

A *Satire*, not a *Sermon*: *The Gate of Calais* and the Young Pretender

This paper is one in a series discovering previously unrecorded *Satire* in William Hogarth's prints. Hogarth is noted for his eighteenth-century prints featuring perceptive depictions of British life. Important is *The Gate of Calais*, generally accepted as a gentle and humorous *Sermon* contrasting the merits of French and British food. This paper analyses *The Gate of Calais* in the context of British political and literary history, and instead of a *Sermon*, reveals it as powerful Hogarth *Satire*, one which mocks the Jacobites, in deciding to turn back at Derby, on 6 December 1745. In depicting Charles Edward Stuart and Tobias Smollett in a single image, Hogarth puns on them as Scottish "Young Pretenders". The Prince as young pretender to the British Throne, and Smollett, a prolific but anonymous author, as young pretender to the vacant literary throne; earlier occupied by Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, and Daniel Defoe. A key to the *Satire* is the history of the title Hogarth gave to the print, *O the Roast Beef of Old England, &c.* Hogarth included within the image, recognisable likenesses of selected events and contemporaries, with many historical and literary puns. These ridicule Smollett and his play, *The Regicide*. Realisation of the image as a *Satire*, allows explanation of Hogarth's many cryptic puns, and presents *The Gate of Calais* as an unrecognised, Hogarth masterpiece.

Introduction

For 250 years the conventional view of *The Gate of Calais*, as a gentle William Hogarth *Sermon*, contrasting the merits of French and British food, has been unchallenged. But detailed, methodical, and logical analysis shows the image as misread. Hogarth concealed, within a simple *Sermon* for the uneducated, a cryptic *Satire* for the educated; one mocking Jacobites and the Young Pretender. But, also, Hogarth mocks the author Tobias Smollett. The first part of this paper analyses the *Satire* represented by the central group of figures, and the latter parts expand on the background to the *Satire*, associated with Smollett and his play, *The Regicide*.

Figure 1. *The Gate of Calais* - painting 1748

Hogarth painted *The Gate of Calais* in 1748; it was then engraved by C. Mosley and W. Hogarth, and issued on 6 March, 1749. The original painting is in the Tate Gallery in London, but the figures in the foreground, at left and right in the painted image are dark, and hard to see (Figure 1). Hence this paper focuses on the 1749 print, as enhanced to better show the foreground detail (Figure 2).

As with many of Hogarth's images, the satiric intent behind *The Gate of Calais* requires discussion of people, literature, and contemporary events. Hogarth's prints are often viewed as moral parables for the uneducated; i.e. as *Sermons*. Important in casting new light on the print, is an analysis of the title, *O the Roast Beef of Old England, &c.* So where to start? It has been recorded by scholars that Smollett mocked Hogarth, as painter Pallet, in *Peregrine Pickle*, but the reason for that mockery has remained unexplained. Analysing *The Gate of Calais* as a *Satire* reveals Smollett's reason for mocking Hogarth, whilst necessitating discussion of Smollett's never-performed tragedy, *The Regicide*. The paper discusses contemporary events to reveal; Hogarth's motive, his opportunity, and his method. Scholars usually define *The Gate of Calais* in words similar to these;

Hogarth produced the painting after his 1748 return from France, where he had been arrested as a spy while sketching in Calais. The scene depicts a side of beef being transported from the harbour to an English tavern in the port, while a group of undernourished, ragged French soldiers and a fat friar look on hungrily. Hogarth painted himself in the left corner with a soldier's hand upon his shoulder.

Figure 2. *O The Roast Beef of Old England, &c*



When carefully analysed, Hogarth's *Satire* is far from a *Sermon*; the image emerges as a scene from a farce; "a broadly humorous play based on the exploitation of improbably situations". Ronald Paulson was close to uncovering Hogarth's *Satire*, even though he passed over Hogarth's satiric clue about "a motley cast":

If there is any doubt that Hogarth saw himself dispassionately in this episode, it is dispelled by the blatantly stage-like structure of *The Gate of Calais* – perhaps more obvious than in any picture since *The Beggar's Opera*. Hogarth's self-comment is that this was a small comedy played

1 out with a motley cast of characters. But the protagonist is another
 2 accused criminal, in this case a spy.¹
 3

4 However, scholars have remained oblivious to a key placed in full view by
 5 Hogarth. That key is the floorboards in the foreground, readily seen in the print
 6 version, and alerting an observant viewer to the image as a scene from a play.
 7 The floor-boards disappear under fake "cobblestones", hinting the image is
 8 "cobbled" together. When studied carefully, the foreshortened buildings on the
 9 left and right bring about a realisation the buildings, and central portcullis, are
 10 all depicted on a painted backdrop, with the actors on stage framed by the
 11 curve of the proscenium (Figure 2). This researcher admits he discerned that
 12 key, only after deciding Smollett was depicted on the right, and believing he
 13 must be a cue to a hidden Hogarth *Satire*. Research then rotated through
 14 countless iterations, and detailed and lengthy references to social history, to
 15 gradually decipher Hogarth's cryptic clues to that *Satire*, and to identify who
 16 Hogarth depicts as his "motley cast".

17 Hogarth was briefly arrested as a spy when sketching on a 1748 visit to
 18 Calais, so his appearance at left rear is a clue for viewers to look for a spy
 19 (Figure 3). Hogarth looks directly at an Irishman, with a bullet-hole in his hat
 20 to show an escape from near discovery; his bowl of soup indicates he has
 21 "supped with the devil"; the Young Pretender (Figure 4). He is Dudley
 22 Bradstreet, an Irish adventurer and secret British government agent sent to
 23 mislead the Scots. Bradstreet assumed the character of an adherent to the Stuart
 24 cause and, on 5 December, under the name of Captain Oliver Williams,
 25 obtained access to the Prince and his Council of War at Derby. Williams
 26 advised the Scots of a third [fictitious] force of 9,000 men at Northampton;
 27 with that report exaggerating the strength of the English. To satirise the actual
 28 state of the English, Hogarth depicts a poorly equipped English soldier at left
 29 (Figure 3). The army is so weak its only support is camp-followers and
 30 prostitutes, as represented by multiple carrots, and an erect "pricker" in his
 31 trousers. The soldier's cuff reads "Grand Monarch P", showing him as tempted
 32 to change allegiance to Grand Monarch P(rince) Charles.

¹R. Paulson, *Hogarth: High Art and Low, 1732-1750* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1992), 356.

Figure 3. Hogarth at rear1
2**Figure 4. Dudley Bradstreet**3
4

5 It then dawns, that Hogarth's farce puns the failure of the Jacobite
 6 Rebellion, and depicts the Jacobites on 6 December 1745, not in Calais, but at
 7 Derby, where the Scottish army was only 125 miles from London. To illustrate
 8 theatrical incompetence, the *trompe-l'œil* English symbols on the Gate reveal
 9 the wrong scenic backdrop has been used. The backdrop should have depicted
 10 the gates of London, England, but instead mistakenly depicts the actual gate at
 11 Calais in France; which did have English symbols, three fleurs-de-lis and three
 12 lions passant regardant. The gate being built years before by the British, during
 13 Calais's English Sovereignty from 1346-1558, when Calais was part of
 14 England. What appears as a solid gateway in the gate, is a *trompe-l'œil* effect
 15 on the painted backdrop. Through the gateway is a smaller painted image, of
 16 frightened London residents praying for peace, as indicated by the inn-sign of a
 17 dove. There was great panic in London at the proximity of the Scottish army on
 18 6 December, sometimes called "Black Friday" (Figure 5).

