

1 **A Satire not a Sermon, *The Enraged Musician* and the Cibbers**

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4 *This paper is one in a series explaining previously unrecorded Satire in William*
5 *Hogarth's prints. Hogarth is noted for his eighteenth-century prints featuring*
6 *perceptive depictions of British life. Important is *The Enraged Musician*, generally*
7 *accepted as a gentle and humorous Sermon protesting about street noise. This paper*
8 *analyses *The Enraged Musician* in the context of British political and literary history,*
9 *and instead of a Sermon, reveals it as powerful Hogarth Satire, one which depicts the*
10 *demise of the "old theatre" of Colley Cibber, as a result of the "new theatre" of*
11 *Thomas Arne. The public interest associated with major theatrical changes of 1738-*
12 *40, and the new music of Arne, appealed to the comic sense of Hogarth. Thus he*
13 *composed *The Enraged Musician* as a cryptic Satire, mocking George Handel, the*
14 *Cibber family, and Tobias Smollett. *The Enraged Musician* is a watershed satiric*
15 *print, the first occasion wherein Hogarth depicted many of his contemporaries;*
16 *identifiable by dress, actions, and physical characteristics. Realisation of the image as*
17 *a Satire, allows explanation of Hogarth's many cryptic puns, and presents *The**
18 **Enraged Musician* as an unrecognised, Hogarth masterpiece.*

20 **Introduction**

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22
23 For 250 years the common view of *The Enraged Musician*, as a William
24 Hogarth *Sermon* about street noise has been unchallenged. But detailed,
25 methodical, and logical analysis shows the image as misread. Hogarth
26 concealed, within a simple *Sermon* for the uneducated audience, a cryptic
27 *Satire* for the educated theatregoer; one mocking Colley Cibber and his family
28 (Figure 1). Prior to 1740, Hogarth's prints rarely contained likenesses of
29 contemporaries, tending to depict generic characters. However, this changed in
30 late 1740 when Hogarth composed *The Enraged Musician*. He used
31 characteristics of action, dress, and physical detail to depict ten of his
32 contemporaries, including the Cibber family, Tobias Smollett, and Hogarth
33 himself.

Figure 1. Hogarth - *The Enraged Musician* – the Issued Print

The print by Hogarth was first advertised on 24 November 1740 in the *London Daily Post*, which announced the impending publication of *The Provok'd Musician*; "a Companion to a Print, representing a Distress'd Poet, published sometime since." For reasons discussed below, publication was delayed for a year, then announced in the *Daily Gazetteer* of 27 November 1741, with the advertisement revised on 2 December, by the addition of "This Day is publish'd", with the resultant third state print dated 30 November 1741. Ronald Paulson conveys a conventional view of the Hogarth *Semon* depicted in *The Enraged Musician* ;

A musician is seen enclosed by a window – in a dark interior, cut off by a heavy window sash and an iron fence – and venting his rage on a motley crowd of London's plebeian noisemakers in the street out side. ... To make art, Hogarth suggests (as he did in *Boys Peeping at Nature*), the artist must hear and take into consideration the hawkers and vendors, the noisy children and screaming ballad singers out side his window. ... In *The Enraged Musician* the beautiful young woman is the milkmaid. Balancing a milk pail on her head, she delicately lifts her skirt to avoid the boy's urine stream. ... [In the trial-proof state] the wandering eye of the handsome boy-grenadier made him a third party in a potential triangle (with the girl gazing at the boy urinating). ... Hogarth then, in the published state, turned the boy's head away,

1 removed the grenadier's cap, and gave him a plain face.¹

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3 But, methodical, logical, and detailed analysis reveals *The Enraged*
4 *Musician* as a far deeper commentary on contemporary events. This paper
5 briefly explains who Hogarth depicts in the Satire, then discusses why they are
6 depicted, followed by analysis of the stages of development of the print.
7



Figure 2. *Hogarth, the painter, with Trump*

¹R. Paulson, *Hogarth: High Art and Low, 1732-1750* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1992), 114-16.

Figure 3. *Hogarth, the satirist, with Trump*

A key attribute of satire is that it uses humour, irony, exaggeration, ridicule or sarcasm to expose and criticise people's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of contemporary politics and topical issues. The clearest evidence *The Enraged Musician* is a Satire, is Hogarth's self-portrait at lower right, "sharpening his satire", as watched by his pug, Trump (Figures 2 and 3). Henry Fielding recorded his respect for Hogarth in *The Champion* on 10 June 1740: "I esteem the ingenious Mr Hogarth as one of the most useful Satyrists any Age hath produced."² Analysed in the context of conventional wisdom Fielding's praise is odd. Hogarth was a talented artist, with conventional wisdom treating his prints as moral messages, more as biblical parables, or Sunday Sermon from a pulpit. If they be a moral parable or Sermon, why would Fielding rank Hogarth as, "one of the most useful Satyrists any Age hath produced"? - implicitly on a pedestal with Pope, Defoe, and Swift? Fielding saw clear evidence of satire, which has been overlooked. Hogarth concealing within a simple Sermon for the uneducated, a cryptic Satire for the educated.

- 1 In 1751 Christopher Smart's *Mary Midnight* highlighted the difficulty
- 2 faced by readers then and now: "One Man prints a Sermon, which may as well
- 3 be called a Satire ... Our Poetry is all Prose, and our Prose is false English".³
- 4 Reading *The Enraged Musician* as a *Satire*, reveals the music of Thomas Arne
- 5 flooding the streets, with the crowd as a flash-flood or tsunami, sweeping all
- 6 before, to overwhelm the previously popular music of George Frideric Handel

²H. Fielding, *The Champion*, (London, J. Huggonson, 1741), 318.

³C. Smart, *The Midwife, or, The Old Woman's Magazine*, vol. 2. (London: Carnan, 1751), 116.

1 (Figure 4), and the theatrical productions of the Cibbers. The wave is about to
 2 engulf the unwitting drummer, Colley Cibber, and the children at left,
 3 Susannah Cibber and Theophilus Cibber. To explain, this paper discusses the
 4 history of contemporary events, especially affecting the Cibbers.

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Figure 4. *George Friedric Handel*



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Figure 5. *Colley as Foppington*



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The Cibbers were often subject of public ridicule with Colley, on the stage noted for Lord Foppington in an enormous wig (Figure 5). The foreground depicts him as a drummer, with a displaced wig (Figure 7). In the eighteenth-century, the losing of one's wig, was punned as the losing of one's literary ability or wit. Hence, in Hogarth's *The Distress'd Poet*, the title puns the poet is "distressed", losing his tresses (his wig), and his wit; to find inspiration impossible, as indicated by a sign referring to an illusion, "A View of the Gold Mines of Peru" (Figure 6). Hogarth signifies Colley has lost his literary wit; his back is to the crowd, and unaffected by their clamour; hence his stage productions have lost their previous golden touch.

