A Satire, not a Sermon: Marriage A-la-Mode and Shamela

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 Marriage A-la-Mode, generally accepted as a Sermon depicting progressive stages of an arranged marriage. This paper analyses Marriage A-la-Mode, and two related Hogarth prints, Taste in High Life and The Discovery, in the context of British social, theatrical, and literary history. Instead of a Sermon, the set is revealed as a brilliant Hogarth Satire, one which mocks society passions, and events affecting Hogarth contemporaries connected to the stage. He includes, within the images, recognisable likenesses of selected events and contemporaries, with many theatrical and literary puns. The whole becomes revealed as pastiche of events linking and ridiculing Tobias Smollett, the Cibber family, and their associates, pasted onto a theatrical frame-work which borrows from Henry Fielding's Shamela, the stage, and from contemporary literature. Interpretation of the image as a Satire, allows identification of the fashionable figures mocked by Hogarth, solves his cryptic clues, and presents Marriage Ala-Mode as an unrecognised, Hogarth masterpiece.

Introduction

For over 250 years the conventional view of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, as a William Hogarth *Sermon* on perils of marriage, has been unchallenged. But detailed, methodical, and logical analysis shows the image as misread. Hogarth concealed, within a simple *Sermon* for the uneducated, a pastiche of cryptic *Satire* for his educated peers. One mocking Tobias Smollett, the Cibber family, and more. The first part of the paper discusses the background to component parts of the pastiche; then brings them together to explain *Marriage A-la-Mode*. Thus, the relevance of the several components may not be obvious, until brought together later in the paper.

Conventional Wisdom

Marriage A-la-Mode was originally a set of six paintings, but this paper focuses on the prints, as published in June, 1745. Previous review of Marriage A-la-Mode describe the series in terms of a Sermon, or parable on the perils and pitfalls of society marriages. This, despite Hogarth's own words, in advertising the series in the London Daily Post of 2 April 1743; "Mr Hogarth intends to publish by Subscription, Six Prints, representing a Variety of Modern Occurrences in High-Life, and call'd Marriage A-la-Mode". Hogarth used "modern occurrences in high life", to show the theme as contemporary;

the French, "à la mode" translating as "fashionable". Parsed carefully, Hogarth's "modern occurrences" allude to specific people and events.

Respected scholars have discussed *Marriage A-la-Mode*, including Ronald Paulson, Robert Cowley, Fiona Haslam, Jenny Uglow, David Bindman, Bernd Krysmanski, and Elisabeth Soulier-Détis. Most follow standard identities given the characters, rather than identifying contemporary personalities: thus conventional wisdom relies on Earl Squanderfield, lawyer Silvertongue, the apothecary, etc. The main source for conventional wisdom is a 60 page pamphlet, advertised in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1746; "*Marriage alamode*. An humorous tale, in six cantos, explaining the six prints lately published by Mr Hogarth. pr. 1s. Bickerton." (To avoid confusion, this paper refers to Marriage alamode, as Six Cantos.) Although in the new books list, no other contemporary reference has been noted. The work is mentioned in several Hogarth commentaries, but without prudent scrutiny. As the source of the identity labels applied to those depicted in the series, it is important to Marriage A-la-Mode. Six Cantos runs to 1000 lines, with a Preface, and each Canto is preceded by a summary argument (Figure 1). In part the Preface reads;

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The Prints of *Marriage A-la-mode*, being the latest Production of that celebrated Artist, who had before obliged the Town with several entertaining Pieces, have, ever since their Publication, been very justly admired; The particular Vein of Humour, that runs through the whole of his Works, is more especially preserved in this. ...

The modish Husband, incapable of relishing the Pleasures of true Happiness, is here depicted in his full Swing of Vice, 'till his mistaken Conduct drives his Wife to be false to his Bed, and brings him to a wretched End; kill'd in revenging the Loss of that Virtue which he would never cherish. The Lady is equally represented as a true Copy of all the fine Ladies of the Age, who by indulging their Passions, run into all those Extravagancies, that at last occasion a shameful Exit. If the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who ought to know the Consequences, are guilty of committing such a Breach of Hospitality as is here described, they are properly reprimanded: The penurious Alderman, and the profligate old Nobleman, are a fine Contraste, the Quack Doctor, the Italian Singer, &c. are Proof of the Inventor's Judgment and Distinction both in high and low Life.

Though these Images are pleasing to the Eye, yet many have complained that they wanted a Proper Explanation, which we hope will

Détis, Guess at the Rest, Cracking the Hogarth Code, (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2010).

¹R. Paulson, *High Art and Low, 1732-1750*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1992); R. Cowley, *Hogarth's Marriage A-la-Mode*, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1983); F. Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson* ... (Liverpool: LUP, 1996); J. Uglow, *Hogarth, A Life and World*, (New York: Farrar, 1997). D. Bindman et al, *Hogarth, Representing Nature's Machines*, (Manchester: MUP, 2001); B. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's Hidden Parts*, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010). E. Soulier-

²T. Smollett, *Marriage A-la-Mode: an Humorous Tale, in Six Canto's, being an Explanation of the Six Prints* ... (London, Weaver Bickerton, 1746): <u>The gentleman's magazine - Volume 16 – p.112</u>

plead an Excuse for Publication of the following Canto's, as the Desire to render these Pieces more extensive, may attone for the many Faults contained in this Poem, for which the Hudibrastic Stile was thought most proper.³

The Argument of the First Canto The joys and Plagues that Wedlock brings The Limmer paints, the Poet songs; Płow the old Dads weigh either Scale, And set their Children up to Sale, How void of Thought, the Viscount weds The Nymph, who such a Marriage dreads; And whilst himself the Fop admires, My with Love ber Soul inspires.	Are left at large, their Fate to share; All public Places be frequents, Whilst she her own Delight invents; And full of Love, bewails her Doom, When Drunk i' th' Morning he comes home,
The Argument of the Third Canto My Lord now keeps a common Miss, The Effests describ'd of am'rous Bliss; Venereal Taints infect their Veins, And fill them full of Aches and Pains; Which to an old French Doctor drives 'em, Who with his Pill, a grand P_x gives 'em; A Scene of Vengeance next ensues, With which the Muse her Tale pursues.	She liftens to her Lover's Call,
The Argument of the Fifth Canto The dismal Consequence behold, Of wedding Girls of London Mould; The Husband is depriv'd of Life, In striving to detect his Wife; The Lawyer naked in Surprize, Out of the Bagnio Window flies: Whilst Madam leaping from the Bed, Doth on her Knee for Pardon plead.	The Argument of the Sixth Canto The Lawyer meets his just Reward, Nor from the triple Tree is spar'd; The Father takes my Lady home, Where, when she hears her Lover's Doom; To desperate Attempts she flies, And with a Dose of Poison dies.

The scholar, Robert Etheridge Moore, discusses *Six Canto's*, in *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*; without opining on author or motive; Moore describes "a faithful narration of Hogarth's story":

This particular poem, entitled simply [Six Cantos], is another of those

³T. Smollett, *Marriage A-la-Mode: an Humorous Tale, in Six Canto's...* (London: Weaver Bickerton, 1746), Preface.

execrable Hudibrastic creations which combine lewd suggestions and cant moralizing. While giving a faithful narration of Hogarth's story, the poet misses most of the pertinent satiric and often dramatic details that cram each picture. This is a very revealing comment on Hogarth's subsequent reputation as an artist.⁴

Moore does, unwittingly, draw attention to a Smollett literary characteristic; "lewd suggestions and cant moralizing". In a Freudian slip Moore repeats the "execrable" adjective; "Smollett never forgave the world for scorning his execrable tragedy, *The Regicide*". Moore saw similar qualities in *Six Cantos* and *The Regicide*, but without pausing to register their "execrable" nature came from the same Smollett pen. Robert Cowley in 1983 made a similar remark, without pondering the motive of "an admiring and articulate contemporary", nor did he pause at the warning red-flag of a Weaver Bickerton imprint:

The other account is in an anonymous pamphlet issued by Weaver Bickerton: [Six Cantos]. The poem is a detailed account in over a thousand lines. Because the poet had satirical purposes of his own, his account is valuable testimony as to how an admiring and articulate contemporary saw the series. That such a poem should be thought worth publishing some time after the first issue of prints is a sign of their continuing popularity and of the difficulty of the series. ⁶

Previous research has accepted *Six Cantos* as honest, fair, and reliable; hence views *Marriage A-la-Mode* via a distorting *Six Cantos* prism. In contrast, this paper challenges the motive prompting *Six Cantos*; to present a clear view of *Marriage A-la-Mode* from a diametrically opposite perspective, free of the *Six Cantos* prism.

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⁴R. Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1969), 56.

⁵R. Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1969), 174.

⁶R. Cowley, Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-mode*, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1983).