1 The Jacobites were ill-served by their French ally, represented by a poor,
 2 weak, French soldier, so fearful he spills his soup-maigre (Figure 4). Despite
 3 this, the Jacobites were well placed at Derby, but on the rumour of British
 4 troops returning from Europe, they retreated to Scotland, and defeat at
 5 Culloden; thereby dooming the Jacobite cause. The clocked (embroidered)
 6 stockings worn by the central lackey, staggering under a haunch of beef, reveal
 7 it as an unflattering portrait of the Young Pretender, “weak-kneed” Bonnie
 8 Prince Charlie; the clocking as remnants of his foppish trappings (Figure 6).
 9 The wrapping for the haunch of beef reads, “For Mad'm Grandsire Calais”,
 10 reference to the Prince's mistress in France, Marie Louise de La Tour
 11 d'Auvergne. Marie Louise was married to his close friend, but the Prince
 12 deserted her when she became pregnant. The reference Grandsire is to “great
 13 wife” i.e. to her pregnancy, and his cowardly desertion from responsibility.
 14

Figure 5. *Prayers in London*



15
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Figure 6. *Weak-kneed Charlie*



17
 18

The fat friar is encouraging the Prince to continue to London, to further the interests of the Roman Catholic religion, but the Prince reacts to the reported third force by advising the friar, "I fear I am not strong enough to cope with that much fresh, British beef." Hogarth was anti-religious, so the Friar represents wider corpulent and self-interested Religion, Roman Catholic and Protestant, amid broader signs of a starving population. The English and Scots/French are depicted as mere puppets of the Church, as implied by hanging chains painted on the backdrop and passing through their centres of gravity (Figure 2). They are required to perform on their national "stages" as dictated by organised Religion. The Church of England was headed by George II, father of the Duke of Cumberland, who routed the Scots at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. This gave rise to his nickname, Butcher Cumberland, with the future outcome of the Battle of Culloden here foretold by the butcher's knife stabbed deep into the roast (Figure 6).

The only significant difference between painting and print, is a giant black bird on the top of the Gate in the painting, but which is omitted from the print. Earlier scholars proposed the bird was to cover a tear in the canvas of the painting, but when the painting was cleaned there was no sign of a tear. The bird is instead believed to represent the Great Scree, a large black bird, seen by Lord George Murray just before the Battle of Culloden and, following that defeat, regarded as a bad omen. The reason for Hogarth removing the Great Scree from the top of the gate for the print version, was due to a change of his emphasis; in stressing it as a farcical *Satire* on Smollett's *The Regicide*, rather than as a warning to the Young Pretender.

After registering the floorboards, the proscenium arch, the actors, and the painted backdrop, as indication of a farce, there are two more vignettes, at left and right foreground. Smollett wrote for the stage, *The Regicide*; a five-act blank verse tragedy about the 1437 assassination of James I of Scotland. Hogarth alludes to this in the vignette at left foreground; in contrasting an unsuccessful *The Regicide* with *Macbeth*, via the three witches in Shakespeare's play, written c.1606, in the reign of James I & VI (Figure 7). Hogarth reinforces *The Regicide* as his target, as both tragedies were about the murder of Scottish Kings. Hogarth puns the Young Pretender's claim, as would be royal successor, results from the execution of yet another king, Charles I.

At left, Hogarth depicts *Macbeth's* witches without their cauldron; witlessly carried off stage by two scene-shifters (Figure 4). The fish warns of something "fishy" and not to be taken at face value. As a ghostly skate or ray fish, it puns the raising of Banquo's Ghost; conjured up for Macbeth by the witches, as an apparition of murdered Banquo. Two witches wear a cross, a reference to the crucifixion on Calvary of Christ, and to imply the biblical story of Christ rising from the tomb should also be seen as "fishy."

At right, Smollett is a dejected playwright (Figure 8). Hogarth indicates this is Smollett via his T.S. head-wear, a Tam o'Shanter bonnet, tartan jacket, and trews, an empty purse, and wringing his hands at the failure of his play. On his forehead are plasters, to signify him as defeated. Compared to the chains over the English soldier and the Prince, a short chain over Smollett shows his

1 independence; thus solely responsible for his present situation. Hogarth
 2 highlights Smollett's failure as a playwright, by depicting him with an empty
 3 inkwell, sign of a failed author. Next to the inkwell is a pie with an apple on
 4 top, an "an apple-pie" (Figure 8). The apple-pie is fish-shaped, hinting the
 5 image as "fishy". This subtle clue was well understood by Hogarth, Fielding,
 6 and Smollett. The "apple-pie" represents a servant, "Anne Applepie", called as
 7 a witness by Fielding in his 1740 Court of Censorial Enquiry in *The Champion*,
 8 wherein Fielding absolved Colley Cibber, as incapable of writing anything as
 9 poorly written as, *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*.² Fielding,
 10 instead knew Smollett had ghost-written *An Apology*, as an exchange for
 11 Cibber supporting *The Regicide*.
 12

Figure 7. Macbeth's Witches



13
 14

²D. Shelton, *Smollett and Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber* – 1740: Smollett, *Champion IV - Court of Censorial Enquiry* - 1740: Smollett, *Champion V - Tryal of Colley Cibber* – 1740.

Figure 8. *Smollett, Inkwell and Pie*

When Cibber failed to deliver on his promise, Smollett turned against him; attacking Cibber including; *The Tryal of Colley Cibber*, *The Laureat*, *A Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr Pope*, and *The Egotist*.³ With Hogarth's multiple cryptic clues deciphered, it is clear to a modern viewer, that he intended *The Gate of Calais* as a biting *Satire*, and not as the weak *Sermon* of conventional wisdom, one contrasting British and French fare.

The Gate of Calais in Porcelain

As discussed below, Smollett sought to divert attention from the *Satire* towards the *Sermon*. In this he was largely successful, with many in contemporary Britain accepting the simple *Sermon*. However, he could not mislead everybody; the educated understood the *Satire*, as is implied by a rare depiction of *The Gate of Calais* in porcelain. On 7 March 2006, Bonhams of New Bond Street, London auctioned for £14,400, a rare and important ormolu-mounted *famille rose* armorial rectangular baluster vase, of Qianlong porcelain, circa 1750-60. In compiling the catalogue description, Bonhams drew on information derived from Ronald Paulson's, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*. The description conveys a conventional view of *The Gate of Calais*:

This remarkable vase is one of the most extraordinary surviving examples of an English political caricature print reproduced on a piece of Chinese Export porcelain. ... The painting is correctly entitled: *The*

³D. 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 & Pope - II - 1741-43*

Gate of Calais, or The Roast Beef of Old England; in the print the title is shortened to *O The Roast Beef of Old England, &c.* The title comes from a song by Fielding which originally appeared in his 'Welsh (or Grub-Street) Opera', first performed in 1731. The song contrasts the hearty food of the English with the fluffy, insubstantial syllabubs of the French. The print makes the same point, contrasting the luscious side of English beef with the meagre bowl of thin soup being carried past the Scotsman. ... Two other examples of this scene depicted on Chinese porcelain are recorded, both on large punch bowls. Both bowls have the Anglo-French arms replaced by those of the (English) Rumbold family.