Figure 6. *The Distressed Poet*



Figure 7. *Colley Cibber*



Analysis of the cryptic *Satire*, depicts how the music of Thomas Arne, brother of Susannah Cibber, changed British music. Between 1733 and 1776 Arne wrote music for about 90 stage works, including plays, masques, pantomimes, and operas. His *The Masque of Alfred* drew crowds as a patriotic

1 pastoral, especially with its, *Rule Britannia*. The musician at the window
 2 symbolises the Italian opera of composer George Frideric Handel (Figure 4).
 3 His classical music and Italian opera reigned supreme, until 1740, when there
 4 was a rapid change in audience tastes, to the simpler English music of Arne.
 5 The musician is the leader of Handel's orchestra, Pietro Castrucci (Figure 8).
 6 The violin being symbolic of Italian operatic music (Figure 9). The Handel era
 7 is over, with the violin put to one side; about to be overwhelmed by theatrical
 8 change is the previously invincible Cibber family, of child-like stature, and
 9 oblivious to the change in musical tastes. As a result of the competition from
 10 Arne, Handel soon retired from operatic productions.

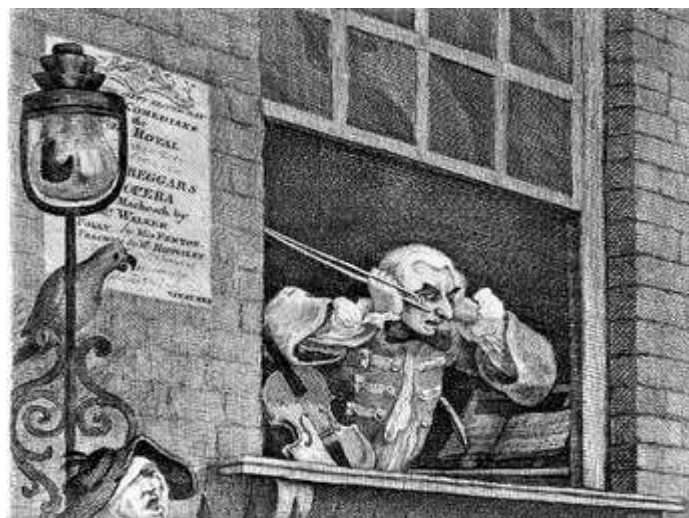
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Figure 8. Pietro Castrucci



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Figure 9. Castrucci as a violinist



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The music of Arne emerges as a Pied Piper leading the throng (Figured 10 and 11). For the 1740-41 season, as depicted in *The Enraged Musician*, theatre

1 promoter Charles Fleetwood revived three Shakespeare comedies at Drury
 2 Lane: *As You Like It*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Twelfth Night*, with Arne
 3 commissioned to set songs to new music. The three plays are depicted in *The*
 4 *Enraged Musician* as vignettes (Figure 11). The instrument is played by a man
 5 with a prominent nose, as the Jew Shylock, and a pun on “noisy” versus
 6 “nosey”. The innocent and lovely dairymaid is Rosalind from *As You Like It*;
 7 the knife-grinder, whilst also being Hogarth, is a clue to Shylock in *The*
 8 *Merchant of Venice*, sharpening knives to take “a pound of flesh”; and a knife
 9 lodged inside a cow-horn. The man looking ridiculous with a basket on
 10 his head, ringing a bell to draw attention to himself, and gazing at the lovely
 11 maid is Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*. A chimney-sweep at right, calls out to
 12 customers, alluding to a “clean sweep” of Italian opera from London.
 13

14 **Figure 10.** *Thomas Arne*



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Figure 11: *Fleetwood's Stage Productions 1740-41*



16

The rider on a horse, and blowing his own trumpet, is Tobias Smollett, just returned from navy service at the siege of Cartagena (Figure 11). The reason for his inclusion needs background, with research during the past decade revealing gaps in the standard Knapp biography of Tobias Smollett.⁴ Mention of those omissions is necessary to understand *The Enraged Musician*. A key omission is the part Smollett played in assisting Theophilus Cibber to navigate through a devastating theatrical scandal, which enthralled London.

The Cibbers and William Sloper

The Cibber family reputation was tarnished by a series of sensational court cases, arising from a scandal of 1738-40. After Susannah Arne married actor Theophilus Cibber she became more financially successful than him. Despite this Theophilus took control over her assets and earnings, and spent all her money. Theophilus had also borrowed money from William Sloper, and encouraged Susannah to be friendly to Sloper, to access more money. Sloper was the son of William Sloper senior, of West Woodhay House, Berkshire, an English office holder and politician who sat in the House of Commons between 1715 and 1743 (Figure 12).

Figure 12. *West Woodhay House, Berks*



Sloper senior died in 1743; William junior succeeded to the manor, and was buried there in 1789, being followed by his son General Sir Robert Sloper, knighted in 1788. William's friendship with Susannah led to an affair with competing claims; that Theophilus threatened Susannah with a weapon to force her to have sex with Sloper in order to extort more money, or that she fell in love with Sloper. Susannah (Figure 13) and Theophilus (Figure 14) are depicted around the time of the affair.

⁴L. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners* (Princeton: PUP, 1949).

1 **Figure 13.** *Susannah Cibber*



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Figure 14. *Theophilus Cibber*



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5 Contemporary prints indicate the lovers were observed in bed by a Mr and
6 Mrs Hayes from a closet. The reference to York in the first print, *A Late*
7 *Unfortunate Adventure at York*, was intended as a red-herring to avoid direct
8 mention of Berks, but on the wall is a sign, “The Chaste Susanna” (Figure 15).
9 The artist is unknown, but the brutish figure on the right, of Theophilus
10 brandishing a weapon, is drawn with so much character and force, one is
11 tempted to believe Hogarth himself drew it. Theophilus is threatening Sloper,
12 to extort him into giving more money to Susannah. The picture of a black
13 horse, with a title of Eclipse, shows the dark behaviour of Theophilus is about
14 to eclipse the previous public acclamation he received as an actor.

1
2 **Figure 15.** *A Late Unfortunate Adventure at York*



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4 Published prints by Hogarth were a small proportion of satiric prints
5 available, but he resented the marketplace competition. Those were normally
6 unsigned, but Hogarth sufficiently close to publishers and booksellers to
7 determine the identity of author and/or designer of competing prints. He
8 became anxious when there was a rapid increase in the number of competing
9 prints in the decade commencing c.1738. Smollett is believed to have supplied
10 concepts and verses for satirical prints to compete in the market place with
11 Hogarth. Although not infallible, a defining characteristic for Smollett's
12 involvement in publishing satiric prints, is believed, in most cases, to be the
13 inclusion of aabbcdd form, satiric verses.⁵