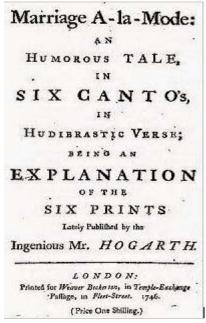


Figure 1: Six Cantos

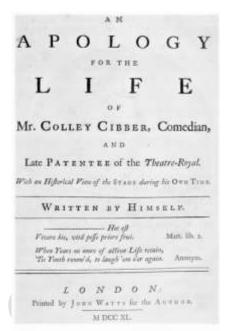


Figure 2: An Apology - Colley

Tobias Smollett

When Hogarth's clues are solved, the identity of the "poet with satirical purposes of his own", reveals him as the Scot, Tobias Smollett (1721-71). His career warrants attention; with detailed research during the past decade revealing gaps in the Knapp biography of Smollett. Mention of those gaps is necessary to interpret and understand *Marriage A-la-Mode*. A key omission by Knapp is the satiric war between Smollett, Hogarth, and Henry Fielding. Smollett contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* from c.1733, being recruited by Edward Cave in 1737, as literary editor under the guise of Sylvanus Urban, to replace Jacob Ilive, fired in 1736. The position allowed Smollett to write for other publications, including making Latin translations, and writing for an attorney. From the start Smollett disguised his works, by writing anonymously, or over pseudonyms, and publishing over a wide range of spurious and genuine imprints. Smollett had a knowledge of shorthand, which he used in reporting on criminal trials, and on events in the House of Commons. 11

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

⁸ D. Shelton, <u>Smollett - Writing for Periodicals - 1733-40</u>: <u>Smollett - Arrival in London</u> in 1737 and Finances

⁹ D. Shelton, Smollett & Pope - V - Ayre, Translations and Memoirs of ...

¹⁰ D. Shelton, <u>Smollett - Pseudonyms & Literary Collections</u>: <u>Smollett - Genuine and</u> Spurious Imprints

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

Smollett did seek mutual recognition from Hogarth; as he had already tried, and failed, with Pope, Cibber, and Fielding. Prints published by Hogarth were a small proportion of satiric prints available, but Hogarth resented the marketplace competition. Normally unsigned, but Hogarth sufficiently close to publishers and booksellers to determine the identity of author and/or designer of competing prints. He became anxious when there was a rapid increase in the number of competing prints in the decade commencing c.1738. Smollett is believed largely responsible, and to have supplied concepts and verses for satirical prints which competed with Hogarth in the market place. Although not infallible, a defining characteristic for Smollett's involvement in publishing satiric prints, is believed, in most cases, the inclusion of aabbeedd form, satiric verses. 12

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A knowledge of an abyss of antagonism between Smollett and Fielding is necessary to interpret Hogarth's Marriage A-la-Mode. Together with Lord Chesterfield, Lord Lyttelton founded the opposition periodical Common Sense in February 1737. Smollett had several contributions published in Common Sense, including one in March 1737, submitted from Glasgow, being, The Vision of the Golden Rump. 13 When read carefully this is an anti-Jacobite satire against the Pretender; OED rump = inferior remnant, cf. Rump Parliament. However, Fielding refocused the satire as a play about the English royal family, via OED rump = posterior or buttocks, which then prompted a satiric print by an unknown artist, The Festival of the Golden Rump (Figure 3). Smollett was furious, as his grandfather had been knighted by King William.

¹²D. 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

13T. Smollett, *The Vision of the Golden Rump*, (London: Common Sense, Purser, 1738), 46-63.



Figure 3: The Golden Rump

Loyalist Smollett retaliated by purloining Fielding's manuscript, and passing it to the authorities. This resulted in the Golden Rump fracas, and passing of the 1737 Licensing Act.¹⁴ This destroyed Fielding's career as a playwright, and led to a long, and deeply competitive, animosity between Smollett and Fielding.

Smollett then ghost-wrote *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, for Colley Cibber, with the quid pro quo Cibber would stage Smollett's *The Regicide* (Figure 5). ¹⁵ As retaliation for Fielding's Golden Rump insult against the royals, Smollett mocked Fielding as "a broken wit" in *An Apology*. ¹⁶ Smollett reinforced this insult by repeating the remark in *An Apology for the Life of T... C...*; a biography of Theophilus Cibber;

These tolerated Companies gave Encouragement to a broken Wit to collect a fourth Company, who for sometime acted Plays in the Hay-Market, which House the united Drury-Lane Comedians had quited. This enterprising Person, I say, (whom I do not chuse to name, unless it

¹⁴D. Shelton, <u>Smollett and The Golden Rump</u>

¹⁵D. Shelton, "Smollett, Champion III and An Apology - 1739-40": <u>Smollett, the Cibbers, and The Regicide - 1737-48</u>

¹⁶ T. Smollett, An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber ... (London: John Watts, 1740), 164.

could be to his Advantage, or that it was of Importance) had Sense enough to know, that the best of Plays with bad Actors would turn but to a very poor Account, and therefore found it necessary to give the Publick some Pieces of an extraordinary Kind, the Poetry of which he conceiv'd ought to be so strong, that the greatest Dunce of an Actor, could not spoil it. He knew too, that as he was in haste to get Money, it would take up less Time to be intrepidly abusive, than decently entertaining, that to draw the Mob after him, he must rake the Chanel, and pelt their Superiors ... upon this Principle, he produc'd several frank and free Farces that seem'd to knock all Distinctions of Mankind on the Head. Religion, Laws, Government, Priests, Judges, and Ministers were all laid flat at the Feet of this Herculean Satyrist.* This Drawcansir in Wit, that spar'd neither Friend nor Foe: Who, to make his Fame immortal, like another Erostratus, set Fire to his Stage by writing up a to an Act of Parliament to demolish it.

*This is to be taken in a double Sense, the Person struck at having since called himself Hercules Vinegar, and is the notorious Author of the *Champion*. ¹⁷

On 15 April 1740, a week after its publication, Fielding made direct mention of *An Apology*, in a five page essay in *The Champion*. Fielding's anger towards Smollett mounted with the Golden Rump fracas, but the proverbial straw was the reference, "a broken wit". In his scathing criticism of *An Apology*, Fielding makes no personal criticism of Colley Cibber, who he absolves of blame, as incapable of authoring anything as badly written as *An Apology*. Instead Fielding's sarcastic criticisms are directed at the real author of *An Apology* [Smollett], "a certain great Genius", scorning his performance, and the quality of his writing:

Nay, there is an Excellence (if I may so call it) in Badness. ... and many Persons have exprest an Impatience to read the *Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber, Comedian*; asserting, they are sure it *must* be the *saddest Stuff* that ever was writ. ... But, as my Readers will easily suggest to themselves numberless instances of this consummate Imperfection, at least every one will be able to furnish himself with the Instance of One whose Greatness they can account for only from his Excellence in BADNDNESS IN EVERY KIND.¹⁹

¹⁷T. Smollett, An Apology for the Life of T... C..., (London: J. Mechell, 1740), 91.

¹⁸T. Smollett, An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber ... (London: John Watts, 1740), 164.

¹⁹H Fielding, *The Champion*, Vol II, (London: Huggonson, 1741), 108-09.

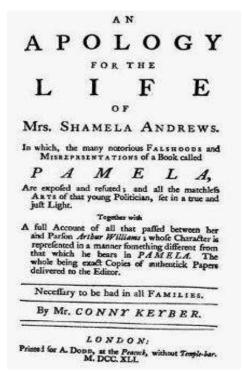


Figure 4: Apology for Shamela

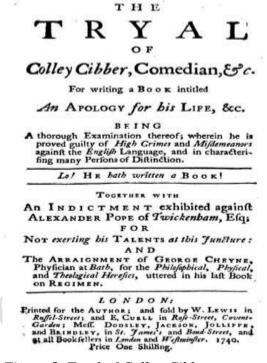


Figure 5: Tryal of Colley Cibber

 At the start, Fielding sought to differentiate between Cibber and author Smollett, but Fielding became increasingly strident over subsequent issues, frustrated Smollett was hiding behind Cibber. Smollett responded with a satiric trial of Cibber, in which Smollett chose to misinterpret Fielding's *The Champion* criticism of his ghost-writing; to imply Cibber had indeed written *An Apology*. Smollett used his vehicle, *The Tryal of Colley Cibber*, to also attack Alexander Pope and George Cheyne (Figure 4). The work includes evidence from Anne Applepie to Fielding's Court of Censorial Enquiry, and ends with Smollett attacking Fielding himself

To the Self-dubb'd Captain Hercules Vinegar, alias Buffoon.