Figure 9. *Gate of Calais Vase*



Figure 10. *Gate of Calais Vase - detail*



It is interesting that the vase retains the Anglo-French arms (Figure 10), whereas the punch bowls have them replaced; a hint the vase was made earlier than the punch bowls. The porcelain examples indicate the *Satire* mocking the Jacobites was recognised, and the pieces were commissioned to mark their defeat at Culloden.

Figure 11. *Gate of Calais vase - close up*



Smollett, *The Regicide*, and Roast Beef

The population of London in 1748 was about 700,000, a minority of inhabitants being literate. Although many works were published in 1730-70, print runs were usually in low hundreds, the central literary circle was small, and the authors of anonymous works readily apparent to that circle. However, works authored by Smollett were obvious to key players, even when anonymous. In depicting Bonnie Prince Charlie and Tobias Smollett in a single image, Hogarth puns on them both as “Young Pretenders”. The Prince as young pretender to the British Throne, and Smollett, a prolific but anonymous author, as young pretender to the literary throne; earlier occupied by Pope, Swift, and Defoe, and vacant since Pope's 1745 death.

Detailed research during the past decade has revealed major gaps in the standard Knapp biography of Tobias Smollett.⁴ Some mention of those omissions is necessary to understand Hogarth's satiric attack on Smollett in *The*

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

1 *Gate of Calais*. The accepted history of Smollett and his never-performed
 2 tragedy, *The Regicide*, is misunderstood; he arrived in London in early 1737,
 3 but did not bring *The Regicide* from Glasgow.⁵ Instead he wrote it in London in
 4 1738-39, with a sarcastic barb in his 1749 preface to *The Regicide* hinting at
 5 Colley Cibber, his previously unidentified patron as; “one of those little
 6 fellows who are sometimes called great men”.⁶ Cibber was short in stature, and
 7 Poet Laureate, an accolade few believed he merited.

8 Hence scholars, including Howard Swazey Buck, in his *A Study in*
 9 *Smollett* (1925)⁷, have misinterpreted the accounts of Melopoyne in *Roderick*
 10 *Random*. In the novel, those accounts are positioned after Roderick's return
 11 from the West Indies, but draw on events in Smollett's life in London in 1737-
 12 40; before embarking for Cartagena.⁸ Smollett warns of transposition of dates
 13 and locations of events, in his preface to *Roderick Random*; “Every intelligent
 14 reader will, at first sight, perceive I have not deviated from nature, in the facts,
 15 which are all true in the main, although the circumstances are altered and
 16 disguised to avoid personal satire.”⁹ In *Roderick Random*, Cibber is portrayed
 17 as Catholic father, Mr O'Varnish, “Father” as father of Theophilus, “O” to
 18 falsely imply Cibber was a papist, and “Varnish” as a glossy finish, to cover
 19 dull material.

20 The song, *The Roast Beef of Old England* had its origin as a ballad, written
 21 by Henry Fielding for his 1731 play *The Grub-Street Opera*. The song
 22 increased in popularity when revised by composer Richard Leveridge, and it
 23 became customary for theatre audiences to sing it before, after, and
 24 occasionally during, any new play. Smollett had been at loggerheads with
 25 Fielding since the Golden Rump fracas of 1737¹⁰, hence for Hogarth to hint at
 26 Fielding's successful, *The Grub-Street Opera*, by titling his *The Regicide* farce
 27 in *The Gate of Calais* as, *The Roast Beef of Old England, &c.* was devastating
 28 to Smollett. As a further barb, Hogarth depicted Smollett as a Jacobite
 29 supporter, tearful in learning of the Jacobite decision to retreat from Derby.

30 That was not the case, loyal Smollett was fiercely anti-Jacobite. He wrote for
 31 the *Westminster Journal*, and a salacious satire, *A new and cheap Way to*
 32 *disable the Rebels*, was reprinted from the *Westminster Journal*, Dec. 9, in *The*
 33 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, three days after the events depicted in *The Gate*
 34 *of Calais*. Smollett signed it, A Well Wisher, to convey a scathing opinion of
 35 the Highland rebels when at Derby.

36
 37 Among the other excesses, the usual attendants on war, the rebels, we
 38 are told, are particularly fond of exercising their parts on the female sex;
 39 and being fellows of pretty keen appetites, commonly take up with
 40 whatever falls in their way: Wherefore methinks it would be no wrong to

⁵D. Shelton, Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737 and Finances: Smollett, the Cibbers, and The Regicide - 1737-48 ...

⁶T. Smollett, *The Regicide*, (London: Author, 1749), Preface.

⁷H. Buck, *A Study in Smollett* (New Haven: Yale, 1925), p. 54-62.

⁸D. Shelton, Smollett, Cartagena, and Admiral Vernon - 1740-43

⁹T. Smollett, *Roderick Random*, (London: Osborn, 1748), Preface.

¹⁰D. Shelton, Smollett and The Golden Rump

1 serve them up a dish, which, for taking its name and origin from their
 2 good friends the French, must therefore be the more acceptable to them.
 3 This may be done by providing as many ladies as we can conveniently
 4 spare out of the hundreds of Drury, and other parts of this great
 5 metropolis, and see them safe convey'd to the places that are likeliest to
 6 be visited by the Highlanders; who, pleased with such fine ladies in silk
 7 gowns and large hoop petticoats, will take every one of them to be a
 8 Laird's daughter, and think it no little honour to storm such illustrious
 9 forts; whereby they'll contract a disease which will effectually stop their
 10 progress, and afford his majesty's forces an easy and cheap-bought
 11 conquest.¹¹

13 Hogarth was already antagonistic towards Smollett, as he knew Smollett
 14 was supplying concepts and verses for satirical prints to compete with those
 15 issued by Hogarth. For Smollett's involvement in publishing prints from
 16 c.1740, see discussions on Samuel Lyne, George Bickham, and Samuel
 17 Boyce.¹² Hogarth decided Smollett needed to be put in his place, and did so
 18 with a stroke of satiric genius; in composing *The Gate of Calais* as a farcical
 19 parody of a scene from a performance of *The Regicide*.

20 Hogarth's title for the print, *O the Roast Beef of Old England, &c.*,
 21 includes multiple puns on "beef," as hinted via the use of "etc." (Figure 2). One
 22 pun is a Sunday roast of meat. A second links to the huge haunch of meat,
 23 representing the English army as "mighty beef". A third Hogarth pun is to
 24 navy salt-beef, as in the title of a Smollett pseudo-letter written in 1747, and a
 25 fourth pun was "to beef", as to complain. Hogarth puns Smollett as a constant
 26 complainer; on the fate of Scotland after Culloden, on his failure with *The*
 27 *Regicide*, on his financial difficulties, on his lack of wealth, and on navy salt-
 28 beef.