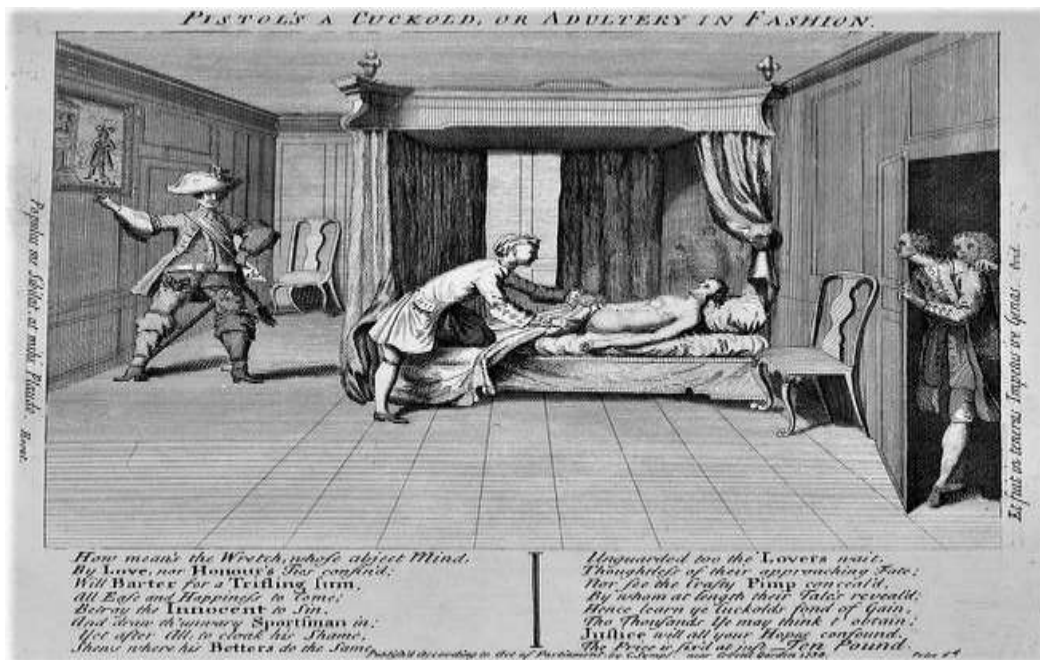
14 An early print was, *Pistol's a Cuckold, or Adultery in Fashion*. This is
15 friendly to Theophilus, in omitting the weapon, and in depicting him in comic
16 terms (Figure 16). Theophilus is dressed as Pistol, a character often attributed
17 to him. The print is by an amateur hand, and includes several verses. It was
18 published in 1738 by C. Sympson, and there is suspicion Smollett wrote the
19 verses, and designed, if not drew the image: to aid an image of Theophilus as a
20 victim to be sympathised, and portray Sloper and Susannah as guilty parties.

21 The scandal led to two court cases taken by Theophilus against Sloper, for
22 criminal conversation with his wife, Susannah. She continued to act despite the
23 scandal, that only increasing her popularity. Theophilus sought £5000 in his
24 first case on 5 December 1738, but was awarded only £10 by the jury. After the

⁵D. Shelton, Smollett and Prints by Samuel Lyne – 1741-56: Smollett and Prints by George Bickham – 1740-45: and Smollett and Samuel Boyce - 1751-62 Also Pope III - Anti-Pope prints and Tom-Tit - 1740-1745

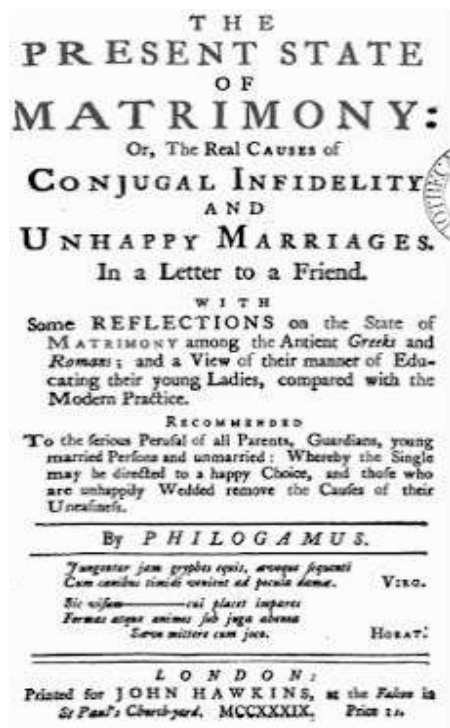
trial, unsympathetic crowds awaited Theophilus's performance in *The Relapse* on 4 January, 1739, where his appearance brought forth a hail of garbage, amid a thunder of foot stamping, hissing, and catcalls. Study of *The Enraged Musician* confirms the Cibbers as focus of Hogarth's satire, he records the boorish behaviour by Theophilus, depicting him urinating at Susannah's feet. He is identified by the pun on his nickname, "piss" and "Pistol". Hogarth depicts him as a child to reinforce the public belief his treatment of Susannah was immature, cruel, and childish, with Susannah depicted "as innocent as a child" (Figure 18).

Figure 16. *Pistol's a Cuckold, or Adultery in Fashion*



Susannah displays shock at the behaviour of Theophilus, behind her a wet-nurse holds Susannah's swaddled baby, Molly, born in February 1740, and now a year older. A play-bill at top left of the print notes Miss Fenton is playing Polly (Figure 1); this alludes to an ongoing debate, as to whether Susannah Cibber should play Polly in *The Beggar's Opera*, after Lavinia Fenton left the stage to become Duchess of Bolton. Above Susannah is music for *The Ladies Fall*, reference to the effect of the Sloper trial on her reputation (Figure 18). A "play-house" at bottom left reinforces the scene is about Drury Lane. Susannah wields a rattle as used by "supporters", implying her earnings support Theophilus. He is unwitting of a cord and child's slate tied to his belt, revealing him as both a dunce, and an object of public ridicule. The public remained protective of Susannah for her virtuous roles on the stage, and for her ability to move audiences with her voice.

1 **Figure 17.** *State of Matrimony*



2
3 **Figure 18.** *Susannah Cibber and Theophilus Cibber*



4
5

1 Smollett contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* from c.1733, being
 2 recruited by Edward Cave in 1737, as literary editor, to replace Jacob Ilive who
 3 had been fired in 1736.⁶ The position was part-time, and Smollett wrote for a
 4 variety of publications, whilst undertaking Latin translations, and working as
 5 writer for an attorney.⁷ From the start Smollett had disguised his writing, by
 6 writing anonymously, or over pseudonyms, and publishing over a range of
 7 spurious and genuine imprints.⁸ Smollett had a knowledge of shorthand, which
 8 he used when reporting on criminal trials, and in reporting on the House of
 9 Commons.⁹ Thus, as a friend of Theophilus, Smollett was well placed to assist
 10 in his defence, and gained the inside knowledge enabling him to publish a slew
 11 of pamphlets. Some specific to the Cibbers, others more moral and historical,
 12 such as, the *Sophia* pamphlets, and *The Present State of Matrimony* (Figure
 13 17).¹⁰

14 Prior to the trial Theophilus attempted to publish four apocryphal, but
 15 scathing letters addressed to Susannah and Sloper, which purported to re-
 16 present earlier actions of his, in a more positive light. The fakes were
 17 supposedly written in 1738, one on 16 April, two in August, and one in
 18 September. The fakes are believed composed by Smollett on behalf of,
 19 Theophilus. No publisher was willing to touch the letters during 1738, but
 20 Smollett saw this as a literary opportunity, and he wrote and published a series
 21 of anonymous, and scurrilous pamphlets to support Theophilus, and were
 22 unkind to Susannah. In 1739 the letters were published as *Four Original*
 23 *Letters* along with a salacious Smollett report of the trial titled *The Tryal of a*
 24 *Cause for Criminal Conversation*.¹¹ The salacious pamphlets were published
 25 after the trial, Mary Nash reporting:

26
 27 Because of the prominence of the persons involved in the Cibber-
 28 Sloper affair, and its sensational nature, Sir William Lee had instructed
 29 that no court stenographer be present, and no record of the proceedings
 30 made. Nevertheless, somebody in the crowded courtroom (probably a
 31 poor law clerk who could use a few pounds) had taken down a
 32 shorthand account of the trial and at its conclusion hurried straight to
 33 Trott, the bookseller. A few days later a little book of thirty-odd pages,
 34 called *A Tryal of a Cause*, was offered for sale. Within a week there was
 35 not a duchess nor an apprentice in London who did not know precisely
 36 what Mr Hayes had seen through his closet peepholes.¹²
 37

⁶D. Shelton, Smollett - Writing for Periodicals - 1733-40 : Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737 and Finances

⁷D. Shelton, Smollett & Pope - V - Ayre, Translations and Memoirs of ...

