Heir, confirming that Gripe was Hogarth's first name for the Rake. The pirate noticed the escutcheons, but not their motif, the vice that grip-e-s.
23. Nichols and Steevens, p. 122 for the source of both quotations.
24. HGW I, p. 160.
25. Painting in Britain, p. 132 and The Tate Catalogue, p. 33.

Appendix Two: Mercedes Gaffron's Catalogue of the Effects of the Glance Curve as Applied to Hogarth's 'The Laughing Audience', (136/130), (Illustration opposite page 21).

The effects are divided into the visible and the emotional: the visible result from the fact that the spectator's perception tends to follow the glance-curve within a picture space which affects the appearance of and relation between represented objects. The emotional effects result from the apparent location of the spectator as an extension of the left foreground which affects the spectator's appreciation of and relation to the represented objects. Bremond suggests that two codes of communication exist in the cartoon strip: figures communicate meaning to each other and the lecteur may read its significance, but the 'dessinateur' may also communicate to his lecteur through the arrangement of his figures in a way of which they are not aware. The effects of the glance-curve represent an extension of Bremond's second code, or even a separate third code, the existence of which is perhaps confined to elaborately prepared serial pictures, physically separated one from another.

a. The Visible Effects of the Glance-curve.

- (i). The impression of picture space, especially of depth, is determined by the space represented on the left of the picture.
- (ii). The glance-curve creates a difference in the angle at which our glance seems to meet objects in different positions within the picture space.
- (iii). Objects to the left appear more three-dimensional (plastic); objects to the right appear more two-dimensional (pictorial).
- (iv). The dynamic character of the glance-curve seems to accentuate or slow down a movement according to whether it follows or opposes the

line of the curve.

- (v). Distance or angles may appear larger or smaller according to their positions in the glance-curve.
- (vi). Colour or brightness may lose apparent intensity if their sources are shifted (by reversal, for example), from the lower left to the lower right of a picture, from within the glance-curve to without.

b. The Emotional Effects

- (i). Objects on the left assume greater importance. A figure placed here with his back to the spectator arouses 'a decided feeling of identification. . . because his position comes nearest to the one we assume as spectator' (Art Quarterly XIII, p. 321). A figure which looks out of the picture from the left foreground challenges the spectator and may consume so much interest that it throws the picture off-balance.
- (ii). Movement has the character of an approach if directed from the right to the left and withdrawal from left to right.
- (iii). The right side appears further away and so the contents seem less important, 'this effect can be counterbalanced by making the contents phenomenally conspicuous. For this they have to be placed inside the path of our glance and turned in such a way that our glance seems to meet them frontally' (Art Quarterly XIII, p. 321).
- (iv). The lower right foreground and top left background are bad places in a picture because they are outside the glance-curve and so are far from the spectator's apparent standpoint.

Mercedes Gaffron's effects are applied to The Laughing Audience in the following analysis as a development of the discussion of the picture in IIa. pp. 21-26. The spectator (from his assumed vantage point to the left

of centre) has an unimpeded view to the horizon line, the backwall of the auditorium. The left middle ground is empty of figures and so the absence of recession lines heightens the foreshortened appearance of the whole picture. The horizontal rail of the gallery divides the scene into a superior, smaller rectangle and an inferior larger one (the heavy spiked rail adds to the rectangular quality in the lower foreground). The rightwards movement of the glance coincides approximately with the line of the gallery rail, emphasizing its importance as a visual and social division. All significant movement is confined to the upper third of the picture, creating a top-heavy effect.

The picture balances around the figure of the lower orange-seller whose arms reach across the horizontal from the lower rectangle to the upper, busier one. Her implied movement from lower right towards upper left also associates adjacent right-angled triangles, an upper one to the left and a lower one to the right; the division between them is formed by the left-right diagonal line of the heads of the audience in the pit. Only an anonymous servant of the theatre passes across the barriers.

The interaction of the diagonal with the horizontal rail forms an arrow which points towards the gallant and the woman on the gallery to the right. Her back is placed against the margin so that she looks back into the picture towards the gallant, encouraging the glance to follow. She appears defenceless because her position allows her no room to retreat from his approach. Her left hand parallels his in an apparently permissive, or acquiescent, gesture which undercuts the general impression of her surprise. (The delusory arabesque of hands prepares for those of Orgies, The Arrest, or The Marriage.) The dynamic effects accentuate the immobility of the gallant on the left because he appears to move against the (metaphorical) current of the glance. The figure of the orange-seller on the left is inclined with the current so that she moves towards him

and the combined effect is one of a mutual knowingness in which the orange-seller seems to take an initiative. The movement of the gallant towards the woman on the right follows the curve in such a way that it accentuates the swoop-like character of his movement, the direction of which is emphasized because his heavily-shadowed eye contemplates the woman's bosom rather than the performance. The spectator looks more into the gallant's face on the left, as does the orange-seller, and so the impression is given that he is the more important of the two, but the greater apparent height of the orange-seller, her half-smile, and implied invitation to buy strikes the balance between them. The general situation conveys an underlying willingness on the part of the women to accept, or even encourage, the obvious advance of the gallants, rather than contemplate the performance.