29 Most dictionaries denote an origin of "beef" as to complain, to the late
 30 nineteenth century. However, there had been navy complaints about salt-beef
 31 for centuries. Smollett wrote for many publications, including in *Old England*
 32 as Argus Centoculi.¹³ Attributed to Smollett is an *Old England* letter signed,
 33 *The Beef of Old England*, as reprinted in *London Magazine*. The writer admits
 34 his used of the non de plume, Argus Centoculi. Hogarth knew this was
 35 Smollett, and his title for *O The Beef of Old England*, is a double pun. Smollett
 36 had went to "beef", and he wrote for "*Old England*". Smollett's letter refers to
 37 "soup-maigre", an aid in attribution, as a spelling used by him, but rarely by
 38 others.¹⁴ Meagre soup in the *Gate of Calais* is drunk by a French soldier, and
 39 by Dudley Bradstreet (Figure 4). The letter conveys Smollett's experience of

¹¹D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 15, 1745, The Gentleman's Magazine p. 649

¹²D.Shelton, Smollett and Prints by Samuel Lyne - 1741-56: Smollett and Prints by George Bickham - 1740-45: Smollett and Samuel Boyce - 1751-62 : Pope III - Anti-Pope prints and Tom-Tit - 1740-1745

¹³D. Shelton, Smollett and Old England - 1747

¹⁴D. Shelton, Tobias Smollett and soup maigre - a case study

inedible navy salt-beef, when referring to, “Discredit and Contempt with the R___l N___y”. In part the letter reads;

Is it not then the more surprizing, that Gentlemen who are become so intimately acquainted with my Merit, and fatten on my Qualifications, whose Tables I have so long honour'd and distinguish'd in the most ample and yet cheapest Manner, should make such ungrateful Returns of late, as to bring me into Discredit and Contempt with the R___l N___y ... You treat me in a Manner quite different to that of your Predecessors; you take me at all Disadvantages of Time, Place, Season, and Age. They never summoned me to the Publick Service but when in my Prime, in my Strength and Vigour; my Ribs well covered with interlining Plumpness and Fat, my Flesh with nourishing Juices, and my Bones abounding with Marrow. It was then the Beef of Old England intough'd the Nerves of Seamen, incountenane'd their Cheeks, invigorated their Backs, and maintain'd its Pre-eminence and the Honour of the Nation; whilst Soup-maigre mortify'd in the Visage of a Frenchman, and Poor John in that of a Spaniard.

But you, Messieurs, much to my Dishonour and your own, contrary to the Customs and Usage of your disinterested Predecessors, have forced me into the Service of Old England, when poor, lean, old, and ill-fed; in all Seasons and at all Times like, and frequently in the Heat of Weather, without regard to my Constitution: Immers'd in stinking Brine, you have embark'd me in foul and leaky Casks; so that the liquid Preservative which should have been my Support and Nourishment thro' the Voyage has often stole away thro' the Chinks, and expos'd my Juices to be dried up and devoured by the Salt; and when by mere Foulness a Cask became continent, the horrid Stench infected me so, as to render me equally incapable of performing my proper Functions in the Service of my Country.

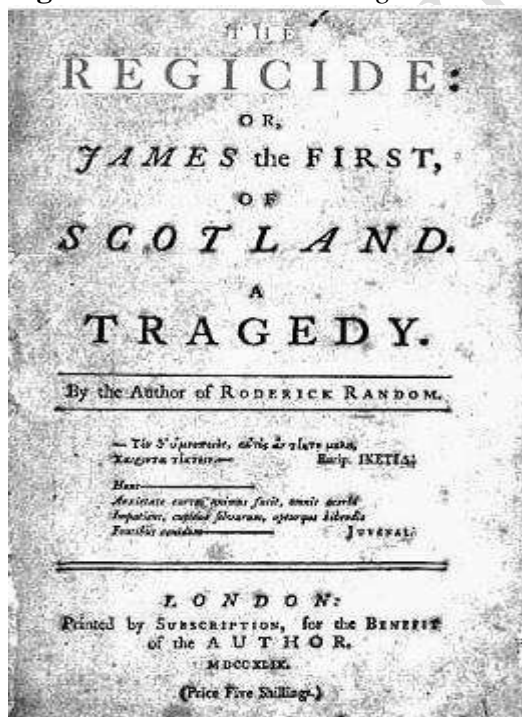
As Reputation is dear to every one, you, Messieurs, must excuse me, if I can no longer suffer mine to be sacrificed to the conniving Indolence of some, and the Self-Interest and Corruption of others; without calling out aloud upon you for Satisfaction: As the Honour of good English Beef is at Stake, and that you have suffered both my own and my Friends private Complaints and frequent Remonstrances to pass unheeded, I am obliged thus publickly to reiterate them, and interest my worthy Friend Argus Centoculi (the Character for some Time assum'd by the Writer of this Journal) in my Cause, for Redress of these Grievances and Injuries; which, if not speedily reform'd, must inevitably end in the absolute Ruin of the N___y, by the corrupt Mismanagement and Abuse of - *The Beef of Old England*.¹⁵

¹⁵D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 16, 1747, The London Magazine p. 35-36.

Lord Lyttelton, *The Regicide* and *The Conspirators*

Smollett had approached many people seeking support to stage *The Regicide*, one was Lord George Lyttelton (Figure 12). Together with Lord Chesterfield, Lyttelton had founded the opposition periodical *Common Sense* in February 1737. Smollett had several contributions published in *Common Sense*, including one he had submitted from Glasgow in March 1737, being, *A Vision of the Golden Rump*.¹⁶ When read carefully this is an anti-Jacobite satire against the Pretender, e.g. OED rump = inferior remnant, cf. Rump Parliament. However, Henry Fielding refocused the satire on the English royal family via OED rump = posterior or buttocks. Smollett was furious, as his grandfather had been knighted by King William. Smollett retaliated by purloining Fielding's manuscript and passing it to the authorities. This resulted in the Golden Rump fracas, and the passing of the 1737 Licensing Act. This effectively destroyed Fielding's career as a playwright, and resulted in a long, and deeply competitive, animosity between Smollett and Fielding. Also to Smollett leaving *Common Sense* to write for a rival magazine, with the same date and numbering, but titled *Old Common Sense*.¹⁷ Smollett also began writing for the pro-government *The Daily Gazetteer*. From 1737, there was thus a deep-seated division between Smollett and Lyttelton, as well as Chesterfield. The latter also a theatrical promoter, who was unsuccessfully approached by Smollett in seeking to stage *The Regicide*.

Figure 12. Smollett's *The Regicide* 1749



¹⁶D. Shelton, Smollett and The Golden Rump

¹⁷D. Shelton, Smollett - Writing for Periodicals - 1733-40

Figure 13. *Smollett to Hunter - 1749*

Dr Hunter
 This day I intended to
 set out for France with
 Matthew Mackenzie, so that
 I shall be obliged to you for a
 Letter of Introduction to any
 honest fellow in Paris who
 can direct us in our inquiries
 and pray let me know where
 I shall find Van Camper. -
 I hope to see you before I go &
 am Dr. Will.
 Yours sincerely
 T. Smollett
 Beaumont Buildings
 July 25. 1749

Thus, by 1748 Smollett was offside with Fielding, Chesterfield, Lyttelton, Hogarth, and Colley Cibber. Despite this, Smollett, who was blessed (or cursed?) with a high degree of narcissism, expected everyone to do his bidding, and continued seeking support for *The Regicide*. Approaching Lyttelton anew; however, as is evident from a Horace Walpole comment, Smollett failed to gain Lyttelton's support for either *The Regicide* or a comedy, *The Conspirators*. Walpole wrote;

He wrote a tragedy, and sent it to Lord Lyttelton, with whom he was not acquainted. Lord Lyttelton, not caring to point out its defects civilly advised him to try comedy. He wrote one, and solicited the same lord to recommend it to the stage. The latter excused himself, but promised, if it should be acted, to do all the service in his power for the author. Smollett's return was drawing an abrasive portrait of Lord Lyttelton in *Roderick Random*, a novel; of which sort he published two or three.¹⁸

Although Walpole claims Smollett did not know Lyttelton, they were known to each other via Lyttelton's *Common Sense*. Smollett did follow Lyttelton's advice, as indicated in a letter of 7 June 1748: "I will also impart another piece of News ... after having perused the *Revenge* I have taken on the Playhouse Managers in *Roderick Random*. In short, I have planned a comedy which will

¹⁸R. Phillimore, *Memoirs And Correspondence Of George, Lord Lyttelton* (London: Ridgeway, 1845), 343.