⁸D. Shelton, Smollett - Pseudonyms & Literary Collections: Smollett - Genuine and Spurious Imprints

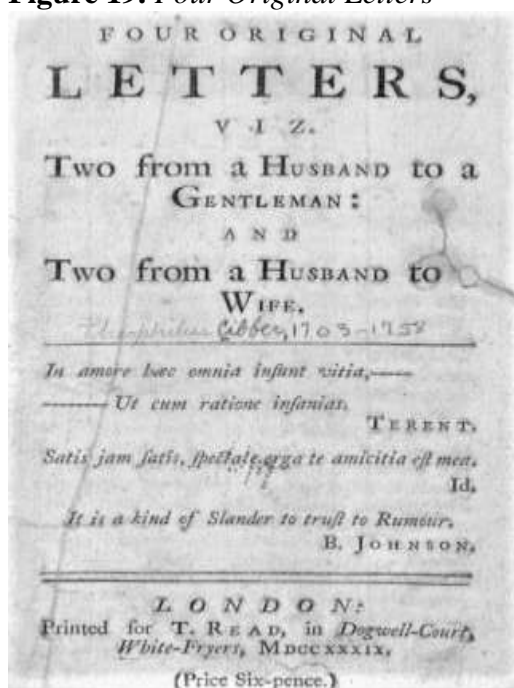
⁹D. Shelton, Smollett, Lilliput Debates, and An Historical View - 1740

¹⁰D. Shelton, Smollett, Champion I & the Sophia Pamphlets - 1734-39

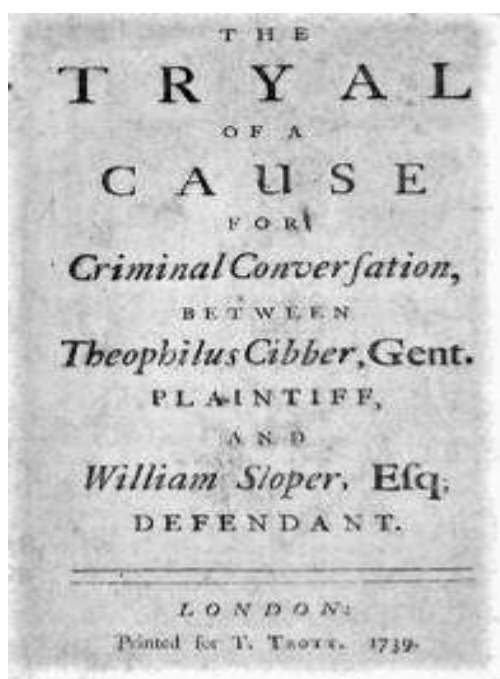
¹¹D. Shelton, Smollett, the Cibbers, and The Regicide - 1737-48

¹²M. Nash, *The Provoked Wife, The Life and Times of Susannah Cibber* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), 146.

1 **Figure 19.** *Four Original Letters*



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4 **Figure 20.** *The Tryal of a Cause*



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The degree of his co-operation with Theophilus over the letters is uncertain, but it is believed Smollett wrote the content of, and published, *Four Original Letters*, with a genuine imprint of T. Read (Figure 19). Smollett is also attributed, as that “poor law clerk”, with reporting and publishing the pamphlet, *A Tryal of a Cause*, with the spurious imprint of T. Trott (Figure 20). This is usually attributed to Theophilus, but is about him, not by him. This was a 30 page account of evidence given at the trial, the most salacious aspect being the evidence given by a Mr Hayes, who bored a hole through a closet wall to watch the lovers. The report by Smollett, as Nash's presumed poor law clerk, and disclosing his use of personal shorthand, opens as follows;

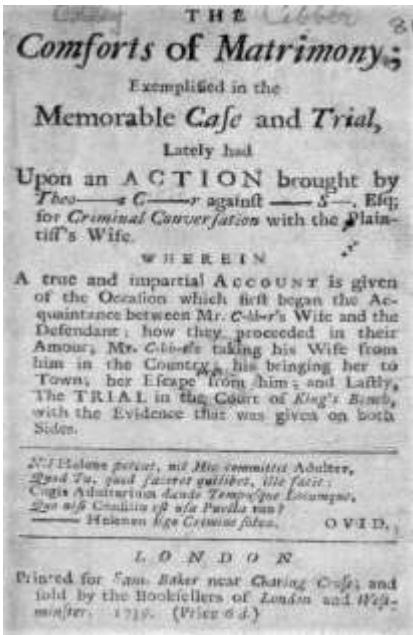
It is here proper to let the Reader understand that this Tryal is not taken in the very Words at length: as is sometimes done when a Shorthand Writer can be conveniently placed. But the Person who attended on this Occasion, was at such Disadvantage, that he was forced to take it in an abridged Way; Writing down the Substance of it as well as he could: We thought good to mention this, that we may not be understood to impose on our Readers; not to injure the great Men concerned.¹³

The two pamphlets were reprinted many times during 1739-40, together with two more pamphlets, *The Comforts of Matrimony* (Figure 21), and one reporting on an action against Sloper on 4 December 1739, *The Tryals of Two Causes* (Figure 22).¹⁴ Both by Smollett, the former with the genuine imprint of Sam Baker, and the latter again with the spurious imprint of T. Trott. The pamphlets must have been profitable; presumably Smollett shared the profits with Theophilus, although the legal costs of Theophilus would have been substantial. For the second trial Theophilus had raised his sights to £10,000, and was awarded £500.

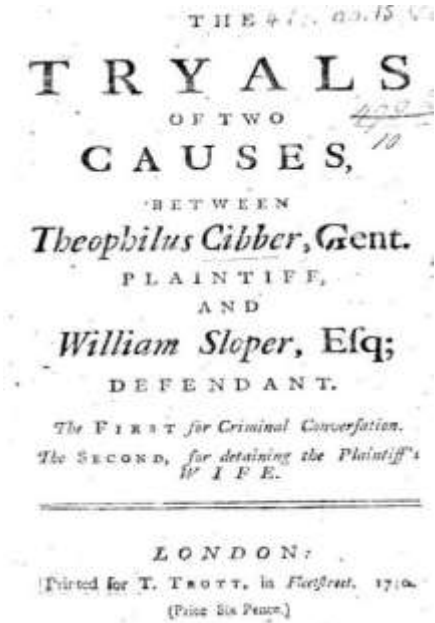
¹³T. Smollett, *The Tryal of a Cause for Criminal Conversation*, ... (London: T. Trott, 1739), 4

¹⁴T. Smollett, *The Tryals of Two Causes*, ... (London: T. Trott, 1739).