You find, Sir, I have faithfully laid before the Publick the malevolent Flings exhibited by you and your Man Ralph. I have ... laughed at you both, and shall now take my Leave of you as the Earl of Dorset did of that Heroic Coxcomb Ned Howard, Author of an Heroic Poem, call'd the British Princes, such another Piece of Fustian as the New Tragedy of the Earl of Essex.

- You set your Names to what yourselves do write;
- 20 Did ever Libels yet so sharply bite?
- 21 Fellows, who ne'er were heard or read of,
- 22 If you write on, will write your Heads off.
- 23 Students in Rose-Street you have never been
- Nor will the Puff-master approve one Scene;

You're roasted, like Twin Dunces, in these Pages, And handed down as such to future Ages.²⁰

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Smollett follows this with a note to, "Vinegar and his Gang"; then an insulting pseudo-advertisement;

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If the Ingenious Henry Fielding Esq; (Son of the Hon. Lieut. General Fielding, who upon his Return from his Travels entered Himself of the Temple in order to study the Law, and married one of the pretty Miss Cradocks of Salisbury) will own himself the AUTHOR of 18 strange Things called Tragical Comedies and Comical Tragedies, lately advertised by J. Watts, of Wild-Court, Printer, he shall be mentioned in Capitals in the Third Edition of Mr CIBBER's Life, and likewise be placed among the Poetae minores Dramatici of the Present Age: Then will both his Name and Writings be remembered on Record in the immortal Poetical Register written by Mr Giles Jacob.

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Fielding was so incensed by the patronising remarks, he dashed off, An Apology for the Life of Mrs Shamela Andrews (Figure 5).²¹ This was published in early 1741, while Smollett was absent in the West Indies. Shamela was a parody of Richardson's Pamela, but with twists. Fielding knew Smollett disliked the diminutive Toby for Tobias; thus Fielding avenged himself via rhyming slang, in naming the foolish hero of Shamela, Mr Booby, for "Toby" Smollett. Various situations involving Toby/Booby are recreated within Hogarth's Marriage A-la-Mode, as parodies to ridicule Smollett. As discussed below, Anne/Shamela in Marriage a-la-Mode is a pastiche of Smollett's wife, Anne Lassells, and Shamela, from Fielding's Shamela.

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When it became clear to Smollett his marriage had been mocked in both Shamela and Marriage A-la-mode, Smollett sought revenge. He thus scorned Fielding's courtship of his house-keeper, Mary Daniel: after the death of his first wife, Charlotte. The vehicle was *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746.²² On page 379, is a poem, On Felix; Marry'd to a Cook-Maid; and on page 551, a covering note and poem; "Sir, You are desired to insert the following verses written Extempore, in answer to some lately shewn to the Author in your Magazine for July, upon Felix, falsely said to be married to a Cook-maid; also the Ode annex'd." On page 552, another Smollett poem, The Pretty Chambermaid, purportedly from Cambridge, ridicules Fielding. The above is a flavour of the antagonism between Fielding and Smollett, but literary jousting continued for years beyond Shamela and Joseph Andrews, until Fielding's death, with fading ripples beyond that (Figure 7).²³

²⁰T. Smollett, *The Tryal of Colley Cibber* ... (London: The Author, Lewis, 1740), 39-40.

²¹H. Fielding, An Apology for the Life of Mrs Shamela Andrews ... (London: A. Dodd,1741).

²²D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 16, 1746, The Gentleman's Magazine

²³D. Shelton, Smollett and The Golden Rump: Champion II, Forage and 1739: Smollett, Champion IV - Court of Censorial Enquiry - 1740.

Weaver Bickerton

The *Six Cantos* pamphlet runs to 57 pages (Figure 1), in aabbccdd verse form, with no record found of any previous attempt to identify the anonymous author, nor seek a reason for publishing the pamphlet over the imprint of Weaver Bickerton, who warrants closer attention. Bickerton, was a proprietor of the *Grub Street Journal*, and recorded as a publisher active in 1728-36, who published around twenty titles, from an address at Lord Bacon's Head. These included a third edition of the famous Jonathan Swift satire; *A Modest Proposal* of 1729; which offered a solution to unwanted children: "I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled" (Figure 6).²⁴ For *A Modest Proposal* and *Six Cantos* to share the Bickerton name, as publisher, is a putative red-flag; with Smollett hoping readers would assume a connection with the name Isaac Bickerstaff, also a pseudonym used by Swift.

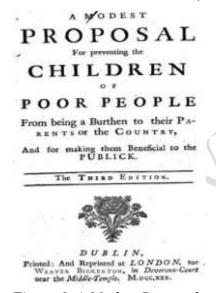


Figure 6: A Modest Proposal

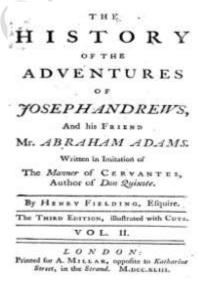


Figure 7: Joseph Andrews

Bickerton's active period of 1728-36 was prior to Smollett's 1737 arrival in London. The date of Bickerton's death is unclear, but his name next appears on a work of 1740, *An Enquiry Into the Melancholy Circumstances of Great Britain*, with a Fleet-street address. Followed by a burst of forty titles in 1742-46, also from Fleet-street. For Bickerton's imprint to reappear on so many works in 1742-46, is suspicious. The single title in 1740 was before Smollett sailed for the West Indies, and those in 1742-46 were published after his June 1741 return. Study of the 1740-46 Bickerton imprints, reveals editorial characteristics which allow their attribution to Smollett. Smollett was a

²⁴J. Swift, A Modest Proposal (Dublin: Bickerton, 1729), 10.

²⁵D. Shelton, Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737 and Finances

²⁶D. Shelton, Smollett and Spurious Imprints A to E

prolific author who wrote many anonymous or pseudonymous works, and published them over a wide range of genuine and spurious imprints.²⁷ His spurious imprints often drew on deceased authors, to give a false impression of authenticity. Smollett thus reactivated the Weaver Bickerton imprint for titles published in 1740-46, but whether with the consent of Bickerton, or if Bickerton had died in the interval, is uncertain.

Smollett saw himself mocked by Hogarth as Mr Toby/Booby in plates of *Marriage A-la-Mode*. He decided to blunt Hogarth's satire, by publishing a shoal of red-herrings, with his lengthy description in *Six Cantos*, setting out a plausible, detailed, but entirely spurious interpretation of the series. Associated with W. Bickerton at this time, and another Smollett red-herring was, *The Fair Adulteress*. ²⁸ This was advertised in the *Scots Magazine* for May 1744, and the title hints at a popular play, Rowe's, *The Fair Penitent*, then playing in London. *The Fair Adulteress* is attributed as a Smollett title relevant to *Marriage A-la-Mode*. A similar name to Weaver Bickerton, a W. Bickerstaff, intended to be confused with Swift's Isaac Bickerstaff, was author of a satirical poem attributed to Smollett, in *London Magazine* for 1746, pages 543-45. ²⁹

In 1751 Christopher Smart's Mary Midnight highlighted the difficulty faced by readers then and now: "One Man prints a Sermon, which may as well be called a Satire ... Our Poetry is all Prose, and our Prose is false English". So what are the differences between *Sermon* and *Satire*? A *Sermon* was directed at uneducated people, and characterised by simple messages, with obvious morality and Biblical references. In contrast a *Satire* was directed at the educated and used 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.

Smollett's choice of a Bickerton imprint for *Six Cantos*, i.e. the same as Swift's *A Modest Proposal*, was a subtle warning of *Six Cantos* as *Satire*. With *Six Cantos* as Smollett's opportunity and method for *Satire*, what was his motive? *Six Cantos* describes only generic characters, a hint Smollett wrote *Six Cantos* as a smoke-screen to camouflage the specific contemporaries Hogarth had depicted in *Marriage A-la-Mode*. With *Six Cantos* proposed as a smoke-screen, it should be possible to prove Smollett's intent, by identifying who Hogarth actually depicted in *Marriage A-la-Mode*; and then why Smollett felt a need mask their identities.

²⁷D. Shelton, <u>Smollett - Genuine and Spurious Imprints</u>

²⁸T. Smollett, *The Fair Adulteress*, (London: W. Bickerton, 1744): <u>Smollett, Pamela Censured,</u> and Shamela - 1741

²⁹D. Shelton, <u>Smollett, Vol. 15, 1746, The London Magazine</u>

³⁰C. Smart, The Midwife, or, The Old Woman's Magazine, vol. 2. (London: Carnan, 1751), 116.