1 be finished by next winter.”¹⁹ In 1749 he published that comedy as, *The*
 2 *Conspirators, A Tragi-Comic Opera, as it was Acted in England and Ireland*
 3 *[i.e. Scotland] Without Applause*. The author, Smollett, advising he was, “A
 4 much-injured Person in the Drama.”²⁰ It was published in London, with a
 5 claimed location of Carrickfergus; chosen by Smollett to mock Irish Catholics,
 6 being where William of Orange landed in Ireland on his way to defeat the
 7 Catholic Jacobites. *The Conspirators* parallels Smollett's life; he casts himself
 8 as, “Dick Prettyman, an agreeable young Gentleman, returned from his
 9 Travels,” i.e. Cartagena; with his wife, Anne, as Miss Sly, daughter by a former
 10 husband, to Creolia, heiress to a great Estate in the West Indies: even a
 11 character named Roderick Random.
 12

Figure 14. *The Conspirators*

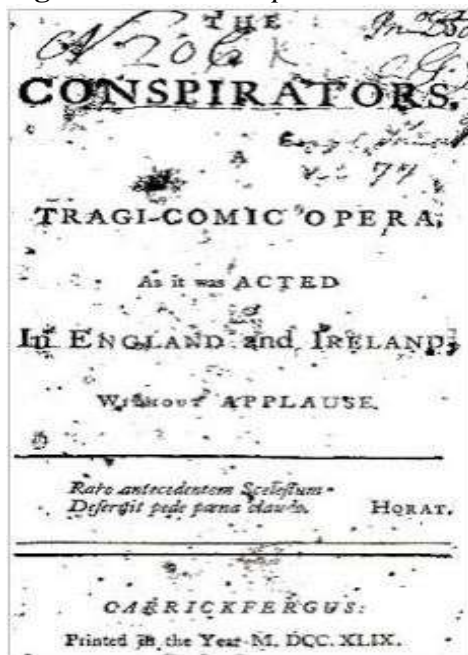


Figure 15. *The Conspirators - Cast*

¹⁹L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 9.

²⁰T. Smollett, *The Conspirators, A Tragi-Comic Opera ...* (Carrickfergus: 1749).

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

M E N.

Simon Magus, a Priest, Uncle and Guardian to Miss Sly and her Sister.
 Calphurnus, a Pre-adamite, and great Projector, second Guardian to the young Ladies.
 Hoardwell, a rich Banker, Brother-in-law to Simon Magus.
 Counsellor Aggilement, an ignorant Irish Lawyer.
 'Squire Slabbing-Bib, Clerk to Calphurnus.
 Hasty, a young Country Gentleman.
 Careful, a young Country Gentleman, who wants Money.
 Dick Prettyman, an agreeable young Gentleman, just returned from his Travels.
 Crusado, a New-zealand Solicitor.
 Horatio, a Gentleman lately married to Creolia.
 Roderick Random, his Son-in-law, Brother to Miss Sly.
 Samuel Clout, an Irish Lint-draper.
 Servants attending on Simon Magus.

Lovers
to
Miss
Sly.

W O M E N.

Creolia, Heiress to a great Estate in the West-Indies.
 Miss Sly, Daughter to Creolia by a former Husband.
 Rosalinda, her Sister, a little mercenary Girl, much deformed.
 Prudentia, a Friend to Creolia.
 Saphira Pepper-Tail, Sister to Simon Magus, an old Maid, who studies Physick and Midwifery for the Benefit of repaid Virgins in Distress.
 Trulla, Sister to Calphurnus.
 Jenny Galled-Eye, Servant and Confidant to Miss Sly.
 Butler, Footmen and others attending on Creolia.

The *Monthly Review* for September 1749 remarked on *The Conspirators* in terms indicating knowledge of Smollett as author. It was published after *The Gate of Calais*, but a scathing *Monthly Review* innuendo implies common knowledge of Hogarth's print as being a satiric farce on *The Regicide*: thereby also implying of *The Conspirators*, "his performance is founded upon a very true story, pretty well known."

This piece is addressed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland (in which kingdoms the scenes are laid) by the author, who stiles himself a much-injur'd person in the drama; and who gives us to understand, that his performance is founded upon a very true story, pretty well known. - This very true story seems to be very partially represented, if one may conclude any thing from the extraordinary virulence with which some characters in the drama are created. The plot, such as it is, is founded on some law-proceedings, by which a certain lady had her children taken from under her own management, and entrusted to that of two guardians; whom the author falls upon most outrageously, endeavouring to make it appear that they had solicited and acquired their trust, upon the most selfish and wicked views: But the work is so strangely and poorly executed, that we are persuaded the author will so far miss of his point, as to expose no body, except himself, by his work.²¹

Although the *Monthly Review* was unfamiliar with Smollett's Jamaican in-laws, reference to Knapp's Smollett biography, indicates several of his in-laws are represented as characters in *The Conspirators*.²² The two guardians Careful

²¹The *Monthly Review* (London: Griffiths, 1749), 398.

²²L. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners*, (Princeton: PUP, 1949).

1 and Hasty, being Charles and Edward Lassells, brothers of Smollett's wife,
 2 Anne; the plot revealing as seeking to take financial advantage against Anne,
 3 and thereby disadvantaging Smollett. Characters in the play inspired by other
 4 people appear to include:

5
 6 Creolia for Mrs Elizabeth Leaver, mother of Anne Lassells.

7 Horatio for William Leaver, second husband of Elizabeth Leaver, and step-
 8 father of Anne.

9 'Squire Slabbering Bob, for Edward Leaver, son of William Leaver.

10
 11 Smollett had made multiple, but unsuccessful, attempts to have *The*
 12 *Regicide* staged so, in 1749, he resorted to publishing it himself (Figure 12).
 13 This was noticed by the publisher of *Monthly Review*, the non-conformist
 14 Ralph Griffiths, normally aware of who wrote which pamphlets. In 1747
 15 Griffiths published works for Smollett, but after Presbyterian Smollett opted to
 16 publish with M. Cooper and W. Owen, Griffiths targeted Smollett, as a
 17 competitor in an overcrowded market. Griffiths's remarks in *Monthly Review*,
 18 ranked *The Regicide* as even worse than "those wretched pieces which the
 19 judicious managers preferred to it," and ends with a sarcastic endorsement;
 20 promoting Hogarth's depiction of *The Regicide* as a farce in *The Gate of Calais*
 21 as, "one of the best theatrical pieces that has appeared these many years".

22
 23 This piece came out about the middle of May last, preceded by a preface,
 24 in which the author gives the public an account of the unworthy usage he
 25 met with from the managers of the two theaters, to whom he had tendered
 26 this play. And as his preface not only abounds in strokes of humour, and
 27 portraiture, peculiar to the author of *Roderick Random*, but is justly
 28 calculated for a warning to adventurers in writing for the stage, we should
 29 think we did it injustice, not to insert it at length here.