1 **Figure 21.** *Comforts of Matr'y*



2 **Figure 22.** *Tryals of Two Causes*
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In 1743, Hogarth revisited the scandal of Sloper and the Cibbers in Plate 6 of his *Marriage a-la-Mode* (Figure 23). At top centre-left, as seen in a detail image (Figure 24), Theophilus is depicted urinating; in the same pose as *The Enraged Musician* (Figure 25). That cue enables identification of the others depicted. In January 1743, William Sloper senior died, and left his whole estate, including Woodhay House, to his son, William, who became a very wealthy man, and able to live with Susannah. On the left, the two stocky individuals are Colley Cibber and Theophilus Cibber, with Colley berating Theophilus for his cruel treatment of Susannah, and wistfully observing Theophilus could have got much more money from William Sloper, if he allowed the affair to continue, and had not taken William to court for criminal conversation (Figure 23). Susannah sits on a chair, fainting with relief at news of William's wealth, and knowing she can now leave Theophilus. William stands, wishing he could slip a wedding band onto her finger. To the left of Susannah, the wet nurse depicted in *The Enraged Musician*, brings the baby, now aged three, to her mother (Figure 23).

This interpretation of the Hogarth *Satire*, in *Marriage A-la-Mode* differs from that of conventional wisdom, as the six plates comprise another satiric series, where scholars have been misled by Smollett red-herrings.

Figure 23. *Marriage a-la-Mode - Plate 6*



1 **Figure 24. Theo**2
34 **Figure 25. Theo**5
67 **The Regicide and An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber**

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9 Relevant to *The Enraged Musician* is the history of *The Regicide* and *An*
10 *Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*. The accepted history of Smollett and
11 his tragedy, *The Regicide*, is misunderstood; he arrived in London in early
12 1737, but did not bring *The Regicide* from Glasgow.¹⁵ Instead he wrote it in
13 London in 1738-39, with a sarcastic barb in his 1749 preface targeting Colley
14 Cibber, his previously unidentified patron as; “one of those little fellows who
15 are sometimes called great men” (Figure 26).¹⁶ Cibber was short in stature, and
16 Poet Laureate, an accolade few believed he merited. Smollett's vitriol dated
17 back a decade, and resulted from his offer to Colley, that he would ghost-write,
18 without charge, Cibber's auto-biography.

19 As his Sloper publishing efforts for Theophilus over the scandal had been
20 successful, Smollett approached Colley Cibber offering to ghost-write a
21 biography of his life. The *quid pro quo* sought by Smollett from Colley was
22 that, upon completion, Colley would sponsor a stage production at Drury Lane
23 of Smollett's tragedy, *The Regicide*. Always a spendthrift, Colley welcomed
24 any hint of financial success, and accepted the offer; whilst believing any need
25 to deliver on *The Regicide* was so far off, and remote, not to warrant any worry.

¹⁵D. Shelton, Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737 and Finances: Smollett, the Cibbers, and The Regicide - 1737-48

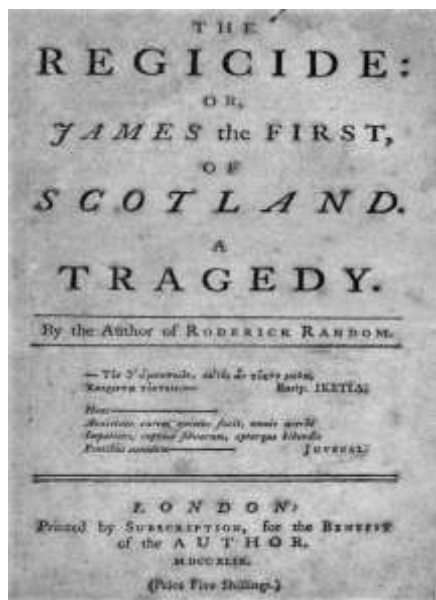
¹⁶T. Smollett, *The Regicide*, (London: Author, 1749), Preface.

In 1738-39 Smollett spent many hours interviewing Colley, listening to him declaim his life story in a series of self-important and disjointed, grandiloquent soliloquies. That fragmented approach to data collection is the reason the biography lacks a cohesive structure, and reason for the various factual errors Smollett made in the biography, and which have since been noted by scholars of theatrical history.

Many scholars, including Howard Swazey Buck, in his *A Study in Smollett* (1925)¹⁷ have misinterpreted the accounts of Melopoyne and *The Regicide* in *Roderick Random*. In the novel, those accounts are placed after Roderick's return to London from the West Indies, but draw on events in Smollett's London life in 1737-40, before embarking for Cartagena.¹⁸ Smollett signals transposition of the circumstances, dates, and locations of events, in his preface to *Roderick Random*; "Every intelligent reader will, at first sight, perceive I have not deviated from nature, in the facts, which are all true in the main, although the circumstances are altered and disguised to avoid personal satire."¹⁹

At the time the term autobiography did not exist, with the word apology instead used. In March 1740 it was published to wide acclaim as *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber* (Figure 27).²⁰ The title-page lists "Written by himself" and "For the Author", but meant, "T. Smollett, as author, himself". "Written by himself", was a device used by authors, to give an impression a work was written by the person named in the title, as with Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, where the title-page records, "Written by himself" (Figure 29).

Figure 26. *The Regicide*

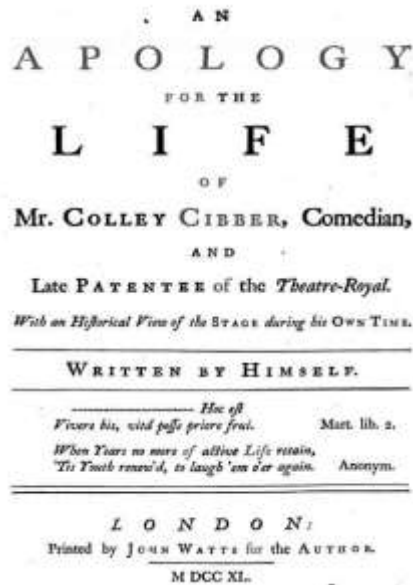


¹⁷H. Buck, *A Study in Smollett* (New Haven: Yale, 1925), p. 54-62.

¹⁸D. Shelton, Smollett, Cartagena, and Admiral Vernon - 1740-43

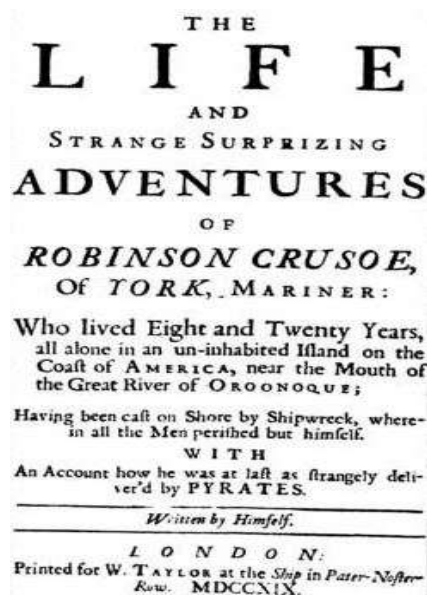
¹⁹T. Smollett, *Roderick Random*, (London: Osborn, 1748), Preface.