Smollett, Shamela, and Spindle-shanked, as Key to Marriage A-la-Mode

In Plates 1 to 5 of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Hogarth prominently depicts the thin legs of the husband: with the key to his *Satire*, a serendipitous realisation of links between repeated depictions of the squire with "skinny legs", and the "spindle-shanked" suitor in Fielding's *Shamela*; as used to mock squire Toby/Booby.³¹

O! what a devilish thing it is, for a Woman to be obliged to go to bed to a spindle-shanked young Squire, she doth not like, when there is a jolly Parson in the same House she is fond of.³²

Even before leaving Glasgow in 1737, Smollett suffered from consumption and, in 1762, he wrote how the cumulative effects of the illness made his legs, "as thick at the Ankle as at the Calf". With the eighteenth century fashion of men to wear stockings, his condition was obvious to anyone who saw him:

[T]he Laborious Part of Authorship I have long resigned. My Constitution will no longer allow me to toil as formerly. I am now so thin you would hardly know me. My face is shrivelled up by the asthma like an ill-dried pippin, and my Legs are as thick at the Ankle as at the Calf. If we have a Peace this Season, and I live till the Spring, I will endeavour to manage Matters so as to be able to make an Excursion to the South of France.³³

In studying the six plates of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, a realisation dawned; Hogarth was depicting a satiric pastiche on the courtship and life of Smollett, with a parody of Smollett's life, also as portrayed by Fielding in the Wilson incident within *Joseph Andrews*. Smollett's skinny legs are prominent in Hogarth's *Taste in High Life* of 1742. Although a commissioned work, Hogarth saw opportunity to denigrate Smollett, via the *Shamela* reference to "spindle-shanked", together with aspects of Smollett's personal life. In *Joseph Andrews* Fielding mocked Smollett's heiress hunting, as if a matter of common gossip. In 1737-42 *The Gentleman's Magazine* contains many Smollett pieces alluding to his testosterone, his courting, and his heiress hunting. ³⁵

Smollett is attributed with writing the initial review of *Pamela*, which appeared in *History of the Works of the Learned* in December 1740, and also attributed with writing several parodies of *Pamela* and *Shamela*.³⁶ Smollett was

³¹D. Shelton, Smollett, Pamela Censured, and Shamela - 1741

³²H Fielding, An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews ... (London: A. Dodd, 1741), 50.

³³L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobais Smollett*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 108.

³⁴D. Shelton, <u>Smollett and Joseph Andrews - 1742</u>

³⁵D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 7, 1737, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 8, 1738, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 9, 1739, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 10, 1740, The Gentleman's Magazine

³⁶D. Shelton, <u>Smollett, Pamela Censured, and Shamela - 1741</u>

by nature combative, and firmly followed the precept, "attack is the best means 2 of defence". In 1743 under the pseudonym J.[onathan] W.[ild], Smollett sought to mock Pope, and Hogarth, also Fielding's characterisation of Smollett as Toby/Booby in Shamela, as Mr Wilson in Joseph Andrews, and also in Jonathan Wild.³⁷ Part of Smollett's attack was via Pamela: or, The Fair Imposter. A Poem in Five Cantos. by J., W., Esq. This 56 page poem was first published in Dublin in 1743 by an apocryphal Thomas Chrichlow, as a false trail; it was also published in London by one of Smollett's preferred publishers, 9 J Roberts in 1744.³⁸

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Taste in High Life

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The date of Smollett's wedding is not established, although believed c.1742-43. Thus at the time Hogarth painted Taste in High Life (Figure 8), Smollett was courting, or had married, Anne Lassells, step-daughter of a wealthy Jamaican merchant. Anne's father and step-father had both died, with Anne and her mother returned to England, likely to Bath. Anne's mother, Elizabeth Leaver, was the wealthy widow from whom Smollett needed to seek Anne's hand in marriage. Paulson remarks on the 1746 print of Taste in High Life:

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29 30 [It] has no proper place in the catalogue of his engravings, being engraved against his wishes by an unknown hand. The painting upon which the engraving is based was commissioned in 1742 by Mary Edwards of Kensington (1704-43) ... but he refused to allow her to have it engraved. After her death, however, a print was announced ("On Monday next, will be published") in the General Advertiser for May 24, 1746.³⁹ [Figure 8. The 1746 print is similar to the 1798 version, but of lesser quality.]

³⁷D. Shelton, Smollett, Pamela Censured, and Shamela - 1741 and Smollett and Joseph

Andrews - 1742,

38 T. Smollett, *Pamela: Or, the Fair Impostor. A Poem, in Five Cantos* (London: J Roberts,

³⁹R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, Vol. I, (New Haven: Yale, 1965), 25.



Figure 8: Taste in High Life - 1798 version

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The print depicts spindle-shanked Toby/Booby, seeking approval from Mrs Leaver. The muff on his arm puns he is wrapped up in his own airs (heirs) and graces, via Sir James Smollett and his family connections; as he seeks to ingratiate himself with Mrs Leaver. He holds a tiny piece of china, a sign he lacks wealth, and only his sword hilt is revealed; the concealment hiding his intentions, whilst highlighting his skinny legs. The long queue hanging from his wig, implies "a long tail (tale)" behind him, an insulting reference to his prolix and wearisome literary efforts; as reinforced by Fielding's *The Champion* reference to Smollett, "As we cannot draw the sarcastical Conclusion which would attend a less rich Author, we must necessarily conclude that our Biographer is too much inclined to write on a full Stomach." This signaled Fielding's knowledge *An Apology* was authored by Smollett, and a belief he was full of literary wind. A monkey in the foreground reads from a ridiculous menu, to show Smollett's literary works as unfit for human consumption.

 Anne Lassells reflects on a Jamaican slave as source of her family wealth. In touching a slave boy, who in turn holds a small doll, she hints she is "touched" by a slave, i.e. a "touch" of slave ancestry in her, and she is part Creole. Aspects of the life of Anne Lassells and her mother, amid red-herrings, appear included in a 1748 work attributed to Smollett, *The Fortunate Transport, by a Creole* (Figure 9). 41 This was published, by T. Taylor, as a

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⁴⁰H. Fielding, *The Champion*, (London: Huggonson, 1741), 184.

⁴¹T. Smollett, *The Fortunate Transport, by a Creole*, (London: Taylor, 1748): "Smollett and

Smollett spurious imprint. Also attributed to Smollett is a 1747 work on Jamaica, with the spurious imprint of John Creole, *A letter from a friend at J*--(Figure 10). 42 Usually attributed to Sir John Hill, but likely by Smollett, is *The Adventures of Mr George Edwards, a Creole*. In a pamphlet titled *A Second Letter to Dr Samuel Johnson*, the author Andrew Henderson remarks on Smollett as having wedded a Creole;

1 2

Tobias Smollett ... was a man of very little learning, and always remarkable for perverseness, obstinacy, and revenge. Being an apprentice to a Surgeon at Glasgow, he eloped from his master, went abroad as third mate to a Surgeon in 1739, but soon took to another trade; for returning with a creole to Britain, he commenced Doctor, Man-midwife, Historian, and Romancer at Chealsea, where every Sunday, his assistants criticized the monthly sixpenny pamphlets, heard the decisions of their host, and then retired with horror and ridicule. 43

FORTUNATE TRANSPORT;

OR, THE

SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Adventures

Of the Celebrated

POLLY HAYCOCK,
The Lady of the GOLD WATCH.

By a CREOLE.

The Devil is alway kind to his own.
An old Proverb.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Taylor, near the Corner of FridaySireet, Cheapfide.

(Price One Shilling]

Figure 9: Fortunate Transport

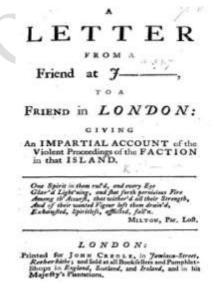


Figure 10: A Letter from J___

 The balance of *Taste of High Life* is filled with emblems of wealth, subsidiary to the main image. However one of them is a painting of Venus over the fireplace, with her display of bare buttocks alluding to Smollett's "barearsed or bare-faced" courting, as overly obvious and obnoxious. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1746, page 322, is poem attributed to Smollett, *The Smart, or, High Taste in High Life*. This ironic verse was published to blunt the May 1746 pirated print of *Taste in High Life*, and uses exaggeration, in seeking to divert any impression the young blade depicted in Hogarth's *Taste*

Spurious Imprints T to Z"

⁴²T. Smollett, *A letter from a friend at J*-- (London: John Creole, 1747).

⁴³A. Henderson, *A second letter to Dr Samuel Johnson* ... (London: J. Henderson, 1776), 12.

⁴⁴D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 16, 1746, The Gentleman's Magazine

1	in High Life is Smollett.
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3	If so early to sin, while a boy, you began,
4	That you look like a wench, and will ne'er be a man,
5	Let the barber and taylor contribute their part,
6	Talk bawdy, and swear, and you'll pass for a smart.
7	A smart in these times is the pattern of life
8	To the man, and the wish of maid, widow and wife.
9	But the taste of this age that the future may know,
10	The smart I'll exhibit - And, first, he's a beau,
11	A coward at heart, and a bully in air;
12	His days dozing, drinking, and blasphemy share:
13	And at night, when his prating and dozing is o'er,
14	By turns he's a pimp, fornicator and whore.
15	The gallows his due, yet, escaping the stocks,
16	He rots, and he stinks, while alive, with the pox;
17	To himself a rank nusance in spight of perfume,
18	And damn'd by his vices on this side the tomb;
19	A compound of nastiness, folly and evil,
20	His body's a cage that's took by a devil!"