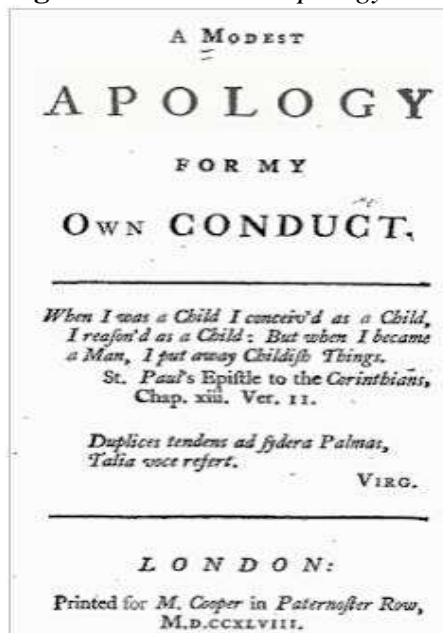
30 As to the merit of the play itself, we shall not affront the author so much as
 31 to compare it with any of those wretched pieces which the judicious
 32 managers preferred to it. The diction is every where animated, nervous,
 33 and pathetic. ... We shall say no more here of it, than that we think it no
 34 hazarded judgment to pronounce it one of the best theatrical pieces that has
 35 appeared these many years.²³

36
 37 As indicated by Walpole, Lyttelton did reject *The Conspirators*. Smollett
 38 did not take that well and, as revenge for the rejection, he satirised Lyttelton in
 39 *A Modest Apology for My Own Conduct* (Figure 16).²⁴ This is usually
 40 attributed to George Lyttelton, but is by Smollett; Mary Cooper publishing
 41 many similar works for him. The unflattering nickname for Lyttelton was
 42 Selim, and around this time Mary published several other Smollett attacks on
 43 Lyttelton, under the nickname Selim.²⁵

²³*The Monthly Review* (London:Griffiths, 1749), 72.

²⁴T. Smollett, *A Modest Apology for My Own Conduct* (London: M. Cooper, 1748).

²⁵D. Shelton, [Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints - II - continued](#)

Figure 16. *A Modest Apology*Figure 17. *Dudley Bradstreet*

Hogarth knew of Smollett's disappointment with *The Regicide*; with the effect of his *The Gate of Calais* being that Smollett would never see *The Conspirators* performed. When the "motley cast" in Hogarth's *Satire* was recognised by theatrical promoters, that knowledge consigned *The Regicide*, *The Conspirators*, and a lost Smollett play, *Alceste*, to obscurity, even without being staged. Promoters perceived a theatrical risk that, when knowledge of *The Gate of Calais*, and its motley cast spread, any Smollett play, on any topic, would descend into farce, if the audience began to chant, "Show us the Young

Pretender at Derby!"

Smollett's response to Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais*

Smollett was by nature combative, and followed the precept, "attack is the best means of defence". He was embarrassed at being Hogarth's target: as time passed, he took a variety of actions to misdirect the intent of *The Gate of Calais*. One was to write a satire, purporting to be the life of Dudley Bradstreet; to mock him, and ensure the *Life* contained no reference to *The Gate of Calais* (Figure 17).²⁶ Smollett wrote for *The Gentleman's Magazine* and in June 1748 he composed a poem titled, *Beef and Liberty*. A June 1748 date was an early Smollett's attempt to muddy the waters, in implying the location of *The Gate of Calais* as Worcester, not Derby. The poem was headed; "Verses address'd so the Gentlemen of Worcester, who, in the Time of The late Rebellion, form'd an Association call'd The Constitution Club, and chose for their Motto - Beef and Liberty - We hope the Merit of these Lines will atone for their being somewhat out of season, and the rather because they have been long mislay'd."²⁷ A claim of "long mislay'd" was to purport the verses as written prior to *The Gate of Calais*, and project the painting as about France, liberty, and beef. The rhyme form is aabbccdd, often used by Smollett, and further hints towards his pen, include "Scotia" for Scotland, and Lewis for Louis; Smollett invariably spelled Louis as Lewis, as an intentional insult towards the King of France

The purported image of Calais in *The Gate of Calais* was topical in 1749, as Smollett had also traveled to France. The Wellcome Library holds a letter written by Smollett to William Hunter, and dated 25 July 1749 (Figure 13). The purpose of the visit is believed a Smollett attempt to develop a commercial, and profitable, trade in dead human subjects, plentiful at Paris hospitals, for student dissection at Hunter's anatomy school.²⁸ The trip removed Smollett from London soon after publication of *The Gate of Calais* print. His absence in France blunted his ability to counter Hogarth in London, but during his visit to France he gathered material for *Peregrine Pickle*, wherein he decided to mock Hogarth as the artist Pallet.

As part of a continuing effort to divert attention from Hogarth's *Satire*, Smollett is attributed with arranging a 1749 reprint of a work from 1701; drawing attention to faults within the Roman Catholic church; to ridicule the prior depicted in *The Gate of Calais*, and to denigrate Calais itself. It includes;

I kept an exact Diary of all the comical, as well as serious Occurrences that I met with in my Passage thither; but being return'd to England, was

²⁶T. Smollett, *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet ...* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1755).

²⁷D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 18, 1748, *The Gentleman's Magazine* 277.

²⁸D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, Four Stages of Cruelty ...* (ATINER, 2020, doi.org/10.30958/ajhis.6-3-3)

persuaded to believe, that a just Description ... abstracted from all the merry Adventures, and jocose Passages, with which my Journal was before larded, would carry a better Authority, and be much more acceptable to my Protestant Country-men, ... upon which I expung'd several diverting Stories and pleasant Intrigues, relating to the Priests, Nuns and Miracles, viz. because of their Levity, which since, by many of my Friends and Acquaintance, I have been much blam'd for; and not without some Strngglings with myself, am at last prevail'd upon to publish it in its primitive loose Habit, as I had originally design'd it, being told that Books of this Nature, like beautiful Women, always take best in the loosest Dress, and oblige most when they are most airy.

Arriving before Calais the next Day, the Tide being spent, we were forc'd to anchor two Leagues from the Haven; where immediately a Flock of Neptune's greedy Vultures surrounded the Vessel, to transport the Passengers upon the Sands; whose Insolence, without Regard to Quality, or the common Rules of Civility, was as insufferable as their Natures brutish. They knew our Necessity of landing, and tho' no farther distant from the Shore than before mentioned, they exacted of each Person two Crowns, which collecting before we landed. In having only 30 Sols left ... I was forc'd to wade Breast-high, tho' very cold Weather.²⁹

To defend himself against Hogarth's *Satire*, Smollett laid a smoke-screen wherever he could. Another attributed is, *Peg Trim-Tram's defeat, a new ballad. With the downfall of My L--d's Sur-loin of beef, which was kick'd and cuff'd out of half the publick houses in Westminster*, London, Mr. Merryman, 1750, 1pp. One of many Smollett ballads, and bears a spurious Merryman imprint. Yet another Smollett red-herring in 1750 was a salacious ballad, *O the Roast Beef of Old England! - A New Ballad, to an Old Tune*. In part it reads:

O the Roast Beef of Old England!

Ye lovers of roasting, I pray you draw near;
And you the king's beef-eaters foremost appear:
Let Cooke too, and Matthews, attend at my call,
And dance to my tune, while I sing of a ball.
Derry down, down, derry, &c.

...