²⁰T. Smollett, *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber...* (London: John Watts, 1740).

1 **Figure 27.** *Colley Apology*

2
3 Although the literary acclaim was really due to Smollett's efforts, Colley
4 Cibber was never one to concede centre-stage, thus accepted both the adulation
5 and the £1500 generated from sales of *An Apology*. After writing for Colley,
6 Smollett then approached Theophilus, who was ever short of money, and
7 envious of how much his father had made from *An Apology*. Theophilus was
8 keen to make a similar sum on his own life and, in 1740, Smollett ghost-wrote
9 for Theophilus, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T... C...*, where the title-page
10 more carefully records, "Supposed to be written by himself" (Figure 28).²¹

11
12
²¹T. Smollett, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T... C...* (London: J. Mechell, 1740)

1 **Figure 28.** *Theophilus Apology*2
3 **Figure 29.** *Robinson Crusoe*

4 In knowing Colley Cibber had made £1500, in 1740 a very large sum,
 5 Smollett approached Colley and Theophilus, seeking to invoke the *quid pro*
 6 *quo* regarding *The Regicide*, but the Cibbers would not, or could not, deliver,
 7 so there was a falling out between Colley and Smollett. Smollett then turned on
 8 Colley, and published multiple attacks on Cibber including; *The Tryal of Colley*
 9 *Cibber*, *The Laureat*, *A Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr Pope*, and *The Egotist*.²²

²²D. Shelton, Smollett, the Cibbers, and *The Regicide* - 1737-48: Smollett, *Champion V* - *Tryal of Colley Cibber* - 1740: Smollett, *T... C...*, *The Laureat*, and *The Egotist* - 1740-42: Smollett

To record his ongoing pique, in *Roderick Random*, Smollett later featured Colley Cibber as a Catholic father, Mr O'Varnish, "Father" as father of Theophilus, "O" to falsely imply Cibber was a papist, and "Varnish"; as a glossy finish, to cover dull material, being Smollett's opinion of Cibber's appointment as Poet Laureate, and of his poetry.²³

Smollett made his disappointment publicly known, with the acrimonious dispute was recorded by Hogarth in *The Enraged Musician*: Colley beating a drum to broadcast how clever he had been to write, *An Apology*, (Figure 30) and make so much money. Smollett, on a horse, sign of his return from a journey, showing his return from Cartagena, declaiming he was author of *An Apology*, and so merited the adulation (Figure 31).

Figure 30. Colley – drum



Figure 31. Smollett - trumpet



Hogarth and Smollett

& Pope - II - 1741-43

²³T. Smollett, *Roderick Random*, (London: Osborn, 1748), Chapter LXII.

1
2 In 1740 Hogarth was famous well-respected, and a painter to the royal
3 family, and knew of a 1689 work by Andrew Marvell (1621-78); *Directions to*
4 *a painter, for describing our naval business, in imitation of Mr. Waller. Being*
5 *the last works of Sir John Denham*. One can imagine Hogarth's irritation, on
6 seeing an impertinent, patronising, 20 page pamphlet, *Satirical and*
7 *panegyrical instructions to Mr. William Hogarth, painter, ... By A. Marvell,*
8 *junior*, published in 1740 (Figure 32). Then realising it was written by
9 Smollett.²⁴ The verses open as;

10

| | |
|--|--|
| Hogarth to Virtue and to Truth a Friend, | Genius, the Mark of Soul, must be the same |
| Of Vice and Folly a firm Foe attend, | Or in the Poet's or the Painter's Theme; |
| Thou who can' st ridicule our modern Crimes, | Inspir'd by Truth, if Fancy plumes her Wing, |
| And Picture out the Folly of the Times; | And the glad Muse in Rapture dares to sing, |
| O! Thou, to noble Heights who bold can rise, | The glowing Verse will catch the Painter's |
| And our charm'd Souls with Dignity surprise; | Heart; |
| Thou Master of all Nature, and all Art, | In every Line alluding to his Art, |
| Conscious alike to please, and fire the Heart, | He sketches out the pictur'd Thought to View, |
| Awhile suspend thy Pencil, nor refuse | And on the living Canvas forms it true. |
| To hear the Dictates of an humble Muse: | Then, O thou Muse! thou who wer't wont to |
| Humbly she sings, but what she sings may give fire | |
| To thee a Pow'r to make her Subject live. | The British Bards, and Britain's Love inspire, |
| Painting and Poetry are near ally'd, | With Heat divine make all my Numbers flow, |
| Nor vast Partitions do their Bounds divide: | With magic Force make all Description glow; |
| | So Hogarth, list'ning to what you rehearse, |
| | May raise your Thought, and dignify your |
| | Verse. |

11

12 Despite Smollett's impertinent flattery, Hogarth did not respond directly to
13 *Satirical and panegyrical instructions*, but the pamphlet was motive for
14 Hogarth to ridicule Smollett in *The Enraged Musician*. The pamphlet combines
15 a satire on Walpole, and the anti-war party, with praise for Admiral Vernon. In
16 the past it has been attributed to Andrew Marvell (1621-78) but is out of date
17 for him, and now attributed to Smollett, who often used the term junior in
18 conjunction with a spurious author and/or publisher, e.g. W. Webb junior.²⁵
19 Both A. Marvell, junior, and the publisher H. Goreham, being spurious (Figure
20 32). Smollett was then aboard HMS Chichester, preparing for the Cartagena
21 expedition, and keen to be an equal in London literary circles (Figure 33).
22 Onboard ship, and hearing first-hand accounts of Admiral Vernon's 1739
23 exploits at Porto Bello, emboldened Smollett to vigorously puff himself; as
24 expert on the royal navy, poetry, satire, marriage, and art.

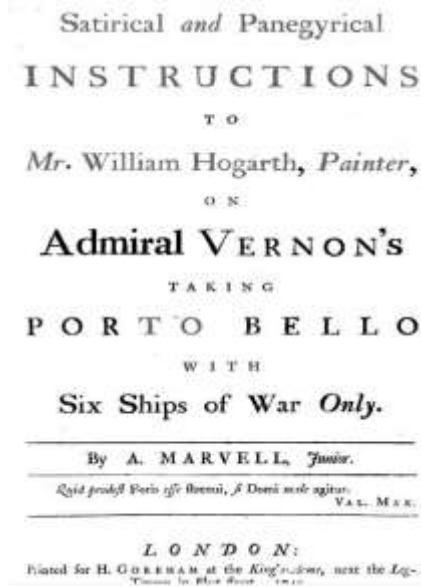
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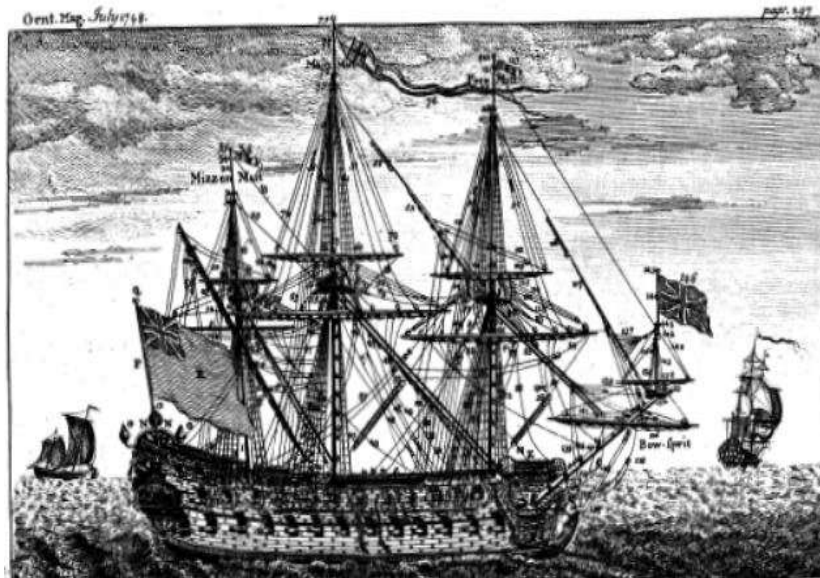
²⁴T. Smollett, *Satirical and panegyrical instructions to Mr. William Hogarth*, (London: H. Goreham, 1740).