The Discovery

 The next reference is to Hogarth's *The Discovery* of c.1743 (Figure 11). Nichols claimed this rare print referred to a joke played on John Highmore, a notorious ladies' man and patentee of Drury Lane theatre. However, the angry reaction to a dark woman in the boudoir, is hardly that of a "ladies' man", with a Highmore reaction probably as eagerness to accept the "gift". The scene more likely depicts Smollett as a young husband on his wedding night, with his Creole wife; mocked by his contemporaries. Paulson remarks;

 We have Mrs Hogarth's word, through S. Ireland (I,112) that the etching is Hogarth's: it was called *The Discovery* and was suppressed "at a very early period of its appearance. Mrs H. assured me there were not more than ten or twelve impressions taken from it before the plate, by a particular interference, was destroyed". 45

 It is probable Hogarth's reluctance to have *Taste in High Life* engraved, and his early destruction of the plate for *The Discovery* are connected. That connection, and their similar dates, supports the view they depict Smollett, and were suppressed due to his "particular interference"; perhaps as a threat of legal action.

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⁴⁵R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, Vol. I, (New Haven: Yale, 1965), 187.



Euhil by Sam Goland, from a very scarse Print in his Collection engravid by HOGARTH_The golland Hero who gave rife to this selection was MC HIGHNORE, formerly Manager of Drugs lane Theatre, by purchase of Cobber's share in the Patent.— For imprefesions were taken from the Plate when it was defined MC MC HOLARTH recollected the Print by the title of the DISCOVERI. Landon Published of Man 1788, by Modewsk CZ12 Path Mall.

Figure 11: The Discovery - 1788 version

Note the thin legs compared to the other men. Smollett was noted as a fancy dresser, here with a more modern wig than his friends, also a shorter jacket and elaborate waistcoat. Smollett's wife, Anne Lassells came from Jamaica and they were married around this time c.1743. As noted above, Henderson suggests Anne was part Creole. If so, *The Discovery* is a crude and ridiculous depiction of Smollett's wedding night arrival at the marriage bed; to be surprised by her exaggerated colour, and ridiculed by his contemporaries, as a savage mocking of their courtship. The figures on the left and right may be intended as William Hogarth and Henry Fielding, in the process of "exposing" Smollett, via a lighted candle.

Below *The Discovery* print is a quotation from Ovid, also appearing in Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*; which he uses in the context of; "and under this again appeared an under garment of that colour which Ovid intends when he says; "Qui Color albus erat, nunc est contrarius alba", i.e. "The colour which was white, is now not white"; Hogarth uses the quotation to allude to a slave descent underlying the lighter skin of Anne, to further insult her character. *Jonathan Wild* includes other skirmishes in the War between Fielding and Smollett.⁴⁶

⁴⁶D. Shelton, Smollett and Jonathan Wild 1743-50

The Plates of Marriage A-La-Mode

Hogarth prepared *Taste in High Life* and *The Discovery* as separate works, even though both focused on Smollett. In view of the adverse reaction by Smollett, it seems Hogarth realised he could make a more subtle, and commercial, attack on Smollett as a *Satire* based upon *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*. It is pertinent to compare the upturned, "snobbish", nose of Smollett and rakish clothing as Toby/Booby, in *Taste of High Life*, *The Discovery* and on the left of Plate 1 of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, with an image of a previously unidentified young man, in a print held by the British Museum, now identified as Smollett by the inscription (Figure 12). ⁴⁷ The author of the print is unknown, but may be Hogarth who was satirising Smollett at the time. The wig is the same as the one worn in *The Discovery*, and similar to that in a later Smollett portrait (Figure 13).



Figure 12: Smollett c.1743

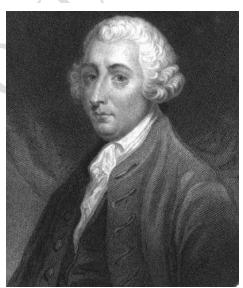


Figure 13: Smollett c.1750

The title of the portrait is from Horace, part of: "Absentem qui rodit amicum, qui non defendit, alio culpante; hic niger est; hunc tu, Romane, caveto - He who attacks an absent friend, or who does not defend him when spoken ill of by another; that man is a dark character; you, Romans, beware of him", suggesting the subject had betrayed a friend. This appears to allude to Smollett's betrayal of Fielding over the *Golden Rump* fracas, perhaps with "Niger" as an insulting reference to Anne Lassells.

⁴⁷D. Shelton, Smollett and Thomas Winnington

Plate 1

From 1737 Smollett was literary editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in the guise of Sylvanus Urban, where he wrote many pieces alluding to heiress hunting, as implied in the theme of *Marriage A-la-Mode*. In Plate 1 Smollett is depicted as a self-opinionated dandy, Toby/Booby, looking at himself in a mirror, and with prominent spindle-shanks (Figure 14). He is entranced at his own reflection, and day-dreams his future gains of title and riches. In his dream he enhances the father of Anne/Shamela to vast wealth. On page 26 of *Shamela*, Anne/Shamela also day-dreams of this wealth, whilst professing her love for Parson Williams:

O! Bless me! I shall be Mrs Booby, and be Mistress of a great Estate, and have a dozen Coaches and Six, and a fine House at London, and another at Bath, and Servants and Jewels, and Plate, and go to Plays, and Opera's, and Court; and do what I will, and spend what I will. But poor Parson Williams! Well; and can't I see Parson Williams, as well after Marriage as before: For I shall never care a Farthing for my Husband. No, I hate and despise him of all Things (Figure 15).

The two "fathers" in Plate 1 are an amalgam of William Leaver, Anne Lassell's step-father, and Smollett's grandfather, Sir James Smollett; both enhanced to great wealth and nobility in Toby/Booby's intense day-dream. Hogarth alludes to Leaver by a pun; via his "will", William "Leaver" arranged to "leave her", i.e. Anne Lassells, an inheritance; confirming her an heiress. In Plate 1, Anne/Shamela has her back to spindle-shanked Toby/Booby, showing she does not love him; she is far more attentive to the words of Parson Williams. In the print, Hogarth mocks airs (heirs) adopted by squire Smollett, in speaking of his grandfather, Sir James, knighted by King William. Smollett was in line to inherit the title, and would have done so if he had not predeceased his cousin. "Airs" also puns William Ayre, a non-de-plume often used by Smollett.

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⁴⁸D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 7, 1737, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 8, 1738, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 9, 1739, The Gentleman's Magazine: Smollett, Vol. 10, 1740, The Gentleman's Magazine

⁴⁹D. Shelton, <u>Pope V - Ayre, Translations and Memoirs of Alexander Pope ...</u>



Figure 14: Plate 1

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The man at centre-right with an academic collar is not the Doctor of Laws of conventional wisdom, but is instead a Doctor of Divinity. More specifically Parson Williams from *Shamela*. The clergy wore standard clerical garb including neck-wear, even on social occasions, as depicted in the *Marriage Ala-Mode* plates. Conversely, members of the legal fraternity wore legal garb and neck-wear only while in Court or on formal occasions, not on social occasions. Hence, whilst previous interpretations have perpetuated Silvertongue as a lawyer, by his clerical clothing he was not, and that was not Hogarth's satiric intention.

Squire BOOBY to PAMELA.

Dear Creature,

I HOPE you are not angry with me for the Deciet put upon you, in conveying you to Lincolnshire, when you imagined yourself going to London. Indeed, my dear Panela, I cannot live without you; and will very shortly come down and convince you, that my Designs are better than you imagine, and such as you may with Honour comply with. I am,

My Dear Creature,

Your doating Lover,

BOOBY.

Now, Mamma, what think you?—For my own Part, I am convinced he will marry me, and faith so he shall. O! Bless me! I shall be Mrs. Booby, and be Mistress of a great Estate, and have a dozen Coaches and Six, and a fine House at London, and another at Bath, and Servants, and Jewels, and Plate, and go to Plays, and Opera's, and Court; and do what I will, and spend what I will. But, poor Parson Williams! Well; and can't I see Parson Williams, as well after Marriage as before: For I shall never care a Farthing for my Husband. No, I hate and despite him of all Things.

Figure 15: Shamela p. 26

When we had finished our Tea, we walked in the Garden till it was dark, and then my Hufband proposed, instead of returning to the Company, (which I desired, that I might see Parson Williams again,) to sup in another Room by our selves, which, for fear of making him jealous, and considering too, that Parson Williams would be pretty far gone, I was obliged to consent to.