In short, scarce this hero had utter'd the word,
When two sir-loins of beef appear'd on the board;
Which enliven'd the virgins, who swiftly advance,
Determin'd to eat, since unable to dance.

Derry down, &c.
The salt and the cruets were rang'd in a row.
With boxes of pepper, a glittering show:

²⁹Anon [Smollett reprint?], *A trip to the jubilee, by a gentleman Containing a diverting account of the most remarkable occurrences in his travels thro' France, Milan, Venice, Florence ...* (London: Richard Adams, 1749), 10.

1 All agreed that the beef was delightfully roasted,
 2 And in bumpers the health of the founder was toasted.
 3 Derry down, &c.
 4 From henceforth, let no man these maidens despise:
 5 Between them and queen Bess's small difference lies;
 6 For beef in a morning was her maids delight,
 7 But our maids of honour prefer it by night.
 8 Derry down, &c.³⁰
 9

10 The tune Derry-Down was used by Smollett for many ballads, such as
 11 were described in *Roderick Random*:

12
 13 From that day I studied the Grub-street manner with great diligence, and at
 14 length became such a proficient, that my works were in great request
 15 among the most polite of the chairmen, draymen, hackney-coachmen,
 16 footmen, and servant-maids. Nay, I have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing my
 17 productions adorned with cuts, pasted upon the wall as ornaments in beer-
 18 cellars and cobbler's stalls; and have actually heard them sung in clubs of
 19 substantial tradesmen – But empty praise (you know, my dear friend) will
 20 not supply the cravings of nature. -- I found myself in danger of starving in
 21 the midst of all my fame; for of ten songs I composed, it was well if two
 22 had the good fortune to please. -- For this reason I turned my thoughts to
 23 prose, and during a tract of gloomy weather, published an apparition, on
 24 the substance of which I subsisted very comfortably a whole month: I have
 25 made many a good meal upon a monster; a rape has often afforded me
 26 great satisfaction; but a murder well-timed, was my never failing resource.
 27³¹
 28
 29

30 Smollett and the *Roast Beef Cantata Recitative*

31
 32 As noted, *The Roast Beef of Old England* was an English national song,
 33 associated with the serving of dinner at public functions, and occasionally used
 34 in the army. There are three versions of the song: two original verses by
 35 Fielding (1731). Second, Leveridge's six verses, which include an
 36 appropriation of Fielding. The third version, the *Roast Beef Cantata*, was
 37 published in several varieties c.1750; the core as a *Recitative* of five verses.
 38 The *Cantata* is usually attributed to Theodosius Forrest (1728-84), but is out of
 39 character, and too early for Forrest; his key work, *The Weathercock*, was not
 40 published until 1775.

41 Educated viewers could recognise the thrust of *The Gate of Calais*, as the
 42 Rebellion occurred only four years earlier. But the exaggerated focus of the
 43 *Recitative* on the *Sermon*, requires the *Recitative* to be bench-marked against a
 44 variation of the Sherlock Holmes test. "Why did the dog not bark? In this

³⁰ *London Magazine* (London: Baldwin, 1750), 472.

³¹ T. Smollett, *Roderick Random* (London: Osborn, 1748), Chapter LXII.

instance, “Why did the dog bark at the *Sermon*, but not at the *Satire*?” The logical explanation is the writer of the *Recitative* was embarrassed by the *Satire*, and sought to refocus viewers at the *Sermon*; implying the author of the *Recitative* as either a Jacobite sympathiser, or was satirised in *The Gate of Calais*. Smollett had motive, method, and opportunity to write the *Recitative* and is attributed with authorship. Clues in the *Roast Beef Cantata* hint at Smollett, the aabbccdd form, and several terms in the fourth verse, and accompanying air, are more typical of a Scottish, than English author; e.g. Sawney which Smollett often used when referring to Alexander Pope.

Upon the ground, hard by, poor Sawney sate, How hard, O Sawney, is thy lot,
Who fed his nose, and scratch'd his ruddy pate; Who was so blithe of late,
But when Old England's bulwark he espy'd To see such meat as can't be got,
His dear love'd mull, alas! was thrown aside: When hunger is so great.
With lifted hands he blest his native place, O the beef! The bonny bonny beef,
The scrubb'd himself, and thus bewail'd his When roasted nice and brown,
case:- I wish I had a slice of thee,
How sweet it would gang down.

The *Recitative* describes *The Gate of Calais* in literal language; that is, it serves as a description of Hogarth's *Sermon*, but not his *Satire*. In this Smollett was unjustly successful, as the *Roast Beef Cantata* has since been foundation of subsequent scholarly assessment of *The Gate of Calais*. Without the airs, the *Recitative* reads;

<p>Tw'as at the gate of Calais, Hogarth tells, Where sad despair and famine always dwells; A meagre Frenchman, Madame Grandsire's cook, As home he steer'd his carcase that way took; Bending beneath the weight of fam'd Sir-Loin, On whom he often wish'd in vain to dine; Good father Dominick by chance came by, With rosy gills, round paunch, and greedy eye; Who when he first beheld the greasy load, His benediction on it he bestow'd' And as the solid fat his fingers press'd, He lick'd his chaps and thus the address'd: - A half-starv'd soldier, shirtless, pale, and lean. Who such a sight before had never seen, Like Garrick's frighted Hamlet, gaping stood, And gaz'd with wonder on the British food. His morning's mess forsook the friendly bowl, And in small streams along the pavement stole: He heav'd a sigh, which gave his heart relief, And then in plaintive tone declar'd his grief.</p>	<p>His fellow guard, of right Hibernian clay, Whose brazen front, his country did betray, From Tyburn's fatal tree had hither fled, By honest means to gain his daily bread; Soon as the well-known prospect he espy'd, In blubbering accents dolefully he cry'd. Upon the ground, hard by, poor Sawney sate, Who fed his nose, and scratch'd his ruddy pate; But when Old England's bulwark he espy'd His dear love'd mull, alas! was thrown aside: With lifted hands he blest his native place, The scrubb'd himself, and thus bewail'd his case:- But see! my muse to England takes her flight, Where health and plenty chearfully unite: Where smiling freedom guards great George's throne, And chains, and racks, and tortures are not known: Whose fame superior bards have often wrote, - An ancient fable gives me leave to quote:</p>
---	---

Smollett published the *Recitative* anonymously, but added credibility by illustrating it with a piracy of *The Gate of Calais*. Smollett was particular about the printing quality of his works and, from his association with George Bickham, he had access to the best engravers; and so had Hogarth's print re-

1 engraved. For printed works, Smollett usually published a first edition
 2 anonymously with a spurious imprint; subsequent editions then bearing
 3 genuine imprints. The order of publishing of the *Recitative* is deduced from
 4 study of the detail.

Figure 18. *Hogarth, original print, long bayonet*



5

Figure 19. *Hogarth, piracy, short bayonet*



6

7

8 First, the Anon. version of *Roast Beef Cantata*, across three columns, with
 9 Airs added, and several other poems (Figure 20). The quality, completeness,
 10 extra poems, and anonymity of this version reveal Smollett's hand. The imprint
 11 shows only, "Painted by W. Hogarth", as a clue to a piracy. The reference seeks
 12 to imply the piracy was copied from the painting, but the absence of the Great
 13 Scree, shows it was copied from Hogarth's print. The Anon. version is very
 14 close to the Hogarth original, but the detail of the French soldier shows a short
 15 bayonet (Figure 19), where as the genuine Hogarth print has a longer bayonet
 16 (Figure 18).