The laughing members of the pit gaze almost abstractly from a general viewpoint to the right of centre towards the spectator's left; most of them placed as a mass outside the important parts of the glance-curve. Hogarth's skilful differentiation of them individually is counterbalanced by the uniformity of their attitude. Their faces, therefore, are readily open to the spectator's inspection as he surveys the picture from left to right and their laughter, concerted gaze, and immobility represent a solid body of opinion which approves of his involvement in the situation. Strictly, the alignment of their faces suggests that they respond to part of the imaginary performance taking place just to the spectator-performer's left. Their concentration provides him with an opportunity as an actor, or prompter, slyly to peep at them while their attention is directed slightly away from him.

In accordance with Mercedes Gaffron's thinking the figures in the bottom right corner are the least important, the most pictorial. It is illuminating to compare the value of the clergyman's head (identified by

his stock) with the musicians on the left. The heads of the latter are 'plastic' in comparison because their heads are lightly engraved, as if, cleverly, to suggest the reflected glow of the footlights and because of their disposition, even though the clergyman's head is presented in more detail.

The critic's refusal to look with the others in the pit is challenging and repeated in a less hostile way by the lower orange-seller placed immediately behind him. The direction of her gaze is mirrored by that of the woman on the gallery who also prefers to respond to the presence of a gallant rather than the performance. The alignment of their figures gives movement and direction to the upper triangle (to the left) and so distinguishes it as an area of interest from the static triangle to the lower right. The glance passes around the upper triangle, but is encouraged to linger upon the individuals in the pit, if it lingers at all. The lower triangle consists of elements which show interest in the performance, the upper one of elements which ignore or disapprove. The total effect is almost schizophrenic in its attitudes to Hogarth or his subscribers and it is impossible to decide which area and attitude is the more important.

The analysis shows that Mercedes Gaffron's effects provide a means of discriminating between the relative importance of the constituent elements of a representational picture; they provide a rationale for the interpretation of movement and its implied strength or weakness; they provide a means of investigating the psychological tensions within a picture.

A Select Bibliography

The following list represents those works which are referred to in the text of the thesis or which influenced its preparation. (It may be taken that works referred to without a place of publication were published in London.)

- Addison Joseph, and Richard Steele, The Spectator Papers, edited by G. Gregory Smith (Everyman, 1909)
- Allen, Walter, The English Novel (Penguin, 1958)
- Altick, Richard D., 'Symphonic Imagery in Richard II', PMLAA, LXII (1947)
- Amis, Kingsley, 'Rude Awakening', Daily Telegraph Colour Supplement, 320, 4 December 1970
- Anderson, Donald M., Elements of Design (New York, 1961)
- Andrews, Alexander, The History of British Journalism (1859)
- Antal, F., Hogarth and his Place in European Art (1962)
- Aristotle on the Art of Fiction: "The Poetics", translated and edited by L.J. Potts (Cambridge, 1968)
- Arnheim, Rudolf, Art and Visual Perception (1969)
- Bakewell, Thomas, An Explanation of the Eight Prints of The Rake's Progress . . . Copied from the Originals of Mr William Hogarth according to Act of Parliament (1735)
- Barclay, Alexander, The Ship of Fools, prefaced by T.H. Jamieson (Edinburgh, 1924)
- Beckett, R.B., Hogarth, English Master Painters (1945)
- Bell, C.F., 'Three Sketches by Hogarth', Burlington Magazine, 41 (1922)
- Booth, Wayne, The Rhetoric of Fiction (Chicago, 1961)
- Bourke, the Hon., Algernon, The History of White's (1892)
- Bremond, Claude, 'Pour un gestuaire des bandes dessinées', Languages, 10 (Paris, 1968)
- Chancellor, E. Beresford, The Annals of Covent Garden and its Neighbourhood (no date)
- Coates, Nicolette, Hogarth, The Masters Series (1967)
- Cook, Thomas, the engraver of Anecdotes of the Celebrated William Hogarth (1813)
- Crane, R.S., 'The Concept of Plot and the Plot of Tom Jones' in Critics and