O! what a devilish thing it is, for a Woman to be obliged to go to bed to a spindle-shanked young Squire, she doth not like, when there is a jolly Parson in the same House she is fond of.

In the Morning I grew very peevifh, and in the Dumps, notwithstanding all he could say or do to please me. I exclaimed against the Priviledge of Husbands, and vowed I would not be pulled and tumbled about. At last he hit on the only Method, which could have brought me into Humour, and proposed to me a Journey to London, within a sew Days. This you may easily guess pleased me; for besides the Desire which I have of shewing my self forth, of buying sine Cloaths, Jewels, Coaches, Houses, and ten thousand other sine things, Parson Williams is, it seems, going thither too, to be instuted.

Figure 16: Shamela p. 49-50

Plate 2

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A painting over the mantel in Plate 2, of a cupid playing bag-pipes, puns Toby/Booby's Scottish birth (Figure 17). Fielding detested Smollett, and his *Joseph Andrews* contains several satiric and mocking attacks on Smollett, including ridiculing him in the persona of Mr Wilson, also with this insult:⁵⁰

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It is, I fancy, impossible to conceive a Spectacle more worthy of our Indignation, than that of a Fellow who is not only a Blot in the Escutcheon of a great Family, but a Scandal to the human Species, maintaining a supercilious Behaviour to Men who are an Honour to their Nature, and a Disgrace to their Fortune.⁵¹

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18 19 A "broken sword blade" in Plate 2, near Toby/Booby's spindle-shanks, ripostes Smollett's "broken-wit" insult in *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, which so annoyed Fielding.⁵² Here the broken sword puns, as expanded in the Wilson incident in *Joseph Andrews*, Smollett is a dissolute and broken "blade" (term for a dashing or swaggering young man about town).

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⁵⁰D. Shelton, Smollett and Joseph Andrews - 1742

⁵¹H. Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, Vol. I, (London: Millar, 1742), Book III, Ch. 1.

⁵²T. Smollett, *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber* ... (London: John Watts, 1740), 164.



Figure 17: Plate 2

1 2

 At the rear Parson Williams, in clerical garb, awaits a cuckolding opportunity. This continues the *Shamela* theme of, "O what a devilish thing it is, for a Woman to be obliged to go to bed to a spindle-shanked young Squire, she doth not like, when there is a jolly Parson in the same House she is fond of" (Figure 16). Williams, at rear, and Anne/Shamela raise their arms in pretend yawns, to indicate they are ready for "bed".

Toby/Booby is so dissolute he is insensitive to their signal of intent. The man on the right is Thomas Tickletext, pseudo-author of Fielding's *Shamela*, worrying about what is to happen next. He senses imminent danger, as do two porcelain figures on the mantle-piece, who raise and spread their arms in shock that Toby/Booby is indifferent to the pending "bedding" of Anne/Shamela by Parson Williams.

Plate 3

Plate 3 describes a letter from Mrs Jervis in *Shamela*. Hogarth parodies squire Toby/Booby seeking to procure the virtue of his supposed farmer tenant's daughter, just before he learns it is Shamela dressed in her own clothes, instead of clothes of her late mistress (Figure 18). In Hogarth's version, the lady with the knife is Mrs Jervis, the girl is Anne/Shamela, and spindle-shanked Toby/Booby is set to appear foolish:

Miss Sham being set out in a Hurry for my Master's House in *Lincolnshire*, desired me to acquaint you with the Success of her Stratagem, which was to dress herself in the plain Neatness of a Farmer's

Daughter for she before wore the Cloaths of my late Mistress, and to be introduced by me, as a Stranger to her Master. To say the Truth, she became the Dress extremely, and if I was to keep a House a thousand Years, I would never desire a prettier Wench in it.

As soon as my Master saw her, he immediately threw his Arms round her Neck, and smothered her with Kisses (for indeed he hath but very little to say for himself to a Woman.) He swore that *Pamela* was an ugly Slut, (pardon, dear Madam the coarseness of the Expression) compared to such divine Excellence. He added he would turn *Pamela* away immediately, and take this new Girl, whom he thought to be one of his Tenant's Daughters, in her Room.

Miss Sham smiled at these Words, and so did your humble Servant, which he perceiving, looked very earnestly at your fair Daughter, and discovered the Cheat. (Figure 21).⁵³



Figure 18: Plate 3

The mock doctor with "gouty" legs is Henry Fielding; the scenario from *Shamela* being a similar plot to Fielding's, *The Mock Doctor*, where the heroine pretends to be something she is not (Figures 19 and 20). *The Mock Doctor* was first performed in 1732, being based upon Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui*, of 1666, which explains the seventeenth century wig and clothing on the doctor in Plate 3.

⁵³H Fielding, *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews ...* (London: A. Dodd, 1741), 18.





Figure 19: Henry Fielding

Figure 20: Fielding: Mock Doctor

The basic plot of Fielding's *The Mock Doctor* is Gregory pretending to be a doctor. Gregory starts off as a simple woodcutter by trade, but his wife forces him to take on the role of doctor. He disguises himself as Dr Ragou, a Frenchman, and goes to treat Sir Jasper's daughter, Charlotte, who pretends to be mute because she feels it is the only way to avoid marrying who her father wishes her to marry. Instead, she seeks to marry a man named Leander. While treating Charlotte, Gregory's disguise is able to fool his wife, and he begins to pursue her as the Frenchman. However, Dorcas is able to figure it out that it is her husband in the disguise.

Setting Plate 3 in a quack-doctor's rooms confirms Toby/Booby and his spindle-shanks as Hogarth's target. The witless persona of Toby/Booby depicts him made a fool by Fielding, via his depictions in *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*; only idiots were deceived by quack doctors. Smollett had worked for an apothecary in Glasgow, and as a naval surgeon, but had no formal medical qualification. Despite this he liked people to believe he was a "real" doctor. Hence, in Plate 3, Hogarth "outs" Smollett as a "mock" or "quack" doctor, via the exotic items in the room, used by apothecaries to prepare "quack" remedies. Smollett was incensed and, to avoid ongoing ridicule as a mock doctor, in 1750 Smollett purchased his M.D. for £28 from Marischal College in Aberdeen. A remote university, where qualifications were purchased without examination, by letters of support from medical practitioners, such as man-midwives, William Smellie or William Hunter.⁵⁴

In realising the parody, Smollett responded with a 1745 red-herring satire, *The Quack-Doctor, A Poem.* In this his prime target was Fielding, whom he mocked via allusion to *The Mock Doctor*, as performed at Drury Lane most years, including 1742-45. The pamphlet was published by J. Roberts, who Smollett used for some controversial satires. In a barb directed at Justice

⁵⁴D. Shelton, A Satire not a Sermon, Four Stages of Cruelty ...(ATINER, 2020, doi.org/10.309 58/ajhis.6-3-3)

- Fielding it closes with mention of "the peevish Magistrate", whilst claiming, 1
- 2 "Our Author here intends no Reflection upon a worthy Justice in his
- Neighbourhood, who has often glaring instances of his Zeal against Ballading, 3
- Bear-baiting, Dancing, and Tumbling". 55

Madam,

ISS Sham being fet out in a Hurry for my Master's House in Lincolnshire, defired me to acquaint you with the Success of her Stratagem, which was to dress herself in the plain Neatness of a Farmer's Daughter, for she before wore the Cloaths of my late Mistres, and to be introduced by me as a Stranger to her Master. To fay the Truth, she became the Dress extremely, and if I was to keep a House a thousand Years, I would never defire a prettier Wench in it.

As foon as my Master saw her, he immediately threw his Arms round her Neck, and fmothered her with Kiffes (for indeed he hath but very little to fay for himfelf to a Woman.) He swore that Pamela was an ugly Slut, (pardon, dear Madam, the Coarfeness of the Expression) compared to fuch divine Excellence. He added, he would turn Pamela away immediately, and take this new Girl, whom he thought to be one of his Tenant's Daughters, in her Room.

Miss Sham smiled at these Words, and so did your humble Servant, which he perceiving, look-ed very earnestly at your fair Daughter, and discovered the Cheat.

Figure 21: Shamela p.18

the Gentleman fmiling, I should rather have faid,

the Gentleman smiling, I should rather have said, in this Course of doing nothing. I remember fome time afterwards I wrote the Journal of one Day, which would serve, I believe, as well for any other, during the whole Time. I will endeavour to repeat it to you.

In the Morning I arose, took my great Stick, and walked out in my green Frock with my Hair in Papers, (a Grean from Adams) and sauntered about till ten.

Went to the Auction; told Lady — she had a dirty Face; laughed heartily at something Captain — said; I can't remember what; for I did not very well hear it; whispered Lord —; bowed to the Duke of ——; and was going to bid for a Snuff-box; but did not, for sar I should have had it.