²⁵D. Shelton, Smollett and W. Webb, Spurious Imprints

1 **Figure 32.** *Satirical Instructions*



2
3 **Figure 33.** *HMS Chichester*



4
5
6
7 **Colley Cibber, Smollett, and *Spring Gardens, Vaux-Hall***

8
9 Smollett had been seeking recognition from Hogarth, as he had already
10 tried, and failed, with Pope, Cibber, and Fielding. Smollett never took rejection
11 kindly, and his literary jousting with Fielding continued for years beyond the
12 Golden Rump fracas, with Fielding taking up cudgels against Smollett in *The*
13 *Champion*.²⁶ Examples of their debates in the *Daily Gazetteer*, were reprinted

²⁶D. Shelton, Smollett and The Golden Rump: Champion II, Forage and 1739

1 in *London Magazine*.²⁷

2 Evidence to support the drummer in *The Enraged Musician* as Colley
3 Cibber comes via his depiction in a print titled, *Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall*.
4 From c.1738 Smollett designed prints and wrote verses for sale to publishers,
5 who arranged engraving and printing, and. is believed to have designed *Spring*
6 *Gardens, Vaux-Hall*. This alludes to sins associated with Vauxhall, and
7 celebrities identifiable via speech bubbles, with Colley at centre-left, speaking
8 verses shown at the foot, as if orating a soliloquy for *An Apology* (Figure 34).
9 As *Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall* was published in May, 1741, Smollett likely left
10 the concept and verses with George Bickham in London before sailing, or sent
11 them from the West Indies. Although he was absent from England from late
12 October 1740, until mid June 1741, Smollett's society connections enabled him
13 to remain in contact with London via regular navy despatch sloops. To ridicule
14 Cibber, and the royal birthday odes he published as Poet Laureate for German-
15 born king George II, Smollett composed a series of shoddy verses, written as
16 with a German accent, to mock Colley's German ancestry, and to rhyme with
17 Collee. A German accent then puns the title: "Vaux-hall" = "Faux-hall" =
18 "False theatre" = "Beware, this is not what you will at first glance assume".
19 Smollett often posted similar subtle cues, where a particular work was a *Satire*.
20

21 **Figure 34.** *Spring Gardens, Vaux-hall*



22 When studied closely, it is apparent most figures are on a painted
23 backdrop; with the image as a pastiche, representing a stage with six players on
24 the left, and one on the right. All other figures being on a painted backdrop;
25 drawn from song-sheet images of a previous year. The six at front left are a

²⁷D. She;ton, Smollett and The London Magazine, Vol. 6, 1737 307-09

1 ticket seller, then five authors; Henry Fielding, with his awkward pose
 2 signifying his crippling gout, short John Lockman, tall Jonathan Swift, short
 3 Alexander Pope, and corpulent Colley Cibber. The sole figure on the right is
 4 Smollett, arrogantly striding onstage, as a confident “young pretender” to the
 5 literary throne, then occupied by Pope.
 6

Figure 35. *Preliminary Oil Sketch*



7 8 9 10 **Design Changes in *The Enraged Musician***

11
12 More so than some Hogarth prints, it is possible to follow design changes
 13 and states from the preliminary oil sketch, to the final print (Figure 35).
 14 Progressive alterations in preparation of any artwork are vital in
 15 comprehending the artist's motivation, and his thought process. They help in
 16 ascertaining the changes Hogarth made and, more especially, why he deemed it
 17 necessary to make them. Several Hogarth puns have already been discussed in
 18 this paper, and more need explanation.

19 In late 1740, when Hogarth composed *The Enraged Musician*, there were
 20 “best sellers” about the Cibbers on sale: four Sloper pamphlets, and two books
 21 titled, *An Apology for the Life ...*, one on Colley and one on Theophilus. Also
 22 other, “generic”, Smollett works on love and marriage, including the *Sophia*
 23 pamphlets, all authored anonymously.²⁸ These works were known to Hogarth,
 24 who could not resist a pun on the usual meaning of apology; to imply the two
 25 *Apologys* were regrets for selfish actions; by Colley, who had a reputation as a

²⁸D. Shelton, Smollett, Champion I & the Sophia Pamphlets - 1734-39

1 rake, and Theophilus, for his cruelty to Susannah. In *The Enraged Musician*
 2 Hogarth depicts Colley and Theophilus in poses, which imply they need to
 3 apologise to the public for their selfish behaviour.

4 The preliminary oil sketch reveals Hogarth was clear in his mind from the
 5 start. He depicts himself at left, with his pug Trump at his foot, as is a knife-
 6 sharpener, to demonstrate the role of a satirist was to “cut people down to size”
 7 (Figure 35). Hogarth's profile and exaggerated nose, match the detail from his
 8 1743 *Characters and Caricaturas* (Figure 36). That detail shows Fielding
 9 centre-left in the image, facing Hogarth centre-right. The man above Fielding
 10 and Hogarth, is possibly Lord Chesterfield, a friend of both men.

11 *Figure 36: Characters and Caricaturas*



12 **Figure 37. Oil Sketch detail**



13 The young man back-to-back with Fielding is believed to be Smollett; with
 14 back to back implying opposing views, and as if about to pace out for a duel.
 15 Smollett's puffy profile matches that whispering to Colley Cibber in a detail
 16 from the oil sketch (Figure 37).
 17
 18

Figure 38. *Tobias Smollett - flipped*1
2**Figure 39.** *Tobias Smollett*3
4

5 A further aid to identifying Smollett, is a previously unidentified portrait in
 6 the British Museum (Figure 39). When the image is flipped (Figure 38), the
 7 profile resembles that of Smollett in the detail portraits, note how similar his
 8 nose is in profile. In the context of Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding, it is
 9 possible to speculate as to whether the Smollett portrait was actually drawn by
 10 Hogarth? The inscription bubble assists in proposing the portrait as Smollett.²⁹
 11 As depicted in the oil sketch, instead of discharging his parental responsibility
 12 to chastise Theophilus, Colley Cibber has turned his back to self-importantly
 13 beat his drum. Reference to the literary “noise” accorded *An Apology*, but
 14 signaling it as an empty vessel; making much noise, but hollow of substance.