- Criticism Ancient and Modern, edited by Crane (Chicago, 1952)
- Davys, Mary, The Accomplish'd Rake; or, Modern Fine Gentleman in Four Before Richardson, Selected English Novels 1720-1727, edited by William H. McBurney (Nebraska, 1963)
- Dewar, James, The Unlocked Secret (1966)
- Dobson, Austin, William Hogarth (1891)
- Eliot, T. S., Four Quartets (1959)
- Ferguson, George, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (1966)
- Friedenthal, Richard, Letters of the Great Artists (1963)
- Frye, Northrop, The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957) and 'Communications', Listener (9 July 1970)
- Gaffron, Mercedes, 'Right and Left in Pictures', Art Quarterly XIII, (1950)
- George, Dorothy M., English Political Caricature to 1792 (Oxford, 1959)
- Getlein, Frank and Dorothy, The Bite of the Print (London, 1964)
- Gombrich, E. H., Art and Illusion (New York, 1960) and Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (1972)
- Gowing, Lawrence, Hogarth, the Catalogue to the Tate Exhibition (1971)
- Grigson, Geoffrey, 'Hogarth as Literature', Listener (23 December 1971)
- Harvey, John, Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators (1970)
- Hazlitt, William, The English Comic Writers and Miscellaneous Essays, edited by Ernest Rhys (Everyman, 1910)
- Heath, James, The Works of William Hogarth, from the Original Plates, restored by James Heath (no date)
- Hill, Douglas, Magic and Superstition (1968)
- Hogarth, William, Analysis of Beauty (1753), edited by Joseph Burke (Oxford, 1955)
- Hogarth, William, Anecdotes of Hogarth Written by Himself, edited by J.B. Nichols (1833), facsimile reprint 1970.
- Homer, The Iliad, edited by E.V. Rieu (Penguin, 1949)
- Jones, E.E. and J.S. Bruner, 'Expectancy in Apparent Visual Movement', British Journal of Psychology 45 (1954)
- Kent, George, 'Hogarth a Painter's Progress', Reader's Digest, December 1971.
- Kermode, Frank, The Sense of an Ending (New York, 1967)
- Klingender, F.D., Hogarth and English Caricature (Transatlantic Arts, 1944)

- Kunzle, David M., 'The History of the Picture Story or Narrative Strip from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries' (Ph. D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute, 1964)
- Kurz, Hilde, 'Italian Models of Hogarth's Picture Stories', Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 15 (1952)
- Lamb, Charles, Poems, Plays and Essays (1865)
- Lang, P.H., George Frederic Handel (1967)
- Lee, Nathaniel, The Works, edited by Thomas Stroup and Arthur Cook (Scarecrow, 1954)
- Legouis, Emile and Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (1961)
- Lichtenberg, G.F., Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings, edited by Innes and Gustav Herdan (1966)
- Lillywhite, Bryant, London Coffee Houses (1963)
- Marlowe, Christopher, Doctor Faustus New Mermaid (1965)
- Marston, John, The Dutch Courtezan, edited by M.L. Wine (1965)
- Moore, R.E., Hogarth's Literary Relationships (Oxford, 1948)
- Nichols, J. and G. Steevens, Genuine Works of William Hogarth I and II (1810)
- Oppé, A.P., The Drawings of William Hogarth (1948) and 'The Raphael Cartoons', Warburg and Courtauld Institutes VII (1944)
- Paulson, Ronald, Hogarth's Graphic Works I and II (Yale, 1965), Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times I and II (Yale, 1971) and 'The Harlot's Progress and the Tradition of History Painting', Eighteenth-Century Studies I (Yale, 1967)
- Plutarch, The Life of Julius Caesar V, edited by George Wyndham (1896)
- Pope, Alexander, The Poems, edited by John Butt (1963)
- Praz, Mario, Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts (Princeton, 1967) and The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction, translated by A. Davidson (1956)
- Prior, Matthew, Poetical Works II Aldine Poets (no date)
- Quennell, Peter, Hogarth (1955)
- Read, Stanley E., A Bibliography of Hogarth Books and Studies 1900-1940 (Chicago, 1941)
- Reed, Robert Rentoul Jr., Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage (Cambridge, 1952)
- Reiter, Hildegard, William Hogarth und die Literatur Seiner Zeit (Breslau und Oppen, 1930)

- Scholes, Robert and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative (Oxford, 1966)
- Shakespeare, William, The Merchant of Venice (Cambridge, 1968)
- Sitwell, Sacheverell, Narrative Pictures, Survey of English Genre and its Painters, (1937)
- Spenser, Edmund, The Poetical Works, edited by J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1921)
- Swift, Jonathan, Amelia (Everyman, 1962) and Journal to Stella (Oxford, 1948)
- Taggart, Ross E., 'A Tavern Scene: An Evening at the Rose', Art Quarterly XIX (1956)
- Trusler, John, The Complete Works of William Hogarth, introduced by James Hannay (no date)
- Waetzoldt, Wilhelm, Dürer and his Times (1955)
- Warren, Austin, 'The Nature and Modes of Narrative Fiction' in Perspectives in Fiction (Oxford, 1968)
- Waterhouse, Ellis, Painting in Britain 1530-1790 (Penguin, 1953)
- Webster, John, The Duchess of Malfi, edited by John Russell Brown (1960)
- Wesinger and Coley, Hogarth on High Life: The Marriage à la Mode Series from Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's Commentaries (Weslyan University Press, 1970)
- Wheatley, H.B., Hogarth's London (1909)
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, Principles of Art History (Dover, 1950), translated by M.D. Hottinger.
- Würtenberger, Franzsepp, Mannerism, translated by Michael Heron (1962)
- Young, Elizabeth and Wayland, Old London Churches (1956)