From 2 to 4, dreft myfelf. A Groat 4 to 6, dined. A Groat 6 to 8, Coffee-house. 8 to 9, Drwry-Lane Play-house. 9 to 10, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. 10 to 12, Drawing-Room. A Groan. A Groan.

A great Groan.

A great Groan.

At all which Places nothing happened worth Remark. At which Adams faid, with fome Vehemence, 'Sir, this is below the Life of an Aniemal, hardly above Vegetation; and I am fur'prized what could lead a Man of your Sense into it.' What leads us into more Follies than you imagine, Doctor, answered the Gentleman, Vanity: For as contemptible a Creature as I was, and I affure you, yourself cannot have more Contempt for such a Wretch than I now have, I

Figure 22: Joseph Andrews III, 1.

Mrs Jervis, as the woman with a knife in Plate 3, fulfills a similar role to Hogarth's self-portrait as a knife-grinder in *The Enraged Musician*; indicating the role of a satirist is to cut people down to size. Satire on Toby/Booby is reinforced in Hogarth's sarcastic allusion to Sganarelle's noted soliloguy in Molière's Le Médecin malgré lui: with ex-navy surgeon Smollett as a mock doctor, who became so in spite of himself;

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No, I tell you; they made a doctor of me in spite of myself. I had never dreamt of being so learned as that, and all my studies came to an end in the lowest form. I can't imagine what put that whim into their heads; but when I saw that they were resolved to force me to be a doctor, I made up my mind to be one at the expense of those I might have to do with. Yet you would hardly believe how the error has spread abroad, and how everyone is obstinately determined to see a great doctor in me.⁵⁶

⁵⁵T. Smollett, *The Quack-Doctor, a Poem*, (London: Roberts, 1745).

⁵⁶Molière, *The Dramatic Works of Molière*, Vol. II, (London: George Bell, 1876), 229.

Plate 4

The peak of Hogarth's satire, in Plate 4, unites characters from London theatre and literature (Figure 23). Gossip in 1743, as always, included the theatre, in particular Susannah Cibber returning to the stage with David Garrick and James Quin in *The Fair Penitent*. It included comment on annual performances of *The Mock Doctor*, the aftermath of the Theophilus Cibber criminal conversation cases against William Sloper, and fading ripples from *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*. Gossip also included the many anonymous pamphlets and prints attacking Alexander Pope, such as the Cibber/Pope letters of 1742 and the Tom-Tit prints mocking Pope, the latter as part of a surge in satirical prints from c.1738.⁵⁷

In Plate 4, Toby/Booby's hair is in papers; for "10 to 12, Drawing room", as in a soliloquy mocking Smollett in *Joseph Andrews*,, "In the morning I arose, ... and walked out in my green frock, with my hair in papers":

It is incredible the pains I have taken, and the absurd methods I employed, to traduce the character of women of distinction ... Well, sir, in this course of life I continued full three years ... I remember some time afterwards I wrote the journal of one day ... In the morning I arose took my great stick, and walked out in my green frock, with my hair in papers (a groan from Adams), and sauntered about till ten. ...

From 2 to 4, drest myself. A groan

24 4 to 6, dined. *A groan*.

6 to 8, coffee-house.

8 to 9, Drury Lane playhouse.

9 to 10, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

10 to 12, Drawing room. A great groan.

At all which places nothing happened worth remark. ... What leads us into more follies than you imagine, doctor, answered the gentleman, – vanity: for as contemptible a creature as I was, and I assure you yourself cannot have more contempt for such a wretch than I now have (Figure 22). ⁵⁸

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⁵⁷D. Shelton, <u>Smollett & Pope - II - 1741-43</u>: <u>Pope III - Anti-Pope prints and Tom-Tit - 1740-1745</u>

⁵⁸H. Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, Vol. I, (London: Millar, 1742), Book III, Ch. 3.



Figure 23: Plate 4

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Being a Hogarth pastiche, allows superficially unconnected items to appear in a single image. Thus, in celebrating Susannah Cibber's return to the stage, Plate 4 draws on Rowe's highly successful play of the era, The Fair Penitent, where Calista was arranged to marry someone other than the one she loved, and a similar theme to Shamela. Dominating Plate 4, as they did in The Fair Penitent, are the actors; jowly David Garrick on the right as Lothario (Figure 24), Susannah Cibber right of centre as Calista (Figure 25), James Quin left of centre as Horatio, and Charles Macklin behind Garrick (Figure 27). The Fair Penitent is satirised; Susannah/Calista, as "the fair penitent", with lowered arms, entreats the embarrassed, spindle-shanks squire, Toby/Booby; in seeking to learn why he wrote so crudely and cruelly of her in the published reports of the William Sloper trials.⁵⁹ In 1742 Smollett had again sought to stage *The* Regicide without success. To entice David Garrick he wrote, over the pseudonym Dramaticus, an effusive and flattering description, seeking his support, and a hope Garrick would agree to play the leading role in a performance of The Regicide:

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Sir, The Stage has been generally rank'd among the noblest Entertainments of a polite and rational Mind; and it is no wonder that such a distinguish themselves in the Profession of Acting, have been paid such great Honours, from the Roscius of Rome, to his Rival of Great Britain, Mr

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

1 Garrick.

Mr Garrick is but of a middling Stature, yet being well proportion'd, and having a peculiar Happiness in his Address and Action, is a living Instance, that it is not essential to a Theatrical Hero, to be six Foot high. His Voice is clear and piercing, perfectly sweet and harmonious, without Monotony, Drawling, or Affectation; it is capable of all the various Passions, which the Heart of Man is agitated with, and the Genius of Shakespear can describe; it neither is whining, bellowing, or grumbling, but is whatever Character he assimulates, perfectly easy in its Transitions, natural in its Cadence, and beautiful in its Elocution....I am, Sir,... Dramaticus.⁶⁰





Figure 25: Garrick and his wife

re 24: Susannah Cibber

Hogarth picked Smollett as author of the simpering description, and depicts Garrick, as if teaching a lesson on the theatre to Toby/Booby, whose spindly legs contrast with the sturdy legs of David Garrick; and imply Garrick's dominance of the stage. But by misleading viewers with *Six Cantos*, Smollett soured his attempted ingratiation of Garrick. He did so by implying Garrick's character was an Italian castrato, singing a song, instead of an actor reading his part from *The Fair Penitent*. Smollett's unflattering allusion was obvious to Garrick, and contributed towards bad feelings towards Smollett for several years. While Garrick did not object to being depicted by Hogarth reading the part of Lothario, he did object to Smollett implying the role was an Italian castrato. That Garrick is reading from *The Fair Penitent* in Plate 4, rather than singing, is supported by a print of 1751, depicting Samuel Richardson reading from *Sir Charles Goodison* (Figure 26).

In Plate 4 Anne/Shamela is entranced, left of centre, by lustful Parson Williams, who points at a painting of *Three Kings assembled beneath a Star looking for evidence of a virgin birth*; to imply pending adultery. A black child infers inherited wealth based on slaves, as source of "toys" for rich merchants

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⁶⁰D. Shelton, Smollett and The Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 12, 1742

1 like William Leaver, and hints at Anne/Shamela as a Creole. Charles Macklin 2 who in 1741 was the prominent actor of the day, is now over-shadowed by 3 David Garrick, and hovers behind Garrick as a support act as, even more so, 4 are the forgotten male Cibbers, Colley and Theophilus, disappearing into the 5 centre-right background, as shadows of their former selves. Theophilus is 6 brandishing a long clay pipe at Susannah, drawn to resemble a whip and to refer to his unconscionable treatment of her over the Sloper trials. Colley 8 gestures to draw attention, and then puns An Apology as a mere nothing, with "any apology" unnecessary.



Figure 26: Richardson reading from Sir Charles Goodison

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17 18 A black servant serving tea at the rear is a theatrical joke, anticipating, or perhaps prompting, Quin's mocking of Garrick's 1745 interpretation of *Othello*: "There was a little black boy, like Pompey attending with a tea-kettle, fretting and fuming about the stage; but I saw no Othello." In *The Fair Penitent* James Quin, as Horatio, speaks with scorn of Lothario and his ilk; in which group Hogarth places Toby/Booby. Implicit is a Horatio speech conveying the scornful reaction of the Six Muses, to Smollett's failure to gain a literary reputation; with the two final lines exposing Smollett's false tale of Alexander Pope's Tom-Tit love:

19 20

Away—no woman could descend so low;
A skipping, dancing, worthless tribe ye are,
Fit only for yourselves: ye herd together,
And when the circling glass warms your vain hearts,
You talk of beauties which you never saw,
And fancy raptures which you never knew.
Legends of saints, who never yet had being,

⁶¹C. Macklin, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, (London: Asperne, 1804),113.