1 The second, Sayer, version has the *Recitative* in two columns, and bears
 2 the same imprint of "Painted by W. Hogarth", plus "London, Printed for Robt
 3 Sayer, No 53 Fleet Street" (Figure 21). The detail of the image for the Sayer
 4 version is difficult to see, but appears to include the same piracy as the Anon.
 5 version. Sayer was a genuine publisher, in business in 1752-75; and the print
 6 was advertised in *Scots Magazine*, 1753, p.632; "*Burlesque upon burlesque, or*
 7 *English roast beef return'd from Calais*. 6d. Sayer."

8 The re-engraved Tringham, third version is similar in layout to the Anon.
 9 version, with three columns, but "Painted by W. Hogarth" is omitted, and it
 10 bears the imprint "London: Printed for W. Tringham, under the North Piazza of
 11 the Royal Exchange, in Threadneedle-Street" (Figure 22). The higher quality
 12 printing of the *Roast Beef Cantata* for Tringham, compared to Sayer, suggests
 13 it is an "official" Smollett piracy. However, the quality of the image of *The*
 14 *Gate of Calais* is a little less than that of Anon. The re-engraved image shows
 15 cruder detail on the faces of the French soldier and Dudley Bradstreet.

16 The Tringham version claims to be by Young D'Urfey, purportedly related
 17 to Thomas D'Urfey (1653-1723). Smollett often appropriated the names of
 18 earlier authors, sometimes claiming to be "junior" and he probably authored,
 19 *Ways to kill care, A collection of original songs, chiefly comic. Written by*
 20 *Young D'Urfey*, London, printed for the author, 1761, 112pp. That is reportedly
 21 dedicated to Tristram Shandy, and includes salacious jokes based on Sterne's
 22 *Tristram Shandy*, which parallel other Smollett literary jousts with Laurence
 23 Sterne.

24 A fourth variety of *Roast Beef Cantata* was published for R. Withy in 1755
 25 with a different print (Figure 23). The R. Withy image was designed to closely
 26 follow the *Sermon*, and any signs of Hogarth's *Satire* are absent. The quality of
 27 the drawing is poor, and there is suspicion Smollett drew the image, and took it
 28 to Withy. When analysed in detail the Withy changes from Hogarth are major
 29 (Figure 24). The proscenium and floorboards have gone, and the cobblestones
 30 replaced by bare earth, to dispel the image as a scene from the theatre. The
 31 Gate of Calais itself, and the view through to prayers in London have been
 32 removed. Although Smollett remains on the right, he is much older and the
 33 other figures re-positioned to the left. Bonnie Prince Charlie has lost his
 34 clocked stockings, is portrayed as older, and is more obviously a servant. The
 35 huge haunch of beef is reduced to a manageable rib-roast, placed on a platter,
 36 without the knife stabbed into the roast, and is being blessed by the prior. The
 37 French soldier has been redrawn as a much more powerful man.

38 The images of Hogarth, the English soldier, Macbeth's witches, and the
 39 scene-shifters with their cauldron, are gone. Dudley Bradstreet has been
 40 converted into an anonymous standing figure with clasped hands. The plaid or
 41 tartan of Smollett has been made less obvious, and the apple-pie has been
 42 removed. His empty inkwell is still there, but redrawn, so it looks like a
 43 Georgian lidded tankard which has been dropped. Also missing are chains over
 44 the heads of the English soldier and the Young Pretender, and over Smollett.

45 In the R. Withy version, Smollett deliberately obscured Hogarth's *Satire*,
 46 in taking a cursory view, and closely following the *Recitative* to lay a false

1 trail. In this he was successful, as conventional wisdom has followed his
2 deceptive lead for 250 years; so scholars describe *Gate of Calais* only in terms
3 of a *Sermon*.

Figure 22. *Tringham version*



Figure 23. *Withy version*



Figure 24. *Withy version -detail*

1

The March of the Guards to Finchley

Hogarth met criticism from those of his contemporaries who did recognise *The Gate of Calais* as a *Satire*. To atone for his insulting image of a weak English soldier in *The Gate of Calais*, in December 1750 Hogarth published *The March of the Guards to Finchley*, as a slightly more patriotic depiction of British soldiers mustering to defend London from the Jacobites, although some are still the worse for wear (Figure 25).

Figure 25. *The March of the Guards to Finchley*

Peregrine Pickle and The Gate of Calais

We have seen above how *The Gate of Calais* was a Hogarthian satire which ridiculed Smollett by depicting a calamitous performance of *The Regicide*. Smollett was highly embarrassed by this attack, which was obvious to his close circle, including Henry Fielding. Smollett elected to take revenge by mocking Hogarth as artist Pallet in *Peregrine Pickle*. The depiction as Pallet has been noticed by scholars including Ronald Paulson, although without considering the question; "Why did Smollett ridicule Hogarth as Pallet?" The realisation of *The Gate of Calais* as a satiric attack on Smollett, provides partial answer to that question. There is a second part to that answer, in reacting to a comment by Jerry Beasley in his *Tobias Smollett, Novelist*:

"Hogarth, obviously, was constantly on Smollett's mind as he wrote. His characterisation of the painter as "inimitable," noted earlier, certainly hints that this is so, not to mention (again) his portrait of Pallet and his very pointed allusion to *The Gate of Calais* ... In chapter 40, as Robert Etheridge Moore has observed, he actually borrows quite directly from the *Calais Gate* print in his portrait of the cook at the inn in Boulogne where the hero and his party spend a day while their chase is being repaired The description goes on at length in detailing the appearance of this odd fellow ... " ³²

So why ridicule Hogarth at length as Pallet? - but then honour Hogarth by drawing on his print, to describe the Boulogne cook? With *The Gate of Calais* read as a *Sermon*, there was no logical reason to ridicule Hogarth in *Peregrine Pickle*. But when *The Gate of Calais* is read as a *Satire*, it makes sense. Smollett took a first barrel of revenge, by depicting Hogarth as Pallet, then a second barrel to blunt the intent of Hogarth's *Satire*. Thereby replacing the Young Pretender with the Boulogne cook, to mask the *Satire*.

This was not the end of war between Smollett and Hogarth. In 1751 they jousted over the medical malpractice of the man-midwives William Smellie and William Hunter.³³ Smollett then sensed he was losing the war and, in a 1758 edition of *Peregrine Pickle* relented, and depicted Hogarth in a more positive light. And what of the Scottish young pretenders, born only three months apart? Francophile, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88) lived a life of disappointment and excess, and died of a stroke in Rome. Francophobe, Tobias George Smollett (1721-71) lived a life of poor health, but was a prolific author with many anonymous works. He died of consumption at Livorno, and is also buried in Italy. Research continues, seeking to identify more of those works, and possible Smollett may posthumously merit nomination as heir to a literary throne.

The Gate of Calais as a *Satire* is important in the history of 1745, and the

³²J. Beasley, *Tobias Smollett, Novelist* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1998) 105.

³³D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, Four Stages of Cruelty ...* (ATINER 2020, doi.org/10.30958/ajhis.6-3-3)

failure of the Jacobite Rebellion. Although painted as a *Satire*, Hogarth's image is an extremely rare depiction of events at Derby.

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Many footnotes link, as URL, to open access, research notes at www.tobiassmollett.blogspot.com Research is ongoing, and minor inconsistencies may occur as a result of new information coming to hand.

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