²⁹D. Shelton, Smollett and Thomas Winnington

No one is listening to Cibber, not even the dog. The ghostly figure is Smollett, whispering to Cibber about *An Apology*, a reminder of his past glory. The term ghost-writer reportedly originated c.1928, but the ghostly figure of fashionably dressed Smollett, offering to write Cibber's *An Apology* suggests an earlier origin for the term "ghost-writer" (Figure 35). Hogarth knew Smollett had authored *An Apology*, so drew him as a faint "ghost" at "dead" centre; to signify he had "ghost-written" *An Apology*.

The print was advertised by Hogarth on 24 November 1740. In the oil sketch the ghostly figure of Smollett is visible, but Hogarth decided to shelve a pun of "ghost-writing", on learning of Smollett's departure on HMS Chichester on 26 October 1740. With Smollett absent, he and *An Apology* were no longer topical as objects for Hogarth satire; and if Smollett should die in battle, or of a disease, whilst defending Britain's Caribbean interests, any depiction would be in bad taste, and harm sales of the print (Figure 40).

Figure 40. Trial Proof



For the 1740-41 season, theatre promoter Charles Fleetwood revived three Shakespeare comedies at Drury Lane: *Twelfth Night*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *As You Like It*, with Arne commissioned to set songs to new music. Those Shakespeare plays are depicted in a trial proof of *The Enraged Musician* as vignettes of the actors playing the parts that season (Figure 40). The first is *Twelfth Night* where Charles Macklin played Malvolio, here portrayed by Hogarth as ridiculous, with a basket on his head, ringing a bell to draw attention to himself, and gazing at the lovely maid. The second play was *The Merchant of Venice*, where similar profiles given to Malvolio and Shylock, indicate the same person, Macklin here as the piper, played both roles. His

1 knife available to him inside a cowhorn near knifegrinder Hogarth's knee. In
 2 playing Shylock, Macklin and was lauded for his change of Shylock from a
 3 comic character to one of evil: "On my return to the green-room, after the play
 4 was over, it was crowded with nobility and critics, who all complimented me in
 5 the warmest and most unbounded manner."³⁰ As Pied Piper and centre of
 6 attention, Macklin is drawn with a prominent nose, partly to imply him as
 7 Jewish Shylock, but also as a pun on "noise" versus "nose".

8 The third play was *As You Like It* where Rosalind, here depicted as an
 9 innocent and lovely dairymaid, was played by Hannah Pritchard (Figure 40).
 10 Her supreme success in this role led John Hill to note: "The praise she received
 11 for her spirited manner of speaking this, gave a new spirit to all the rest; she
 12 was applauded throughout, and for ever after, *ex eo Corydon, Corydon, est*
 13 *tempore*, and otherwise, perhaps, the best actress of the British stage would
 14 have perished in oblivion."³¹ The inclusion of Rosalind in the Trial Proof, but
 15 not in the preliminary oil sketch (Figure 35), indicates the oil sketch was drawn
 16 after *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice* were performed in the 1740-41
 17 season, but before *As you Like It* had opened.

18 The trial proof (Figure 40) reinforces these images. At bottom left is a toy
 19 "playhouse" and doll, a pun on the Drury Lane Playhouse, and the Cibber
 20 family, where Colley Cibber had been patron and the family played for many
 21 years. The three Cibbers are depicted childlike in size, to emphasis their
 22 diminutive stature. Virtuous Susannah is dropping a ball in shock at the crude
 23 behaviour of Theophilus, as he urinates in her direction, and Susannah's baby,
 24 Molly, has progressed in age a little from the oil sketch. Colley Cibber still has
 25 his back turned to events in claiming centre-stage, but is now portrayed by
 26 Hogarth as a soldier drummer, "beating the retreat" from the onslaught of
 27 Thomas Arne's new music. Protruding from Colley's backside is a cross,
 28 symbol for the Roman Catholic Alexander Pope, who had crucified Cibber in
 29 early editions of the *Dunciad*. Behind Cibber is a paviour laying cobbles, with
 30 loose cobblestones in the foreground. A paviour and cobblestones, was a
 31 Hogarth pun, as in *Beer Street* and *The Gate of Calais*, to convey an image is
 32 cobbled together; "put together clumsily or hastily." This meaning for
 33 "cobbled" was used in 1739 as: "the whole Universe is mere bungling and
 34 blundering; no Art or Contrivance to be seen in it; nothing effected for any
 35 Purpose and Design; but all ill-favourably cobbled and jumbled together by the
 36 unguided Agitation and rude Shuffles of Matter?"³² A parrot on the extreme left
 37 refers to Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, as a cue to viewers to seek out Hogarth's
 38 subtle satire, "He understood the Speech of Birds, As well as they themselves
 39 do Words, Cou' tell what subtlest Parrots mean."³³

40 In the issued print (Figure 1) the image of Colley as a drummer, alters to
 41 one recognisable from the play, *The Relapse*, in wearing Lord Foppington's

³⁰C. Macklin, reported in *The European Magazine and London Review* Vol. 37 (London: L. Sewell, 1800), 267.

³¹J. Hill, *The Actor: Or, A Treatise On The Art Of Playing*, (London: R. Griffiths. 1755), 195.

³²Anon. *A Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion* Vol. I (London: D. Midwinter, 1739), 8.

³³S. Butler, *Hudibras* (London: Midwinter, 1732), 40.

monstrous wig. The casual sexual morality of *The Relapse* reflecting the character of all three Cibbers, as well as that of Arne. Colley's "beating the retreat", now expands to pun him beating a drum about *An Apology*. The perception of Italian operatic singing as caterwauling, is illustrated by two cats on a roof at the right. The sign reading "John Long – pewterer" is cue to seek a double message, or second layer of meaning, in the print. It refers to an incident on 19 October 1689 during the Glorious Revolution, eight weeks before King James fled. A secret message was discovered by a pewterer hidden within the double-bottom of a large tin bottle: "The Pewterer finding a Packet between the two Bottoms of the Bottle, began to suspect something ... Besides the Letters there was found an Account of some private Resolutions of the Council and an exact List of all the Land and Sea Forces of England."³⁴ The pewterer thus hints at a double meaning in the print.

Although Smollett was included in the oil sketch, Hogarth omitted him from the trial proof. However, on learning of Smollett's June 1741 return to London, Hogarth added him on a horse, his shoulder belt decorated with hoof-prints to show he had come a long way (Figure 1). Smollett holds an empty vessel, Hogarth's view his works were empty of merit, and he blows his own trumpet. Smollett wears a bluebonnet, a traditional blue form of the Scottish Tam o'Shanter head-wear. Literary jousting between Hogarth and Smollett continued for several years, with Hogarth later mocking Smollett further, by depicting him in subsequent satires including; *Marriage a-la-Mode*, *The Gate of Calais*, and *Paul Before Felix Burlesqued*.³⁵

The Enraged Musician print was issued in November, 1741, exactly a year after the 24 November 1740 advertisement. Hogarth knew his peers had read every salacious word of the Sloper trials, were familiar with theatrical history in *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, and had viewed the Charles Fleetwood, Drury Lane plays of that season. Hence there was, in *The Enraged Musician*, a *Sermon* about street noise for the general public, but a cryptic *Satire* on the Cibbers and their scandals, for Hogarth's educated friends.

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