Or being, ne'er were saints, are not so false
As the fond tales which you recount of love. 62



Figure 27: Charles Macklin

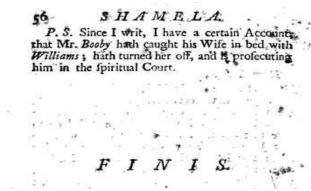


Figure 28: Shamela p. 56

Plate 5

At first glance, Plate 5 of *Marriage A-la-Mode* appears a ridiculous, unbalanced, and poorly composed print, until the satire is unlocked, when the explanation for Toby/Booby's strange posture becomes clear, and Hogarth's message simple; being based upon the final words in *Shamela*, on page 56 (Figure 28):

P.S. Since I writ, I have a certain Account, that Mr Booby hath caught his Wife in bed with Williams; hath turned her off, and is prosecuting him in the spiritual Court.

In the image Hogarth depicts Toby/Booby having caught Anne/Shamela in bed with Parson Williams, But, after signs on the floor of their duel, Williams escapes though the window, leaving witless Toby/Booby mortally wounded. Hogarth mocks Toby/Booby, via his awkward stance, as utterly devoid of any theatrical or playwriting talent; here drawing-out and overacting his dying soliloquy, in a scene which alludes back to *Shamela*, and implies, "I fear I am mortally wounded, and will need to renew my case in the spiritual Court".

Hogarth later reinforced his opinion of Smollett's dismal efforts as a playwright; in his 1748 portrayal of Smollett's *The Regicide* being acted as a farce; in his *The Gate of Calais*, as discussed in a separate paper.⁶³

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⁶²D. Shelton, Pope III - Anti-Pope prints and Tom-Tit - 1740-1745

⁶³D. Shelton, A Satire, not a Sermon, The Gate of Calais and the Young Pretender, (ATINER: under peer-review).



Figure 29: Plate 5

Plate 6

A separate paper in this series, A Satire not a Sermon, The Enraged Musician and the Cibbers, ⁶⁴ analyses Hogarth's Satire in his 1741 print, The Enraged Musician. The discussion here on Plate 6 draws on that paper; it reveals a major focus of Hogarth's Satire was the theatrical scandal of 1738-40; one which delighted London, in laying bare an adulterous affair between William Sloper and Susannah Cibber, wife of Theophilus Cibber. As a friend of Theophilus, Smollett was well placed to aid in his defence, and gain inside knowledge enabling him to publish a slew of pamphlets; some specific to the Cibbers, others widely moral.

The Enraged Musician (Figure 31) and Marriage A-la-Mode (Figure 30), are linked by vingnettes of Theophilus urinating; left of centre in the former (Figure 33) and top centre in the latter (Figure 32), both as reference to his shocking treatment of Susannah over the William Sloper trials. In January 1743, William Sloper senior died, and left his whole estate, including Woodhay House, to his son, William, hence then a very wealthy man, and able to live with Susannah. On the left of Plate 6, the two stocky individuals are Colley Cibber and Theophilus Cibber; with younger Theophilus berating berating Colley for their financial predicament, whilst observing he could have got more money from William Sloper, if he had allowed the affair to continue, and had not taken Sloper to court for criminal conversation. In 1743 Colley was aged

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⁶⁴D. Shelton, A Satire not a Sermon, The Enraged Musician and the Cibbers, (ATINER: under peer-review).

72, and his age is noticeable. Theophilus and Colley were often at odds with one another, including over Theophilus's treatment of his wife, Susannah. In an account of the first Sloper trial, Colley Cibber is reported as saying of their marriage, "I was against the match. ... because she had no fortune".



Figure 30: Plate 6

In Plate 6, Susannah sits on a chair, faint with relief at the news of Sloper's inherited wealth; in knowing she can now leave Theophilus. Sloper stands, hoping to slip a wedding band on her finger. She is joined in joy by her daughter Molly (Maria Susannah Cibber), aged three in 1743 and fathered by Sloper. The lady holding Molly is Susannah's mother, Anne Arne, who went to live with Susannah and Sloper, and died in 1757.





Figure 32: Theo



Figure 31: Theo

The image in Plate 6 puns other plays staged in 1742-45. On May 31, 1742 it was announced Susannah Cibber would play the role of Cleopatra in Dryden's *All for Love*. Cleopatra is famous for having poisoned herself with an asp but, as noted by Mary Nash, at the last minute Susannah recoiled from the role, and the play was cancelled. Usually a player of chaste women, Susannah could not understand the mind of an Egyptian queen who roistered into the night, and thus found adopting the persona of Cleopatra too difficult. The poison bottle cast to the floor in Plate 6 indicates Susannah as now so happy at Sloper's news, she no longer needs to contemplate suicide, as a means to escape from Theophilus. 65

After Marriage A-la-Mode

Smollett's March, 1746, Six Cantos was a smoke-screen, and followed a piece in The Gentleman's Magazine, January 1746, p.37. 66 A letter, purportedly from Worcester, was signed A.Z.; it being well known Fielding wrote in The Champion as A.Z. The A.Z. letter purports to be by Fielding, but is attributed to Smollett as a pseudo-letter, intended to muddy the water, in pretending to be Fielding making an attack on Smollett. A.Z. mocks Smollett for his incomplete theological training, for his association with Colley Cibber; and as ghost-writer

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⁶⁵D. Shelton, Smollett, the Cibbers, and The Regicide - 1737-48

⁶⁶D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 16, 1746, The Gentleman's Magazine

of An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber. At his Court of Censorial 1 Enquiry in the *Champion*, Fielding was scathing of the author of *An Apology*, 2 3 whom he knew to be Smollett. The piece refers to "W.H. Parish Clerk", 4 intended to demean William Hogarth, royal painter, and a reference to, "Cou'd I 5 like master W__ns speak, Latin divine, or learned Greek", covers Parson Williams in Shamela and Mr Wilson in Joseph Andrews; both characters 6 intended by Fielding to needle Smollett.⁶⁷ Smollett hoped the A.Z. pseudo-7 letter would prompt a Fielding denial, which would lead to public confusion 8 9 about Fielding.

Smollett continues his deceit on pages 97-98, with a letter professing to be from a Church of England deacon, but more likely anti-papist Smollett; and another letter also by him, signed Musophilus. That letter critiques the poetical essays for January, "I have perused with pleasure your poetical collection for last month, and think you are much obliged to your friends. Your parish clerk has (as his recommender justly observes) really out-cibber'd Cibber". In the piece, Smollett alludes to his own inclination to use multiple pseudonyms, "that it is no new or uncommon thing for eminent writers to assume feigned characters".68

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Conclusion

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This paper concludes Six Canto's was "staged" by Smollett; to divert attention from Hogarth's true intent in Marriage A-la-Mode; commentators blithely following a false trail, in accepting Six Cantos as honest, fair, and reliable. Hence; Marriage A-la-Mode has been viewed via a distorting Six Cantos prism. As a result, the intent of Hogarth's Satire has lain unrecognised, and commentary has resorted to describing characters depicted in Taste in High Life, The Discovery, and Marriage A-la-Mode in purely generic terms.

In contrast, this paper challenges the motive prompting Six Cantos; to present a clear view of Marriage A-la-Mode from a diametrically opposite perspective, one free of the Six Cantos prism. The analysis shows Six Cantos was deliberate "staging". The paper integrates Taste in High Life and The Discovery neatly into Hogarth's Marriage A-la-Mode narrative, and identifies all the main characters depicted in the prints, as being Hogarth contemporaries. When one analyses Hogarth's series without the distortion created by Smollett's poetic Six Cantos prism, it readily and neatly parodies contemporary theatre, literature, and events.

The characters in the plates are re-focused from the dull-grey twodimensional Sermon of conventional wisdom, to instead populate a kaleidoscopic, three-dimensional, Hogarth Satire of considerable skill and depth; a recognisable pastiche of real people, actors from the theatre, society,

⁶⁷D. Shelton, Smollett, Pamela Censured, and Shamela - 1741 and Smollett and Joseph Andrews - 1742

68D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 16, 1746, The Gentleman's Magazine

and from Fielding's *Shamela*. Core, is Hogarth's mocking of Tobias Smollett (Tobie or Toby), as rhyming slang for Mr Booby in *Shamela*.

The characters depicted by Hogarth now speak with human voices and

The characters depicted by Hogarth now speak with human voices and emotions, in a new perspective which clamours for a revisitation of the accepted history of mid-eighteenth century literature. Hogarth's caricature of Smollett was obvious to Henry Fielding, Samuel Johnson, David Garrick, the Cibbers, and others at the literary heart of London, but not to viewers outside that clique, who did not know Smollett. For Smollett himself, the *Marriage Ala-Mode* series was a devastating embarrassment.

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